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ABSTRACTS

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Abstracts may have been edited for reasons of space.

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Sola Adeyemi (Loughborough)**Panel: Frontiers***Translated Gain: Colonial Power as an Agent of Postcolonial Conquests*

This paper examines how classical works translated and adapted by postcolonial writers expose the rebelliousness in and of Greek plays/playwrights as they highlighted the contradictions in the Greek state. In dramas such as *Tegonni: an African Antigone* (an adaptation of Sophocles' *Antigone*) and *Women of Owu* (Euripides' *Trojan Women*), Nigerian writer breached the frontiers of contemporary cultural discourse to provide an insight into how Greek classical postures influenced and generated an impact into the understanding of cultural relationships and the formation of society in colonial Nigeria. This phenomenon was most directed in the dismantling and erection of recognized physical, psychological and political frontiers during the British colonial experiments in the country.

Osofisan manipulates the internecine conditions expanded in the classical works of Sophocles and Euripides to expose the breaching of colonial power relationships between the Yoruba people of Nigeria especially and the various colonists. More importantly, these new postcolonial works have caused great interest in the discipline of Classics; for the past few years, the Classics department of the University of Ibadan has been reproducing Osofisan's drama in performance in the teaching of classical literature, to address concerns of cultural hybridity and further cross or disregard identified frontiers. We aim to discuss how these experiments have been received and how they have created new views of classical discourse in the academy.

Amin Afrousi (Berkeley)**Panel: Plato***Giving Birth to Immortality*

In Plato's *Symposium*, Diotima claims that since Love (the lover) loves to own the beautiful forever, it must be that Love is of immortality as much as it is of the beautiful (207a3). However, instead of explaining the "immortal" possession of the beloved, Diotima goes on to explain a sort of immortality which mortals achieve through begetting (whether in soul or ideas). But what links the immortality achieved through engendering to the endless possession of the beautiful?

This missing link is particularly perplexing since immortality achieved through engendering seems to be derived from an altogether different strand of reasoning, based on the premises that begetting is in mortal's nature and that love is *not* of the beautiful after all, but of "engendering and begetting upon the beautiful" (206e); a portrayal of Love as a facilitation of the begetting of already pregnant bodies and souls in need of a medium to give birth upon. The "love is of immortality" argument therefore, seems to illegitimately transform the desire of the lover from "immortal having" to "immortal being." I shall argue that the link lies in understanding the greater mysteries through Diotima's portrayal of love as a "daimon" with a nature torn between having and not having. I shall argue that because the object of love in the greater mysteries is an immortal Form, accessing it requires a daimonic mediator, and explain the seemingly paradoxical procedure of accessing the immortal Form which rests upon letting go of the beloved over and over again in every step, thus precisely through not possessing it. I shall explain how the immortal beauty, which the philosopher is to see at the end, is revealed through love which is a having forever that is a not having at all.

Margarita Alexandrou (UCL)**Panel: Fragments***Fragmented myths in Hipponax*

The aim of my paper is to revisit the textual and contextual problems of two sets of elusive but fascinating fragments of the iambic poet Hipponax, fr.74-77W and 102-103W, which appear to draw on the myths of Odysseus and Heracles respectively. The content and manner of these unique instances of foregrounded mythic narrative in the corpus are extremely difficult to pin down due to their fragmentary state. However, examined together they offer an important complement to the use of mythic intertext elsewhere in Hipponax, where it figures mostly as allusion. They are therefore invaluable for a better understanding of the tantalizing Hipponactean corpus, and further for rethinking the register and boundaries of the genre of *iambos*.

The attempt to revisit these fragments requires inevitably a broad methodological approach to the condensed (fr.74-77W) and abridged (102-103W) mythic narratives they contain. Firstly, I offer a close reading of the textual details that can be revealing (e.g. I will look at the implications that the title of fr.74W carries for the context and possibly performance of the poem, and revisit the sequence in which fr.102-103W are presented by modern editors). Secondly, I will look at the mythic mode of each poem: how the mythic narrative featured within the overall architecture of each poem and whether the contemporary *mise-en-scène* was injected into the myth or simply framed a mythical *exemplum*. Thirdly, I will examine the choice of heroes and its implications against the background of their iambic/generic/comic affiliations. Lastly, I will explore how these two poems together enrich our perspective of Hipponactean parody, which has so far been limited to an acknowledgement of the mock-epic parody of the Homeric Odysseus. A re-evaluation of these understudied fragments of Hipponax, I suggest, expands our picture of the author's complex poetics, which turn out to be richer than even the most optimistic appraisals of his art have so far recognised, and offers us new insights into archaic Greek poetic genres.

Eran Almagor (Ben Gurion University)**Panel: Classics and Children's Literature (1)***Plutarch for Children: F. J. Gould's Roman Tales*

This paper addresses the adaptation of the biographies of the Greek imperial essayist, philosopher and author Plutarch by the educator, writer and humanist Frederick James Gould (1855 - 1938). The short sketches, published in a two volumes set, respectively called *Greek Tales* and *Roman Tales* (New York & London, 1910), correspond to Plutarch's Greek and Roman *Lives*. While Plutarch's stories admittedly often form the core of our historical knowledge and perception of many

ancient periods, policies and statesmen, Gould's endeavour was probably the first attempt to adapt these stories specifically for modern taste and notions, and specifically adjusted to suit younger children, at the ages of 10 to 14. Fitting Gould's own notions of education and vision of edification (Bérard, 1987), the volumes come with an ethical index at the end, designed for teachers and highlighting the examples and the moral they are meant to illustrate. The paper will study Gould's stories, as compared with the original *Lives* of Roman heroes, including an examination of the details or attitudes he added (like aversion to slavery) or suppressed (like the stress on republicanism), and explore the manner they fit in with the image of Rome in the Imperial Edwardian *milieu* in which they were composed.

Loriel Anderson (Bristol)

Panel: Herodotus

Herodotus' Helleno-Scythians: Cultural Interactions around the Black Sea

Greek ethnicity divided all humankind into two mutually exclusive and antithetical categories: "us" versus "them", Greeks versus barbarians. However, on the fringes of the Greek world were peoples known as *μυζοβάρβαροι* and *μιξέλληνες*, those who were considered to be half-Barbarian and half-Greek. This process of cultural appropriation was recognized throughout the history of Greek-foreign relations until by the late fifth-century it was popularly accepted that one could "become" a Hellene just as one could "become" a barbarian. One of the key areas in which to assess this "cultural blending" is the northern Black Sea region, an area settled by Greeks from the early seventh century BC. The local peoples, known collectively to the Greeks as Scythians and Thracians, were said to be extremely resistant to Greek culture. Despite providing detailed descriptions of cultural assimilation amongst the Scythians, Herodotus endeavoured to demonstrate that the Scythians were very much opposed to the incursion of Greek culture on their traditional lands. He illustrates this belief with two connected narratives, those of Anacharsis and Scyles. While these stories contain manifestly fictional elements, they demonstrate the uneasiness felt by the more traditional Scythians as they faced increasing infiltration of Greek culture. Herodotus presents the narratives of Anacharsis and Scyles as though Greek culture is being viewed through the eyes of the Scythians; in the end, however, the stories are very much a Greek interpretation of how their own culture is viewed by others. In fact, rather than supporting Herodotus' claim that "the Scythians are dead-set against foreign ways, especially Greek ways," (Hdt. *Hist.* 4.76) the Anacharsis and Scyles narratives demonstrate the cultural blending that occurred between the Greeks and the Scythians as a result of their sustained contact in the coastal region. In this instance, as often, careful consideration of Herodotus' methods provides insights into the context that informed his writings; an environment in which Greek ethnicity was not binary but complex and multifaceted.

Clifford Ando (Chicago)

Panel: CA-APA Joint Panel: Idea Networks

Toward a history of Roman legal argument

Its distinction and ancientness notwithstanding, intellectual history as a species of legal history of the ancient world continues to be conducted along very traditional lines. (Indeed, one wonders how many legal historians regard themselves as doing intellectual history at all.) Histories of doctrine of a distinctly unimaginative kind continue to dominate, whose major ambition is to chart the development of decision rule from decision rule, cataloging changes along the way. Those who pose the question how the Romans talked about the law are almost invariably concerned with the narrow question how they talked before the law: in other words, they write histories of procedure. Remarkably, this represents a foreshortening of the Romans' own historical awareness. In their view, change in the law might have multiple causes, including demographic, social and linguistic change. These might have narrowly historical dimensions visible at Rome itself; they might also be products of empire, as the Latinate legal system of the classical city was extended to embrace social and material realities that its normative language did not and could not adequately describe. This paper will inquire into the intellectual resources--of hermeneutics and argument--whereby the language of statute was made to embrace novel situations, including analogy, precedent, and various forms of taxonomic sleight of hand. Many of these modes of reasoning are visible in use in provincial courts, in emphatic violation of Roman jurisdictional rules. The paper will therefore close by reflecting on the nature of Roman legal history as a species of imperial history.

Erica Angliker (Zurich)

Panel: Greek Religion 2

Redefining the Sifnians

During the Archaic period Sifnos was one of the wealthiest communities in the Greek world. The island's gold and silver mines not only captured the imagination of Greek writers such as Herodotus, but also enabled its inhabitants to construct one of the earliest religious structures made entirely out of marble: the Treasury of the Sifnians in Delphi. While this magnificent monument has been a subject of continuous scholarly attention and debate, little is known about the people who erected it. The scanty physical and literary evidence left behind by the Sifnians and the Athenian discourse emphasizing the island's insignificance after the Archaic period, has certainly hampered scholars from dedicating much attention to Sifnos. My conference paper offers a more defined picture of the Siphnians with the help of the rare but important and thus far understudied archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic evidence remaining on the island. I reassess both the wealth of the Siphnians after the Archaic period and the cults celebrated on Sifnos. I begin with the argument that the discourse on Sifnian "decadence" in the post-Archaic era was largely a product of the rhetorical discourse of imperial Athens that aimed to justify its own ambitions. Indeed, though the wealth of Sifnos diminished after the Archaic period, the island still enjoyed a certain prosperity, as is evident in the monuments and artifacts recovered by excavations or discovered as re-used material in churches and buildings of the island's main city. The second part of my paper identifies cultic sites on Sifnos and the gods worshiped in them. It pays particularly attention to Artemis and Hermes, as certain

aspects of their cult allow us to insert Sifnos in an international cultural and economic context, especially in Hellenistic and Roman times when the island had allegedly already entered a phase of decline.

Carol Atack (Cambridge)

Panel: Plato

Plato's philosophy of history in the Critias

While its full-scale companion, the *Timaieus*, has exercised philosophical commentators ever since ancient times, the short *Critias* that follows it has received little philosophical attention. Its (possibly) fragmentary form, breaking off just as its war narrative begins, has also led some to minimise the importance of the completed parts.

Its main contents, the description of Atlantis and its decline and destruction, have taken on a life of their own far beyond Plato's original text, although Pierre Vidal-Naquet's structuralist analysis of the Atlantis material and Jean-François Pradeau's philosophical reassessment have at least re-awoken interest in the content of Plato's critique of imperial Athens. The Atlantis story has been identified as a replacement foundation myth for Athens, by Kathryn Morgan and others, but the subtlety of Plato's critique of his intellectual rivals and their efforts to reconfigure the Athenian political imaginary deserves further attention.

Critias' rhetorical proem (*Criti.* 106b8-108a4) and the beginning of his main speech (108c5-110c2) provide the starting point for this project. They contain a commentary on historical method, constructing a historiographic model to oppose Plato's contemporary rivals such as Xenophon and Isocrates, with their idealisation of past constitutions and current monarchies. Reading the *Critias* can help to interpret the related *Statesman* myth as a critique of historical argument (*Plt.* 269c4-274e2, cf. *Leg.* 4.714-715), and show how Plato uses his cosmology to criticise (and render largely impossible) both the form and content of political arguments based on historical examples.

The *Critias*, along with its preview (and proleptic completion) in the *Timaieus* (21a7-27b6), deserves more serious attention. Beyond its literary playfulness, it contains one of the most sophisticated expressions of Plato's disdain for the use of historical argument in political thought, and of the relationship between his political philosophy and cosmology.

Abigail Baker (Birkbeck)

Panel: Classics in Museums (2)

Homer in London: Putting Schliemann's Trojan Exhibition in context

In 1877-80 visitors to the South Kensington Museum could see a Treasure that purportedly belonged to Homer's Priam among Sevres porcelain and modern glass. Nothing like it had ever been shown in London before and Schliemann's extraordinary claims raised controversy about the nature of ancient stories and the deep past.

This paper uses responses to this exhibition to explore how Schliemann presented his finds to the London public and what the experience of visiting would have been like. It looks at the interpretive techniques used by Schliemann and how these show a concern with communicating his pet theories and proving the scientific worth of his discoveries. It also asks what the impact of a collection repeatedly described as "primitive" in a museum that mostly concerned itself with improving public taste. It considers the anxieties over connecting such material with the revered texts of Homer, more usually visualised through a classical aesthetic.

At a time when archaeology was becoming more scientific and trying to define itself independently of literary classics, it asks what the role of stories was in museums. The conventional answer is that museums had abandoned the use of myth (in the form of thematic displays) for a grand narrative chronology. While this is largely true, Schliemann's attempt to reintroduce traditional stories through cutting edge archaeology was not the only such approach in the late nineteenth century. In exploring this alternative tradition in museums, this paper hopes to consider a road not travelled in the modern museum, and the lasting legacy of this for the communication of archaeology.

Anastasia Bakogianni (Open University)

Panel: Mikis Theodorakis

Ancient Tragic Heroines, Modern Operatic Divas: Mikis Theodorakis' reception of Electra, Medea and Antigone

Mikis Theodorakis re-imagined three tragic heroines, Medea, Electra and Antigone as Modern Greek operatic divas. This paper applies the philological methodology of close textual analysis to the 'reading' of Theodorakis' three musical 'texts': Medea (1988-91), Elektra (1992-93) and Antigone (1995-96), modeled on the classical tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles. It explores how the ancient dramatic texts were transplanted into the medium of music and what is 'lost' or 'gained' in the process.

Theodorakis created three distinctly Modern Greek operatic reincarnations of the ancient tragic heroines. His patriotic reverence for his source texts translated into more idealised versions of Medea, Electra and Antigone, marginalizing some of the darker aspects of their ancient portrayal. This paper explores the ways in which the relationship between ancient and modern Greece is mediated, re-imagined and communicated by Mikis Theodorakis in his three operatic receptions of Greek tragedy.

In antiquity all female roles were performed by male actors, but in Theodorakis' operatic receptions Medea, Electra and Antigone are embodied by female singers. These adaptations created in the late 1980s and 1990s problematize an important strand in the dialogue between classical and modern Greece, the role of women. The socio-cultural representation of ancient femininity on the modern operatic stage by a male composer draws attention to the commonalities and differences in the position of women during these two historical periods. Gender stereotypes found in ancient models have proved particularly pervasive across the centuries. The transgressive space occupied by these ambiguous tragic heroines is the ideal battleground on which to revisit and explore gender issues. Medea, Electra and Antigone all challenge established models of female behaviour and the translocation of these problematic heroines from ancient to modern Greece serves to highlight

the process of translating ancient culture into a modern idiom and in the process renegotiating antiquity's cultural value and impact.

Signe Barfoed (Kent)

Panel: Containers and their Contexts

Aitolian Cult in the City of Ancient Kalydon – Miniature Pottery and its Contexts

This paper discusses the miniature pottery from the Acropolis of Kalydon in Aitolia spanning the periods from the Archaic to the Hellenistic. The 2002-2003 excavations revealed a concentration of about 200 pieces/fragments of miniature pottery on both sides of the foundation of a structure in Area XI along with terracotta figurines of a standing kore type dating to the early 5th century BC. The paper examines whether this evidence is adequate to lead us to the identification of the structure on the Acropolis as a religious building.

An analysis and comparison of the miniature pottery from Area XI is presented in order to shed some light on the type of rituals were associated with the structure; most of the miniature pottery pertains to kotyliskoi or other kinds of miniature cups, which could indicate libation or some kind of liquid offering. Some of the miniature pottery is of local clay, but the fabric and decoration reveals that the majority of the miniature pottery was made in Corinth. Why are such large amounts of Corinthian miniature pottery found in this structure? Why did the inhabitants import such a large amount of miniature pottery? Or were the Corinthian miniature pottery dedicated by Corinthian visitors to the sanctuary at the summit of the Acropolis in Kalydon?

The analysis of miniature pottery at Kalydon in Aitolia, as evidence for worship, sheds new light to cult and religious practices, as well as emphasizes the importance of miniature pottery in archaeological research.

Julian Barr (Queensland)

Panel: Religious Minorities under Rome

Did the Christians Really Influence Severan Abortion Legislation?

In his influential monograph, *Abortion and the Early Church* (1982: 61-2), Michael Gorman suggests that Christian apologists, including Athenagoras and Tertullian, influenced Severan legislation against abortion. To date, scholars have never questioned Gorman's claim. This paper demonstrates that it was highly unlikely that the Christians were in a position which enabled them to influence Imperial legislation. The apologists attributed the embryo a human identity because they believed in a metaphysical conceptualisation of the soul which was particular to Christian theology. There is no indication that the Severans legislated against abortion out of deference to such values. Nor were the Christians interested in dictating Imperial policy concerning family matters: their aim was to justify and defend their place within the Roman Empire. When they raised issues pertaining to the Christian censure of abortion, it was usually to aid in *refutationes* written to counter the claims of homicide often used to discredit them.

The Christian apologists condemned abortion due to their traditional identification of the body as *imago Dei*. Since they linked human identity to that of God, the Christians considered interference with human development an act of sacrilege. They viewed God as the overseer of embryonic development and thus argued that interference in embryonic growth obstructed divine will. However, these values were peculiar to Christianity. They are not apparent in judicial commentary on the Severan laws. These laws were intended specifically to limit the trafficking of dangerous abortifacients and to reinforce *patria potestas*.

William Barton (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute)

Panel: Neo-Latin

Sixteenth-century Humanism in Zurich and Enjoyment of the Mountains

The paper will address the shift in attitude towards the mountain and mountain landscape, which took place throughout the Renaissance and Early Modern Period. It will begin from the position that Neo-Latin literature played a crucial and as yet overlooked role in the story of the changing mentality towards mountains.

This can be demonstrated by examining just one part of the broad and complicated history of the mountain attitude change and focusing on the how the mountain's aesthetic character developed during the period, from being considered an ugly place and barren to one of fertility and beauty. The paper will show how the growing interest in the discipline of geography helped to develop a concept of 'landscape', and then how this concept began to effect a change in the way the mountain was considered as an aesthetic object. In particular, the force of a sharp uptake in interest in geography and mapmaking in German-speaking countries during the sixteenth century will provide the background to the appearance of a 'landscape idea'. This 'idea' will then be used to approach and interpret a collection of Swiss mountain texts in Latin, centered around the Zurich humanist Conrad Gesner (1516-1565), whose aesthetic appreciation of the environment in the *Epistola de Montium Admirazione* (1541) and the *Descriptio Montis Fracti* (1555) represents a radical change from what had gone before.

Paola Bassino (Durham)

Panel: Homeric Poetics

Strategies of Enjambment in the Homeric Tradition

This paper compares the strategies of enjambment used in the Homeric poems with those used in one later corpus of hexameters, circulating by the 4th century BC and transmitted in the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*. This comparison will show how creators and performers of hexameter poetry were able to modify their verse-making techniques to suit contemporary stylistic taste. In particular, I argue that the strategies of enjambment in the *Certamen* respond to sophistic challenges and exploit the complex syntax of prose.

Most Homeric lines are self-contained units of thought that stand on their own, and oral composition and performance benefit from this; a line beginning in enjambment can expand or elaborate the thought expressed in the previous line, but

rarely contradicts it (see e.g. Parry 1929, Kirk 1985, Clark 1997, Bakker 2005). One of the sections of the contest between Homer and Hesiod narrated in the *Certamen* exploits the characteristic features of Homeric enjambments, but also subverts them: Hesiod utters nonsensical verses and Homer in each case has to restore normality by adding a new line that enjambes an element of Hesiod's one. As a result, each "proper" unit of thought is now contained in two lines, rather than, as is generally the case in the Homeric poems, in one.

As others have also noted, in terms of content the challenges in the *Certamen* are often sophistic in flavour (see esp. O'Sullivan 1992 and Graziosi 2001). This paper argues that sophistic influences on this text can be spotted in terms of syntax too: Homer in the *Certamen* is forced to introduce complicated syntactical structures reminiscent of contemporary prose into hexameter poetry in order for the lines to make sense at all. The rhapsodes who composed these lines were therefore able to respond to contemporary challenges not just in terms of content, but also in terms of syntax: they exploited a possibility inherent in the Homeric tradition, and set it in dialogue with new intellectual developments.

Will Batstone (Ohio State)

See the abstract of Christina S. Kraus, below.

Michael Beer (Open University)

Sedition or Scapegoating: The Tiberian Suppression of Religious Minorities in A.D.19

According to the extant sources, in AD19 the emperor Tiberius ordered the suppression of various religious groups operating within the environs of the city of Rome. These included Jews, adherents of Egyptian cults and astrologers. All these groups had been subject to sporadic, harassment by the Roman authorities in the past. Usually, such maltreatment was the result of a particular perceived threat offered by these groups, be it civil unrest or treason, but in this case, no specific peril is mentioned by the sources, and it seems to have been unusual for these disparate groups to be treated in this way simultaneously. The sources offer little in the way of elaboration. For how long these oppressive measures were in place, and the terms of banishment are unclear. The sources, particularly Suetonius and Tacitus, often hostile to Tiberius, seem to view this policy with some approval. What had sparked this particular crackdown? A recent paper in *Classical Philology* in 2011 by Pauline Ripat challenges conventional views about Roman attitudes to astrologers, in particular their purported association with plots against the imperial person, and provided the impetus for this paper, which seeks to revisit, with a fresh eye, some of the disparate theories offered by scholars for this policy of repression and exile, and will attempt to reconcile some of the anomalies that have arisen in the scholarly debate on this issue. Was Dio correct in blaming aggressive Jewish proselytising? Was it an attempt by the early Tiberian regime to purge Roman society of contaminating alien rituals, and thus strengthen tradition autochthonous rituals and belief? How did this expulsion differ from previous and subsequent persecution of minority groups? These are just some of the questions that this paper will consider.

Panel: Religious Minorities under Rome

Klaas Bentein (Ghent)

Transitivity, Ecology and the Emergence of Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek

While Ancient (especially Archaic/Classical) Greek is commonly considered a 'synthetic' language, it cannot be denied that in the course of time it developed a set of periphrastic constructions, most prominently with the verbs εἰμί and ἔχω: on many occasions we encounter expressions such as κατεσκευασμένοι εἰσίν (Xen., *Cyr.* 5.5.9), ἦν γινόμενα (Hdt. 1.146.3) or ἀτιμάσας ἔχει (Soph., *Ant.* 22).

While substantial progress has been made in clarifying the diachronic development of periphrasis with εἰμί and ἔχω (see especially the landmark studies of Björck 1940, Aerts 1965 and Dietrich 1973), these constructions have mostly been studied in isolation from each other, with little to no attention being paid to how their origins and development may be interrelated. I argue that taking into consideration their interrelationship is critical for a proper understanding of the emergence of verbal periphrasis in Ancient (Archaic/Classical) Greek; rather than considering the constructions under analysis as individual, isolated entities, I suggest that they form an 'ecological system' (Mufwene 2001).

In line with this 'ecological' perspective, I compare the general semantic development of the constructions under analysis (a matter which has received little to no attention so far), through the notion of '(scalar) transitivity' (Hopper & Thompson 1980). I argue that ἔχω with aorist participle, εἰμί with perfect participle and εἰμί with present participle became used in increasingly more 'transitive' contexts (in terms of *lexical aspect*, *participants*, the *affectedness of the object* etc.), a process for which I introduce the term 'transitivization'. Somewhat tentatively, I suggest that this notion can also be used to describe the semantic development of periphrasis in general, first having occurred in the domain of perfect aspect, afterwards in that of imperfective aspect and only in a final stage in that of perfective aspect.

Panel: Greek Linguistics

John Bloxham (Nottingham)

Plato's ideas had consequences: appropriations of Greek thought in post-war American conservatism

Now largely forgotten outside the American conservative movement, Richard Weaver's *Ideas have Consequences* (1948) was the first major traditionalist conservative work published after World War II, cited as a formative influence on important conservative figures such as William Buckley Jr. and Russell Kirk. He argued that the West has been in decline since the middle Ages due to the loss of belief in Plato's Forms. In Weaver's narrative, the consequent lack of moral absolutes epitomised modern liberalism. Additionally, totalitarianism, whether Nazi or Communist, was the logical next stage of the modern materialistic project. Weaver contended that the symptoms of moral relativism were aggravated by urbanisation and technological progress, and that some reversion to the supposed agrarian simplicity of the past, both physically and spiritually, was necessary for America's revival. This paper examines Weaver's choices of ancient Greek

Panel: Classics and Politics in USA

models, including those which he played down or subverted when they suggested uncomfortable contemporary parallels, and those which he reworked in order to critique American society. Whereas the ideas of Aristotle on democracies dominated by farmers complemented Weaver's agrarianism, Aristotle's influence on early science made him a deeply suspicious proto-modern in Weaver's eyes. Weaver instead appropriated Plato's philosophy of absolutes and apparent elitism, but the apparently communistic aspects of Plato's *Republic* made him an uncomfortable fit with Weaver's antipathy to the left. Despite the neglect of Weaver in recent decades, many of Weaver's ideas continue to reverberate within the modern American conservative movement and this paper explores appropriations of those ideas in the genesis of modern conservative ideologies.

Agnes Blümer & Martin Stöckinger (Frankfurt)

Panel: Classics and Children's Lit. (2)

Retelling Homer after the war. Walter Jens' Iliad and Odyssey for children

The paper focuses on a German retelling of Homer for children, namely the *Ilias und Odyssee* (1958) by Walter Jens, a writer, classical scholar, and pacifist. The contextualization and analysis will comprise the following aspects: Jens was a member of *Group 47*, an influential German literary association, which aimed at reviving a literary culture in Germany after the Second World War. In this group, the reception of Homer, especially of Odysseus' homecoming, was a present issue; but it is also worthwhile to look at the contemporary European children's literature where many books with Homeric topics were published (e. g. in 1958 Roger Lancelyn Green's *Tales of the Greek Heroes* and *The Tale of Troy*, both "Retold from the Ancient Authors", and Robert Graves' *The Siege and Fall of Troy*, 1962 as well as Auguste Lechner's *Die Abenteuer des Odysseus für die Jugend erzählt*, 1961). Another point of comparison will be the translations by Wolfgang Schadewaldt (*Iliad* 1958), Jens' Tübingen colleague.

We argue that Jens' text is not merely a simplistic and entertaining adaptation for children. In its style it evokes the Homeric original and classical German translations for adults (esp. the 18th century translation by J.H. Voss) by alluding to metric devices and to the oral poetry tradition (the book begins with a short but remarkable framing narrative in which a rhapsode comes to an archaic court and starts telling the stories.) The illustrations by Alice and Martin Provensen deserve attention as well, since they imitate the style of ancient vase painting.

After some general remarks on classics in children's literature these and other aspects will be addressed.

Edward Bragg (Peter Symonds College)

Panel: Secondary-Level Teaching

Mapping heroes, imitating vases, and rubbing out Augustus: the use (and abuse) of visual images within the teaching of A-level Classical Civilisation

Today's teachers of A-level Classical Civilisation require a broad spectrum of teaching resources, of which visual images are now playing an increasingly significant role, even within more literary based units. This development is partly a response to the drive from OFSTED and senior management teams to implement more ICT within the classroom as well as an increasing recognition of the needs of visual learners. Teachers of Classical Civilisation are also looking to additional means by which to encourage independent learning among their students, leading to an increased use of visuals in the VLEs (virtual learning environments) of colleges and schools. This paper looks at the variety of visual aids available to teachers of A-level Classical Civilisation and then considers some of the means by which they can be imaginatively employed, including the astute editing and labelling of images and, above all, the active encouragement of student interactions with illustrations, diagrams and cartoons; even if it means following a hero into the underworld, modelling a vase pose, and rubbing out Augustus.

Joanna Brown (Open University)

Panel: Persuading through the Classics

The ephebe and the schoolboy: the persuasive classical narrative of Becker's Charicles, Or Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks

Nineteenth-century English classical scholarship saw the proliferation of works which aimed to illuminate Greek 'private life'. One of the first, and most unusual of these, was Wilhelm Becker's *Charicles, Or Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks*, available in English for the first time in the 1840s. *Charicles* consisted of a novella charting the maturation of the eponymous hero, an Athenian ephebe, supplemented by excurses on Greek social life. The purpose of bringing *Charicles* to an English audience was, according to the translator, to 'infuse additional zest into the student's survey of [the Greeks'] life as a nation.' This work provides a 'glimpse at their domestic scenes, and ... the interior of their dwellings.' Couched in the language of stolen looks and revelations, the schoolboy is invited to leave aside his usual topics of study and observe the secrets of Greek life. The tale of *Charicles* charts dilemmas of masculinity, as embodied in his near-seduction by a Corinthian prostitute at the opening of the narrative, and his happy marriage to a demure Athenian virgin at the end. *Charicles* was fondly remembered by later classicists as an integral part of their classical education, and was frequently given away in public schools as a prize for achievement.

This paper will analyse *Charicles* as a site of multiple receptions – ancient and modern – and consider how the narrative provides the schoolboy with a point of identification between his own experiences and the life of the young hero. Drawing on Christopher Stray's argument for classics as an important element of upper-class masculine self-fashioning, I will ask how *Charicles* contributes to the construction of an elite masculinity. How is the private realm understood to illuminate the public, and how can this persuade the young male reader to identify with *Charicles* and value his own classical education?

Robert Brown (Cardiff)**Panel: Changing Character of Ancient Warfare***A Mighty and Terrifying Spectacle: Observations on Battlefield Display in Late Antiquity*

The principal aim of my paper will be to analyse key aspects and examples of display on the field of battle in the 4th to 7th centuries AD. We find numerous references from contemporary literary sources describing the employment by generals of visual and audible spectacle designed to boost the morale of their own soldiers whilst eroding the confidence of the enemy. Forms of display could include exhibiting totems, standards and religious objects, the playing of musical instruments and the wearing of impressive apparel. Furthermore, on occasion individuals or groups of soldiers used display on the battlefield, such as performing feats of strength and agility or challenging enemy warriors to single combat, to encourage their fellows and terrify their foes. In addition to literary sources, we can draw evidence of methods of martial spectacle from other mediums including triumphal sculpture and military objects uncovered through archaeological excavation. Despite the range of available evidence, and the critical importance of morale in ensuring success in battle, military display in warfare during the Late Antique and early Byzantine period is a subject which, thus far, has seldom been the focus of academic research. However, I believe that a greater understanding of the psychological effect of display before and during combat is essential for creating a more complete comprehension of the experience of battle in late antiquity. My paper will use a variety of literary sources from the late antique and early Byzantine period, in addition to a range of archaeological and artistic evidence, to examine key themes of battlefield display in the 4th to 7th centuries: Such themes include the methods of spectacle employed by armies during the period, the effects they were intended to achieve, and the psychological impact on the men observing them.

Jenny Bryan (UCL)**Panel: Pre-Socratic Philosophy***Male and Female in Parmenides' Doxa*

The fragmentary remains of the second part of Parmenides' poem tend to receive far less attention than those of the so-called 'Way of Truth'. This is partly because the remains of the section on physics are far less substantial than those dealing with the nature of Being and Truth and partly because the treatment of physics is of less interest to those who are engaged in finding philosophical value in Parmenides' poetry. This paper focusses on these fragments from the later (and originally far more substantial) part of the poem. It looks at the way that Parmenides employs the opposites male and female within his physics as representing a duality and polarity at the heart of the physical system being set out. Scholars frequently wonder why Parmenides bothered to write this cosmological part of the poem, following on as it does from an apparent denial of plurality and sense-perception. This paper argues that the interaction of the opposites male and female within Parmenides' cosmology (and embryology) is described in such a way as to emphasise the problems which necessarily follow from a cosmology structured in terms of polarity and dualism. As such, these fragments of Parmenides' cosmology are not inconsistent with the suspicion of physics expressed in the 'Way of Truth'. Rather, they serve to justify that suspicion and to question the success of cosmological and pluralistic thinking.

Lilah Grace Canevaro (Durham)**Panel: Homeric Poetics***Memory, Women and Objects in Homeric Epic*

Mortal women in Homer do not go to war nor sail the high seas; their domain is the domestic sphere. Within this sphere objects abound, and it is these objects which the women use to express themselves and contribute to the action. The objects are imbued with symbolic resonance and often pause or interrupt narrative progression: Penelope's weaving being the ultimate example. When Hector is killed, the corresponding domestic narrative unfolds through a series of objects: Andromache drops her shuttle and headdress, and vows to destroy her husband's clothes. In the special cases in which women achieve a greater degree of agency this too is expressed through objects: sometimes the very same as are used to convey limitation. What women weave reveals how much power they have to influence events: Andromache in *Iliad* 22 weaves flowers, reflecting her naïveté, whilst Helen intrudes into the male sphere and engages in self-memorialisation by weaving battles 'suffered at the hands of Ares on account of her' (*Il.*3.128).

This paper argues that women, characters with limited agency in Homeric epic, operate both with objects and as objects. The abundance of objects suggests the absence of agents, as do the women themselves; they point to the absence of men. Thus women and objects act as vessels for the preservation of memory. There has been a surge of recent scholarly interest in how objects shape memory (Crielaard 2003, Bassi 2005, Grethlein 2008, Hartmann 2010): this paper adds to such studies by offering a nuanced gendered reading, differentiating between prospective female memory and the retrospective aspect of male objects. Moreover, this paper distinguishes between the type of memory preserved by women, and that preserved by epic itself: the former is short-term, imperfect memory, which needs the diachronic medium of epic in order for it to be immortalised.

Marco Catrambone (Scuola Normale Superiore)**Panel: Greek Lyric***Plot and Content of Stesichorus' Oresteia: Some Speculations*

This paper explores a relatively neglected question in Stesichorean studies. Among meagre remnants by the poet of Himera, *Oresteia* deserves special interest for it attests an earlier version of the Pelopids' saga, later staged by the three major tragedians. The starting-point is a survey of *PMGF* 210-219, which manifestly hint at the content of the poem. POxy 2506 [*PMGF* 217] clearly shows that some Stesichorean devices were later borrowed by Aeschylus and Euripides, i.e. ἀναγκωρισμὸς by means of Orestes' locks and the donation of a bow to Orestes by Apollo: by assessing the authority of this kind of information, I investigate relevant tragic passages (*A. Cho.* 1-7, 164-243; *E. Or.* 268-70) and search for Stesichorean footsteps. Then, I cross these data with other details about Spartan setting (fr. 216) and the presence of the

Nurse (fr. 218), and argue for an active role of the latter in the recognition-scene – as for homeric Euriclea? – and possibly in the exile of Orestes. As regards Klytimestra's dream (fr. 219), I suggest a clear reminiscence of homeric *Nekyia* on linguistic grounds which point to an identification between Agamemnon – others say Orestes – and the serpent, apparently supported by the recurrent association of the two in homeric poems. This apparently one-way imitation and manipulation of homeric poems, elsewhere firmly attested for Stesichorus, drives towards recognition of *Oresteia* as an 'odyssey' poem and seems to allow further exploitation: I scrutinize possible influence on Stesichorean poem by conspicuous references to Orestes – often compared with Telemachus – in Odyssey, argue for the use of the bow as in the revenge of Odysseus (and Telemachus) against Suitors, and briefly speculate about the motive of Agamemnon's death (lust of Klytimestra or revenge for the death of Iphigenia?), weapon(s) used for the killing, sacrifice of Iphigenia (and/or her apotheosis as Hecate?), on the assumption of a fertile, uninterrupted interaction with homeric poems.

Annelies Cazemier (Copenhagen)

Panel: Private Associations in the Greek World

Initiates in action: associations of mystai in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor

Both the phenomenon of private associations and the widespread appearance of mystery cults are prominent features in Greek society and religion during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. This paper looks at the crossroads of these developments by studying evidence for the formation, organization, and activities of associations of initiates (*mystai*), with a focus on Asia Minor where attestations of such associations are particularly plentiful. Initiation into mystery cults of deities such as Dionysos, Isis, and the Samothracian gods is thought to have contributed to a group identity which went beyond the boundaries of regular *polis* life. The question arises why, within larger groups of initiates of mystic gods, some *mystai* took the step of organizing themselves in private associations. After briefly addressing issues of definition and identification, the paper aims: 1) to discuss to what extent the presence and activities of initiates' associations express concerns of a local nature; 2) to investigate what parallels there are between associations of *mystai* in different locations; with a view, ultimately, 3) to assess whether the phenomenon of initiates' associations is simply a reflection of, or itself actually contributed to, the spread and popularity of mystery cults.

Alan Chadwick (City of London Freeman's School)

Panel: New Approaches to E-Learning

New ≠ Good: Digital Pedagogy in Classics

The digital revolution has changed nearly every single aspect of our life, none more so than the way we learn. Students entering university today are "digital natives" and will not have experienced life before the internet. Every aspect of their daily routine is moulded in some way by digital culture. We, as classicists, cannot afford to ignore the opportunities presented by the recent trends in e-learning.

E-learning is important because it provides a dynamic supplement to traditional teaching. New technologies in education seek to make the learning experience far more immediate, dynamic and personal to the student. E-learning seeks to build upon the digital literacies of the age and to involve the learner beyond the normal confines of academia. It is not a replacement for the classroom teacher but is instead an additional resource to add to their pedagogical armoury.

The popularity of Khan Academy, MOOCs and VLEs demonstrates that video lessons can provide us with opportunities to engage learners in alternative ways. Conversely critics of online learning rightly point out that pedagogy must be of the highest standard, no matter what medium is used to instruct students. The flipped classroom is not a replacement for traditional teaching but is instead a new and exciting dimension to modern approaches to learning. It is not merely the quality of instruction provided that makes an online course valuable but the environment for the learner to practise the newly-learned skills in an environment that can gauge how successfully these new concepts have been understood. CyberCaesar is an online course that has been developed for learning Latin. Developed upon the MOODLE platform, CyberCaesar attempts to incorporate the best of traditional and digital approaches to learning. In describing how CyberCaesar has been successful, I will attempt to explain why everyone in education needs to take note of MOOCs, gamification and badges.

Chrysanthos Chrysanthou (Oxford)

Panel: Plutarch (2)

Humour and Irony in Plutarch's Demetrius and Antony

In the introduction to *Demetrius*, Plutarch reveals his intention to teach people how to emulate better paradigms by presenting bad examples. Discussing this prologue, Tim Duff asserted that Plutarch's disapproval of the Spartan practice of imposing debased behaviours on slaves in order to teach young people how to act properly (*Demetr.* 1.5) contains a very interesting allusion to Book Seven of the *Laws* (816D-E), where Plato endorses the representation of ridiculous behaviour in the process of educating the young. Both Plutarch and Plato provide us with a justifiable use of negative examples for educative purposes. But does Plutarch make use of the laughable in his biographical writing for illustrating how ridiculous behaviour is to be avoided?

This paper aims to probe into the function of humour and irony in this particular pair of *Lives*. Such an exploration will help us understand Plutarch's relation to the tradition of denunciatory writing and provide innovative insights into his biographical programme. To tackle this inquiry, I will go through the nexus of four functions pertaining to Plutarchan irony and humour. Firstly, I will deal with 'distancing irony', where the omnipotent narrator and narratees smile down in an evaluative mood upon the characters. Secondly, I will explain 'oppositional irony', in relation to which I will suggest a different interpretation of Plutarch's seeming dichotomy in the evaluation of Antony's death. Thirdly, I shall analyse examples of 'tendentious' humour and finally I will look at 'mischievous' humour.

The investigation concludes that Plutarch mainly adopts an antagonistic stance towards his characters by pillorying their negative behaviour. Yet, Plutarchan humour and irony are meant for much more than a personal attack on them. Apparently aligned with the poetry of mockery, which insists on a moral and didactic agenda, Plutarch does not shy away from overt expressions of displeasure – but to do that he appears to employ the so-called method of *spoudaiogeloion*. Plutarch's utilitarian side of humour suggests an interesting link between him and his contemporary satirist Lucian.

Andrea Codispoti (G. d'Annunzio University)

Panel: Fragments

Pherecrates fr. 14 K-A

Pherecrates' fragment 14 K.-A. is interesting for at least two reasons.

The fragment is printed by the editors Kassel and Austin in six *cola* «ex Eupolideis nota» (PCG VII, p. 112). To a closer look, the six *cola* can be grouped into two periods because of the hiatus and the *brevis in longo* between *cola* 3 and 4. The catalexis in *cola* 3 and 6 and the *synapheia* between *cola* 2-3 and 5-6 also suggest this division. The two periods thus obtained are composed of two polyschematist dimeters (according to the scheme “x x x x – ∪ ∪ –”) followed by a catalectic polyschematist dimeter (according to the scheme “x x x x – ∪ –”). This kind of period, part of a lyric song, is not elsewhere attested; but its similarity to the Eupolidean line scheme (composed by a polyschematist dimeter and a catalectic polyschematist dimeter) is evident. The fragment shows that the Eupolidean line was born from the union of two *cola*, a polyschematist dimeter with its catalectic form.

Colon 5 contains a *lacuna* in the place of three *aloga elementa* (“x x x”), so that any kind of word can suit it and several integrations have been proposed so far. However, if we look at the testimony (Athen. 316 e), we notice that soon after Pherecrates' fragment, in 317 a, lines 215-216 from Theognis are cited (πουλύπου ὀργὴν ἴσχε πολυπλόκου, ὃς ποτὶ πέτρῃ, / τῇ προσομλήσῃ, τοῖς ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη). It is thus possible that the missing word in Pherecrates' fragment is πολυπλόκου, omitted because of a mechanical error due to its similarity to πολυπόδας (*sic*) and its presence in the immediately following Theognis' fragment.

Elena Colla (Parma)

Panel: Greek Oratory

How to Appeal to Pity? Lys. 24 On the Cripple and Aristotle's Rhetoric

In particular from Aristophanes' *Wasps* (ll. 563-574), although there could be a comic exaggeration, we can infer that in an Athenian trial the defendant could resort both to *humour* and *pathos*, in order to gain the acquittal. Sometimes it happened in the same trial, as we can also see in the lysianic speech *On the Cripple*.

While the comic aspects of this speech have been repeatedly examined, the *pathos* has been less investigated, perhaps because it can be regarded as an obvious way of persuasion, especially in forensic oratory. Nevertheless, since here the defendant often appeals to pity (see §§ 2; 7), I inquire how this topic is dealt with. Among the ancient Greek treatises, only Aristotle's *Rhetoric* testifies a wide and systematic discussion of this emotion: this means that I draw the guide-lines to my work from it, even though, according to the traditional chronology, it should have been written later than this lysianic speech.

Then, following *Rhetoric* (in particular 1385b-1386b), I discuss which type of audience probably the defendant addresses to, and which topics he uses, which pitiable things he calls the judges' attention to, and how he presents himself, in order to appeal to pity.

A significant number of correspondences among the two texts appears from this exam: the variety of topics in the cripple's defence meets with the expectations of different categories of people who can feel pity, according to Aristotle; moreover, the defendant seems to sum up in his person a lot of Aristotelian pitiable things; finally, his character and condition can be widely included in the picture drawn by the philosopher.

Based on these correspondences, I also explore the possibility of reviewing the relative chronology among the speech *On the Cripple* and *Rhetoric*, and, of consequence, the former's traditional attribution to Lysias.

Clare Coombe (Bristol)

Panel: Reading, Writing, and Rhetorical Communication

Prudentius' Peristephanon 9 and the critique of writing

The significance of the act of writing for Prudentius' poem on the martyrdom of Cassian has been recognized by a number of scholars. In Prudentius' account the pilgrim encounters the story of Cassian, a teacher stabbed to death by his young students with their stiles, by means of a painting at a shrine which is then explained to him by the sacristan as exegete. There is clearly a complex process of interrelation between the acts of writing, communication, interpretation and intercession, which break down the temporal boundary between the martyrdom and the pilgrim's encounter with the martyr, and the distance between the martyr as saint in heaven and the pilgrim at the shrine who is finally convinced to offer prayer through him.

However, less attention has been paid to the way in which Prudentius structures his text around writing as problematic in itself. In the act of martyrdom, Cassian is transformed into a wax tablet upon which his students 'write'; however, this is a long way removed from the idea that the wounds of martyrdom are the letters of Christ inscribed upon the victim (as in *Pe.* 3). Rather it is an inversion of the children's lessons, in which their resentment for their teacher was established. In the final act of writing upon their teacher, the pupils recall these lessons, failing to understand the errors they are now making, and, unable to interpret their own writing, they destroy the only person able to explain: their teacher. The pilgrim at the shrine has an exegete to explain the picture of Cassian and the wounds 'written' upon his body, and, through these, is able to appeal to the saint; the children, however, who have failed to learn, never understand their own act of writing and thus are unable to reach salvation through it.

Thomas Coward (KCL)**Panel: Pindar**

Literary Criticism and the Transmission of Lyric Poetry in the scholia of Pindar: A Sketch

The Pindar *scholia* are a treasure trove of information. It is a heterogeneous corpus that contains, among other things, the observations and annotations of the Hellenistic grammarians, citations of other works, and historical and biographical reconstructions. Recently there has been a renewed interest in the Greek *scholia* (Dickey (2007); Nünlist (2008)), and there are several projects in the pipeline including a French commentary and translation of the Pindar *scholia*.

This paper, in a few choice examples, looks at two features of the *scholia* of Pindar. Firstly, the evidence for the transmission of lyric poetry in the pre-Alexandrian era, through the citations of historians (e.g. Herodotus, Timaeus), mythographers (e.g. Pherecydes, Hellanicus), and other poets (e.g. Archilochus, Simonides). Secondly, what comments there are on the style of Pindar and how these could be used to interpret Pindar's engagement with the Greek lyric tradition. This paper aims to demonstrate what ancient commentators understood as distinctly Pindaric, lyric or poetic language, and how lyric poetry was used before the Hellenistic collation.

Antonino Crisa (Leicester)**Panel: Classics in Museums (2)**

Acquiring finds and increasing the collections of the Royal Museum of Palermo: new records on the post-Unification archaeology in Sicily (1861-1915)

The Royal Museum of Palermo played a leading role in the history of post-Unification Italian archaeology (1861-1915), since it was the prominent centre for the management and preservation of Sicilian antiquities. The institution, originally founded in the Bourbon period, strengthened its importance and prestige thanks to Antonino Salinas (1841-1914), a well-known archaeologist. After Italian Unification, the Museum increased its collections markedly, acquiring finds from excavations, donations and purchases by local keepers.

The aim of this contribution is to deepen understanding of this subject, which has been completely neglected by scholars until now. Targeted case studies will be presented and supported by previously unedited records from the Central State Archive of Rome.

Among archaeological discoveries in Sicily, the coin hoard of Cerda (Palermo), founded by workers during railway construction work in 1869, represents a noteworthy case study. Documents reveal how the hoard was examined by Salinas, then consultant of the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts, and eventually acquired by the Museum of Palermo. Donation was one of the cheapest routes to acquire new museum finds. Salinas wrote a paper on two coins of Queen Philistis, which Mr Delfino Trucchi bestowed to the Museum in 1868. In addition, as soon as Salinas became director in 1875, he donated his substantial collection of about 6,000 coins and archaeological finds. This act was really significant, since Salinas wanted to promote donations officially as a key method to increase the museum collections. Lastly, archival records show that Salinas charged keepers to buy and acquire finds at archaeological sites directly, with the museum providing them funds for this. For instance, Francesco Monasterio, custodian at Tindari (Messina) in the 1890s, purchased finds (i.e. coins and carnelians) from local farmers. This method was effective, since the Museum gained genuine finds, spending only limited amounts of money.

Nicolò D'Alconzo (Swansea)**Panel: What the Heck-Phrasis?**

From theory to practice: the Progymnasmata and the novels

When approaching the discussion of descriptions in the ancient novels we need to be aware of two facts. The first one is that the novelists, like any other author that preceded or came after them, were describing because such a procedure is innate in any act of narrating. The second is that when they were describing they were putting into practice a technique that had been taught to them in the schools of rhetoric where they were educated. Its name was ekphrasis, the speech that brings the object of description before the eyes.

The fact that it was a technique, and the fact that they had been trained to employ it at will through many isolated exercises, can easily lead to the idea that the instances of ekphrasis in the novels were but reflections of the past training, maintaining the same very practical purposes at the expenses of a coherent narration. However, a closer look at the *Progymnasmata*, the handbooks of rhetoric that contained the instructions on how to write a successful ekphrasis, shows that the teachers gave simple but very clear indications that, taken out of the oratorical context, can function as proper parameters of literary theory. The *Progymnasmata* show at an embryonic stage reflections on the nature of description in its relationship to time and space, to the subject matter, and to narration. When going back to the descriptions in the novels, it appears that those reflections had been understood and developed by the novelists. Among the students of rhetoric, the novelists were those who were able to apply part of the training to something that was not oratory, not however by merely repeating it, but by exploiting its potential in creative and individual ways.

Jon Davies (Oxford)**Panel: Religious Minorities under Rome**

Voodoo History in Alexandria: Corroborating a Conspiracy Theory in Philo's In Flaccum

In 38 CE, Avillius Flaccus, previously an exemplary Egyptian prefect, turned on Alexandria's Jewish community, instigating anti-Jewish violence in the city. Philo's explanation for this sudden change is that Flaccus, fearing for his life after the accession of Caligula, made an agreement with some Alexandrian Greeks and surrendered the city's Jews in return for some unspecified political "protection". This narrative, reminiscent of a modern conspiracy theory, has elicited scholarly reactions ranging from complete acceptance to outright rejection. This paper suggests a new approach to the problem, and lends qualified support to the reliability of Philo's account.

After briefly outlining the scholarly *impasse*, I proceed by questioning the legal status of formerly Jewish-owned properties outside the "ghetto" established by Flaccus in 38. I argue that such properties fell into the class of *bona vacantia*. Although we lack precise information on the legal status of Alexandrian Jews, I demonstrate from the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* and other papyri that every other significant group in Egypt was subject to Roman laws concerning *bona vacantia*, and therefore it is reasonable to suppose that Jews were too. I show with reference to narrative historians and jurists that, by 38, *bona vacantia* throughout the empire became fiscal property *ipso iure*, that this happened in other cases of groups being banished from their homes, and that we ought to expect the same outcome for the Alexandrian Jews.

In the light of this, I argue that, after establishing the "ghetto", Flaccus tolerated the looting and destruction of fiscal property, a situation unthinkable without positing collusion between Flaccus and the mob. This is perhaps the strongest indication that Flaccus and the Alexandrian Judeophobes really were covertly co-operating at the outset of the violence in 38.

Susan Deacy and Fiona McHardy (Roehampton)

Panel: Teaching Classics

How to teach sensitive subjects in the Classics classroom

This paper will focus upon our experiences exploring the pedagogy of teaching sensitive subjects in the classics classroom. By 'sensitive', we do not - or at least, not necessarily - refer to controversial subjects (i.e. ones which make students debate passionately), but to troubling subjects such as domestic violence, abortion and sexual abuse: ones which might affect individuals in the class to such an extent that they might struggle to join in discussions, experience distress, or feel the need to miss the session in question. We shall discuss HEA-funded work that we have conducted toward gaining expertise on teaching sensitive topics both from fellow classicists and from colleagues in other disciplines, including Psychology, the Arts Therapies, Criminology and Education. We shall also present the resources we have built up that cite relevant literature, and websites offering support on various issues including rape, and domestic abuse for our University's VLE site. As we shall discuss, while the focus is primarily on ways in which staff can handle teaching this material and deal with possible problems experienced by students, the project also looks at the impact of teaching the topic on academic staff, and at options for staff training. As Koster (2011) has demonstrated, staff who teach about sensitive subjects tend to become involved in the "emotional labour" of dealing with student responses to the teaching material, especially coping with what she terms "traumatic disclosures" such as experiencing domestic violence and sexual violence (64). Therefore, we will also reflect on ways in which staff as well as students can cope with the challenges of studying sensitive subjects.

Matthieu de Bakker (Amsterdam)

Panel: Reading Herodotus' Gods

Explaining the Capture of Constantinople: the reception of Herodotus' religious views in late Byzantine historiography
Byzantine historians consistently engaged with Herodotus' *Histories* in various ways, ranging from imitation to forthright criticism. In a society so deeply preoccupied with religion, Herodotus' complex religious standpoint and strongly moral outlook both made him an even more attractive historiographical model and posed serious challenges to the historians' perceptions of historical causation.

In this paper I shall explore the role that three concepts central to Herodotean theological and historical thinking, divine *phthonos*, fate, and the wheel of fortune, play in historical works from the early and middle Byzantine period. I will focus on three texts that between them betray Herodotean influence in terms of subject matter, style, ethnography, geography, dramatic presentation and digressions: Procopius' *Wars* (6th century), Michael Psellus' *Chronographia* (11th century) and Nicetas Choniates' *History* (12th-early 13th century). Chance, the cycle of human affairs and envy, both as a supernatural power and a human emotion, hold a more or less pivotal position in all three works.

My aim is to examine how these pagan Herodotean concepts shed light on the theology of the Byzantine historians. Do the concepts contradict Christian beliefs or have their semantics changed to accommodate to a Christian outlook? Could it be that the historians' use of these religious notions facilitates potential criticism of the supernatural, be it God or fate, and underlines the role of human agency in historical explanation? Does the employment of such concepts ultimately reflect wider cultural trends or the historians' personal views? This paper will argue that the reception of Herodotean divine envy, fate and its instability in early and middle Byzantine historians discloses the complexities of their theology, and it may further reveal elaborate historical thinking which goes beyond a simple pagan-Christian dichotomy. In Byzantine historiography, religious concepts associated with Herodotus can be so much more than mere rhetorical devices.

Carina de Klerk (McGill)

Panel: Embedded in the Root

The Representation and Reception of Violence in Euripides' Herakles and Bakchai

Tragedy is a genre pre-occupied with violence, with the lead up to, and aftermath of, violent acts. A corpse is wheeled out, and lives are left altered forever. Strangely for a *genre* which orients itself around narratives of violence, it categorically shuns the actual physical dramatization of violent acts. Violence happens *elsewhere*, out of sight (most commonly in the *skene*). Aural traces of the victim fatally struck seep out, alerting the *chorus* and the audience, who are afterwards informed about the details through the Messenger's bloody play-by-play report. In this paper, I seek to delineate and understand this paradox of tragedy; that that which *informs* tragedy must not be physically *performed*. Two claims lie central to, and will be tested, through this investigation. First, the physical rendering of the violent act must be avoided because it threatens to destroy the dramatic structure by which drama is contained, organized, and supported. Following from this, in order to preserve the integrity of that structure, the violent act must be normativized through language. This normativization, which is essentially a strategy of distancing, enables the relatively safe reception of violence by the *chorus* and audience. I take

Euripides' *Herakles* and *Bakchai* as points of examination and it is my hope that my findings will contribute some insight into the relationship between violence and tragedy.

Tom Derrick (Bristol)

Containers and their Contents: Exploring the relationships between the perfumers and glassblowers of early-Imperial Roman Campania

This paper aims to explore relationships between glassblowers and perfume manufacturers in the urban centres of Roman Campania. Cato the Elder states that Campania was famed for its roses long before the invention of glassblowing (attributed to the Syro-Palestinian coast in the first century B.C.). This innovative technique combined with the skill of itinerant glassworkers, the suitability of glass for perfume preservation, and the exploitation of the fertile soil of Campania for floriculture lead to an undoubted increase in production of perfumed substances.

Difficulties remain in deciding whether the small vessels dubbed unguentaria by antiquarians are solely retail vessels or travelled over large distances in large quantities, furthermore, tentative cases have been made for square bottles and other glass vessels as instruments of long distance trade. A discussion of stamps and moulds for marking the bottom of unguentaria and larger bottles is unavoidable, and whether it is likely that these represent the marks of the makers of the contents or the containers. It is entirely likely that the makers of the contents could commission the manufacture of not only stamps but of highly stylised moulds or entirely simple blank vessels from glassworkers that suited their own retail needs. An analysis of the identified perfume workshops at Pompeii and Paestum and the supporting archaeological evidence for glass-working in their respective and nearby urban centres will prove an interesting tool to explore this relationship.

Panel: Containers and their Contexts

Werner de Saeger (Oxford)

The Historiography of Constantine's Conversion

Roman emperor Constantine (*Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus*) was the first emperor to publicly convert to Christianity, after the battle at the Milvian bridge in 312 AD. Although there is consensus amongst academics that Constantine only formally converted at the very end of his life, there still exists a great divergence of opinion on the nature of the conversion. The decisions he made immediately after opting for Christianity have had a major impact on the Western world up to this very day.

Legal, theological, and architectural changes were central elements in this Christian revolution, and church-state relations were changed considerably. However, this triplicity of the consequences of his conversion has been overseen in both primary and secondary sources on the topic. A fresh perspective, cross academic boundaries, that takes into consideration the evolutions in law, theology, and architecture, sheds a new light on the nature of Constantine's conversion and on the underlying motives for the changes in the religious environment of Rome in Late Antiquity.

This presentation will analyze the historiography of both the conversion and the subsequent events in the second and third decade of the fourth century AD. Specifically focusing on 19th and 20th century literature, as well as the latest 21st century publications, the presenter will clarify the streams of reasoning and various schools of thought that have led to the narrow-focused approaches of the past. The multifaceted nature of religious conversions in mind, Constantine's choices and actions can be observed through both literary sources and material evidence, not in the least in archeology, architectural history, and numismatics.

This multidisciplinary analysis takes a new methodological perspective on one of the most controversial religious conversions of the Roman world, and of history all together.

Panel: Christianity and the Roman Emperors

Elizabeth Dollins (Exeter)

Whose Ekphrasis is it Anyway?

It is well known that Achilles Tatius' novel *Leucippe and Cleitophon* contains lavish descriptions that are many and varied. This paper seeks to explore the myths about women that are placed strategically within the narrative in books one, three, five and eight. The first three instances are descriptions of paintings of Europa, Andromeda and Philomela, and to these can be added the pair of extended stories about Syrinx and Rhodopis in the final book.

The myths have all been fruitfully read in terms of their relevance for Leucippe and Melite. However, as this paper will argue, the myths also serve to engage the reader on a further level that brings him or her to a position of questioning the very narratological basis of the novel. Who is narrating and who is focalising in the presentation of these myths? The painting of Europa is described by the primary narrator, but the rest of the myths fall within Cleitophon's narrative. Once Cleitophon begins his story the question of who each *ekphrasis* belongs to becomes complicated, particularly in the instance of the story of Syrinx, which is told to Cleitophon by a priest.

This paper will discuss the implications that the ways in which the myths are presented within Cleitophon's story have for interpreting the narrative as Cleitophon's. It will also ask whether there are any differences in the ways Cleitophon and the primary narrator handle their subject-matter, to what extent the primary narrator's point of view can be found in Cleitophon's narrative (he is, of course, a lover (*erōtikos*) himself), and how Cleitophon and the primary narrator compare as narrators of *ekphrasis*. Finally, the paper will seek to answer the question of whether, within the fiction of the text, Cleitophon's narrative is his at all.

Panel: What the Heck-Phrasis?

Vicky Donnellan (UCL)**Panel: Classics in Museums (1)**

The role of classical collections in UK regional museums: the Ure Museum

There are classical archaeology collections in more than sixty UK museums outside London, ranging from high profile nationals, to university departmental collections, to small local authority museums. How are these collections used? What do visitors and other users get out of their contact with classical archaeology in the museum?

My ongoing doctoral project has addressed these questions via an initial survey followed by qualitative research at six case study museums, investigating the uses made of these collections today and exploring their impact and outcomes for a range of users. While the focus of the study is on the contemporary situation, this has been set into the context of the collections' history. What was the original impulse and vision of the collectors or curators who assembled these artefacts? How does that compare with the aims of their twenty-first-century curators, and how does it affect the way the collections are perceived today?

This paper focuses on the Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology, at the University of Reading, which holds one of the largest collections of Greek ceramics in Britain. The results of visitor, staff and stakeholder interviews are presented to address the question of the collection's role today. Reference is also made to the wider results of this ongoing research, to broaden consideration of the role of classical archaeology collections in UK museums today.

Filip Doroszewski (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University)**Panel: Nonnus of Panopolis**

Nicodemus in the house of light: intertextual exegesis of J 3:1-21 in Nonnus' Paraphrase of St. John's Gospel

The aim of this paper is to analyze the way in which Nonnus of Panopolis paraphrases the Johannine pericope of Nicodemus coming to Jesus by night (J 3:1-21). In the Johannine Gospel the opposition of light and darkness has a deep symbolic meaning: the darkness represents the sphere of sin and "the world" hostile to Jesus' mission, while the light symbolizes both Jesus himself as well as his message and redemptive power. From this perspective, Nicodemus' night visit can be seen as a passage from spiritual darkness towards the light of salvation.

In his rendition of the pericope (*Par.* 3.1-109), Nonnus does not limit himself to turning prose into verse, but he also offers the reader an exegesis of the text. The imagery of light and darkness, much more developed than in the Vorlage, becomes explicitly associated with the ritual of baptism known in the Early Church as the sacrament of enlightenment, *photismos*. This explicit baptismal interpretation is accompanied by another, more subtle kind of exegesis. The poet makes a number of intertextual references to both pagan and Christian writings in order to show Jesus as the true Sun rising over the newly baptized and the baptism itself, a Christian initiation rite, as the very opposite to pagan mysteries leading into the Johannine darkness. These references, not noticed so far by commentators, do not only offer an insight into Nonnus' paraphrasing technique, but also into late antique culture rooted in both Christian and pagan traditions.

Annemieke Drummen (Heidelberg)**Panel: Aristophanes**

Discourse patterns in Aristophanes

Aristophanic comedies consist of various parts, which differ in metre, structure, and communicative goals (see e.g. Zieliński 1885). Can we relate this variation to differences in language use as well?

For modern languages, it has been pointed out that communicative formats are associated with patterns of certain linguistic features (Biber 1994, Östman 2005). For example, the format of a narrative tends to have a high frequency of past tenses, and a newspaper headline is characterized by the omission of articles. The combination of situational and formal features is called 'register' by Biber, 'discourse pattern' by Östman. Willi 2010 suggests that such correlations are also present in ancient texts.

In my paper, I will provide a sketch of different discourse patterns in Aristophanes. We find, for instance, a higher frequency of second-person references, negations, and the particles $\gamma\epsilon$ and $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$ in the communicative format of the iambic dialogue than in that of the lyric choral song. Lyric passages, on the other hand, are 'more concentrated' in their language (Dover 1972), which is reflected in a higher frequency of participles, and fewer finite verbs than in the spoken parts. Long iambic monologues, which are very rare (cf. Slings 2002 on the 'aggressiveness' of Aristophanic speakers), seem to be characterized by a relatively high frequency of imperfects.

The co-occurrence of linguistic features may tell us something about similarity in pragmatic functions and associations. What might play a role in the differences, for instance, is the prominence of the speaker as an individual: this is more the case in dialogues than in songs.

Beside outlining some discourse patterns in Aristophanes, I will also pay attention to the differences with patterns that can be distinguished in tragedy.

Page duBois (UC San Diego)**Panel: New Theoretical Approaches**

What's Left?: New Marxisms and Antiquity

The traditional view of Marxism deployed by classicists relied on the words of Marx himself. Later canonical texts by such thinkers as Raymond Williams, Louis Althusser and Fredric Jameson expanded the theoretical possibilities of Marxist scholars of antiquity. How has recent work by Slavoj Žižek, Jacques Rancière, Alain Badiou and others used ancient texts and ancient history? And how might their writings illuminate further scholarship on classical antiquity?

Matthew Duncombe (Groningen)**Panel: Mind and World**

Plato's Partition Argument at Republic IV, 436b9–439c8

This paper argues that a better understanding of Plato's notion relations allows us to understand an important argument for one of Plato's central claims about the relation of the soul to the world. In the course of *Republic IV*, Socrates is arguing that the city and the soul are structurally isomorphic so that the term 'justice' can apply to both city and individual. Before he can show that the city and the soul each have the same parts, Socrates has to show that the soul has parts, which he attempts at 436b9–439c8.

Roughly put, the argument is that if something acts on something in opposite ways, then it has parts. The soul so acts when someone desires to drink (e.g. because they are thirsty) and aversion to drink (e.g. because it is against medical advice). So the soul has parts: one desiring drink and one rejecting it. This 'partition argument', central to the project of the *Republic*, has been criticised by commentators. First, the argument may be reiterated so it may generate indefinitely many parts. Second, the argument may not generate parts *in the soul* at all, because 'thirst is for drink' is merely a truth of logic, not psychology.

I show that that, for Plato, relative terms, like 'thirst', have a correlative (e.g. 'drink') that they are always and exclusively relative to. This allows me to show that neither objection has any force: first, the argument cannot be reiterated, as thirst is only for drink. Second, Plato does deal only on the logical level. But the fact that his argument is not psychological is an advantage: if the argument were only psychological, it would not explain why both the city and soul have the same parts.

Daisy Dunn (UCL)**Panel: European Literary and Artistic Receptions**

Ovid and his Reception in Metamorphosis 2012

In this paper I look, retrospectively, at the major collaboration *Metamorphosis*, which was hosted at the Royal Opera House and National Gallery in London this year (June-September 2012). The project entailed the commission of several new ballets, costumes, artworks, and poems in response to Ovid's *magnum opus*, principally through the lens of three of Titian's Ovid-inspired *poesie* 'painterly poems' (*Diana and Actaeon*, *Death of Actaeon*, *Diana and Callisto*).

My focus is specifically on the lineage of Ovid's text, through Titian's paintings, into a new poetry book. The book contains verses from the most celebrated poets of our generation – Seamus Heaney, Carol Ann Duffy, Hugo Williams among others.

I have had privileged access to the development of the museum and poetry project, including discussions with some of the poets about their interpretation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. My PhD spans both Classics and Art History, and as part of my research I have also had the opportunity to study in depth the Titian paintings and their engagement with Ovid's text. Drawing on these firsthand experiences, I question in this paper the degree to which the Titian paintings may serve to help or to hinder our assessment of the reception of Ovid in the new poetry book. What does Renaissance image offer the twenty-first century poet that a classical text cannot? And how can one mediate that relationship in an exhibition like that staged at the National Gallery?

Jonathan Eaton (Newcastle College)**Panel: New Approaches to E-Learning**

Using VLEs to enhance Teaching and Learning in Classics

Virtual Learning Environments have the potential to radically enhance teaching and learning in Classical subjects by offering resources and opportunities for students beyond the traditional classroom. Platforms such as Moodle and Blackboard are being used widely at a range of educational levels to support the learning experience. This paper will explore the use of VLEs to teach Classical Civilisation and Ancient History by reflecting on my use of e-learning over the past few years and highlighting the successes and obstacles which I have encountered.

My students invariably have no previous experience of studying Classical subjects. The vast majority show a clear preference for accessing materials online rather than using library resources. I have developed my VLE to providing support for four stages of the learning process. The first stage consists of preparing students for lectures and seminars. This invariably consists of providing reading and other study materials online. The second stage consists of consolidating learning. This is accomplished through the use of podcasts and YouTube videos. The third stage focuses on assessing learning through online tests. These provide a rapid method of assessing student performance and providing useful feedback. The final stage consists of extending learning, particularly for gifted and talented students. There are a range of online resources which can be successfully integrated into VLEs to challenge more advanced learners.

VLEs offer great potential for educating the next generation of Classicists. However, there are obstacles which need to be overcome for them to work successfully. My paper will conclude by assessing some of these problems and outlining potential solutions which can be applied to create effective Classical VLEs.

Jackie Elliott (Colorado)

See the abstract of Christina S. Kraus, below.

Anthony Ellis (Edinburgh)**Panel: Reading Herodotus' Gods**

Divine φθόνοϛ in Herodotus: Envy or Punishment? Christians, Pagans, and Plato from Camerarius to Meuss

From Plutarch to the present there has been disagreement on the meaning of divine *phthonos* and its importance in Herodotus' theological views. Although the question plumbs the depths of abstruse theology, it remains central to ancient and modern interpretations of Herodotean narratives and characterization. This talk traces the debate between the 16th and

19th centuries, where it is intimately linked to Christianizing and Platonizing readings of pre-Christian literature developed by the ‘Anciens’ (and opposed by the ‘Modernes’) in the *Querelle*.

In mid eighteenth-century Paris the Abbé François Geinoz, author of a three-part ‘Defence of Herodotus Against the Accusations of Plutarch’, announced that Herodotus’ theology (especially divine *phthonos*) was *indefensible*: incompatible with and inferior to the Christian God. By accepting Plutarch’s evaluation of Herodotean theology (‘blasphemous’ abuse, *Mor.* 857f-858a), Geinoz rejected a venerable tradition of reading Herodotus that had emerged in the Reformation, which viewed the Herodotean divinity as a *deus ultor*, righteous punisher of the arrogant and unjust, and saw Herodotus’ *Histories* as evidence for the actions of the Judeo-Christian God throughout history. Divine *phthonos* had little place in such readings.

In 1763 the Dutch scholar Lodweijk Valckenaer spearheaded a return to this Reformation view by linking divine *phthonos* with divine punishment (*vindictam divinam*). Valckenaer saw *phthonos* as equivalent to *nemesis*, and considered both to imply *retributive justice*. The following century abounds with attempts to harmonize Valckenaer’s claim with the text and to overcome unresolved difficulties: why the speeches on divine *phthonos* make no mention of crimes to which *phthonos* might ‘respond’, and why Herodotus chose the pejorative and amoral term *phthoneros*. I discuss three different solutions by scholars who view Herodotus as a proto-Platonic or proto-Christian thinker: Alfred de Jongh (1833), Andreas Schuler (1869), and Heinrich Meuss (1888), who outline interpretations of divine *phthonos* that endure to the present.

Heather Ellis (Liverpool Hope)

Panel: Persuading through the Classics

Gentlemanly science: classical language and the shaping of scientific discourse in early nineteenth-century Britain

This paper will focus on the strategic and reflexive use of classical language and metaphor by leading members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) in the period between its foundation in 1831 and mid-century. This was a crucial period in the establishment of science as a serious, respectable pursuit in Britain. ‘Cultivators of science’ were called upon to justify their aims and methods of inquiry before the conservative world of established university-based scholarship. As a new subject (or set of subjects), many critics condemned science as childish and upstart, while others complained of the passive and effeminate nature of scientific teaching and learning, based as it was on the continental forms of the demonstration and mass lecture.

In an attempt to counter these criticisms and win approval from the world of traditional scholarship and, even more crucially, from society at large, many scientists involved in the foundation and administration of the BAAS drew persistently and deliberately upon a common culture of classical learning. Citation from the Greek and Latin classics, particularly from the works of Aristotle, so central to the traditional curriculum at Oxford, were used to argue for, to defend, and ultimately to valorise the new science. Many historians have argued that science and classical studies found themselves increasingly opposed to one another in nineteenth-century Britain. By contrast, this paper will maintain that we should in no way seek to rigidly separate science and classics in this way. Many of the leading scientists in the BAAS were respected classicists and in its early years science clothed itself proudly and deliberately in classical dress. Indeed, it will be argued that it was largely through a successful harnessing of the respectability and influence commanded by gentlemanly scholarship that science and scientific discourse established themselves as a defining feature of early Victorian culture.

Barbara Fero (Bologna / Oxford)

Panel: Greek Linguistics

The Usual Suspects: the Ancient Greek Dual

The Dual number has long fascinated Greek scholars and philologists, often abashed by what seemed its inevitable loss. A biased assumption lies at the bottom of this interest — namely, that the Dual’s demeanour is allegedly inconsistent. Such inconsistency is often adduced as cause for its mysterious death. Yet the feature proves alive and well over a long period of time, quickly disappearing only after the Classical age.

This investigation proceeds from a behavioural analysis of the Greek Dual between Homer and the Attic Tragedy. Sure enough the indictee appears capricious as well as equivocal. When tracking its footprints through different stages and dialects, the Dual is found liable of bearing contrasting attitudes in both morphology — as different dialects adopt different endings in almost every category — and syntax (frequency, consistency, agreement, use of the quantifier). At a closer look, though, its demeanour reveals rather compliant and amenable to external constraints — such as metrical necessity and formulaicity in Homer, as well as register compulsion and contrasting strategies in Attic. Far from loitering with intent, the Dual’s behaviour appears hence transparent, although inhibited and hemmed in by external pressures.

Deeper into the background check, further hints and clues are offered by recent linguistic frameworks — typology, grammaticalization and internal reconstruction, in addition to the ‘evergreen’ comparative method: notions such as facultativity, inclusivity and the Animacy Hierarchy cast new light on customs and tantrums of the Dual. All the evidence concurs in showing that the category is animated by a solid yet surreptitious consistency; its concealed internal cohesion appears nevertheless glaring, when inspected through the magnifying glass of linguistic validation.

Christopher Forlini (FU Berlin)

Panel: New Theoretical Approaches

Text, βίος and Philosophical Practice. Diogenes Laertios' *Life of Pyrrho*

One of the basic self-understandings of philology - and hand-in-hand with it, the history of philosophy - is that it is a text-based discipline: the scholar works on and within the boundaries of the text. But what are these boundaries and which presuppositions about the text and genre(s) aid or hinder the scholar? For example, in Diogenes Laertios' *Life of Pyrrho*, how do we deal with contradictory testimony about the biography of the skeptical philosopher Pyrrho? Most scholars have either adopted a highly selective criterion of unity, often relying on their preconceptions of skepticism which vary widely,

or have claimed that the various testimony cannot be unified and are indicative of different assessments of and disparate sources for Pyrrhonian skepticism in antiquity.

In my paper I suggest a different criterion of unity: since ancient skepticism was an activity, practice or "way of life," we must seek the criterion of unity not in the textual testimony itself and modern evaluative categories like true or false, reliable or unreliable source but in a specific understanding of βίος or the philosophical life and a specific understanding of the role and limits of the text as a fragment of this life. With this reflection in hand, I show how we can solve the apparently contradictory testimony and gain a fuller and more authentic picture of Pyrrhonian skepticism in antiquity.

Andreas Fountoulakis (Crete)

Panel: (Im)morality

Acts that Dare not Speak Their Name: Morality & Subversion in Lucian, Dial. Meretr. 5

What kind of act would have been so shameful that even a *hetaira* would hesitate to talk about it to her fellow-*hetairai*? When in Lucian, *Dial. Meretr. 5* a *hetaira* called Leaina describes to her friend Clonarium her homosexual adventures with another woman, she avoids any explicit reference to the form of the sexual intercourse she had with that woman and only states that those acts are so shameful that she could not talk about them.

On the basis of evidence coming from Lucian's text as well as from sources such as the mimiambos of Herondas and the Greek magical papyri, this paper seeks to examine first the potential types of Leaina's sexual encounter as well as the reasons why she prefers to remain silent when her interlocutor asks for more details. Such an examination is inevitably linked with a further examination of moral codes pertinent to gender and sexuality, which are articulated through the words and actions of the dialogue's characters. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that these codes are socially and culturally determined, while Lucian's text is constructed so as to evoke attitudes, preconceptions and ideas which were prevalent in Greek society and culture from the fifth century onwards. At the same time, this paper poses questions relating to the aims of Lucian's dialogue with respect to its male addressees, the associations of that text with earlier philosophical discourse, and the nature of Lucian's satire. It is argued that Lucian's text possesses a subversive power that puts into question traditional Greek moral values in a way which reflects challenges and anxieties developed within the boundaries of Greek culture in the context of a diverse and rapidly changing world.

Maria-Zoi Fountopoulou (Athens)

Panel: Teaching Classics

Learning technique, skill, research tool: The threefold function of the project in teaching Ancient Greek. Applications from the Greek educational system

Since the academic year 2011-12, the "New School", as it is now called in Greece, is characterized by a noticeable effort to reorienting education towards contemporary principles and techniques. Against this drawback, the project is recommended and highlighted as an ideal means for the "qualitative upgrading of the proffered educational work", which is applicable to all subjects. What is of utmost importance, is that the project has a threefold utility in terms of the learning and teaching procedure. More specifically, it can function:

- a. As a learning technique that aids the student to "discover" knowledge that she/he already has at her/his disposition, but has no awareness of. In this case rather than being offered to her/him, the knowledge is constructed by the student herself/himself. Furthermore, the student undertakes this task not as an individual, but as part of a group, as recommended by the principles of social constructivism.
- b. As a skill, in the sense that the project is commonly organized in ways that promote the development of subskills such as exploring, classifying, ranking, comparing, selecting, cooperating and keeping up with time limits. What is of primary importance in this case, is the action involved in the project as practice of specific skills, rather than the outcome of this action. For instance, a project prompting the students to classify the adjectives of Homer's epics as descriptive, attributive or "typical" is aimed to develop specific and rather demanding skills, such as the selective reading of the text and its interpretation as a whole, as well as classifying, distinguishing and generalizing.
- c. As a research tool the project aims at the outcome in the sense of producing action and/or materials on the part of the students. Typical instances of such production are exhibitions of the students' work, pictures or historically-oriented presentations of topics such as hospitality customs, the woman's social place and Greek eating habits as they have unfolded in the passage of time.

Based on the above, the main objectives of the presentation are the following:

1. To present the project's threefold function in terms of teaching Ancient Greek in the Greek school.
2. To highlight the project's importance for the enrichment of the teaching methodology in an era that is characterized by the constant dispute of the significance of classical studies. It is mainly in this era that educators need to be convinced for the usefulness of teaching classical languages and their flexibility in employing modern teaching techniques. To combine theory and practice by presenting examples of exploiting the project in the teaching of classical texts.

Caterina Franchi (Oxford)

Panel: European Literary and Artistic Receptions

The sharp arrows of the Queen: the figure of Penthesilea in the Western literary tradition

The Amazons are a great group of character, friends or foes, that can be found all around the literature of all times and all places: the idea of a society made only of women, who have the strength to fight men, and even to win them is very well represented in all the Classical, Modern and even Contemporary world. In this big group, where individuality is often buried under the cover of society, sometimes big figures arise: it is the case of Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, and her relationship with Theseus; of Talestris, the queen of the Amazons who appeared to Alexander the Great and asked him to

conceive with him an heir to her or his kingdom. It is also the case of Penthesilea, the queen of the Amazons who, after having fought for the Trojans, is then killed by Achilles who falls in love with her. This paper will focus on the treatment of this figure and the development of the myth itself during the centuries: from Quintus Smyrnaeus and his *post-homeric* tale of unfortunate love to the interpretation of Eustatius of Thessalonica who points out the necrophiliac side of the episode; from the re-interpretation of the myth in the Italian poet Torquato Tasso who, in his *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1581), uses the couple Penthesilea-Achilles as model to a tragic love story between an Islamic woman warrior and a Christian soldier during the First Crusade, to the great work of Heinrich von Kleist (*Penthesilea*, 1808), where in a reversal of roles, Penthesilea devours Achilles and then dies from grief. Penthesilea is what can be called a B-series character, but in the Western literature she gradually acquired her strength becoming the paradigm of lost and unfortunate love.

Samuel Gartland (Leeds)

Panel: Greek History, Regionality and the Ancient Economy

Theban electrum coinage and the economics of Boiotian hegemony

Despite its long eastern seaboard and famous harbour at Aulis, the relationship between Boiotia and the Aegean has rarely been considered. The one exception to this has been the naval building scheme of the 360s BC, which is often condemned as either fictitious or at best exaggerated and short-lived. The Theban electrum issues depicting snake-strangling Herakles are the only electrum coins ever produced in Boiotia, and whilst their rarity and lack of provenances have inhibited attempts to place them in a historical context other than their traditional dating of 395 BC, improvements in our knowledge of Boiotian history and numismatics now suggest a date in the 360s. Through analysis of a combination of numismatics, literature and new epigraphic finds, I will construct a novel picture of Boiotia's relationship with the Aegean in the 360s. More specifically, I will argue that the electrum coins were minted with gold provided by Persia to successfully achieve the reduction of the scope for Spartan and Athenian activity in mainland Greece and the Aegean respectively, and were an integral part of the economy of Boiotian hegemony.

George Gazis (Durham)

Panel: Homeric Poetics

The Poetics of Hades: Achilles' Dream in Iliad 23

Recent work on epic has emphasised the centrality of vision in Homeric poetics (e.g. Strauss Clay 2011), a quality which was much admired in antiquity and found expression in biographical traditions about his blindness (Graziosi 2002: 138-50). My paper suggests that Homer not only exploited the special vision which the Muses bestowed on him but also explored alternative ways of looking at the past. I specifically reconsider the dream scene of *Iliad* 23 (ll. 65-107) in which Patroclus' shade visits Achilles. Whereas scholars have so far mined this scene for information about the soul in the afterlife (e.g. Sourvinou-Inwood 1996: 58-9, Clarke 1999: 74-5, 187-8), or focused on its relationship with other dreams in Homer (e.g. Kessels 1978: 37-9), I ask how it reflects on, and transcends, the limitations of the Muses' gaze. My argument is in two parts. First, I show that Hades as *A-ides*, 'the invisible realm', functions as an important counterpoint to Homer's emphasis on visual vividness throughout the *Iliad*: a 'dark' and 'murky' realm *par excellence*, it remains invisible even to the gods. In a second step, I offer a close reading of the dream scene of *Iliad* 23. Achilles' dream, I suggest, shares much in common with the *Nekyia* in *Odyssey* 11, in terms of structure and language as well as overall conception. Like the *Nekyia*, the dream of Achilles creates an environment where the absence of important markers of Muse narrative – life, light, stable identities clearly perceived – becomes emblematic of a self-consciously alternative approach to the epic past. This 'poetics of Hades', I argue, allows Homer to explore the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus in ways that would not otherwise be possible.

Camille Geisz (Oxford)

Panel: Nonnus of Panopolis

The narrator and the Muses in Nonnus of Panopolis' Dionysiaca: redefining the balance of voices.

Since the Homeric narrator invoked them as the source of his inspiration, the Muses have appeared in almost all of Greek epic poems, and the purpose of these invocations has been much discussed, in particular in Homer. Diachronic narratological studies such as the volume edited by I. de Jong, R. Nünlist and A. Bowie (Brill 2004) or A. Morrison's book (Cambridge University Press 2007) provide enlightening insights on the evolution of this device through time, without, however, reaching Late Antique epic.

Nonnus of Panopolis' *Dionysiaca*, considered as the last Greek epic, has much to tell us about this evolution: although the appropriation of the motif of the Muse-invocation is not an innovation of the Nonnian narrator, none of his predecessors went as far as he did in the renewal of its contents and function in the narrative: in the *Dionysiaca*, the invocations become not so much a request for information as a springboard for the narrator's voice to make itself heard within his poem. In this paper I shall show that the thirteen Nonnian invocations stand out both by the variety of their addresses – unusual Muses of Nonnian making and deities other than Muses – and by the unusual character of the requests made; I shall also demonstrate that these invocations, far from being mere embellishments or an epic requirement, play an important role in the construction of his narrative by the narrator, who uses them to emphasise his narratorial interventions and his own voice rather than the Muses', ultimately asserting the importance of his role as storyteller.

Roy Gibson (Manchester)

See the abstract of Christina S. Kraus, below.

Kate Gilhuly (Wellesley)*Spartan Sex in Athens*

K.J. Dover observed that one of the most persistent generalizations about homosexuality in Greece was that it was fostered by Spartan military institutions, and that in the classical period, Dorian regions were most tolerant of overt homosexuality. This notion is in large part derived from a couple of passages in Plato's *Laws*. That the general populace of Athens was aware of these associations is supported by comic usage: indeed Aristophanes (fr. 338) and Eupolis (351.1) use the verb *lakonizein*, which basically means to imitate Lakedaimonian manners, to signify the practice of pederasty. However Xenophon, a staunch supporter of Sparta, implies that the Spartan institution of pederasty was completely chaste (*Lac.* 2.13-14). Recently, James Davidson has tried to reconcile these conflicting sources by suggesting that Spartan pederasty was performed only with boys fully clothed. In my paper, I will move away from literal interpretation to suggest that, taken together, these reflections of Sparta do not necessarily speak to a grounded understanding of Spartan sexual practices, but rather to differing ways of associating Sparta with Athenian anxiety. I will argue that the sexualization of Sparta is shorthand for a matrix of political and ideological associations with Sparta: its hyper-masculine military ethos, its political constitution, and its cultural attitudes toward death. These conflicting sources encode a more direct reflection of Athenian attitudes than they do of Spartan sex.

Panel: Aristophanes**Barbara Goff (Reading)***Plato at the WEA*

The Workers' Educational Association, founded in 1903, was a historic collaboration between workers' organisations and the universities, to provide higher level education to working people where they lived, on their terms, and without the structures of examinations and degrees. If we ask what role classics played within the WEA, particularly in its early decades, we shall at first conclude that it was very small; where we can read the listings of classes in the archival material, hardly any of them explicitly address the ancient world. Further research, however, shows that ancient philosophy, particularly the political works of Plato, was in certain contexts quite prominent. Moreover, Plato and the classics generally wielded huge symbolic significance, as epitomising on the one hand, the workers' exclusion from formalised higher education, and on the other, the disinterested pursuit of understanding which the WEA promoted.

Panel: The Legacy of Greek Political Thought**Abigail Graham (Warwick)***Setting the stage: looking at the use of dramatic space/ architecture and its role in the arrangement of an inscription (a case study from Ephesos)*

This paper endeavours to define a set of monumental criteria for examining an inscription's monumental appearance, including the appearance of the text (e.g. arrangement on the monumental space, the use of decorations, variations in letter size, and in the case of bilingual inscriptions, the presentation of two different languages) and its relationship to the monumental context (in its architectural setting and the urban context). The criteria are applied in a case study at Ephesos that is divided into two parts, the first of which considers a series of three monuments at the Tetragonos agora from ca. 3 BC- AD 130). The second part applies the criteria to monumental inscriptions on a specific types of 'dramatic' space (namely arches and aediculated facades) at Ephesos. The methodology demonstrates how an assessment of epigraphic monumentality can provide complementary information to that which is provided by the standard format of published inscriptions, and how this information is applicable to a broader range of scholars.

Panel: Performance, Presence, and Memory**Alexander Graham (Durham)***Homeric Repetition*

Since Parry and Lord, Homeric repetition has been seen as driven by the demands of an oral performance genre. Foley 1999, for example, considers repeated phrases as *sēmata* contributing and referring to a wider tradition. Foley's argument, however, does not fully explain all types of repetition. Of particular interest are passages repeated rarely or only once (Csajkas 2002): to suppose that these function along the lines of Foley's 'traditional referentiality' is to suppose further lost instances in the wider epic tradition. This can be conjecture only. More generally, it is not clear that Homeric audiences – and indeed Homer himself – always and necessarily thought of repetition as a corollary of the epic style. Recent work by Latacz and Graziosi/Haubold (Latacz 2000 etc.; Graziosi/Haubold 2010), for example, shows that the Homeric narrator may 'revitalize' formulas, or gloss traditional expressions, in deliberate acts of reception.

This paper reconsiders the question of Homeric repetition from a comparative perspective. Looking at Gilgamesh's journey to the Cedar Forest in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (SB *Gilg.* Tablets II-IV), I suggest, first, that the issue of repetition must be distinguished from that of orality. Secondly, I show that a repetitive style which is traditional in principle (Cooper 1977) may yet leave room for deliberate acts of repetition. I then turn to Homer, arguing that he too uses traditional language to create specific echoing effects. Focusing on the horse simile in *Il.* 6 (of Paris) and 15 (of Hector), I consider how a traditional form may be manipulated so as to suggest a more specific relationship between two passages. I conclude by arguing that repetition in Homer should be seen as a poetic resource which may be exploited in a range of different ways, from traditional 'resonance' (Graziosi/Haubold 2005) to deliberate recapitulation (Macleod 1982).

Panel: Homeric Poetics**Gillian Granville Bentley (KCL)***The Ecphrasis of the Nightingale: The Influence of Pantomime in Achilles Tatius*

Vayos Liapis has argued that there is a possible Sophoclean intertext in Achilles Tatius' novel *Leucippe and Clitophon* (Liapis (2006) and (2008)). His argument is symptomatic of one of the great temptations of scholarship on the novel-- to

Panel: What the Heck-Phrasis?

find learned literary intertexts and allusions. Although close readings of ancient novelists like Achilles Tatius can reveal a remarkable level of education and breadth of literary knowledge, the ancient novelists were not only readers. As the novels' preoccupation with the visual world attests, they were also viewers. They were spectators in a vibrant period of popular entertainment. It stands to reason, then, that a writer like Achilles Tatius, well versed in contemporary literary culture, would also be familiar with contemporary performance culture.

In this paper I will examine the possibility that Achilles Tatius could draw his descriptions of the story of Philomela, Procne and Tereus not directly from a Sophoclean dramatic text but from a feature of contemporary popular performance culture-- the pantomime. The myth of Philomela was the paradigmatic story for pantomime, as Philomela's silent weaving the events of her assault recalls the similar 'silent eloquence' of the movements of the pantomime dancer.

Elisa Mignogna and Helen Morales have both suggested that 'subliterary' performance may have had an influence on other portions of Achilles Tatius' narrative; in this paper I suggest that the Philomela story provides another example of the influence of the subliterary on the novel. I will then argue that pantomime is just as valid a possible source of influence on the novel as a text of Sophocles, especially considering that the story of Philomela did not belong to Sophocles alone, and that by the time of the novel 'Sophoclean' influences could have been filtered through other performance or literary genres.

Brenda Griffith-Williams (UCL)

Panel: Performing Justice

Addressing the court in Athenian forensic oratory

When we read the speeches of the Attic orators, the interpolation of addresses to the court reminds us that they were intended for oral delivery, and that oratorical 'performance' is about the interaction between speaker and audience. An address can be more than merely a matter of convention or courtroom etiquette: when a speaker interrupts his argumentation or narrative to address the judges, he wants to arouse their emotions and engage their sympathy. The Athenian equivalent to 'Ladies and gentlemen of the jury' was *andres dikastai* (perhaps better translated as 'judges'), but speakers also commonly used *andres Athēnaioi* (as in political speeches), or simply *andres* (the most neutral mode of address, appropriate for any audience comprising exclusively adult males). There were no rules on the choice of address, but earlier research suggests it was sometimes influenced by context. In particular, the 'occupational' *dikastai* reminds the judges of their specifically judicial function, while the 'civic' *Athēnaioi* emphasizes the consequences of the case to the *polis*.

I argue further that one mode of address may define the relationship between speaker and audience differently from another. Since all Athenian litigants were men, and nearly all were Athenian citizens, both *andres* and *Athēnaioi* imply a relationship of equality with the judges, though *Athēnaioi* sometimes appeals more specifically to their shared Athenian values. For example, 'I was persuaded, gentlemen' (Isaios 8.22) invites the judges to accept the speaker's masculine susceptibility to feminine wiles; and 'When I, Athenians, decided to marry' (Lysias 1.6) invokes the ideal of marriage as a civic responsibility. *Dikastai*, by contrast, makes the relationship unequal, emphasizing the judges' power over the litigant. This is especially apparent when an address is incorporated into a supplication or plea, such as 'I beg you, judges, to hear me with goodwill' (Dem. 27.3).

Joshua Hall (Cardiff)

Panel: Changing Character of Ancient Warfare

Images of Warfare in Etruria: a step towards a Tyrrhenian way of war

While warfare has begun to occupy a prominent position in the study of ancient history, both in frequency of publication and number of scholars interested, the Etruscans have been relegated to a very ancillary position. When discussion of Etruscan warfare does occur, it is usually in the context of a larger, more general, work on the civilization. The most modern single purpose monographs have been eclipsed in their analyses by general theories on Hellenic warfare and made redundant in many ways. The present study aims to bridge modern scholarship on ancient warfare and the Etruscan evidence. In an effort to elucidate a more accurate picture of Etruscan warfare, I believe we must go back to the foundations. In this spirit, this paper will begin by reconstructing Etruscan warfare from the evidence in Etruria itself, and then reconciling, in some way, the brief mentions in the ancient literature. The aim is to create an Etrusco-centric model of warfare, relying on the archaeological evidence and supplemented, judiciously, by a critical reading of the literary sources.

Benjamin Harriman (Oxford)

Panel: Pre-Socratic Philosophy

The First Fragment of Melissus? The Evidence of Hippocrates, On the Art of Medicine

Simplicius tells us in his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* that Melissus' treatise, Περὶ φύσεως ἢ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος, began with the following hypothetical question (from here on called Q): "εἰ μὲν μηδὲν ἔστι, περὶ τούτου τί ἂν λέγοιτο ὡς ὄντος τινός?" Should we take Simplicius at his word? Two points of evidence cast significant doubt on the reliability of Simplicius' account. 1. Q does *not* appear in a generally helpful paraphrase of Melissus' treatise provided in the pseudo-Aristotelian *MXG*. 2. The hypothetical question figures within a distorted version of Melissus' work oddly given just a few pages before Simplicius reports verbatim quotations from the Eleatic. I propose to bolster the case for the inclusion of Q as a genuine fragment by looking at the second chapter or so-called 'ontological excursus' of the Hippocratic treatise *On the Art of Medicine*. Much has been written about the 'Eleatic' background to this section of the treatise; however, commentators have been curiously silent about the dialectical method that is being deployed. The author intends to prove the empirical point that what exists is always seen and known. This runs directly counter to Melissus' confutation of the senses at DK30B8. Yet what is relevant for our purposes is how the Hippocratic author begins his refutation of the Melissan position. I maintain that the hypothetical question raised, "ἐπεὶ τῶν γε μὴ ἔόντων τίνα ἂν τίς οὐσίην θεησάμενος ἀπαγγείλειεν ὡς ἔστιν?", is a suitably modified version of Q; Melissus' own method is being used against him. This is

perfectly in keeping with the sophistical nature of *On the Art of Medicine* and closely parallels Gorgias' parody of Melissus' title as Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἢ περὶ φύσεως.

Juliette Harrisson (Newman University College)

Panel: Classics and Children's Lit (1)

Dreams and Monsters: Fantasy in The Roman Mysteries

In children's literature, fantasy sells. Even before the phenomenal success of *Harry Potter*, fantasy has been at the core of children's literature for a long time. It is rarely separated into a separate 'genre' section of the bookshop and fantasy is at least as popular as non-fantasy, if not more so.

The Roman Mysteries and their spin-off for younger readers, *The Roman Mystery Scrolls*, are not fantasy books, but historical crime (a recognised genre in adult fiction). However, author Caroline Lawrence sometimes includes elements of 'fantasy' within the stories. In *The Roman Mysteries*, she uses prophetic dreams, of the sort often included in historical works by Roman authors but not usually seen outside fantasy in a modern context, to inject a bit of fantasy into the otherwise realistic story (Lawrence, pers. comm.). In *The Roman Mystery Scrolls*, monsters such as the 'sewer demon' of the first are used to create the sort of exciting adventure seen in fantasy, albeit with a *Scooby-Doo*-style rational explanation.

This paper is a study of prophetic dreams and monsters in *The Roman Mysteries* and *The Roman Mystery Scrolls*. It addresses two questions. What is gained by including fantastical elements in an otherwise realistic children's book? Is it just a matter of selling more copies, or does it enhance the book in more ways than that? And secondly, what is it about the ancient world that makes such genre-blurring possible in a way that it is not in more contemporary stories? On one level, the simple fact that dreams were thought to be potentially prophetic and primary level education about sea creatures was lacking in the Roman world makes these stories theoretically possible. But is there more to it than that? What makes the ancient world a more magical/fantastical place for young readers?

Thomas Harrison (Liverpool)

Panel: New Theoretical Approaches

Seven Types of Belief

Recent years have seen a shift in focus in approaches to Greek religion, with a number of challenges made to the dominant polis model, and new emphasis being given to the role of belief, faith, or theology in Greek culture. This paper seeks to distinguish between different models of belief and to test (the limits of) their applicability to Greek culture. It looks in particular at the way in which beliefs are represented and reflected through narrative, and challenges the common view that religion serves primarily as a means of explanation of events.

Myrto Hatzimichali (Cambridge)

Panel: The Ancient Bibliocosm

The Philosophical Metatext

Philosophical discourse and the written text have had a complicated relationship ever since Plato's *Phaedrus*. It has been observed, however, that from the first century BC onwards philosophical practice becomes increasingly 'bookish', with the detailed study of texts now turning into an autonomous and often central philosophical activity in its own right. Much of this reading activity resulted in a proliferation of meta-literature, which to a large extent replaced the oral debate that was taking place in the Hellenistic schools. This paper will examine select examples from such philosophical commentaries ('metatexts'), dated from the first century BC onwards and often surviving only in fragmentary form, that display a particular awareness of this textual turn in philosophy. Textuality is found to be both a help and a hindrance, as a text can both preserve and distort a philosopher's ideas. Readers may cite the materiality of the book as the source of such distortions (damage, gaps etc.), but not always legitimately. We shall see that alleged material faults with the text can also be used as stepping stones for substantial philosophical innovations and for the creation of new meaning. The textual focus eventually becomes so acute, that by Late Antiquity even oral instruction in philosophical schools takes the form of running commentary on a selected classical treatise.

Greta Hawes (Bristol)

Panel: Classical Baggage

Standing in the footsteps of giants: Pausanias among the relics of the storied past

In her article "The travel writer and the text", Heather Henderson identifies the "giant" which shadows travel writers as a set of inescapable preconceptions, born out of the literary imagination and consisting of the sum of all things read, which colour and condition how they see and describe their physical journeys. Travel thus takes place in landscapes created by existing written accounts in which "past sight dominates present site" (p. 231). Pausanias' *Periegesis* is as much a journey back into the past as it is a description of the physical topography of the Greek mainland. On almost every page, Pausanias details his own encounters with the relics of the past, and describes the contemporary landscape in terms of stories said to have once taken place in it. Pausanias' "giants" are, at least in part, the pre-eminent myths of the Greek past and the poets who made them famous.

This paper looks at the sense of antiquity which pervades Pausanias' descriptions and the value that he places on being able to connect the landscape of contemporary reality to the stories of the past. It examines in detail two rich examples: Thebes, a city connected inextricably to the tragedies of the Attic stage and whose landscapes still bore the marks of such connections; and the role of Homer's Catalogue of Ships in guiding the traveler's feet to tiny ruined villages distinguished only by their claimed Homeric connection from the numerous others which dotted the landscape of Imperial Greece.

Sarah Hitch (Oxford)**Panel: Greek Religion (1)***Food for the Gods? Perceptions of a Greek Cultural Paradox*

Why is animal sacrifice a desirable offering for gods? Greek gods are “ageless and immortal” while food, and the difficulties with procurement, production and storage, are often described as the defining condition of humanity. Ancient discussions of animal sacrifice are unanimous in their presentation of the ritual as requisite for divine favour, but the reasons for this are a source of puzzlement from the earliest and most canonical depictions of gods, as reflected in their inconsistent mythology as exclusive consumers of either special divine foods (ambrosia and nectar) or feasts of meat, which are sometimes even composed of human flesh. Since the late 19th century, a series of different methodological interpretations have been applied to myth and ritual in an attempt to understand the relationship between the two, usually in isolation from religious belief, nor has a consensus been reached. Despite the abundant attention animal sacrifice has received in recent years, the role of the gods as recipients of food offerings, and the tension this creates for Greek notions of divinity, has not been addressed since the structuralist analyses of ‘the Paris School’. The need to advance the scholarly dialogue beyond structuralism has been well noted (e.g. Henk Versnel, Jan Bremmer et al.).

As an example of the interplay between a kind of enforced divine distance from food offerings alongside a vivid portrayal of the centrality of animal sacrifice in mortal relations with gods, I will focus on Apollo’s role as a benefactor of sacrifice for mortals in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. In this poem, sacrifice is not only sharply separated from divine dining on ambrosia and nectar, but is also cast specifically as a source of food for men rather than a gift to gods. Both the mortal and immortal eating contexts are given ominous undertones, reflective of a deep tension in the mythic tradition over divine eating and the gift of sacrifice. This paper aims to open a new dialogue about the ways in which Greek myth is uncomfortable with the divine reception of food offerings and the ramifications of this for our understanding of Greek sacrifice.

Christina Hoenig (Cambridge)**Panel: Mind and World***Soul and Cosmos in Middle Platonism*

We encounter in the later Platonist tradition a heightened significance of the kinship between the human soul and the soul of the universe, familiar from cosmological texts like Plato’s *Timaeus*, the *Philebus* and the *Statesman* myth. The affinity between human and cosmic soul is established most clearly in the *Timaeus*, where they are explained to share a specific set of ‘ingredients’, albeit in varying degrees of purity. In some Middle Platonic writers, such as Alcinoüs, Apuleius and Calcidius, we find, alongside the tripartition of the human soul into rational, spirited and appetitive elements familiar from *Republic* 436-441, the increasingly dominant concept of the soul as a dual entity, divided into a rational and an irrational principle power. These opposing faculties of the human soul, to put it simply, are associated with the indivisible and divisible substances that are essential components of the ‘psychic mixture’ from which the cosmic soul is composed by the *Timaeus* demiurge. I argue that the varying constructs of the human soul, as a dual or a tripartite entity, are merged and appropriated by some writers of later Platonism according to the immediate exegetical context: in the example of Calcidius’ commentary on the *Timaeus*, the analogy between tripartite soul and a three-tiered society, which helps establish a concept of justice *in rebus humanis*, is extended to cover the entire physical cosmos. By illustrating the affinities between the hierarchical set-ups of human soul, human society as well as the cosmic soul that extends throughout the physical universe, a different, or perhaps more comprehensive, kind of justice, a *iustitia naturalis*, is found. Individual elements of Platonic material are thus combined and appropriated to form a harmonious strand of Platonic dogma

Brooke Holmes (Princeton)**Panel: CA–APA Joint Panel: Idea Networks***Horizontalities, Cross-Pollination, and the Formation of Scientific Objects: The Case of Sympathy*

The study of Greco-Roman science has been undergoing something of a renaissance. But for all the renewed interest for the enterprise, however defined, it remains one of the most foreign corners of antiquity. No concept captures the strangeness of ancient science more than that of sympathy — virtual shorthand for pseudoscience and magic, even when these terms (increasingly problematic) remain implicit. And yet, from the fourth century BCE on, sympathy seems to be everywhere: natural history, astrology, cosmology, learned magic, psychology, medicine. Greek and Roman writers see it all over the place. It is no longer fashionable to mock their credulity. So what should we do with sympathy?

In this paper, I use the problem of sympathy as a gateway onto two larger questions in the history of science. I am interested, first, in the relative unity of a concept that appears across a range of sources differentiated not just by doctrine but by method and epistemic orientation. The concept of sympathy has usually been approached from within specific contexts (e.g., Stoicism, natural history). What happens if we shift toward seeing sympathy as something that emerges not from a single context but from a larger network?

Second, I reflect on the status of sympathy by considering it in light of recent work in what is sometimes called “historical epistemology.” Can we apply the methods that have been used to understand the formation of modern “epistemic things,” to borrow the phrasing of Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, to antiquity? What role does a network of different inquiries into nature play in encouraging the emergence of such things? And does such a model matter more when what is at stake is more a force than a thing?

Gail Holst-Warhaft (Cornell)**Panel: Mikis Theodorakis***Modern Greek Tragedies*

The history of the reception of ancient drama in a Modern Greek setting is a fascinating subject. Productions of ancient drama, performed in Modern Greek, often in ancient theatres, and accompanied by music especially composed for each

production, have marked a high point in Modern Greece's relationship with its classical past. They have also drawn from playwrights, composers and directors, a series of brilliant productions. The combination of ancient and local setting, familiar language, and nationally-rooted music and dance, have made Modern Greek productions of ancient tragedy and comedy as accessible and appealing to Greek audiences as Broadway Musicals are to their American public. Given this tradition of contemporary revivals of ancient drama, Mikis Theodorakis' decision to write three operas modelled on ancient tragedies can be seen not as a radical shift toward the classical, but in terms of Greece's relationship to its ancient past, especially its literature. Theodorakis' cycle of 'Lyric Operas' is not only a summation of his musical work and thought; it is the culmination of many compositions for theatrical productions and cinematic versions of classical drama written during the twenty years that preceded them. Like Modern Greece's many outstanding artists for whom the prestige of the classical was both an inspiration and a burden, Theodorakis was very much aware of the reverence in which the ancient texts were held, but he felt free to reinterpret the dramas in terms of his own experience of Greece. So, for example, his *Antigone* evokes a fratricidal episode in Modern Greece's history in which he was an active participant. Musically, he drew not only on his knowledge of nineteenth and twentieth century classical opera, but on the liturgical, folk, and urban Greek music that had always inspired him, and on melodies from his own songs. For audiences raised on his music, these melodic songs act as familiar markers in the demanding, thickly-textured operas, reminding them that ancient tragedy is set in a Greece they inhabit.

Lloyd Hopkins (Oxford)

Panel: Roman Military History

The classes were what the classes did: understanding the Roman Imperial "Fleets"

Perhaps one of the greatest problems in past studies of the Roman Imperial *classes* ("fleets") has been the adoption by scholars of a comparative attitude towards them. The *classes* have been approached as being in essence much like the other fleets that sailed the Mediterranean before and after the Roman Empire controlled its shores. The absence of source material showing members of the fleets engaging in activities typical of Mediterranean fleets (fighting sea battles, controlling piracy etc.) has led scholars to view the Roman *classes* as relatively unimportant in the management of the Empire. However, the uniqueness of the Imperial Roman Mediterranean, where a single political power controlled the sea, required no typical Mediterranean fleet, but something quite different.

In this paper, I shall argue that we should approach the Roman *classes* of the first two centuries AD from the standpoint that the *classes* were what the *classes* did. With this in mind, I shall consider some of the links between the *classes* and terrestrial concerns of the Romans, with a particular focus on the relationship between the fleets and quarrying and mining. I shall then discuss the use of the *classes* as a manpower reserve in the Jewish uprising of AD 115-17 and in the Bar Kokhba revolt (AD 132-6), in which marines were drafted into the Roman army rather than serving alongside it in a maritime capacity. These topics will show that the Roman *classes* should more properly be seen as part of the logistical and communications apparatus employed by the Roman state for the control of certain major concerns, and as a highly mobile support force deployed at moments of crisis to supplement the army on land.

Luke Houghton (Glasgow)

Panel: Neo-Latin

The Neo-Latin encounter with Elegy: variations on an Ovidian theme

In the opening poem of his third book of *Amores*, Ovid famously presents an encounter between the narrator of his love poetry and the personifications of two competing literary genres, Elegy and Tragedy, who each assert their rival claims on the poet's allegiance. Ovid's use of this scenario for the purpose of literary self-definition was recognised and appropriated by Neo-Latin poets of the early modern period, who adapted it to reflect their own position in the tradition of Latin elegy to which Ovid had made so prolific and influential a contribution. In these later versions, the reader is expected to be familiar with the details of Ovid's vision, which are manipulated by the authors of Neo-Latin elegy to highlight the differences between their own brands of elegiac poetry and the ancient archetype, even – and perhaps especially – when the erotic poetry of Ovid had become a byword for dissolute and debauched libertinism. The use of this technique of implicit self-fashioning through the features assigned to the allegorical embodiment of their chosen genre represents an important source of evidence for the Neo-Latin elegists' conception of their place in literary history, their attitudes towards the Ovidian model, and their negotiation of the relationship between their own work and that of their predecessors in both classical and later Latin poetry. This paper will consider the theme of the encounter with the symbolic figure of Elegy in the elegiac collection *De amore coniugali* of Giovanni Giovinio Pontano (1426–1503), in the love poetry of Johannes Secundus (1511–1536), and in the elegies of the Jesuit Latin poet Sidron De Hossche (1596–1653).

Steven Hunt (Cambridge)

Panel: CUCD-JACT Joint Panel

PGCE and other routes into teaching Classics

Postgraduate teacher trainees in Higher Education Institutions ("PGCE trainees") will now pay fees equivalent to those charged for Undergraduates, but with a range of financial incentives to attract the best graduates into the profession. At the same time, however, new routes into teaching are being developed and being heavily promoted by the Government, including Teach First, Troops to Teachers, School-Direct and, most recently, no training at all..... I will explore the potential impact of higher fees on entrants to training courses for Classics teachers, in the PGCE, the Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP) and its replacement, and these new training courses. How much will trainees and schools be influenced by the different costs of these training routes?

Ersin Hussein (Warwick) and Massimo Raffa (Calabria)**Panel: Performance, Presence, and Memory***Honorific Self Display: A Musical Note from Roman Cyprus*

Ever since antiquity, the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos has been Cyprus' most celebrated religious space. The high number of Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions - mostly statue bases and plaques - discovered at the sanctuary reveals that it was an important context for the celebration of the island's rulers, high profile visitors, and its local elite. While the inscriptions of these honorific monuments survive without their accompanying statues or the structures that they may have been fixed to, their texts point to the visually impressive character of the sanctuary. This paper will address the relationship between the visual, artistic, and literary aspects of a particular monument by presenting an inscription discovered at this sanctuary, in which the poet Nestor of Laranda is honoured by his patroness Sergia Aurelia Rhegina.

The relationship between poet and patroness, as it appears from two inscriptions in the sanctuary (IGR III 958 and 959), is to be placed beyond doubt in the framework of female euergetism in the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, II-III cent. AD. Re-analysis of the musical pun occurring in IGR III 958 sheds some new light on the nature of this relationship and may account for some puzzling features of the inscription, such as the self-celebrating tone in which Sergia speaks of herself and the title of *hypatē* (hardly a substitute for the expected *hypatikē*) with which she credits herself. This paper will consider what the relationship could have been between the text of the monument and its accompanying statue. Did it really matter if the viewer could read the text of this inscription? What impact did the accompanying statue or structure have on the environment in which the monument was set up?

Ann Inscker (Nottingham Museums)**Panel: Classics in Museums (1)***Revisiting Collections: Treasures of the Sacred Grove of Diana at Nemi*

Excavated in 1885 by the British Ambassador Lord Savile, the site of the temple of Diana at Nemi was one of the first archaeological archives to be accepted by the Castle Museum. While its status within the museum service has been undulating, it is now once again on the ascendency. Recent academic research, continuing on site excavation and an interest which goes beyond the traditional classics and archaeology subject areas, have united to make this the most enquired after material at Nottingham City Museums. Now at last the objects will be given their opportunity to step out into the spotlight once again, in an exciting major exhibition at Nottingham Castle Museum & Art Gallery in Summer 2013.

'*The Treasures of Nemi*' exhibition will harness the critical thinking and multi-disciplinary approach of recent researchers, to bring art, poetry, writing and, hopefully, drama, to this previously stored collection. For the first time in its history, the material will be displayed in not one but three galleries, so that more of the collection than ever before can be on public view, as Lord Savile originally intended. Visitors will make a spatial and sensory journey, following the torch-bearing worshippers up the stairs to the first floor, where they will traverse the Via Virbia, admire the beautiful Lake Nemi, enter the temple and finally meet the *patrona* Fundilia Rufa in the niche rooms beyond. Public engagement programmes will bring modern and contemporary meanings to the material, while recent scientific research will potentially spur further opportunities to scrutinize the collections in the future. An accompanying conference and event programme will help to redress the current lack of public classical archaeology at Nottingham and bring the collections back into the public consciousness. This presentation will discuss the issues of making an exhibition plan into a reality.

Naoya Iwata (Cambridge)**Panel: Plato***Plato's Analogy between the Form of the Good and the Sun*

In the simile of the Sun in the *Republic*, Plato declares that the Form of the Good gives intelligible objects intelligibility and being (οὐσία) and is superior to being in rank and power (509b5-9). Since ancient times, this striking passage has urged commentators towards the idea that the Form of the Good is located beyond the intelligible world of transcendent Forms. And such a twofold transcendence is, although not so extreme as the Neo-Platonic doctrine, still influential in various forms among many contemporary Anglo-American interpreters. Their basic opinion is, in a word, that the Form of the Good is a very abstract and formal entity, so does not possess any conceptually or ontologically independent character. In this presentation, against the strong current tendency, I would like to draw attention to Plato's sun analogy, which I suppose conversely suggests the belonging of the Form of the Good to the intelligible world as one independent Form. The relationship between the Form of the Good and other Forms is compared in the Cave to that between the sun and other stars or planets. Although the *Republic* does not give us further information about the latter, one passage of the *Timaeus* (39b2-c2) clarifies the guiding power of the sun over other stars or planets. This fact, which has not been adequately appreciated by commentators, suggests that Plato views the sun as the principle of the regulation of the other celestial bodies. In conclusion, on the basis of such an analogy with celestial bodies, I hope to show that the Form of the Good is the independent paradigm of goodness, just like the Form of the Beautiful is that of beauty, and plays a regulatory role in other Forms' essential nature.

Anna Judson (Cambridge)**Panel: Containers and their Contexts***The Linear B Inscribed Stirrup Jars*

The Linear B tablets are an invaluable source of information about the economic administration of the Mycenaean palaces. As well as being incised on tablets, however, Linear B inscriptions are also found painted on oil transport jars – known as 'stirrup jars' due to their handles' distinctive shape. Although these inscribed stirrup jars (ISJs) were made, and their inscriptions painted, on Crete, they have also been found at sites across the Greek mainland, demonstrating the existence of a thriving oil trade between Mycenaean sites.

The ISJs are extremely important for Mycenaean studies, having been used as evidence for issues ranging from the spread of Mycenaean literacy to the political situation of Crete in the late Mycenaean period. However, many features of the jars themselves are in fact still subject to debate – in particular, the precise function of the inscriptions. Comparisons with the Linear B tablets suggest that these may have been administrative documents, monitoring production of the jars and/or their contents; however, in view of the shipment of many of these jars from Crete to the mainland, it has recently been suggested that the inscriptions are markers of prestigious gifts exchanged between the Cretan and mainland Mycenaean elites. In this paper, I shall argue for a more nuanced view of the function of the ISJs through an examination of the most important features of the jars, including the archaeological contexts of their findspots and the possibility of identifying inscriptions painted by illiterates, or even pseudo-inscriptions, through palaeographic analysis. Primarily administrative in function, these jars and their inscriptions can nonetheless be seen as having quite different secondary functions within the spheres of trade between, and power relations within, Mycenaean kingdoms, giving an insight into the ways in which writing may have been viewed at different levels of Mycenaean society.

Niki Karapanagioti (Reading)

Panel: Herodotus

Dressed to Get Even? Women and Their Use of Clothing and Adornment in Herodotus' Histories

Herodotus' *Histories* contain various narrative representations of defiant acts of feminine vengeance. Far from treating the theme of female revenge as a barbarian inversion of the hellenocentric model for women (e.g. Hall 1989, Gray 1995), this paper argues that there are also subtle portraits of Greek female revengers in the *Histories*, whose effectiveness often rests on their use of dress and adornments. In 4.145-146, for example, it is the decision of the Spartan women to cross-dress that endows them the strength to physically participate to a humorous vengeance. In 5.87-88 the women demonstrate their ability to become active avengers and voice their rage against the destructive effects of the war by first removing their dress-pins, thus exposing their bodies provocatively in public, and then by using them as penetration and death tools to kill the sole Athenian survivor that announced them the deaths of their husbands. In 5.92, the ghost of Melissa, the wife of the tyrant of Corinth, explains her need to seek revenge for her husband's desecration of her dead body because she feels naked and exposed. The only compensation she acknowledges for the harm done to her is to be redressed. By examining the above and other select stories of female revenge in the *Histories*, this paper explores the potential value of dress and adornment for clarifying the women's hardiness at the men's expense. As it is, dress may be seen as a symbolic device that helps women fight against injustice and seek revenge.

Grammatiki Karla (Athens)

Panel: Ancient Biography

Life of Aesop: Fictional Biography and Popular Literature

The *Life of Aesop*, also known as the *Aesop Romance*, is an anonymous text of the 1st or 2nd cent. CE, which narrates the adventurous life of the legendary storyteller up to his violent death at Delphi. The *Life* was widely circulated, as is evidenced by the papyrological fragments, the Byzantine manuscripts, and the variety of adaptations in and translations into Latin and other languages, both before, during and after the Renaissance period.

In this presentation, the *Life of Aesop* will be read not from a quantitative or a sociological perspective, but within the framework of popular aesthetics, which, according to Bourdieu, is an inherent value in popular literature. Popular aesthetics are based on the unconscious assumption of continuity between life and literature, and seem to characterise several works and genres, such as the *Life of Alexander the Great* and the *Life of Secundus*, but also fables, *gnomae* and accounts of miracles.

My aim is to locate and analyse the elements of popular aesthetics in the *Life of Aesop*, namely the formal elements which facilitate the audience's immersion in the story, and its identification with the hero and his adventures. These include linguistic features, concentration on a single plot strand, fluidity of narrative structure, various manifestations of opposition and parallelism, jokes, exaggeration, parody and the use of oral tales.

Matthew Kears (Birmingham)

Panel: Performing Justice

Performing the Athenian Individual in Demosthenes' Against Eubulides

In *Against Eubulides* the speaker, Euxitheus, is appealing before an Athenian jury against the decision of his deme to strip him of his citizenship. To persuade the jurors of his case, he presents himself as the lowly and innocent victim of powerful and corrupt enemies. As this paper shall demonstrate, he also acts the part of an individual who is atypical, in that he does not live up to the archetypal image of the male Athenian citizen – he and his family have had to take on servile occupations, and his father, who had been captured and sold into slavery, spent years abroad and spoke with a foreign accent. But in falling short of the ideal, he is able to appeal to the ordinary Athenians on the jury as individuals, who also, in various ways, will not have entirely matched up to the usually professed standards of Athenian behaviour. The group ethos of the jury is undercut, and they are invited to consider their own positions as Euxitheus goes on to question the validity of the common proofs of Athenian identity, arguing that they amount to no more than trust in the words of others. He brings the jurors face-to-face with the uncomfortable reality that their claims to citizenship are no more secure than his own – a risky strategy, but one made possible by the performance he gives as an ordinary, individual Athenian.

Antony Keen (Open University)

Panel: Classics and Children's Literature (1)

Kipling's centurion and Nesbit's Caesar: Rome in Edwardian children's fantasy

This paper takes us to the very beginnings of children's literature as a genre, and a comparison of two books published in 1906. Rudyard Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* is a fantasy in which various people are brought through history to tell their

stories to to the children Dan and Una. These include the centurion Parnesius, who relates three tales of Roman Britain in the fourth century CE. *The Story of the Amulet* is the third of her 'Five Children' series, and features the children travelling through time, in search of the second half of the eponymous amulet. In these adventures, they travel to Britain just before the expedition of Julius Caesar in 55 BCE, and also to Gaul of the same period, where they inadvertently persuade the Roman general that Britain is worth invading after all.

The paper will look at the two different approaches to the Roman past, one recounting events through a narrator, the other plunging the child protagonists directly into history. It will also examine briefly the influence these two approaches might have had on later children's literature dealing with the Roman period.

Urban Kirchler (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute)

Panel: Neo-Latin

Establishing Glaciology: Johann Heinrich Hottinger's Montium Glacialium Helveticorum Descriptio (1703)

The *Montium Glacialium Helveticorum Descriptio* ('Description of the Swiss Ice Mountains'), written in 1703 and published in 1706 by the Swiss physician and scientist Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1680–1756), is the first monograph to devote itself exclusively to the phenomenon of glaciers. It thus constitutes the foundation charter of modern glaciology as a scientific discipline in its own right. On the one hand, Hottinger bases himself firmly on the tradition, collecting and discussing the whole range of stereotyped opinions on glaciers that have been established by ancient writers as well as by Swiss humanists. On the other hand, he notably progresses beyond received wisdom, as he refutes many false opinions and expresses a number of new and correct ones, which were to be further developed by his successors in the later 18th and 19th centuries. Despite its importance, hardly any scholarly work has been done on this text so far. Although it is generally accessible in a translation by Gavin de Beer published in 1950, this has not prompted any further research. My paper, based on work done for my dissertation on Hottinger, will present the text, sketch its early 18th century environment, and draw attention to both its traditional features and its innovations.

Dániel Kiss (Munich)

Panel: Digital Classics

Publishing a critical edition on the Internet: the case of Catullus Online

No critical edition of a major Classical text appears to have been published online yet. The website *Catullus Online*, which is set to open in December 2012, will provide a new critical edition of the poems of Catullus, including a repertory of the conjectures that have been made on the text since the Renaissance. This paper will use this website to illustrate the possibilities offered by online critical editions, as well as their limitations.

A critical edition is easier to consult online than in print. Online it can be updated and expanded, although revisions have to be registered, if it is to serve as a work of reference. A website can also take in much more material than a printed volume; for example, *Catullus Online* will contain photographs of several important manuscripts of Catullus. Websites have the obvious drawback of being sensitive to technological change: for their existence they depend on the Internet, which may become obsolete in the not too distant future.

Most interestingly perhaps, the technology behind the website places significant limitations on the form of a critical edition. There is an inherent conflict between the task of the editor, who has to document empirically all the idiosyncrasies of the transmission of the text in question, and the computer programme that underlies the website, which operates according to rules that allow for no exceptions. The best critical editions that appear in print today use a rich typographical apparatus to document the history and the reconstruction of the text. Whoever prepares a critical edition online faces the challenge of reproducing, or finding an equivalent for, the full richness of this apparatus, while taking into account the particular sensibilities of information technology.

Ana Kotarcic (St Andrews)

Panel: Greek Oratory

Aristotle's Concept of Lexis as Sociolinguistic Phenomenon

Aristotle's notion of *lexis*, primarily discussed in the third book of his *Rhetoric* but also figuring in other works such as the *Poetics* and *Sophistici Elenchi*, has so far not received much attention from modern scholars. Apart from Halliwell (1993) and Ax (2000), who have made slight attempts at characterising this concept, observations in commentaries and translations are merely interspersed in discussions of other issues and do not allow for a detailed examination of the nature of the concept. A close look at *lexis* demonstrates that this concept is as complex as the term 'style' which is often used to translate it. If the translation 'style' were justifiable, one might expect Aristotle to discuss sociolinguistic issues of the kind which are very much in the centre of debates in modern stylistic theory. In this paper, therefore, I will examine how far Aristotle's *lexis* can be regarded as a sociolinguistic phenomenon by concentrating on three key issues. First, a close analysis of the components of *lexis* will demonstrate how far Aristotle is aware of sociolinguistic factors such as gender, status, education, age, class or background. Second, attention will be paid to Aristotle's thoughts on the effects of society as a shaper of *lexis*. Finally, I shall ask whether Aristotle's ideas on *lexis* can be applied diachronically and inter-culturally, or whether their validity is anchored in 5th/4th century Athens. These considerations will not only allow for a better understanding of Aristotle's concept of *lexis*, but will also clarify some prominent issues with which modern sociolinguists and stylisticians are concerned.

Vasiliki Kousoulini (Athens)

Panel: Greek Lyric

Alcman's partheneia and Athenian Cross-Singers: the Reception of Alcman's Poetry in Attic Symposia

During the classical period Attic *symposia* played a crucial role in the reception and transmission of lyric poetry. According to ancient *testimonia* they were an occasion for the reperformance of Alcman's poems too. Modern scholars believe that the

poems of Alcman that were reperformed in attic *symposia* originally belonged to a *symptotic* context and that this is the reason they had a different reception and transmission compared to his poems that belonged to a cultic context. This paper will try to challenge this view. Alcman's cultic songs (mostly *partheneia*) were known in Athens during the 5th and 4th century, as we can tell from the allusions of this kind of poems in attic drama. It is very likely that Alcman's *partheneia* were well-known in classical Athens because they were being reperformed. Attic *symposia* were a great occasion for the reperformance of these songs. Excerpts of Alcman's *partheneia* were desacralized and were imported in a new *symptotic* context. Moreover, Alcman's *partheneia* in Attic *symposia* would have been reperformed not by a maiden chorus but by men.

The singing of Spartan *partheneia* by Attic *symposiasts* could have consequences over them too. *Partheneia* originally belonged to an initiative context and were sang by Spartan maidens that belonged to the Spartan elite. Participation in attic *symposia* helped the young *symposiasts* to pass through a kind of initiation into the adult, elite society of Athens. Blending of sexes was an imminent feature of both *symposia* and of rites of passage. The singing of Alcman's *partheneia* in attic *symposia*, thus in a completely different context, could have helped Athenian adolescents to complete their initiation into a completely different society.

Lynn Kozak (McGill)

Panel: Embedded in the Root

*"I need a slow-motion video right now—I'm the illest motherf*cker alive": Perception and Iliadic Violence*

Much has been written about the violence that permeates the narrative of the *Iliad*, at least since 1940, when Simone Weil first declared it to be "a poem of force". Weil herself said of the epic: "Whatever is not war, whatever war destroys or threatens, the *Iliad* wraps in poetry; the realities of war, never...the cold brutality of the deeds of war is left undisguised." James Campbell, more recently discussing both Weil and Christopher Logue, describes the *Iliad's* violence as "often deemphasized". But Jonathan Gotschall's evolutionary biology approach to the text, which focuses on the human animal, says this about the *Iliad's* violence: "The deranged, almost comic-book-like violence and gore of the poem confront us with human animality...the poem is a catalog of indignities of the body." K.B. Saunders focuses on the realism of wounds that the poem depicts, but concludes with this postscript: "Homer, by the way...is cinematic, I suggest." Paul Fleischman writes about the *Iliad*: "(it) is an ancestor of those Hollywood movies that switch to slow motion to show shells exploding and bodies flying through the air." There is truth in all these perceptions of the *Iliad's* narrative violence, which, while seemingly objective, is actually variable in terms of pacing, perception, and consideration of consequence. In that, the poem becomes for us both cinematic and realistic. The *Iliad* 'shows' us details of violence that we couldn't possibly see, and this ironically mirrors both the slow-motion and multiple-angle camera techniques of the cinema as well as the tachypsychia, tunnel vision, and cognitive dissonance that can occur in real violent encounters. This paper will re-examine several examples of Iliadic violence with careful consideration of these different contemporary lenses.

Christina S. Kraus (Yale), organizer

Panel: Intertextual Relationships

Title of Panel: Intertextual Relationships Between Poetry, Prose and Historiography

Ellen O'Gorman (Bristol)

Jackie Elliott (Colorado)

Will Batstone (Ohio State)

Roy Gibson (Manchester), respondent

This panel explores in tandem the question of the intertextual relationships between poetry and prose, and those between prose and historiography. Do different assumptions, problems, and methodologies still operate in the two fields of prose and poetry? Is historiography, which claims to represent lived experience, really a special case?

After a brief introduction by the organizer setting out the focus and theme of the seminar, three papers (and a respondent) will explore related aspects of the problems. The papers represent different positions vis-à-vis the question of whether historical narrative is, in fact, such a special case that it is not susceptible of analysis informed by intertextuality. Panelist #1 examines the ways in which the Kristevan idea of intertextuality offers resistance to ideology's 'containment of meaning'. Tacitus' critique of ideology in his historical writing could be seen as a methodology which is constituted by and through intertextuality, which sets up further tensions between resistance and critique, singularity of event and multiplicity of meaning. Panelist #2 introduces the question of historiographical narrative in poetry, arguing that the Roman reality Ennius purports to represent derives conviction and persuasive power from the Greek epic and historiographical accounts it extends and re-enacts; this conviction, in turn, is loaned to later texts (the primary example is Troglus). Finally, Panelist #3 advances the discussion of literary history and the real by returning to Sallust and arguing that the lens of Kristevan intertextuality, which "disrupts the project of clear communication," opens up new understandings of historiography's engagement with and resistance to the figure of the real world, which the historical text, carefully read, offers up both as something stable and as wholly a matter of perception.

We intend there to be not only ample time for discussion, but we also plan for the organizer and respondent to map out in advance some questions for the audience participants.

Cezary Kucwicz (UCL)

Panel: Changing Character of Ancient Warfare

Heroic hoplites? The Changing patterns of war practices in archaic/classical Greek mythology

The recent study of early Greek warfare has traditionally relied on poetic depictions of war in archaic mythology. The main focus of scholars has always centred on the *Iliad*, which (together with the poetry of Tyrtaeus) has often been treated as the only valuable literary source for the study of early Greek warfare. In this paper I will try to challenge that belief and

suggest that the vast body of archaic mythology can be just as helpful in our understanding of the practices of early Greek warfare. I am going to focus particularly on the reception of Archaic Greek myths in the Classical period, trying to highlight the changing patterns of specific war practices (the so-called *agonal* conventions of war), including the treatment and the maltreatment of the war dead in archaic and classical Greece.

Adam Lecznar (UCL)

Panel: Rejecting the Classics

Wild Greeks: The Cambridge Ritualists' Version of Antiquity and its Scholarly Reception

At the turn of the twentieth century two prominent classicists in Britain and Germany became exercised at what they saw as the misrepresentation of the culture and significance of ancient Greece in the modern world. One of these was Paul Shorey, the renowned Platonist, who complained that “[Matthew] Arnold’s conception of the serene rationality of the classics” had been irrecoverably supplanted in the minds of an “entire generation” by, amongst manifold evils, “the corybantic Hellenism of Miss [Jane] Harrison and Isadora Duncan”, “the anthropological Hellenism of Sir James Frazer” and “the irrational, semi-sentimental Polynesian.” The other was the German scholar Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf who included a thinly veiled attack on ritual readings of antiquity in a letter to Gilbert Murray during 1912, affirming that the products of fifth century Athens “are classic and will remain so until the end of days.” In this paper I want to explore what lay behind these two comments, and how they represent disciplinary modes of response to the challenge that Frazer, Harrison and Murray (often associated with the rubric of the ‘Cambridge Ritualists’) posed to the definition of ancient Greece as a ‘classical’ age. The first half of the paper will examine the dynamics of scholarship through which Frazer, Harrison and Murray divorced Greece from its ‘classical’ status. The second will consider what the responses to this movement tell us about the investments of scholarship in the idea of a ‘classical’ Greece.

Anna Lefteratou (Göttingen)

Panel: Plutarch 2

Talking ‘myth’?: Female myth-tellers in Plutarch and the Greek novels

Plutarch’s *Consolation to his wife* and his *Isis and Osiris* are among the best testimonies to story/myth-telling, and erudite female audiences. Nevertheless, besides old nurses, there are few, if any, female myth-tellers in Plutarch, as observed by Hardie (1992) and Minchin (2007):245ff. Women know myths but do not ‘talk myth’: e.g. Porcia upon her husband’s ultimate farewell, bursts into tears after staring at a painting depicting the farewell of Hector and Andromache; yet the comparison is not made explicit by Porcia but by Acilius, (*Brutus* 23.2.3-7). On the other hand, women of dubious morals, like Cleopatra, do not hesitate to stage a mythological scene in ‘real life’, e.g. the encounter of Aphrodite and Dionysus (*Antony* 26.1-5).

The Greek novels offer a comparable situation: virgins and chaste wives do not ‘talk myth’, although they appear as avid listeners, cf. Ach. Tatius 5.5.1 and West (2005). Only adulteresses and widows, such as Lycaenion in Longus 3.16.2 and Melite in Ach. Tatius 6.1.3, bring mythological analogues into their speeches. Myths are not on the agenda of novelistic female speech, even though old women are often portrayed as exquisite storytellers, as in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 4.27. This paper examines the scant passages in Plutarch in which women evoke myths. These examples are further contrasted with the comparable evidence in the Greek and the Latin novels. The aim is to investigate the connection between myth-telling and its relationship with feminine moral characterisation and to compare Plutarch’s version of female speech with that of the Greek novels.

Miriam Leonard (UCL)

Panel: CA–APA Joint Panel: Idea Networks

Response: Classics in a Network of Ideas

This paper will respond to the previous three speakers by opening up the discussion to broader questions about the relationship between Classics and the history of ideas. Although many different articulations of intellectual history have emerged in other fields, the papers in their different ways argue that the dominant models are not sufficiently attuned to the particularities of ancient ideas and practices. Focusing on the theological, the legal and the medical spheres, the papers isolate concepts which are seemingly resistant to imported categories and call into question the very nature of the historical research which has characterized our field. In my response I hope to demonstrate how Classics has continually both shaped and been shaped by evolving conceptions of history. In particular, I hope to argue that new developments in Classics can and should lead to a more constructive debate with the theoretical explorations of history which have preoccupied thinkers across the humanities for many years.

Tzu-I Liao (UCL)

Panel: Greek Oratory

Characterisation of the Speaker in Demosthenes’ Deliberative Speeches

A scholion to Demosthenes’ First Philippic writes that the proem of the speech is taken οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου (Dilts 2008:1c). Like most of the scholarship that subscribes to Aristotle’s opinions about proems of deliberative speeches, this note exemplifies a common view that the interpersonal facility is the major goal in proems: to present. Modern scholars also understand this proem as dedicated to staging himself as a good/ well-disposed speaker in opposition to the bad/ ill-disposed speakers (e.g. Yunis 1996:248-80) and further argues that the prominence of the art and the persona of the speaker deflects the attention from the issue at stake (e.g. Blass 1893:213; Wooten 2008:38).

This paper intends to address the issue of how Demosthenes stages the speaker’s persona in the proem of First Philippic, how the proem is taken ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου. It also intends to show that the informational facility in the proem is entangled with the interpersonal facility and to demonstrate how the prominence of Demosthenes’ art does not impede but in fact facilitates the handling of the subject-matter. Although the proem does not participate directly in the development of the

main arguments of the speech, it initiates the main participants in the major arguments and prepares the audience for a positive reception of the arguments through eliminating his own presence and staging the speaker's persona as the opposite of bad speakers. The paper concludes by showing how Demosthenes does not "puts himself prominently onstage at the outset of the speech" (Wooten 2008:38) but retrieves the presence of his own figure from the text and presents an almost invisible but powerful persona on stage, generating gradually an atmosphere that is friendly to his following proposals.

Vayos Liapis (Open University of Cyprus)
Receptions

Panel: European Literary and Artistic

Greek Tragedy and the Greek Civil War in George Seferis

This paper will deal with some of the poems by George Seferis (1900 – 1971) that deploy the ethos and/or language of Greek (especially Aeschylean) tragedy to mythologize the events of the Greek Civil War (1944-1949). This mythologizing process both triggers and conditions the reader's reaction: s/he is invited to interpret contemporary history through patterns of meaning that derive from the most monumental classical myths and tragic texts. At the same time, by invoking Greek antiquity, the poem zooms out to provide a wide view, thereby detaching current events from their immediate context and re-inscribing them in the much larger framework of human history, thought, and culture, especially in their manifestations in the classical era. The poems examined will include 'Last Stop' (5 October 1944) and 'Blind' (December 1945). It will be shown how contemporary history is renegotiated in these poems by being invested with the archetypal, timeless qualities of tragic myth. As a universally accessible medium, myth can relatively easily be utilised as a tool for the interpretation of history and of individual or collective reactions to it; it can impose shape on the chaos of developing events and it can offer the comfort of an underlying structure behind what appears as disorder and unpredictability. At an era of fragmentation and incommunicability, myth provides a common denominator, a commonly appreciable paradigm that can help create and convey meaning. By the paradigmatic use of Greek (esp. Aeschylean) tragedy Seferis helps define the interpretive framework of his poetry by providing insights into the worldview informing his stance towards the Greek Civil War. This war is visualized as a widespread disease, a monster feeding on its own polluted blood, and an evil that has the potential of endless self-perpetuation.

Christopher Lillington-Martin (Taunton School)

Panel: Homeric poetry and the Divine

Athena: symbolism and metamorphosis in Homer's Odyssey.

Athena is present in many scenes of the *Odyssey* and Homer often portrayed her as having metamorphosed herself, or others, to move the narrative forward. We will consider some of her presences, and her (psychological or physical) metamorphoses of certain characters, but we will argue particularly for Homer signaling her symbolic presence, on certain occasions, by introducing the olive tree in several forms. The importance of the olive is confirmed by Pease who connected it with Athena and applied religious significance to it, whilst Wilamowitz had previously considered it to be "einen heiligen Ölbaum". The forms of olive mentioned by Homer include the tree itself as well as olive-wood objects and olive-related products. These forms of presence are different from Athena's other metamorphosed, and very occasional non-metamorphosed, presences. Her presence is normally unknown to characters but we will see that such characters tend to act decisively when an olive-related item appears in the poem. We will consider cases of the olive symbolising Athena involving Odysseus, Polyphemus, Calypso, Telemachus, Nausicaa, Eumaeus and Penelope, by contextualising and citing metamorphoses and the presence of both Athena and the olive within the *Odyssey*.

Helen Lovatt (Nottingham)

Panel: Classics and Children's Lit. (2)

East, west and finding yourself in Caroline Lawrence's 'Roman Mysteries'

This paper examines Caroline Lawrence's Roman mysteries as an exploration of identity, one of the most important functions of children's literature. It asks why Rome is particularly useful for thinking about who we are? Various exotic and Eastern locations function in the Roman mysteries as centres of identity, alternative to Ostia and Rome: Lupus searches for his mother in Greece; Nubia finds her family in Egypt; the whole group finally settle in Asia minor. Rome as centre is set against various locations of 'otherness': the homeliness of Ostia, the sophistication of Magna Graecia, the learning of Alexandria. What is the effect of bringing the narrative to a close in a non-Roman environment? How important is Christianity in offering a different mode of forming an identity, separate from family, ethnicity, cultural homogeneity and education? How does this version of Roman history draw on traditions of writing Rome for children (and adults)? Comparison with Lindsey Davis reveals the different dynamics at work in children's literature: while Falco often ventures around the empire in search of local colour and new adventures, Lawrence's young detectives are always looking for more than the solution to their mysteries: they are also hoping to find themselves. Frequently they find that their identity does not lie straightforwardly with Rome, and negotiations with imperialism and the political power of the emperor are equally important. I will range widely across the seventeen Roman Mysteries, with a particular focus on Judaism (Jonathan in *The Assassins of Rome*, *The Enemies of Jupiter*, *The Gladiators from Capua*), Africa (*The Beggar of Volubilis*, *The Scribes from Alexandria*) and Christianity/Asia Minor (*The Prophet from Ephesus*, *The Man from Pomegranate Street*).

Dunstan Lowe (Kent)

Panel: Latin Literature 1

Praeconia Formae: Slick Salesmanship and the Roman Love-Elegist

Our record of Roman love-poetry, from Catullus on into Propertius and Tibullus and finally Ovid, shows a preference for 'countercultural' idioms. These authors switch between voices and vocabularies, as does Horace, the other great first-person poet of the Augustan period. But the love-poet persona builds heavily on subverting those idioms which are

becoming to a freeborn elite Roman male (military language, triumphal imagery, prayer formulas, legalese), and embracing those which are not (emotional outbursts, passive or submissive behaviour, metaphors of slavery and torture). The techniques of Roman rhetorical training might seem to belong in the first category. However, I propose that we include a different, more scurrilous brand of ‘rhetoric’ in the second category: that of the *praeco*.

The Roman term *praeco* encompassed various kinds of informal public speaker, from hucksters to heralds, but usually the ‘vigorous and none-too-scrupulous salesman’ (Damon 1997: 197). Its practitioners had a significant role in Augustan Rome, and some became very rich and influential. I suggest that Ovid’s expression *praeconia formae*, ‘touting beauty’ (*Ars Amatoria* 1.623, 3.535), reveals a neglected ingredient of the elegist persona: the stereotype of a cunning yet charismatic persuader adding charm to his wares—the embarrassing cousin, as it were, of the forensic orator. Although the style and tropes of the historical *praecones* are lost to posterity, a brief survey of certain tropes and traits in Roman love elegy yields evidence of a ‘poeticised’ *praeconia*, which reaches its zenith in Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria*.

Francesco Lubian (Macerata)

Panel: Reading, Writing, and Rhetorical Communication

Tituli for the Illiterates? On the Textual Strategies of Exegetic Captions and the Reading Process in Late Antiquity

When we reflect on the role of pictorial narrative cycles in Post-Constantinian church decorative systems, we should not undermine the fact that their primarily didactic aim was not entirely fulfilled by images themselves: they were often accompanied by captions, or *tituli*, whose function was to integrate the message of the pictures.

In my paper I would like to offer some examples of the intermedial (*breuitas*, spatial deictics and demonstratives, etc.) and intramedial (intertextuality) strategies employed by four series of poetical *tituli historiarum*, namely Ambrose’s *Disticha, Miracula Christi* by Ps. Claudian, Prudentius’ *Dittochaeon* and Elpidius Rusticus’ *Tristicha*, all dated between the IVth and the early VIth century. I would like to show how these epigrams, good examples of what J. Hollander called “notional *ékphrasis*”, realized the inter-semiotic translation of the images (already existing or just projected) they referred to, and were able to vehicle simple, though precise, exegetical messages.

It is also fundamental to briefly reflect on the kind of “reading process” these captions implied for the majority of people without literary and rhetorical learning. To do this I will make use of the testimony of Paulinus Nolanus’ *Carmen* 27, where he explains why he decided to represent, on the walls of the Nolan basilica, a pictorial narrative cycle with Old Testament scenes surmounted by *tituli* (v. 511 ff.). For Paulinus, the best way to restrain the pilgrims (sincerely faithful, though illiterate) from falling into dangerous forms of pagan-like devotion was to focus their attention to episodes of the Holy History, using the seductive means of colorful paintings (vv. 580-3). His vivid description of what we could call a sort of “communitarian reading” is important to better understand the role of both image and text as part of a whole multi-semiotic medium with catechetical purposes.

Michele Lucchesi (Oxford)

Panel: Ancient Biography

Plutarch and the cross-complementarity of the Lives: Agesilaus, Alcibiades, and Lysander

In the past decades, some seminal articles have focused on Plutarch’s method of composition of the *Parallel Lives*. It has been convincingly proved that Plutarch used to collect and organize his source-material for the simultaneous preparation of the *Lives* of characters who lived in the same historical period. The most important example is represented by *Antony, Brutus, Cato Minor, Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey* (cf. Pelling 1979, 1980, 1985). Such studies help us to explain why the main episodes are narrated almost (but not quite) identically in different *Lives*, assuming each time a specific meaning that is appropriate to the context in which they are inserted.

This paper will adopt a different perspective discussing the hypothesis that in several cases key episodes and themes, repeated in different *Lives*, reveal a strong interconnection between their biographies. Such an interconnection suggests that the biographies are intentionally shaped as complementary to one another. Particular test-cases will be drawn from *Agesilaus, Alcibiades, and Lysander*, especially the love relationship between Socrates and Alcibiades and that between Lysander and Agesilaus; Alcibiades’ stay at Sparta; Agesilaus’ controversial accession to the throne; the quarrel between Lysander and Agesilaus in Asia Minor; Lysander’s plan to change the Spartan constitution. Here the various versions of famous events appear to echo one another through more or less explicit intertextual (or intratextual, if one understands the whole body of *Lives* as a ‘macrotext’) references. Some aspects can be fully understood only when one ‘combines’ the parallel accounts of all the *Lives*. The facts can be summarized in one *Life*, while being explored to a greater extent in another; conversely, each account can present its own expansions or details. In each *Life*, nevertheless, Plutarch tends to examine the protagonist’s motivation of actions, and each version assumes a fuller meaning when it is read in the light of the others.

Shushma Malik (Bristol)

Panel: Christianity and the Roman Emperors

Nero impurissimus Caesarum: a Reception of Nero in Late-Antique Christianity

When Algasia, a noble-woman from Gaul, asked Jerome whom St Paul meant by the ‘man of lawlessness’ in 2 Thessalonians, the priest replied with confidence, ‘Nero, the impurest of the Caesars’. Writing this letter in the early-fifth century AD, Jerome did not have to explain his link any further, but could rely upon an established precedent for connecting Nero with biblical Antichrists to make sense of his answer. The association had been prevalent in literature since Commodian’s *Carmen de Duobus Populis* in the third century and, by the fifth century, had been cited by numerous writers including Lactantius, John Chrysostom and Sulpicius Severus. This paper will examine the tenacity of the Nero-Antichrist paradigm in late antiquity by asking why early-Christian writers and preachers found Nero to be such a useful tool for exploring the nature of the Antichrist with their audiences.

I will argue that, in late antiquity, Christian writers combined biblical accounts of the Antichrist with the historiographical tradition's portrayal of Nero to create a representation of the Antichrist that could easily be communicated to lay audiences throughout the empire. Their ideas were founded in Nero's role as the first persecutor of the Christians following the AD 64 fire of Rome. Then, the paradigm was given life by selecting choice anecdotes from biblical scripture and classical historiography to 'prove' that Nero's actions were analogous to those of the Antichrist. By citing motifs from both traditions, writers and preachers could exploit both the authority of the bible and the familiarity of stories about the infamous Nero, thus creating a humanising model which ensured that as wide an audience as possible could grasp the nature, and dangers of the apocalyptic Antichrist.

Fabienne Marchand (Warwick)

Panel: Performance, Presence, and Memory

Reshaping public and sacred space: reinscribing monuments in Hellenistic Boiotia.

This paper explores aspects of the re-use of monuments in Hellenistic Boiotia to inscribe public documents such as decrees. Two case-studies in particular will be discussed, Tanagra and the Amphiarraion at Oropos, where series of documents such as proxy decrees were routinely engraved on statue bases from the third century BC onwards.

Several questions will be examined, such as: how soon after its setting up was the monument re-used? To what extent was the original inscription preserved? To what extent did the original monument keep its original function and meaning? Is it possible to establish patterns for the re-use of monuments for the whole of Boiotia? Are the motivations solely financial?

John Marincola (Florida State University)

Panel: Reading Herodotus' Gods

Defending the Divine: Plutarch on the Religion of Herodotus

Platonist and priest at Delphi, Plutarch was much interested in the workings of the divine, as both the *Moralia* and the *Lives* attest (see F. E. Brenk, *In Mist Apparelled: Religious Themes in Plutarch's Moralia and Lives* (1977)). The work of Herodotus, as might be expected, does not loom large in Plutarch's many musings on the divine but this paper examines two places where Plutarch 'rewrites' Herodotus and in doing so reveals much about his sense of the gods.

In the *de Herodoti Malignitate* (857F–858A) Plutarch explicitly criticises Herodotus for attributing to Solon in his meeting with Croesus a sentiment about the divine – τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν τε καὶ παραχῶδες (1.32.1) – that was clearly Herodotus' own. When Plutarch treats this incident in his own *Solon*, Solon says instead that human life is subject to shifts of fortune (τύχαις ... παντοδαπαῖς), while the divinity (ὁ δαίμων) assigns the (rare) good fortune enjoyed by some. Such seemingly minor changes mirror Plutarch's own beliefs that the gods are mankind's benefactors, while 'chance' is responsible for the evil that befalls them.

In the *Aristides* Plutarch rewrites Herodotus' account of the battle of Plataea. Even though Herodotus' narrative is much concerned with the divine (see M. A. Flower and J. Marincola, *Herodotus: Histories IX* (2002) 39–44, 164–78)), Plutarch adds an entirely new layer, giving Delphi a prominent role in the victory and the memorials that the Greeks established in the aftermath. Local patriotism perhaps, but, more importantly, Plutarch suggests that such a victory could not have occurred unless the great god of the Greeks had supported them.

In both places, then, Herodotus' vision of the divine is recast to bring it into line with Plutarch's own deeply held beliefs.

Ann Martin (The Marist Senior School)

Panel: New Approaches to E-Learning

'Some IT Strategies for Active Latin Learning'

I have been trialling an on-line Latin learning community as the introduction to Latin for my Year 7's and 8's. This course, which is being developed by another Latinist, Justin Schwamm, with my assistance, is entirely on line. Every reading is accompanied by a full recording and an illustration. The underlying idea is to make learning a co-operative activity in which all learners and teachers can contribute and feel that what they contribute is valued. They can suggest changes to the storyline, add their own stories, provide illustrations and videos, and join in discussions about cultural and historical issues. On-line exercises can check understanding.

In conjunction with this, I have established Wikispaces for all my Yr 7 and Yr 8 pupils. These are free for secondary education and can be set up so that no one can get access to them except those approved by the moderator (me). All homework and links can be posted there and I can see and comment on all pupil pages. They can respond to me or send me email through the Wiki which I check regularly. This means that I can work with students one-on-one outside the very limited time allotted in class and they can ask questions without fear of being thought "stupid".

As something to link both to their home Wikispace and to *Tres Columnae*, I have helped the girls to create Latin stories with illustrations on Tarheel Readers (tarheelreader.net). I am the account holder, so I can make sure that they don't actually publish something until it is in acceptable form. When I do, people all over the world can read them, and they can see where our books are being read.

Lisa Maurice (Bar Ilan University)

Panel: Classics and Children's Literature (1)

The Roman Mysteries in Context: Writing Ancient Rome for Children Before and After Caroline Lawrence

Rosemary Sutcliff's 1954 novel, *The Eagle of the Ninth*, set a new standard for children's historical fiction and exposed large numbers of children to the world of ancient Rome. In the aftermath of Sutcliff's Roman novels, other children's fiction appeared throughout the 1950's and 60's, as authors such as Henry Treece, Elizabeth Speare and Geoffrey Trease among others wrote their own Roman historical fiction for young people. The next three decades saw a drop in popularity of such novels; with the exception of Mary Ray's *Roman Empire* books (1971–1980), only books with Christian themes appeared in any real numbers.

Then, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, Caroline Lawrence's *Roman Mysteries* series (2001-2009) proved a spectacular success, introducing a generation of children to the world of ancient Rome through its popular books and television series. In the wake of this success, an explosion of children's books set in Rome have appeared over the last ten years. Some involve crime and mystery, such as Kate Thompson's *Wanted!* (2010), Barry Denenberg's *Atticus of Rome, 30 B.C.* (2004) and Ann I. Goldfarb's *The Last Tag* (2012), and clearly demonstrate the influence of the *Roman Mysteries*. Similarly, the interest in Lawrence's fiction has also led to the republication of two of Henry Winterfeld's earlier Roman mystery books originally published in 1953 and 1968 respectively. Others, such as Lynne Reid Banks' *Tiger, Tiger* (2004), Tom Stevens' *The Centurion* (2008), Tony Bradman's *Spartacus: The Story of the Rebellious Thracian Gladiator* (2010), are from different genres. Yet all have benefitted from the popularity of Lawrence's books. This paper contrasts the reception of ancient Rome in earlier children's fiction with that seen in the wake of Caroline Lawrence's work, to consider how the perception of Rome has changed as a result of the *Roman Mystery* series.

Alexander McAuley (McGill)

Panel: Digital Classics

The Values and Limitations of Digital Scholarship: The Case of www.seleucid-genealogy.com

Over the past two years much of my research has been dedicated to unravelling the tangled threads of descent and interrelation that compose the Seleucid Dynasty. In embarking on the task of forming and presenting as near-complete a *stemma* of the dynasty as possible, I opted to use my past professional experience with web design and discarded more traditional or 'conventional' methods of presenting Classical scholarship in favour of taking the digital route. The result has been the website <<http://www.seleucid-genealogy.com>>, which represents an ongoing, continually-evolving research project. In this paper I aim both to introduce the philosophy and method that guided my approach to Seleucid genealogy, and use the experience of the site's creation and reception as an illustrative case study for delving into the advantages and drawbacks of the digitisation of Classics, and exploring the emergent online community of classical scholars and enthusiasts. Why I opted to take a digital approach to the topic was as much guided by methodology as it was by convenience, and I hope to discuss such underlying concerns as well as how digital projects such as my own intersect and interact with more traditional forms of scholarship. Particularly given my experience with such a project as a graduate student, I also will discuss how to negotiate issues of authority, authenticity, and revision that are unique to the realm of digital scholarship.

Justine McConnell (Oxford)

Panel: Rejecting the Classics

Patrick Chamoiseau's Battleground: Creolity and Orality versus Classicism and Literature

The Martiniquan writer and politician Aimé Césaire was the first to rewrite the Homeric *Odyssey* from a specifically anti-colonial perspective in his *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (1939). Inspired by him, and declaring themselves to be 'forever Césaire's sons', the next generation of Martiniquan *litterati* nevertheless criticized much of Césaire's approach and moved away from the unity based on African origins that *négritude* had advocated, towards a unity based on the use of Creole. Roots of this can be seen in Patrick Chamoiseau's early play, *Manman Dlo contre la fée Carabosse (Water Mother Versus the Carabossa Fairy)* (1982) which followed his adaptation of Sophocles' *Antigone* a few years earlier. *Manman Dlo* does not respond to a classical myth, but rather engages with and reflects one of the most radical developments within classical studies during the twentieth century: that of the oral composition of the Homeric epics. Chamoiseau does so not only through a Caribbean prism, but also by firmly identifying the colonial impulse to destroy indigenous traditions with the imposition of Graeco-Roman languages and literature. This paper will examine how the play rejects and condemns such use of classics while simultaneously highlighting the important commonalities between creole myth and classical myth, and the complexities that each have faced in the transition from an oral tradition into a literary one – a struggle which takes centre-stage in Chamoiseau's play and which casts Classics and the written record as the Carabossa Fairy, while creole folklore and orality stand as the more fertile Manman Dlo.

Sean McConnell (UEA)

Panel: Mind and World

Cicero on Magnitudo Animi and the Contemplation of the Universe

In his philosophical writings Cicero routinely presents the virtue of *magnitudo animi* ('loftiness of spirit' or 'greatness of soul') as involving a state of mind in which one is impervious to the vicissitudes of fortune and considers human affairs as being of little concern and no worth. However, he also associates *magnitudo animi* closely with active public service and a concern for the greater good of the *res publica*. An interesting tension arises here—what does Cicero have to say about how one with *magnitudo animi* can be inclined to serve the Roman state while being so detached from human affairs? How does the man with *magnitudo animi* understand his civic actions? In this paper I explore some passages—in particular the sequence in the Dream of Scipio where the majesty and significance of Rome and her achievements are belittled (*Rep.* 6.20-6)—in which 'contemplation of the universe' appears to be the crucial element: the man with *magnitudo animi* grasps that he is really a citizen of the cosmos and he understands his public service as being of truly cosmic significance.

Alexander Meeus (Leuven)

Panel: Plutarch (1)

Greeks and Non-Greeks in Plutarch's Early Hellenistic Lives

The early Hellenistic period is marked by several drastic changes in the relationship between Greeks and others. Greeks on the mainland, in the Aegean and in Asia Minor came under Macedonian domination. A new Graeco-Macedonian ruling class emerged in the east, governing the Persian empire that was once their greatest enemy. At the same time the Persians were replaced as the main barbarian threat by the Celts invading from the north.

Building on the work of Schmidt (1999) on barbarians in Plutarch, this paper will explore whether and how such changes are reflected in the early Hellenistic *Lives*. It will compare their treatment of the relationship between Greeks and non-Greeks with the respective parallel *Lives*, with other Plutarchan pairs, and with other literary and documentary sources for the Early Hellenistic world. Particularly the *Eumenes* offers much potential as its protagonist was a Greek who regularly had problems with the obedience of the Macedonian soldiers he commanded, and at times even used Asian troops to bypass the Macedonians. The other *Lives* too, however, have much to offer in terms of relationships between Greeks and Macedonians on the one hand, and Asians on the other as their subjects, mercenaries, or enemies.

Katerina Mikellidou (UCL)

Panel: Greek Religion 2

Aristophanes' Heroes: reading the fragments through the lens of hero-cult

The socio-political background of Aristophanes and his rivals has long monopolized the study of Old Comedy, distracting attention from an equally inspirational component of the comic repertoire – Greek religion. The void created by such a serious omission has a distorting effect on the interpretation of the comic plays, since it is very often the case that jocular comments, plot-material, and dramatic characters derive their essence from religious beliefs and cultic practices. This paper attempts to decipher multiple elements related to the plot and characters of an understudied fragmentary play, the *Heroes* of Aristophanes (frs. 310-330 K-A), with the help of an innovative approach, which is premised upon the nexus between religion and comic art. More precisely, I shall examine the play in relation to so-called hero-cult with a view to showing how Aristophanes subjects this widespread religious phenomenon to dramatic elaboration and comic distortion. The discussion follows a tripartite structure. The first section is concerned with the comic persona of the chorus of heroes, who register features and tendencies pertaining to cultic heroic individuals, such as ambivalent power, capacity to intervene in earthly affairs, and the need to receive honours from the living. The second section demonstrates that, in constructing the profile of his heroes, Aristophanes is also inspired by other popular beliefs related to malicious demons, the Aeschylean Erinyes, and the Hesiodic Golden Race, exemplifying the flexibility with which religious phenomena are treated in comic plays. The final part speculates on potential plot-patterns through which the communication between the living characters and the chorus of the dead heroes may have been established. The aim of our inquiry is to illustrate the interpretative power of an approach that contextualises Old Comedy within its religious milieu; even – or perhaps particularly – when one engages with the tantalising field of fragmentary plays.

Peter Miller (Western Ontario)

Panel: Pindar

From Polis to Oikos: Explaining the Absence of Family in Olympian 9

“... ‘The only facts of identity’ in the ode [O. 9] are those pertaining to *ethnos* and *polis*: Epharmostos is a Lokrian, and a citizen of Opous” (Miller, 113). Miller concisely summarizes *Olympian 9*’s unusual focus on the political and ethnic identity of its victor. Indeed, O. 9 is uncharacteristically vague about the victor’s genealogy; in particular, the lack of a father’s name is a relative oddity in epinician (Miller, 113 n110; only O. 1, O. 4, O. 9, P. 3, P. 12 and I. 3 omit family altogether). In these other odes, the omission can be explained either through the victor’s political ascendancy (O. 1, P. 3) or the appearance of family in a second ode for the same victor (O. 4, I. 3). O. 9 is conspicuous as the only athletic epinician (P. 12 is for the musical victor Midas of Akragas) that excludes the victor’s family without apparent explanation. In this paper, I argue that a replacement of *oikos* by *polis* and *ethnos*, individual biography by civic and ethnic history, explains this absence of family in O. 9. The paradigmatic characters of the ode’s ‘mythic’ section, Deukalion and Opous, are analogues for the victor, but also, through this replacement, his ancestors. By recognizing a substitution, I stress the “continuity... between the remote past and the political foundations in the nearer... history of Opous” (Segal, 78), but I also identify the integration of athletic success and the performance of the ode into civic history (cf. D’Alessio, 226): Epharmostos’ victory figures into a pattern of city foundation and civic renewal (the ‘megaloprepeia’ of epinician victors: Kurke, 187), but it is predicated on only putative descent – thus, individual victory becomes communal success, and a single performance another iteration of the excellence that characterizes the *polis* of Opous and the *ethnos* of Lokris.

Jason Morris (Leicester)

Panel: Changing Character of Ancient Warfare

Storming the World: Surveyors, measurement and Technology in the Roman art of War

The Roman surveyor Balbus, writing to his friend Celsus shortly after the end of the Second Dacian War, boldly stated that surveying and the development of new surveying methods were decisive in the Roman victory. Preserved in the text of the *Corpus Agrimensorum*, the remarks of Balbus represent one of the few instances in the corpus of Latin literature where an author attributes victory to technology rather than human courage. Using the remarks of Balbus as a starting point this paper will first explore the principle ways in which the Romans deployed surveying to achieve victories in war. Attention will be given to circumstances, tools, and methodology. The paper will then consider the psychological impact of this use of surveying on both the Romans and their enemies. Finally the paper will consider how surveying in war, and people’s perception of it, helped the Roman military surveyors shape their place within society in order to show how a closer engagement with the role of science and technology in Roman warfare can help scholars understand broader issues.

Angeliqe Mouyis (composer)

Panel: Mikis Theodorakis

Mikis Theodorakis: Re-rooting the Modern Greek through Ancient Tragedy

Mikis Theodorakis consciously identifies himself as a Modern Greek with roots in ancient Greece. In fact, his Modern Greek identification as man and musician relies on his connection to his strong classical roots, which is expressed through

his personal philosophies as well as his compositions. This paper interrogates how ancient tropes— such as the role of the chorus, and ancient tragedy— are infused in key works of the composer’s oeuvre, primarily through vocal expression. Drawing on the contemporary identity theories of Simon Frith and Martin Stokes, I briefly outline Theodorakis’ establishment of the *Entechno Laiko Tragoudi* (Popular Art Song) as a powerful agent of modern Greek identity, and then examine how Theodorakis subsequently renegotiates and mythologizes contemporary ‘Greekness’ through more complex forms such as his ‘metasymponic’ and symphonic works by referencing ancient drama. Using choral writing and text, tragic heroes and heroines, the *tragoudi* (song)—which Theodorakis constantly reminds us is derived from the Greek word for tragedy (*tragodia*)—the composer threads the ancient into the quilt of Greek contemporary musical language and consciousness.

Shaun Mudd (Exeter)

Panel: (Im)morality

Drinking for Health and Wellbeing in the Roman Empire

In *Constructive Drinking*, Mary Douglas states that anthropologists notice a bias in modern Western scholarship, particularly among medics and sociologists, towards focusing upon and emphasising the role of alcohol as a problem. In contrast, anthropologists themselves often challenge the extent of such problems, finding that in almost all societies, problem drinking only affects a small minority, and alcohol consumption is largely a constructive act. This misleading bias also seems to have affected classical scholarship; of the small quantity of works which focus upon Roman alcohol consumption, a large number focus explicitly upon heavy, excessive, and problem drinking.

Douglas implies that many of the main hurdles to arguing that alcohol is/was a positive force within a society will be medical in nature. Indeed, ancient Greco-Roman medical literature addresses the destructive side of drinking, as alcoholic drinks were believed to be harmful in excess and for certain people in certain conditions. Yet a deeper reading of ancient literature, including medical literature, presents the view that wine was considered an extremely ambivalent substance; its consumption had the potential to be both highly constructive and highly destructive. Galen, for example, believed that the moderate daily consumption of wine was near-essential for psychological wellbeing.

Focusing upon the Roman Empire between the first to third centuries AD, this paper will investigate the ways in which alcohol consumption was, and the ways in which the Greco-Romans considered drinking to be, constructive for physiological and psychological health and wellbeing. Led primarily by an analysis of the medical literature of Celsus and Galen, it will investigate issues including the healthy practice of mixing wine with drinking water, the belief that wine had nutritional or ‘strength-giving’ properties, alcohol’s believed importance for aiding happiness and relaxation, and the use of wine as a common ingredient in curative medicines.

William Murray (South Florida)

Panel: Inscribed Rostra

Observations on the Ship Class of the Egadi 1-7 Rams

In his account of the First Punic War, Polybius describes the Roman and Carthaginian fleets as largely comprised of *pentēreis* or “fives” (cf. Polyb. 1.63.4-9). We should expect, therefore, that a sample of 10 similar sized rams originating from the naval battle concluding this war (i.e., the Battle of the Aegates Islands in 241 BCE) would likely come from “fives.” This seems not to be the case, however. Comparative evidence from other known rams suggests that the Egadi weapons located thus far come from ship classes smaller than “fours.” Can Polybius be wrong? If we may judge from the evidence of the Egadi rams, his description of a Roman navy comprised largely of “fives” during the First Punic War certainly seems oversimplified and misleading. We should consider the possibility that both Roman and Carthaginian fleets of the mid-3rd century BCE contained a mix of classes more in line with what we observe in Roman fleets toward the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 2nd. Such a conclusion accords with Christa Steinby’s assessment (*The Roman Republican Navy from the sixth century to 167 B.C.* [Helsinki, 2007], 75-77) that Polybius presents a flawed picture of the Roman Navy during the First Punic War. Time will tell, but the Egadi rams may well call for a careful reassessment of Polybius’s entire first book, his purpose for writing it, and the use he makes of his sources.

Bartolo Natoli (Austin)

Panel: Teaching Classics

Experiential Learning and Latin Instruction

Over the past few decades, pedagogical theory and practice have seen a shift away from a traditional, teacher-centered model of instruction to a more experiential, learner-focused model. One of the major fields that led this methodological shift was that of language instruction, particularly second language acquisition (SLA), as learners were encouraged to engage with their previous language acquisition experience and to reflect on how it could be useful to them in the future; yet, often the instruction of Latin has lagged behind such shifting methodology due, in part, to the fundamental difference in instructional objectives between ancient and modern language instruction: whereas modern language instruction focuses on day-to-day communication, Latin instruction aims at competency in reading and writing. Therefore, this paper addresses the potential use of experiential learning in Latin instruction on all levels, suggesting methods of implementation and outlining possible obstacles. First, a brief overview of current methods of experiential learning in SLA instruction is given, the chief value of which will be as a comparison with the situation of Latin instruction. Then, a detailed discussion of the place of experiential learning in Latin instruction is taken up, outlining its potential uses and pitfalls.

Tamer Nawar (Cambridge)**Panel: Mind and World**

An Ancient Dream Argument: Academica II

Perceptual knowledge constitutes a principal link between mind and world; dream arguments threaten such knowledge. This paper examines the sceptical dream argument that we find in Cicero's *Academica* and provides an analysis of the argument and how it differs from contemporary dream arguments while examining the notions of perspicuity and lack of attention it invokes.

Contemporary dream arguments directed against perceptual knowledge typically assume: (1) for *S* to know that *p*, *S* must be able to rule out the possibility that not-*p*; and (2) instances of veridical perception (where *S* sees *x* as *F*, believes that *x* is *F*, and *x* is indeed *F*) are *not* intrinsically different from instances of nonveridical dreaming (where *S*, while dreaming, sees *x* as *F*, believes that *x* is *F*, but it is not the case that *x* is *F*). Since instances of perception and dreaming are intrinsically the same, *S* cannot distinguish between them. As a result, when *S* has an experience as of seeing *x* as *F*, *S* cannot rule out that the experience is produced not by veridical perception, but by dreaming. Thus, *S* cannot, on the basis of seeing *x* as *F*, know that *x* is *F*. The dream argument we find discussed by Lucullus in Cicero's *Academica* (2.46ff) also targets perceptual knowledge but is interestingly different. While it assumes (1), it does not assume (2). Instead, it assumes that appearances produced in dreams lack a certain perspicuity characteristic of appearances produced by perception (thus, instances of veridical perception *are* intrinsically different from instances of nonveridical dreaming) BUT that while dreaming, *S* is cognitively impaired and cannot tell them apart. I analyse this difference and examine the nature of both perspicuity, and the cognitive impairment invoked: lack of attention.

Sonya Nevin (Roehampton)**Panel: Classics in Museums (1)**

Ure View. Animating Ancient Vases at the Ure Museum

Ure View: Animating Ancient Vases represents an innovative and dynamic way to involve teenagers in ancient pottery. In this Cultural Olympiad project, based at the University of Reading's Ure Museum, local teenagers had the chance to reinterpret scenes from ancient vases. Working with students and a specialist animator, the teenagers created characters, stories, and storyboards from the vases, imagining what the figures would do if they could move. Their ideas were developed into high-quality animations that bring the vase scenes to life and show the teenagers' unique take on them: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=asfj4FoGwcl>. The project proved so successful that the animations were included in an exhibition of young people's work at the Houses of Parliament. This paper will discuss the project, its benefits, and its role in visitor engagement.

Matthew Nicholls (Reading)**Panel: The Ancient Bibliocosm**

Libraries and the Material Bibliocosm

Books and libraries were vital points of research, reading, exchange, and circulation in Greek literary culture under the Roman empire, as a recently rediscovered text of Galen shows us. Although the materiality of the book and the faults of those entrusted with their care compromised the transmission of ideas between generations and over space, the library book collection remained (for the most part) an important source of material and a means of disseminating finished work, an important element in the physical bibliocosm of the ancient world. Although the royal libraries of the Hellenistic kings had developed the concept of institutional book collection, the city libraries of the Roman world introduced a new, public aspect. The operation and location of these libraries, and the way in which they played a part in the monumental civic landscapes of the Greek world under Rome, therefore add to our understanding both of authorial and reading practice, and of the public role of literature, literary culture, and learning in the Roman east.

Kate Nichols (Cambridge)**Panel: Classical Baggage**

Visualising Jerusalem, via Athens

The most common travel route to Jerusalem in the nineteenth century was via Athens. This paper will examine the physical and intellectual interconnections made between Greece and the Holy Land in a range of Victorian artists' travel writings and paintings. These draw on sources as diverse as the Elgin Marbles, the Alhambra (and Victorian reconstructions of), Pausanias, Herodotus and nineteenth-century anthropological theorists. Many of these painters are better known as 'classicists'. Here I examine how they related classicism and orientalism in their writing and on canvas. How was a classical heritage implicated in their approach to the Holy Land? In turn, their paintings and published diaries attracted wide audiences in Britain. This paper suggests the broad spatial and temporal resonance of visual 'classicisms' in the nineteenth century, and indicates the ways in which 'classicisms' shaped painterly approaches, and influenced British understandings of people and places beyond Greece and Italy.

Nigel Nicholson (Reed College)**Panel: Greek Lyric**

Is there a Doctor in the Ode? Pantheides in Bacchylides 1

Only one contemporary figure in epinician is credited with medical skill, Pantheides of Ceos, the (dead) father of the victor in Bacchylides 1. Pantheides is ignored by histories of Greek medicine, and, while scholarship on epinician suggests that medicine constitutes a theme in the ode (Burnett, *Art of Bacchylides*, 1985, 152-3; Bernardini, "La lode di Argeo," 2000, 145), it has not located his representation within the larger discourse of medicine, and so anachronistically treats being a doctor as a stable and unproblematic identity. By setting the representation of Pantheides within the larger medical context, this paper will argue that the representation reacts against the ongoing constitution of medicine as a profession.

During the fifth century many who identified as *iatroi* sought to distinguish themselves from other health workers (athletic trainers, root-cutters, faith-healers), by defining medicine as an art, a restricted field with rules of conduct (Lloyd, *Science*, 1983: 79-82; Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 2004, 63; Wicckiser, *Asklepios*, 2008, 10-29). This posed problems for elite doctors, as it assimilated their medical practice to a trade and threatened the moral standing on which their privileged position in the community depended. Bacchylides' ode resists this vision. First, it merges medicine and athletics, tying the doctor into the usual epinician network of gods, heroes and aristocrats. Second, it departs from typical epinician protocol in not including the boy victor's trainer in the ode, alongside the victor and his family. Third, it avoids the very label of "doctor," casting Pantheides as a man of various competences, among which is medicine. In this way, the ode promotes a vision of medicine compatible with elite status and an active political role on Ceos—a role mirrored in this very political ode (cf. Kowalzig, *Singing for the Gods*, 2007, 88-94, and Fearn, *Bacchylides*, 2007, 242-56).

Karen Ni Mheallaigh (Exeter)

Panel: The Ancient Bibliocosm

Beyond Thule: the peritext as frontier in Antonius Diogenes' The incredible things beyond Thule

The term 'peritext' denotes the border territories of the text which include features such as the title, the preface, *explicit* and *sphragis*. A crucial function of the peritext is to situate a narrative within the context of the reader's world; in fiction, it functions as a threshold which facilitates and guides the reader's transition from the real world into the imaginary fictional one – and out again. The peritext can mediate between the world of the reader and the world of the book in different ways: often it frames the fictional world in such a way as to demarcate it, bound and seal it, but it may also, more subversively, open up portals which threaten to collapse these boundaries and allow fiction to infiltrate the real world and *vice versa*. This paper explores the obsession with margins and boundaries – geographical, epistemological and peritextual – in Antonius Diogenes' novel *The incredible things beyond Thule* and argues that Diogenes is one of the most radical peritextual innovators and book-scape architects in ancient literature.

Marcello Nobili (La Sapienza, Rome)

Panel: Shards of Philology

Circular Reasoning and the Text of the Historia Augusta: the Vita Commodi

A sort of circular reasoning can be found in the editorial choices made by E. Hohl in the most authoritative (to date) critical edition of the *Historia Augusta*, the collection of imperial biographies dating back to the end of the 4th century CE. Hohl was unable to take into account many superior readings offered by a part of the *paradosis* as he believed that this literary works was written by a semi-literate in an age where Vulgar Latin had infiltrated many literary genres. Therefore he maintains that the nonsense and numerous non-grammatical phrases, abrupt transitions, and repetitions, as well as several apparent displacements of words or sentences, as transmitted by a not impeccable manuscript tradition (represented for him mainly by the venerand BAV, Pal.Lat. 899 of the 9th cent.), were all in all consistent with the purported inability of the author to write "good Latin"; and, on the other hand, he chooses not to give a full account of the second family of manuscripts (dismissively called "Sigma", to highlight its inferior value), and of an unrelated Vatican *florilegium* (BAV, Pal.Lat. 886, datable to the beginning of the 9th cent.) that transmit the *Historia Augusta*, while not being able to refrain from adopting several genuine readings thence offered where the good, nonetheless corrupt, Pal. 899 fails. While it is undeniable that the second family is inferior to the Pal. 899, its stemmatic value obliges us to take into account all its readings. His choice is also responsible for awkward emendations or, more often, for meagre attempts to defend and print a clearly corrupt text. I consider syntax and word-order alongside the tentatively reconstructed *stemma codicum* in order to challenge Hohl's views on several passages. All examples are discussed as offered by the mss. of the less thoroughly studied *Vita Commodi*.

Egidia Occhipinti (Oxford)

Panel: Herodotus

Reading Herodotus in the Fifth- and Fourth-Century History and Oratory: Intertextuality and 'National' Stereotypes

This proposal aims to investigate the debt to Herodotus in fifth and fourth-century writers, focusing on the ways in which Herodotus' readers characterised Greek peoples and contributed to the forming of 'national' stereotyping views, so as to better understand and define the concept of 'Greek identity' and Greek perception of 'the other Greeks'.

Scholars interested in Greek historiography agree that in the Hellenistic period the use of Herodotus was quite extensive (H. Strasburger, *Die Wesenbestimmung der Geschichte durch die antike Geschichtsschreibung* 2, Wiesbaden, 1966, 57-8; K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History. Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World*, Oxford, 1999). Tim Rood has, moreover, noticed in Thucydides a certain tendency to reply to some Herodotean patterns on the Persian wars ('Thucydides' Persian Wars', in C. S. Kraus (ed.), *The Limits of Historiography: Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts*, Leiden-Köln, 1999, 141-168). It seems, then, highly probable that the debt to Herodotus is traceable already before the Hellenistic period, and furthermore – as this proposal aims to show – Herodotus' way of characterising people can be traced not only in Thucydides' work but also in that of Xenophon as well as in contemporary oratory.

The proposal suggests, then, a cross-study comparison between Herodotus' narrative and the *Hellenica* by Thucydides and Xenophon as well as Isocrates' *Panegyricus*, *Panathenaiacus*, *Archidamus*, and Lysias' *Funeral Speech*.

A few years ago Vivienne Gray (*The character of Xenophon's Hellenica*, London, 1989) found some narrative patterns in Xenophon's *Hellenica*, which closely recall Herodotus' narrative (i.e. triple sequence of warnings, chronological setting, introductory formulae, etc.). In addition, some recent contributions would lead us to reinforce this assumption (C. Pelling, *Intertextuality, 'Plausibility, and Interpretation'*, in *Histos* 2011, 1-19, J. Marincola, 'Intertextuality and Exempla', *ibid.* 1-31). Xenophon shows a particular interest in portraying the 'national' characters of Athens and Sparta in moralistic terms, and in doing so he echoes Herodotus' peculiar way of depicting the two peoples. In particular, two main sections of his

Hellenica would suggest a close comparison with the model: the speech delivered at Athens by the Thebans in the outbreak of the Corinthian war (*Hell.* 3.5.1), and the two speeches given by Procles of Phlius (*Hell.* 6.5.38-48 and 7.1.1-11). Here Athens appears as the city that, thanks to its generosity and compassion for the weak and oppressed, helps all victims of injustice. Xenophon shares with Herodotus the same mythological pattern that combines together two episodes in which Athens stands out as paladin of justice: the account of Eurystheus' hostility against the Heraclides, and that of the war led by the Seven against Thebes (*Hell.* 6.41-44; Hdt. 9.27 and 8.142). Furthermore, Herodotus' understanding of the Persian wars, seen as a result of the Athenian heroism contrasted with the selfish behaviour of Sparta, is mirrored in the reading of the same national historical pattern given by Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, and Lysias (Thuc. 1.73 ff. Isocrates, *Paneg.* 93, *Panath.* 188, *Archid.* 42-43, and Lysias, *Fun. Sp.* 44). Herodotus' personal opinion according which if the Athenians had betrayed their allies making terms with Xerxes none would have been capable to withstand the Persians, would demonstrate definitely that Athens *alone* effectively saved Hellas, while the Spartans, for their part, in building a wall across the Isthmus showed clearly *selfishness* and *weakness* (Hdt. 7.139). Still, in Xenophon, like in Herodotus, the paradigm about Sparta appears as changeable, that is, it shows easily its reversal. So if on the one hand the Spartan empire is depicted as an arrogant dominion, *pleonexia* (*Hell.* 3.5.15, cf. Hdt. 7.149.3), on the other Xenophon does not conceal the ancestral values of Spartan tradition, since the prosperity of the city comes from suffering and the effort to face perils (*Hell.* 4.1.16, cf. E. Baragwanath, *Motivation and Narration in Herodotus*, Oxford, 2008).

Ellen O'Gorman (Bristol)

See the abstract of Christina S. Kraus, above.

Eleanor OKell (Leeds)

Panel: Aristophanes

Athenian Inheritance Law and the Characterisation of Peisthetairus in Aristophanes' Birds

This paper examines the significance of Athenian inheritance practice for establishing the character of Peisthetairus in a passage (467-80), which has not previously attracted commentators' attention.

Ancient and modern commentators have focused upon two passages (1343ff. and 1600ff.) in which Peisthetairus reveals details of peculiarly Athenian practices which are adhered to in the kingdom of the birds and by the gods: Solonic care for parents and the *epiklēriat* and *notheia*, respectively. These late passages unequivocally establish Peisthetairus' familiarity with legal positions vis-à-vis inheritance and his ability to use them in arguments designed to achieve outcomes favourable to him.

This late-established pattern of behaviour is considered somewhat unsettling, but it is unsurprising when it is considered in the light of a third, similar, passage from early in the comedy (467-80). Here Peisthetairus also advances a legal position on inheritance while pursuing his own interests, but in doing so he departs entirely from Athenian law and practice. While trying to convince the Birds to join him, he attempts to establish the Birds as the rulers of the world and heirs to Zeus. This attempt features an appeal to primogeniture (478), a system of inheritance not used in contemporary Athens and which appears explicitly in Attic drama only in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* (1294), where its use serves to characterise Polyneices as the kind of man who will advance any argument, so long as it is to his own benefit.

Examining *Birds* 467-80 in the light of Athenian inheritance law and practice provides a context within which i) the "difficult passage" of 479-80 which introduces the necessity to "maintain a beak" becomes easier to interpret, ii) Peisthetairus' behaviour foreshadows 1600ff. and the original audience's understanding of it can be further understood, and iii) some uncertain line attribution within this passage can be reconsidered.

Olakunbi Olosope (Ibadan)

Panel: Frontiers

Fracturing the Insularity of the Global State: War and Conflict in Moira Buffini's Welcome to Thebes

Conflicts have always played a role in human society, but the recent global and local economic conditions have led to an increase in their intensity, and complexity. States are under siege from marauding powers whose intention is to impose their political will for economic benefit. These invading powers sometimes metamorphose as mercurial peacekeepers, impatient to humanise their plunder and present a passionate view of justice, even as they supplant the legitimate authority of the 'colonised' state.

Moira Buffini's *Welcome to Thebes* is a contemporary re-presentation of Thebes as an African country emerging from a ruinous internal conflict into a chaotic and disordered peace. Weaving the classical Greek past with recent modern African historical perspectives, Buffini explores the dislocation of power and the disjunction between reconciliation and revenge. In this paper, we investigate how war and conflict resolution contribute to demythologising the authority of the global state, in the way they infiltrate the complacency of the ruling powers and expose their insularity to create a new order.

Devin Oliver (Edinburgh)

Panel: Plutarch (1)

Pyrrhus' Reputation in Plutarch's Pyrrhus-Marius

Early in the *Pyrrhus*, Plutarch relates great praise for the generalship of the Epirote king. According to Plutarch, not only did Pyrrhus' Macedonian soldiers compare him with Alexander the Great in terms of his actions on the field of battle (*Pyrr.* 8.1), but both Antigonos Monophthalmos and Hannibal named Pyrrhus as one of the greatest generals in history (*Pyrr.* 8.2). Plutarch appears to have respected Pyrrhus' abilities as well, describing his actions at Herculaneum in glowing terms (*Pyrr.* 16.7-8), and it is easy to read the *Pyrrhus* in isolation as the life of a great general who was eventually thwarted by his own unending ambition. When read in conjunction with its parallel *Marius*, however, the *Pyrrhus* is not so straightforward, and the complete pair calls into question Pyrrhus' place in history as one of the greatest generals of the Hellenistic age.

I intend to investigate how Plutarch's descriptions of Pyrrhus' military actions take on new significance when taken in context with the generalship of Marius, and how Plutarch's characterization of Pyrrhus' leadership compares to the historiography of Diodorus Siculus and Justin's *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus. On the one hand, Pyrrhus' personal exploits on the battlefield, such as his single combat with Pantauchus (*Pyr.* 7.4-5) and cleaving a barbarian completely in half (*Pyr.* 24.3), far outshine Marius' one appearance as a general on the battlefield when Plutarch simply describes him as being braver and in better shape than his soldiers (*Mar.* 20.6). On the other hand, Marius' consistent strategic brilliance, which kept him undefeated over decades of campaigning, makes the deficiencies that led to Pyrrhus' embarrassing defeats at Beneventum, Sparta, and Argos even more apparent. Comparing the Pyrrhus in the complete *Pyrrhus-Marius* with his depiction in other historical authors will allow me to assess the extent to which Plutarch's characterization of Pyrrhus is his own.

In this paper I will argue that a comparative reading of the Pyrrhus-Marius is necessary to accurately evaluate Pyrrhus' leadership abilities, and that Plutarch's opinion of Pyrrhus' place among the Hellenistic generals may not be as favorable as first appears. Given the importance of warfare in the history of the early Hellenistic age, Pyrrhus' reputation impacts our current understanding of the period. Comparative analysis of Pyrrhus' reputation will allow us to more accurately place him in the context of the time and further our reconstruction of early Hellenistic history.

Robin Osborne (Cambridge)

Postgraduate Funding

The situation with regard to postgraduate funding has long been uncertain and has repeatedly changed. The current situation is unsatisfactory both in terms of the amounts of funding available and in the difficulties of achieving efficient and effective selection and recruitment. The impact of the £9000 fee upon students' ability and desire to spend further years in academic training is unclear. But universities are likely to continue to put a high premium on graduate recruitment because of the financial advantages, and departments frequently need graduates for the teaching they can offer. It is therefore important for Classicists to think hard about what they wish to achieve in terms of graduate training, and how best to ensure that those who should be trained as graduates can be selected and supported, both financially and in other ways.

Panel: CUCD-JACT Joint Panel

Oliver O'Sullivan (Maynooth)

Signs of the Four: Personality in Suetonius' Claudius and Cicero's Four Personae Theory

Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum* is a keystone text for understanding the early Roman Empire, but one must never forget that Suetonius was writing biography and not history. Biography is above all concerned with the person and their personality. Along with the literary conventions associated with the genre of biography, intellectual and theoretical concepts may have also provided a point of comprehension for a reader in order to give them a broader understanding of the subject being portrayed.

Cicero's broader discussion of *decorum* contains his theory of the *four personae*. The first *persona* is common to all men while the second *persona* is specific to us as individuals. The third *persona* relates to a change of situation and the social position inhabited. The fourth and last *persona* is concerned with one's own choice, in their career and the person they wish to become (Cicero, *De Officiis*, 107-121).

This paper will utilise Cicero's *four personae* theory as a means of reading Suetonius' construction of Claudius' personality. The main points of discussion will include Suetonius' focus on Claudius' physical infirmity, his scholarly ambitions and his sudden ascension to the role of emperor. The contexts in which any of the four *personae* emerge will then be examined to highlight consistency and inconsistency in Claudius' personality. In respect to these matters, this paper will seek a broader understanding of Suetonius' biographical construction of the emperor Claudius and his personality.

Panel: Latin Literature 3

William M. Owens (Ohio)

Xenophon of Ephesus: Folktales and the revision of an elite stereotype of the slave

Habrocomes and Anthia, the protagonists of *Ephesiaca*, are captured by pirates and enslaved. Elite citizens of Ephesus, both are forced to adopt behaviors associated with immoral slaves in order to survive. Xenophon narrates his protagonists' moral transformation through narrative motifs drawn from folktales. Why folktales? The author has adapted a popular form to revise an elite stereotype that constructed the slave as a natural criminal. Xenophon implies that slavery, not nature, makes the slave vicious.

The first folktale motif involves Habrocomes: A protagonist rejects the sexual advances of a woman who then falsely accuses him (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, K2111; cf. Joseph and Potiphar's wife). Xenophon uses the motif twice. The first time, Habrocomes' rejection of Manto, his owner's daughter, leads to his torture. The second time, Kyno, the wife of another master, solicits Habrocomes to kill her husband and become her lover. The protagonist resists at first but finally agrees when he recalls how his virtuous rejection of Manto earlier resulted in horrible punishment. Fear of torture led Habrocomes to act like a vicious slave and conspire against his master. He later refuses to sleep with Kyno, backing out of the agreement, but only after she killed her husband. Xenophon has made his point.

The second motif involves Anthia: A virtuous woman uses guile or violence to escape from an unwanted suitor (Thompson, T320, 323). Xenophon repeats this motif seven times. Anthia thwarts potential rapists through behaviors associated with typical slaves: flattery, falsehood, even violence. The elite heroine became a cunning trickster-slave to avoid rape. Xenophon implies that what the elite constructed as innate servile criminality was actually a servile adaptation necessary for survival. The author's use of the folktale, a popular form, to revise the elite construction of the slave may reflect ideas that originated outside the elite itself.

Panel: (Im)morality

Mario C.D. Paganini (Copenhagen)**Panel: Private Associations in the Greek World**

Death on the Nile: private clubs and after-life in Ptolemaic Egypt

Entertainment, social gatherings, communal support, and networking have been the main aims of associations throughout their history. However, in ancient times the concerns of private clubs often stretched beyond the worldly limit of one's life (and membership). Upon payment of relevant fees, the members could often rely on the presence and support of their club for their burial and funerary rites, as well as on more tangible support to the bereaved families; clubs would attend not only to the live but also to the dead. Some associations possessed tombs reserved for their fellow members and had specific regulations concerning funerary practices and honours. Membership of certain clubs was therefore a worthy investment not just for life, but also for the after-life.

In this paper I shall investigate the evidence of this practice in the sources from Hellenistic Egypt. My focus will be on papyri and inscriptions written in Greek, although selected demotic material (especially clubs' regulations) will also be taken into account. It will be shown how important this aspect was for certain clubs and how seriously it was taken in their legislation, which included penalties in case of default. In fact, important as the whole thing may allegedly have been, despite what promised, and at the risk of violating contractual practices and religious propriety, the clubs sometimes failed to provide for the after-life of their members. This caused fierce reactions, which left evidence in our records: the deceased's family would often start legal procedures against the club in order to obtain indemnity. Still, this was certainly small consolation for the dead, who had spent their life abiding by the rules and paying duly – albeit, it seems, for no reason.

Costas Panayotakis (Glasgow)**Panel: Latin Lit 2**

pomponius, nouius/neuius, and the fragments of Atellane comedy

The aim of this paper is to discuss (but not definitely resolve) some of the unique difficulties with which an editor of the extant remains of the native Italian drama conventionally known as Atellane comedy is currently faced.

We possess 115 titles and (approximately) 320 lines attributed to the Atellane playwrights Pomponius, Novius, Mummius, and Aprissius. The literary scripts of these playwrights have not been transmitted directly to us but survive in short fragments cited by grammarians, lexicographers, polymaths, and encyclopaedists such as Varro, Festus, Gellius, Charisius, Nonius, Priscian, and Macrobius.

Editing these fragments presents, in many respects, the same problematic issues which appear in editing fragments of other dramatic genres of Republican Latin literature (mime, *fabula togata*, *fabula palliata*): for instance, metre, arrangement of the words in a line or lines that scan, neologisms, confusion between fragment and its context within the grammatical treatise which contains it.

However, it is also especially difficult in the case of Atellane comedy to be absolutely certain about the name of the author to whom the fragment is attributed. How can we tell, for instance, by looking at the manuscripts whether a fragment whose title is attributed to Pomponius and which is associated with tragedy was composed by the comic playwright Pomponius from Bologna and not by the tragic playwright Pomponius Secundus? More importantly, when the manuscripts themselves present the variant readings *nouius* and *neuius* as the name of the author of the same fragment, what criteria do we have to decide whether we should attribute that fragment to the theatrical type of *fabula Atellana* (in which Novius is supposed to have excelled) as opposed to the genre of *fabula palliata* (which Naevius is said to have composed)?

I wish to tackle these problems and discuss the decisions of previous editors of Atellane comedy with relation to this important matter. We have been relying too much, I believe, on the editorial decisions of earlier generations.

Joanna Paul (Open) and Genevieve Liveley (Bristol)**Panel: CUCD-JACT Joint Panel**

Counting KIS(ses)

The introduction in 2012 of HEFCE's Key Information Sets (KIS) promised to give students "robust, reliable and comparable information in order to help them make informed decisions about what and where to study ... such as student satisfaction, graduate outcomes, learning and teaching activities, assessment methods, tuition fees and student finance, accommodation and professional accreditation." How has the KIS delivered on this promise? In particular, what patterns does it suggest about typical contact hours across UK Classics

Departments; the employability of Classics graduates; and the new consumerism in Higher Education? This presentation will assess the impact of KIS for different Classics Departments, and consider strategies for managing student/parent expectations of 'key information' such as contact hours, guided independent learning activities, and employability.

Christopher Pelling (Oxford)**Panel: Ancient Biography**

Herodotus and biography

Herodotus is often read against predecessors of two different sorts, Homer and Hecataeus, and also compared with contemporary Attic tragedy. It is worth thinking also about his relation to contemporary biographers, or the fifth-century precursors of biography, Stesimbrotus and Ion of Chios: Stesimbrotus (probably) and Ion (almost certainly) had 'published' before the *Histories* reached their final form.

There is also the question of biographies of eastern kings. Homeyer emphasised the affinities of, particularly, the *Cyrus-logos* with literary biography; she argued that Herodotus tried, but found himself unable, to extend such a biographical

technique to Greek heroes such as Miltiades and Themistocles, inferring that this was due to a paucity of biographical material in the Greek tradition. In some way which Homeyer herself left discreetly vague, Herodotus will thus have owed the biographical stimulus to the character of his Persian sources. Momigliano then went further, and was inclined to infer the existence of some sort of Persian biographies of their kings which provided material for Herodotus' account. But can we, in fact, detect differences between the approach to eastern and western big men? If so, are they likely to reflect different source-material, or can they be related more subtly to Herodotus' literary purposes?

Marco Perale (Oxford)

Panel: Shards of Philology

Shards of Hellenistic Poems. The Apollo of Simias of Rhodes

Simias of Rhodes is an early Hellenistic poet contemporary of Philitas of Cos. While several recent studies have highlighted the innovative character of his *Carmina Figurata*, limited attention has been paid to his fragmentary corpus, published almost a century ago by H. Fränkel, *De Simia Rhodio* (1915) and J.U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 109-120 (1925).

According to a marginal annotation in the only manuscript of Antoninus Liberalis' *Metamorphoses* extant, Simias' *Apollo* centred on the land and customs of the Hyperboreans (fr. 2 Powell). However, while the longest fragment of this poem (fr. 1 Powell) does describe the peregrination of an unnamed character from the northern lands to the mountains of India, the reference to the Hyperboreans appears to be limited to a cursory visit to their territory.

The attribution of P. Michigan III 139 to Simias' *Apollo*, suggested by Merkelbach (in *Aegyptus* 31, 1951, 257-260) and Di Gregorio (*Aevum* 82, 2008, 87-95) on the basis of a possible overlap between the idyllic setting described in the papyrus and the land of the Hyperboreans, is unlikely to be correct. The anonymous poem describes a seasonal change, a phenomenon not affecting the territories located beyond the north wind. In addition, several prosodic and syntactical uncertainties point to an amateurish composition rather than an authentic 'shard' of Hellenistic craftsmanship.

Giuseppe Pezzini (Oxford/Reading)

Panel: Latin Lit 2

Vis grammatica: Caesar's 'political linguistics' at the end of the Republic

In a letter to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, the grammarian and rhetorician Fronto tells an unfamiliar and neglected anecdote about C. Caesar. Accordingly, "while engaged in a most formidable war in Gaul, [Caesar] wrote ... two books of the most meticulous character .. discussing amid flying darts the declension of nouns, and the aspiration of words and their classification mid the blare of bugles and trumpets". Despite the romanticised tone, the historicity of the episode is indisputable: other sources refer to Caesar's linguistic interests, which culminated in the writing of a grammatical treatise, *De Analogia*, dedicated to Cicero. This work is now lost and survives only in a few heavily corrupt and obscure fragments, which do not often attract the notice of the non-specialist (modern) reader. Nevertheless, this small number of hints raise some crucial questions. Why did Caesar dedicate some of his precious time, in such a momentous period, to write a grammatical treatise? What was the content of this work? To whom was it addressed to? What grammatical theory did Caesar adhere to and why? Is there any relation between Caesar's grammatical stance and his other cultural enterprises, such as the reform of the calendar? Did *De Analogia* have a role in Caesar's political agenda?

The paper addresses these and other questions, and emphasises the cultural and political significance of language issues at the end of the Republic, especially given the grammatical anarchy of the period and the eclecticism of its protagonists.

Francisco Pina Polo (Zaragoza)

Panel: Institutional theory and Practice

Consuls designate in the Roman Republic

By the first century B.C., consuls designate could speak first in senatorial debates from the moment they were elected. That privilege probably went a long way back in time and continued at least into the first century A.D. But the position of consuls designate in the senate became more significant after Sulla's changes made elections take place earlier: and this must be viewed in a context of the gradual assumption of responsibilities and leadership in day-to-day politics on the part of new magistrates. By granting consuls designate institutional visibility, continuity in the management of the *res publica* was secured. Collaboration between magistrates in office and magistrates elect – the ideal, even if not always realised in practice – facilitated the transfer of power from year to year and gave continuity to the senate's policies.

Emmanuel Plantade (Lyon)

Panel: Shards of Philology

Pessimi poetae uersus optimi. Metrics and Textual Criticism in the Carmina Priapea

The *Carmina Priapea* are polymetric Flavian or post-Flavian poems (Citroni, Plantade-Vallat, Callebat). J. Soubiran (in Callebat) has recently recalled their 'rigueur métrique', that is to say that their hendecasyllables, elegiac couplets or choliambics substantially look like Martial's: as a matter of fact, metrical data are an important argument in the datation debate. But only little do we know about the way metrics influenced textual choices. My paper first provides a short survey of metrical choices made by several modern editors. What is the impact of metrical knowledge and preconceptions upon an epigrammatic collection?

Specifically, the following cases will be discussed: (1) Whereas *Pr.* 4.2, a hendecasyllable, that is printed *Dūcens ex Elephantidos libellis* by Louis Callebat (2012), according to Bährens, Cazzaniga, Goldberg and to some manuscripts (that he names, idiosyncratically, A, G², H, T, X, O), other editors prefer to read *Dīcans*, with a short syllable, as transmitted by other manuscripts (E, G¹, L, V, F, W, v): this raises obvious issues of style. (2) In *Pr.* 72, 1-2, the lines *Tutelam pomarii diligens Priape facito / rubricato furibus minare mutino*, as in the manuscripts, and sometimes considered as Saturnians (!), are printed as trochaic septenars, *diligens Priape facito tutelam pomarii / <et> rubricato minare furibus mutun<io>*, by

Soubiran (in Callebaut 2012): this may be considered one of the major breakthroughs in recent textual criticism on the *Priapea*. Soubiran argues that there is no reason to consider the *Priapea* poet a clumsy one and that trochaic septenars could be viewed as a stylistic archaism redolent of certain prayers in Seneca's tragedies (*Med.* 740-51; *Pha.* 1201-1212, *Oed.* 223-32). These two examples raise different but equally interesting style issues. To which extent such cases can be viewed as paradigmatic?

Lucy Pollard (Independent Scholar)

Panel: Classical Baggage

'Diligence, sagacity and truth': Jacob Spon and George Wheler in Athens in 1676

When Stuart and Revett published their magisterial *Antiquities of Athens* in 1772, they paid tribute to their predecessors of nearly a century before. In January-February 1676, the Frenchman Jacob Spon, who was a classical scholar and antiquarian, and the Englishman George Wheler, a gentleman traveller with some knowledge of ancient Greek and a passionate interest in plants, visited Athens for two and a half weeks, as part of an extended tour of Greece and Asia Minor. An account of their voyage was published in French, under their joint names, soon after Spon's return home, and in 1682 Wheler published his own version in English, referring to Spon on his title-page, though not as joint author. Since the mid-nineteenth century Wheler has been criticised for plagiarising Spon's work, but this is probably a mistake: the two men worked together, and remained friends. According to Spon, Wheler's eyes were as good as his own. Wheler's many drawings of Athenian monuments seem amateurish compared with those of Stuart and Revett, but he was an important pioneer. He tried to make evidence-based judgements, for example identifying figures in one of the Parthenon pediments as Hadrian and Sabina (mistakenly, of course), on the basis of portraits of them on coins. Wheler and Spon used Pausanias as their main guide to the antiquities, alongside the work of the Jesuit Fr Babin, which had been published in 1674. They were also much helped by the English (previously the French) consul Giraud.

Peter Pormann (Manchester)

Panel: Frontiers

Classical themes in Modern Arabic Poetry

Classical Arabic poetry, with very few exceptions, did neither develop nor explore complex mythological traditions like those found in Greek poetry. Indeed, when Sulaymān al-Bustānī compared Homeric to Ancient Arabic verse, he saw the lack of mythology in the latter as one of its distinctive features; for otherwise, the two share much. But in the context of anti-colonial struggle and postcolonial independence, a new poetic mode emerged in Arabic: the free verse. Its major proponents such as al-Sayyāb and al-Bayyātī deliberately broke with the strictures of classical and neo-classical verse, but they also drew on the images and similes that Greek mythology (as well as Ancient Mesopotamian mythology) had to offer. And poets in the generation after them, as Mahmoud Darwish and Adonis, followed in their footsteps and weaved a refined tapestry of allusions and symbols.

Generally speaking, this engagement of Arab poets with Greek mythological and literary themes has been ignored by those active in the field of reception studies (with the exception of Helen Morales' *Greek Mythology: A Short Introduction*, pp. 17–18). The purpose of this paper is to offer a first assessment of the modes of transmission, engagement, and recasting that we find in lyrical Arabic texts of the post-colonial area.

Jonathan Prag (Oxford)

Panel: Inscribed Rostra

Inscriptions and Institutions: the Evidence from the Ram Inscriptions

Five of the rams recovered to date bear Latin inscriptions; a sixth carries a Punic text. The Latin inscriptions make reference to named Roman officials (quaestors in four instances; members of a board of six in one case) who approved the rams. The Punic inscription offers a prayer for good fortune to one or more Punic deities. The Latin inscriptions are diverse in both form and precise content, raising important historical questions regarding the relationship of the rams to one another and the moment(s) of construction. The inscriptions additionally offer important institutional evidence for Roman officials at a period of transformation in the structures of Roman imperial practice. This paper will present the inscriptions themselves and discuss their relevance to ongoing debates such as the expansion and role of the quaestorship in the third century BC.

Giulia Presutti (La Sapienza, Rome)

Panel: Greek Linguistics

Heraclitus of Ephesus: hyper-ionisms and editorial faults

The complex textual transmission of the heraclitean Περὶ φύσεως, which we only know through fragments of indirect tradition, has had important consequences for Heraclitus' dialect. Heraclitus' literary Ionic presents many difficulties: first of all, the original ionic forms, due to a *normalizing* action of the tradition, have been replaced by the attic corresponding ones. Editors usually face this problem with very little coherence and choose the correct dialectal forms only if attested in at least one branch of the tradition: a few examples of this tendency will be provided.

What is more interesting, though, is that in the text of Heraclitus appear a few *hyper-Ionisms* - artificial forms that most of the editors print as if they were correct Ionisms - that denounce a systematic rearrangement of the text which must have taken place quite late.

The presence of these hyper-Ionisms in a number of manuscript testimonies leads us to think that at a certain point in time someone prepared an authoritative edition of the Περὶ φύσεως, which fixed in the tradition the unauthentic dialect forms. Since we know that from the early imperial age onwards many writers commonly used pseudo-Ionisms (foremost among them a medical author of the time of Nero, Aretaeus of Cappadocia), it is possible to use these dialect forms to suggest a chronological frame for this edition.

Patrice Rankine (Purdue)**Panel: Frontiers**

On 'Natural Slavery': Blackness and the Classics in the Works of Machado de Assis and Abdias do Nascimento

The degree to which persons of African descent living across Europe and the Americas, particularly those whose ancestry the Transatlantic Slave Trade affected, form a Diaspora, a community that approaches a set of shared values and challenges from varying intellectual perspectives, is a matter of ongoing debate. As the scholarly works of Barbara Goff and Michael Simpson (*Crossroads in the Black Aegean*), Emily Greenwood (*Afro-Greeks*), and Justine McConnell (*Black Odysseys*, forthcoming) demonstrate, Greek and Roman texts and ideas are at the center of writing across this imagined community, this Diaspora. In Africa, the Caribbean, and in North America, the Classics had a permanent place in systems of education through at least the middle of the twentieth century, and thus black writers from these areas had Greek and Latin Classics as part of their formal and informal training and thus part of their interaction with the world around them. In Brazil, classical education was less formal for persons of African descent, as post-slavery public education reforms are a late-twentieth-century phenomenon. Little work has been done to examine the discussion around the African Diaspora and the Classics – Is there a viable African Diaspora? What role do the Greek and Roman Classics play in this Diaspora? – in Brazil, a country that held the largest number of Africans in the New World during the slave trade and continues to have the largest number of people of African descent in the Americas (at approximately 100 million persons who identify as such). This paper begins to raise the question of blackness and classical education in Brazil by looking at two key authors, Machado de Assis (1839-1908) and Abdias do Nascimento (1914-2011), because of their centrality to Brazilian Romanticism and early modernism, and the black power movement in Brazil in the 20th century, respectively.

Anna Reeve (Leeds)**Panel: Classics in Museums (2)**

Classics Departments and Museums: modelling a mutually beneficial partnership

This paper will explore some of the challenges and success factors underpinning joint working between the Leeds City Museum and the Department of Classics at Leeds in order to suggest a working model for the future development of other such partnerships. It will outline some collaborative activities that have been undertaken to date, and present as a case-study an MA project exploring Leeds collections of ancient Cypriot ceramics in terms of their art-historical context and their later collection history.

The University of Leeds and the Leeds City Museum have much of their history in common, both rooted in the civic institutions of late Victorian Leeds, founded in the early 20th century, and with many of the same Yorkshire philanthropists, academics and businessmen involved in their development. Today they also have many goals in common, especially to share their resources with the local community and to increase public awareness of their fields of interest. In support of these objectives there is close working between Classics and the Museum on a wide range of projects. These include a lecture series by Classics academics presented at the Museum for a public audience and the annual interactive 'Light Night' arts event in which staff, students and volunteers explore Classical themes with and for a city-wide audience. In addition, and as a result, academic work hosted by Classics draws on the Museum's collections.

Emanuele Riccardo D'Amanti (La Sapienza, Rome)**Panel: Shards of Philology**

"Funerary" Customs and the Critical Text: Suetonius, Vespasian 19.2

At a first glance, a much-debated passage from Suetonius' *Life of Vespasian* seems to refer to the "funus" (funeral) of the emperor. Almost all the historians that have dealt with this passage believe that an actor, a mime ("mimus") is mentioned here. He, wearing a mask, "ut est mos", of the deceased ruler, who was also infamous for his greed, would have made a rather frigid joke: "My funeral is so expensive that am keen to throw myself in the river for much less!"

However, a closer analysis of the whole passage must take into account the different manuscript readings, or, if nothing else, at least the technical terms used by Suetonius to narrate the episode. Making use of the evidence provided by ancient sources and from the actual Suetonius wording itself it becomes quite possible to show that *persona* ("theatrical mask") is not synonymous with *imago* (bust or portrait of a deceased person), unlike the majority of scholars purport; moreover there is no reason whatsoever to connect "ut mos est" with "in funere".

As to the transmitted text, all editors since the XVI century put in the text the ancient conjecture *uiui* ("when Vespasian was still alive") discarding the patent *lectio difficilior uiri* ("of that man, viz. Vespasian himself"). Many cogent reasons pertaining to (a) Suetonius' wording of this chapter and (b) to the actual Roman funerary customs according to our sources prevent us from accepting the vulgate hypotheses that this passage describes (a) the *funus publicum* of Vespasian himself (Erasmus 2004 and 2008), or (b) *mimi funebres* to his memory (Sumi), or less specifically *ludi funebres* in his honour (Blasi 2010). If we capitalise the word *funere*, instead, we can happily rescue a fragment of a lost *fabula Atellana* or comedy that contained that joke on Vespasian's greed.

Luke Richardson (UCL)**Panel: Rejecting the Classics**

Surreal antiquity: Rejecting a Classical Aesthetic in the Works of Fellini, Picasso and de Chirico

The rejection of the classics does not extend only to literature, politics and philosophy but also to visual culture. The turning away from classical subjects and styles and the reinvention of art and architecture is one the key facets of modernity. My paper will explore part of this phenomenon by focusing on artists who have returned to antiquity in the context of modernist art in order to redefine it. Pablo Picasso and Giorgio de Chirico completed numerous works that touched on themes from ancient literature, art and mythology. Yet they both interrogated and questioned the forms of antiquity, challenging and disrupting the viewer's expectations. Italian filmmaker Federico Fellini continued this work in

his 1969 film *Fellini Satyricon*. Here was not only a Rome that was violent, debauched and gluttonous (no doubt a reaction against the Fascist cult of *romanità* he had grown up with) but also a Rome that was incomprehensible. Whereas previous Hollywood epics and Italian films had offered a ‘window’ onto antiquity, Fellini radically defamiliarised everything the viewer thought they knew about the ancient world. He did not simply reject Rome as a culture but more generally rejected the idea that antiquity was in any way knowable in modern times. In doing so he was taking his cue (quite literally, and with numerous visual allusions) from the art of Picasso and de Chirico. My paper will explore the motivations and methods of these three artists as they made antiquity surreal before considering the broader implications when their works are seen to reject a preconceived and settled visual aesthetic of the ancient world.

Emma Rix (Oxford)

Panel: Greek History: Regionality and the Ancient Economy

Lycian Coinage and Lycian Dynasts

Between the end of the sixth century and the mid-fourth century, coins were issued by a number of Lycian rulers, and these provide crucial evidence for the political, economic and social conditions of the area at this time. The numismatic evidence is complex and intriguing, with some rulers issuing coins at many different sites and, in some cases, more than one individual apparently coining simultaneously at a single site. In this paper, I shall investigate the various factors which contributed to the development of this situation.

The earliest coins, in particular, tell us much about economic and cultural links between Lycia and its neighbours: individual rulers’ issuing of coinage and use of personal devices appear to be modelled on the coinage of Lydia and other parts of the Persian empire, but the earliest coin legends are in the Greek alphabet. I shall consider the coin legends in particular detail, since foreign coins seem likely to have been one of the earliest uses of alphabetic writing known in Lycia, and the use of Greek – later Lycian – letters on coins probably emerged in imitation of this.

Secondly, I shall look at how Lycian rulers used the issuing of coins and the iconography of coin types and legends – giving personal names, place names or both – to advertise and reinforce their political and economic control over their territory and the various sites at which they minted coins. Of special interest are the depictions of boars, lion heads and especially the ‘triskeles’ symbol, found on coins of many different rulers and from many different settlements across Lycia. These demonstrate the unusually high level of cultural homogeneity in the peninsula, even at this early period, as well as the autonomy and independence of Lycian culture, which is often underestimated.

Helen Roche (Cambridge)

Panel: Legacy of Greek Political Thought

Goebbels’ Grecian Obsession: Philhellenism and the Leaders of the Third Reich

This paper forms part of an ongoing research project concerning the influence of philhellenism on politics and diplomacy during the Third Reich, with particular reference to its impact on the leaders of the Nazi regime.

Using material from speeches, private diaries and other documents, the paper would attempt to reconstruct the ways in which an idealised view of ancient Greece influenced National Socialist leaders’ political actions and attitudes, using the thought of the Nazi propaganda minister, Josef Goebbels, as a case-study.

Of particular interest in this regard are Goebbels’ diary accounts of two visits which he made to Greece, in September 1936 and April 1939 respectively. In his diary entries (which he wished to be recorded for posterity), Goebbels repeatedly dilates, with quasi-religious fervour, upon his desire to recreate and relive the glories of ancient Greece. Opportunities to view the Akropolis and the Parthenon – which he describes as ‘the most powerful monument to Aryan creative power’ – or to visit ancient Sparta (‘thrilling’), and the site of the Battle of Marathon – where he is visited by ‘visions from history’ – are depicted as the fulfilment of his deepest dreams. The impact of this idealisation of ancient Greece on Goebbels’ virulently racist view of the modern Greeks (whom he castigated as an ‘oriental swarm’), and on his later propaganda campaigns, including the presentation of the catastrophic Battle of Stalingrad as a new Thermopylae, will then be analysed in depth.

By shedding light on some of the ways in which the leaders of the Nazi regime adopted ancient Greece as a model and a possible paradigm for the Third Reich, this paper hopes to prove a case-study of the politicised influence which philhellenism has exercised upon the modern world.

Alia Rodrigues (Coimbra)

Panel: Plutarch 2

The figure of the lawgiver in Plutarch: on Anacharsis’ laugh (Sol. 5.1)

Greek tyrants came into prominence in the seventh century BC, as did the lawgivers of the city-states. At first sight, both founder and lawgiver seem the antithesis of the tyrant. Remembered with the reverence reserved for the city founder, the lawgiver was considered to be responsible for a second birth for the city, i.e., the institution of the rule of law. Like the tyrant, this figure had extraordinary powers to reform the conflict-ridden state and did not have to render account to the city: both tyrants and some lawgivers held a form of despotic power over their respective communities. With regard to the lawgiver, given that archaeological documents shed no light on his archaic phenomenon, the idealization of this figure carried out by the orators, by Plato and Aristotle contributed a great deal to the stabilization of the imagery of the lawgiver, and this was later appropriated by Plutarch and adapted to his political and philosophical agenda. After identifying the common features of tyrant and lawgiver, I intend to compare them with the model of lawgiver presented by Plato and Aristotle in order to analyze Solon and Peisistratus’ relation with power in the *Life of Solon*. It will be argued that these two figures strongly influenced the way on which Plutarch theorized about the lawgiver, i.e., the expression of power of the platonic ideal ruler.

Chiara Rolli (Parma)**Panel: Persuading through the Classics**

Actio in Performance: Classical Theory and Theatricality in the Trial of Warren Hastings

At the end of the XVIIIth century Edmund Burke (known as ‘the English Cicero’) accused the then first governor general of India, Warren Hastings, of “High Crimes and Misdemeanors”. Burke was in fact convinced that Hastings had committed grave crimes in India. The trial against Hastings – the longest trial in British history – lasted for seven years (1788-1795) and became, as Daniel O’Quinn put it, “a public sensation like no other”. Indeed, in the course of the first year, the trial became a real theatrical spectacle, attended by the most fashionable members of society. In accord with the classical theory of *actio*, Burke and the managers of the trial not only did inform the judges but performed like actors, so much so that Hastings complained that the managers had turned a serious parliamentary trial into a theatrical entertainment. Cicero considered *actio* a fundamental instrument to persuade both the judges and the people of somebody’s guilt. According to the famous Roman orator, performing was even more important than informing. After offering some quotations from Cicero, this paper will endeavour to demonstrate how Burke’s and his colleagues’ use of theatricality can be explained not only through the sensationalism of the contemporary vogue for sentimental drama, but also through the classical concepts of *actio* and performativity.

Jeff Royal (RPM Nautical Foundation)**Panel: Inscribed Rostra**

Battle of the Egadi Islands: Naval Warfare in the 3rd century BCE

After extensive work during the 2012 field season, the battle zone for the naval clash between the Romans and Carthaginians in 241 BCE is increasingly defined. Remains from this naval battle-site detail the events of a Roman fleet conducting a surprise attack on a Carthaginian fleet, defeating it, and bringing an end to the First Punic War in Rome’s favour. This crucial naval engagement launched Rome on a path of Mediterranean conquest and the remains of this battle provide unprecedented evidence for warship construction, armour types, and fleet operations in the 3rd century BCE. Additionally, the numerous inscription and iconographic examples provide an exceptional dataset for the investigation of state organization and religion in society. During the 2012 field season an additional three bronze warship-rams were discovered, which brings the total to ten from the battle landscape. These rams are consistent in size and configuration, and indicate a consistent class of warship. Furthermore, the warships represented at this site assist in the ongoing dialogue with the descriptions of events left to us by Polybius, Philinus, Fabius Pictor, and Diodorus. Ram analysis also provides conclusive evidence for direct ship-to-ship attacks that resulted in the sinking of many warships. Building on the finds of last field-season, an additional two bronze helmets were discovered in the battle zone. One helmet may prove to be the first Carthaginian example of this era discovered. This battle zone is largely delineated by the scatter of ceramics, overwhelmingly intact, across the seafloor. Over 150 amphoras of both Punic and Greco-Italic types, as well as numerous examples of tableware, were mapped in 2012. The mapping process of all artifacts in this expansive site has greatly increased the overall extent of the battle zone. A new mapping technology was employed during field operations as an experimental approach to surveying areas of rock outcrops typically impenetrable to sonar. An AUV was deployed equipped with newly-developed photographic recording systems that produced highly-detailed, three-dimensional photogrammetric models of the seafloor. Subsequent analysis allowed the detection of artifacts from this naval battle. Ongoing analysis of artifacts continues to bring new information about the people and equipment embroiled in this important ancient naval conflict.

Kelli Rudolph (Grand Valley State / Kent)**Panel: Pre-Socratic Philosophy**

Democritus on the Colour of Light

Democritus is the earliest theorist to differentiate four, rather than two basic colours. The predominant theory among Greek philosophers, including Parmenides, Empedocles, Anaxagoras and Aristotle, was that all colours are composed of black and white. Empedocles associates black with water and white with fire and Aristotle follows suit. Scholars have suggested that Democritus’ four colour theory owes something to the painter’s four colour palette. However, a cursory examination of the fragmentary evidence makes it clear that Democritus’ colour combinations are not derived from pigment mixtures of the colours he suggests. Instead, I argue that Democritus’ theory of colour draws on other phenomena – both natural and manmade – to explain how atomic arrangement is responsible for colour arising in variously textured objects. My analysis of the evidence preserved in Theophrastus’ *De Sensibus* suggests that Democritus’ theory is a refinement of the black and white distinction we find among his contemporaries. His main interest is in the way light and darkness interact with the structure of an object both in terms of luminosity and temperature. This is most clear in his treatment of white (λευκόν) and red (ἐρυθρόν). Thus, Democritus makes an important distinction between a colour’s brilliance and its temperature.

Thom Russell (Oxford)**Panel: Greek History: Regionality and the Ancient Economy**

Egypt and the Bosphorus: Ptolemaic involvement in the ‘closed-currency system’ of Byzantium and Chalcedon

During the third century BC, a complex monetary system was established at the Thracian Bosphorus by Byzantium and Chalcedon, which utilized counterstruck Attic regnal coinage alongside local issues of a lower weight to derive a profit from the exchange of currency. Since Henri Seyrig’s seminal study of this coinage system, several assumptions about its nature as an indirect protection tariff have become commonly accepted: 1) the system established a monetary monopoly analogous to that of Ptolemaic Egypt or the Attalid cistophoroi, 2) the monetary monopoly was intended as a revenue raising system by the local cities, and 3) the system was a temporary expedient lasting about 15 or 20 years, from c.240 to 220, the direct lead-up to the Byzantine-Rhodian War. In this paper, I argue that each of these assumptions must be modified in light of recent discoveries. The numismatic, literary, and archaeological evidence for Ptolemaic involvement

demand that our chronology be revised, and allow for a new interpretation of the nature of the coinage system. Rather than a local revenue-raising scheme, the system can profitably be viewed from the Ptolemaic perspective, as a piece of economic pressure on the part of the Ptolemies designed to give Egyptian merchants a privileged position against their competitors involved in trade with the Black Sea. The coinage system can then be used to illuminate other features of Ptolemaic economic activity in this period.

John Russell Holton (Edinburgh)

Panel: Plutarch (1)

Comparing single combat in Plutarch's Eumenes

In his *Eumenes* (7.4-7) Plutarch narrates single combat between Eumenes and Neoptolemus, taking place c.320 BC, in which the former was victorious and subsequently gained a glorious reputation. It was significant for Eumenes' career, demonstrating his military reputation, and instantiates the peculiar return to single combat practices in the early Hellenistic world. Explaining this event thus offers insight into Eumenes' actions, which had formative impact on the early Hellenistic world, and contributes towards understanding a widespread reversion to Homeric-style single combat. Examining Plutarch's conception of the event provides the means to offer such an explanation.

Plutarch initiates the combat scene by means of a simile (τῶν δὲ ἵππων ἐξ ἐναντίας βία συμπεσόντων ὥσπερ τριήρων), thus employing a comparison to structure and explain the event's significance. In this paper I suggest that the single combat's significance can be further explained by three more comparisons. (1) To other Plutarchan narratives of *monomachia* (e.g. in the *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus*), with a view to identifying unity, or lack thereof, in Plutarch's conception of the practice. (2) To the heroic tradition of single combat notable in the *Iliad*, with a view to exploring the historical parallelism of the Homeric and Hellenistic worlds (examined, but with focus on Alexander the Great, by Cohen (1995, 483-505)) and Plutarch's own use of epic and tragic characterisation (discussed for the *Alexander* and *Pyrrhus* by Mossman (1988, 83-93; 1992: 90-108)). (3) To the single combats widespread in the early Hellenistic age and discernible from other sources (usually adduced in argument against the uniqueness of Roman 'bellicosity' (Eckstein 2006, 197-200)), with a view to providing external controls for Plutarch's presentation.

This comparative approach sheds the fullest light on the single combat episode, as it engages on both literary and historical levels with the traditions and associated meanings of *monomachia*. This paper thus offers combined insight into Plutarchan literature and early Hellenistic history.

Evangelos Sakkas (QMUL)

Panel: Legacy of Greek Political Thought

Richard Price and the debate on Liberty

In this paper I aim to examine the use of ancient Greek sources by Richard Price in the formulation of his theory of liberty. In particular, I will deal with Price's participation in the debate on the American Revolution. My suggestion is that, to acquire a full understanding of Price's participation in the debate about the British colonies in America and his deployment of the neo-Roman argument concerning the impossibility of freedom outside a free, self-governing state, we should take into account the influence that classical Greek philosophical texts had on his thought. The case for the importance of Platonism for Price has already been made, but the exact relation with his theory of freedom has not been explored. I argue that in his writings the neo-Roman conception of civil liberty as independence was accommodated within a framework of understanding liberty as the exercise of reason. Well versed in Greek and an heir to a strand of Cambridge Platonist theology, Richard Price was acquainted with the Platonic dialogues in which the origins of his rationalist anthropology and moral theory and of this overarching conception of liberty are to be found. Liberty, then, for Richard Price had also a moral content and was valued as a prerequisite for the "improvement of human affairs".

Kate Sanborn (Trinity College Dublin)

Panel: Homeric Poetry and the Divine

Sight in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 5

Heraclitus, Empedocles, Aristotle, and, to an extent, Epicurus considered sight to be the most important sense, as it is the most efficient and accurate method of receiving and comprehending information. Recently, there has been some interest in the role of sight and the visual in epic (especially Smith [2005] and Strauss Clay [2011]), but there has been no study into sight and visuality in the *Homeric Hymns*, or, more specifically, in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 5*. However, as I will demonstrate, all central action in the hymn is dependent on the sense of sight, the immediacy of which facilitates instantaneous action in the narrative, and is perhaps appropriate considering the epic nature of the hymn.

The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 5* recounts Zeus' plot to make Aphrodite fall in love with a mortal, as revenge for Aphrodite having often inflicted love for mortals upon her fellow gods and goddesses. The central action of the hymn is the seduction of Anchises by the disguised Aphrodite and the resultant conception of Aeneas. Vision and the manipulation of the visual through selectively hiding and revealing both facilitates the seduction and is significant in its aftermath. Sight holds key mythological implications and serves a narratological function in that sight is the vehicle by which Aphrodite is able to seduce Anchises, and thus Zeus finally is able to get his revenge on Aphrodite.

This paper examines the process by which sight functions in the hymn as a key theme and literary device. Primarily, I will refer to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 5*, but I will mention, where relevant, additional instances in which love at first sight is significant for both the mythology and narrative in ancient sources in order to demonstrate a larger pattern of sight and immediate love, especially in epic.

Francesca Sapsford*Role-playing Latin: Operation LAPIS*

When people talk about e-learning they are usually referring to ways of replicating the classroom experience online, or supporting classroom learning through VLEs, using vodcasts, podcasts and uploaded material. While some teachers are starting to use web tools in different ways to enhance learning and teaching, they still tend to follow traditional methods. However, we believe that Operation LAPIS uses online tools and e-learning to produce a completely different experience for students.

[Practomime](#) is a new word for what stories, games, and many other kinds of works of art have in common: they all involve creative activity in a cultural zone regulated for play. In plain language, that means that the Iliad and the Odyssey are really the same kind of thing as some of the most popular video games today. We believe that we should probably be fighting to turn the classroom into a game – or, to be more precise, a practomime. Operation LAPIS is a two-year game-based (practomimetic) introductory course in the Latin language and in Roman culture. In Operation LAPIS, students are given the mission of discovering and subsequently translating the Lapis Saeculorum (The Stone of the Ages) by a shadowy figure known only as the Demiurge. In accomplishing their “top secret” mission, the students will save western civilization as we know it.

Operation LAPIS is also an interactive adventure in which students *perform* their learning as an extraordinarily effective and engaging way to develop and assess their growing skills. This is not only a game, but also a story, and an ongoing collaborative performance. Whereas traditional textbooks allow students to follow a story over the course of their Latin learning, Operation LAPIS allows them to *play* a story about ancient Rome, and, even more importantly, to integrate into their play-performances their growing skills in all the relevant domains. This is Latin-learning as experiential learning, project-based learning, and problem-based learning: students in Operation LAPIS learn Latin by playing Romans. In this paper we will briefly explain the theoretical basis behind the course, and explain how it all started. We will then explore Operation LAPIS through the experiences of the students and the tutor for a cohort of US home school students who started Operation LAPIS in July 2012. Finally, we will look at the future plans for the expansion of Operation LAPIS.

Panel: New Approaches to E-Learning**Elizabeth Sawyer (Oxford)***Gilbert Murray and American Higher Education*

There has been detailed research recently on the legacy of Gilbert Murray, particularly in the area of the impact of his translations of Greek tragedy on performance reception and the public understanding of the classics in Britain. The reception of his translations in America is also a growing field of research, to complement the studies of his role as internationalist. One aspect of his legacy which has not been examined, however, is that of his importance in shaping the direction of American higher education, which was undergoing great reformation and upheaval at the start of the 20th century due partly to emulation of the successful German university model, increased immigration, and later on, the First World War itself. Drawing on unpublished letters and essays, I show how Gilbert Murray's visits to New York in the 1910s, and the popular performances of his translations of *The Trojan Women* and *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, were extremely influential on the subsequent overhaul of the curriculum at Columbia University, where the radical step was taken of putting the Greek and Roman classics, in translation for the first time ever, at the centre of the undergraduate programme. This highly successful model for undergraduate education quickly spread to other universities and led directly to the ‘Great Books’ publishing phenomenon. I look at how differently Murray's ideas about the significance of classical literature were received in the USA compared with Britain, and how ‘the classics’ has fared in the two higher education systems as a result.

Panel: Classics & Politics USA**Daniele Sberna (Durham)***From Μοῦσαν λεπταλήην to musaeo lepore: Lucretius's paradoxical reception of Callimachus*

In their explorations of the relationship between Lucretius and Callimachus, Kenney (1970) and Brown (1982) have spelled out the Callimachean overtones of *De Rerum Natura* 1.921-950. In particular, the scholars have concentrated upon the untrodden paths and the untouched springs, which Lucretius proclaims to prefer (1.926-928). More recently, though, Knox (1999) has questioned these assumptions because, to him, these Lucretian verses resonate rather with Parmenidean/Pythagorean imagery; therefore, the passage under scrutiny cannot be taken as an allegiance to Callimachean poetics. In my paper I intend to argue that, although Knox's interpretation has appropriately problematised the attribution of Callimachean flavour to these lines, nonetheless Callimachus does play a relevant role in shaping Lucretius's stance on poetry. Lucretius exploits Callimachus's aesthetic imagery with the purpose to turn the wormwood of Epicureanism into something more palatable to his Roman audience. In so doing, however, Lucretius thoroughly subverts Callimachus's ideal of a poetry to be valued in itself, independently from the subject matter, and only to be judged, according to his piqued retort to his critics in the *Aitia* Prologue Fr.1.17-18 M., on the grounds of a genuine poetic τέχνη. In order to support my claim, I will suggest that at l. 934 Lucretius makes a further and, to the best of my knowledge heretofore unnoticed, allusion to the *Reply to Telchines*: in my opinion, *musaeo ... lepore* touches on Μοῦσαν λεπταλήην in Fr. 1.24 M. The different cases chosen by Lucretius and Callimachus will be a point of interest. Whereas the latter, by the authority of Apollo, sanctions the accusative Μοῦσαν λεπταλήην as a supreme artistic ideal, the former transforms it into an ablative, quite literally a means to sprinkle his lines with in the service of the philosophical content, for the sake of a more undemanding appreciation thereof.

Panel: Latin Literature 1

Cédric Scheidegger Lämmle (Basel)**Panel: Latin Literature 3**

Last Words and Late Works. Cicero's Cato and beyond

In a number of his dialogues Cicero adopts a special *mise en scène*: Not only does he introduce interlocutors who were deceased at the time of writing, but he sets the dialogues at a time shortly predating the death of the dialogue's protagonist. In modern scholarship, this has been variously noted but it is usually explained as a mere *topos* inherited from Plato (cf. Pohlenz 1931, 100–105; 1938, 123; Zoll 1962, 81; Coleman 1964, 2; Cameron 1966, 28–9; 1967). Little effort has been made to investigate Cicero's specific adaptation of this structure nor to account for its resonance with him (cf. however Görler 1988, 288ff. on *De oratore III*).

This paper argues that Cicero's evocation of 'Phaidonstimmung' (Pohlenz 1931, 104) firmly stands in the service of auctorial self-assertion in times of political and personal crisis. While this is already the case in Cicero's earlier philosophical works (*De oratore III*, *De republica*, *De legibus*), it is especially pronounced when the motif re-emerges in his later works: Centering on *Cato maior* and *Laelius*, the case is made that Cicero exploits it as a means to invest his auctorial voice with the weight and authority of 'last words', thereby stylising his philosophical oeuvre as a legacy to posterity (cf. Gnilka 1979; Most 1993 on last words). Thus Cicero not only advances his project of self-fashioning (Steel 2005; van der Blom 2010) but also engages with contemporary historiography and literary history in order to present his *philosophica* as 'late works' complementing and rounding off his literary oeuvre (cf. Said 2006). It can then be argued that the dialogues *Cato* and *Laelius* contribute to the presentation of Cicero's works as a coherent and unified *corpus*, a project perhaps best evidenced by the catalogue of his works in *De diuinatione* 2,1–7.

Andreas Serafim (UCL)**Panel: Performing Justice**

Moving beyond text: the performance dynamics of ekphrasis in Demosthenes 18 and 19

Despite recent advances in the study of oratory in/as performance, the performative dynamics of oratorical scripts remain seriously understudied. This is to some degree understandable since all we have from the courts of ancient Athens is inert texts. Yet despite the inevitable limitations, some features of the extant written copies of speeches enable us to reconstruct a basic image of performance. This paper explores some key examples of one such a feature, narrative scene painting, what later writers called *ekphrasis*.

Ekphrasis is mostly confined in contemporary scholarship to descriptions of works of art. However, as defined in ancient rhetorical treatises, *ekphrasis* refers to any descriptive account that presents the matter described before one's eyes.

Three narrative descriptions form the focus of this paper. In 18.168–180, Demosthenes describes the commotion in Athens after Elatea's capture was announced. I argue that this description evokes tragic models, turning the law-court audience into spectators of a tragic performance. In context, for example, the participle *aggellōn* in 18.169 tacitly invites the audience to identify the messenger with the tragic *aggelos*. This sense of the audience as viewer is increased by style. In 18.169, for example, the juxtaposition of participles and the plethora, tenses, and order of action verbs give the audience a sense of involvement in distant events, engage its pathos, and affect its judgement for Demosthenes' benefit.

In 18.262 and 19.337, Demosthenes gives a description of Aeschines' (allegedly) poor acting that so enraged the theatrical audience as to hiss him and pelt him with agrarian products. I argue that these lively descriptions aim at establishing an analogy between the theatrical and the law-court audience, making the negative reaction of the first a model that invites the hostile reaction of the second.

Georgia Sermamoglou-Soulmaidi (Virginia)**Panel: Plato**

Laughter in Plato's Gorgias

My paper argues that laughter is employed as a motif with a specific function in Plato's *Gorgias*. The paper analyzes the connection between actual *occurrences* of laughter in the dialogue and Socrates' later *discussion* of what is truly laughable. The motif is introduced with the laughter of Polus at 473a; a little later, Socrates reports an occasion in which he was laughed at (474a, 482d); eventually, philosophy in general is described as laughable (484d, 485a). References to laughter return in the discussion with Callicles (509b, 512d, 514e), yet this time it is not Socrates but his interlocutor who is described as laughable.

I argue that these repeated and seemingly disconnected references are in fact a systematic attempt to call into question conventional assumptions about the role of philosophy in general and the occasionally playful attitude of Socrates in particular. Socrates – and philosophy – may appear laughable, but the truly laughable ones are the very opponents of philosophy who adopt a mocking attitude towards it. A similar function of laughter is evident also in other dialogues, such as the *Euthydemus*, and so my discussion of the motif is – to the extent that this is possible given the time constraints – placed in a larger context.

Edwin Shaw (UCL)**Panel: Latin Literature (3)**

When are Annales not Annales? Sallust, Historiae I

From the fragmentary remains of the first book of Sallust's *Historiae*, editors have exhumed a digression on the theme of the Social War and the Civil War of Marius and Sulla. Where it has been studied at all, this digression has usually been dismissed as an emulation of Thucydides' *Pentecontaetia* or by reference to the beginning of Tacitus' *Annals*: however, the remains suggest that Sallust's account went into much greater depth than either. The aim of this paper is to examine the scope of the digression, and the historiographical implications of its inclusion in his work.

The fragments prove that the digression contained a detailed account of the whole period: that is, a lengthy narrative of events preceding the explicitly stated starting-point of the *Historiae* as a whole. This kind of historical exegesis is one of

Sallust's favoured techniques, appearing in both of his monographs, but is distinguished here by appearing as part of a work otherwise organised on the annalistic model, and with a much more defined chronological (as opposed to thematic) subject. Thus, I argue that its inclusion here illustrates Sallust's historiographical technique in the *Historiae*, combining the annalistic form of narration with the thematic concentration of the monographs.

The paper will continue by briefly investigating how far the digression can be seen as an introduction of the themes of the *Historiae* generally, and how far its inclusion should be seen as a polemic against previous accounts of the period (such as that of Sisenna, whose account Sallust's work apparently continues). Finally, I conclude that Sallust's narrative of the period of Civil War is an important structural and thematic element of the *Historiae*, and that reading it carefully allows wider conclusions about this lost masterpiece as a whole.

Julia Shear (American School at Athens)

Panel: Greek Religion (1)

The city, the festival, and the goddess: the Panathenaia in Hellenistic Athens

In the classical period, the Athenians celebrated the Great Panathenaia every four years in Hekatombaion when the games drew competitors from all over Greece. Despite the presence of these visitors, the festival focused primarily on the inhabitants of Athens who were offered multiple opportunities for taking part in the celebration; participation by non-Athenians who were not also colonists or allies, however, was restricted to the open events at the games. This pattern of participation continued until 229 B.C., the year in which the Athenians bought their freedom from the Macedonians. As I argue, in the subsequent period of improving social and economic conditions, the Panathenaia became a more inclusive affair than it had previously been. The efforts to attract larger numbers of non-Athenians are now most visible in the decree concerning the *spondophoroi* and the *theorodokoi* who received them (*Gonnoi* II 109 = *IG* II³ 1145). The presence of this decree in Thessaly testifies to the Athenians' desire to encourage participation by cities without clear previous connections to Athens. When their delegations arrived at the Panathenaia, they brought sacrificial animals to offer to the goddess. In this way, these delegations marched in the procession and took part in the sacrifices on the Akropolis. Participation in some events, however, continued to be restricted: only Athenians were allowed to compete in the individual tribal competitions. These developments after 229 marked a new era at the Panathenaia and linked it with the city's regained freedom which was now on display to all the delegations responding to the invitations of the *spondophoroi*. The changes also projected the image of a more inclusive city. As the limitations on competing in the games showed, however, not everyone could be Athenian and the Panathenaia remained an important occasion for defining exactly what that status entailed.

Cara Sheldrake (Exeter)

Panel: Classics and Children's Lit. (2)

Romans in Susan Cooper's The Dark is Rising Sequence

In the final book of Cooper's teenage fantasy series, Will Stanton time-travels to a Roman encampment in order to fulfil part of his mission and end the ancient battle between Light and Dark. This paper investigates the position of the classical past and classical knowledge in a series consciously steeped in Celtic and Norse mythology. It suggests that understanding of Latin and the study of archaeology is used to signify education and understanding throughout the series. It also demonstrates how the segment in the last book aims to evoke some of the key themes of the book.

Across the series small references are made to archaeology. One of the key characters is represented as being a professor and various items and artefacts are described as going to or being seen in museums. Although insignificant to the plot this intimates a respect for and familiarity with antiquity which permeates the novels. The author even notes that she has deliberately transplanted Sir Mortimer Wheeler's excavation of Caerleon to the contemporary period for the key sequence and thus allows her readers to connect real scholarship with the realm of the magical.

Whilst describing the trip to the Roman period in Wales, Cooper chooses to highlight the dichotomy between native and foreigner but despite her discussion of Welsh opposition to English encroachments the tone is non-judgemental. Instead the key turning point of the section is the sensation of homesickness which draws on the ideas of connection to one's land and family. Furthermore, the speaking Roman soldier both recognises the changes in society he represents but also that he is alien to his setting just like Will is displaced in time.

Overall, this paper shows that even in a British mythology steeped in Celticism there is a place for the Classics.

Veronica Shi (Oxford)

Panel: Fragments

The fragments of Rhianus' Messeniaca: an Iliad for the Messenian people?

Some nine fragments*, miscellaneous testimonia, and a few swaths of paraphrased material in Pausanias' Ἑλλάδος περιήγησις are all that remain of Rhianus' six-book epic of the Second Messenian War, the *Messeniaca*. Yet in spite of their meagreness, these remains sketch the outlines of a bold attempt to create a national history for a recently liberated people bereft of a written heritage. In this paper, building upon the work of Lionel Pearson and Nino Luraghi, I argue that the *Messeniaca* achieved its purpose as a national text not only through its primacy as a history of Messenia but also through the sophisticated imitation of Homer's *Iliad*.

My argument accounts for the *Messeniaca*'s most vexing feature, its focus on the defeat and exile of the hero Aristomenes in the 7th century BCE. Although seemingly inappropriate for a national epic, this pessimistic narrative allowed Rhianus to portray the Messenians as latter-day Trojans, another defeated yet proud enemy of the Spartans and Greeks. Numerous thematic and verbal correspondences between the *Messeniaca* and *Iliad* – including, most strikingly, the portrayal of Sparta's besiegement of Eira as an 11-year effort (CA 54 = Paus. 4.17.6), surpassing Homer's 10-year siege of Troy – point to an act of literary *imitatio* aimed at vesting Messenia's past with cultural relevance in the wider Hellenistic world. Along

with discussing these correspondences in detail, I also consider the implications Rhianus' Homeric exercise has for our understanding of Roman historical epic: while seemingly anomalous when viewed in isolation, the *Messenica*'s example suggests that Naevius and Ennius' Homerizing accounts of Roman history, rather than being endeavours unique to Roman literature, may reflect a practice of literary and cultural appropriation more widespread within, and possibly adopted from, the lost world of Hellenistic historical epic.

**Collectanea Alexandrina* fr. 50, 51, 54-6; *Supplementum Hellenisticum* 716, 923, 946 and 941-5 (the last three tentatively attributed).

Daniel Sicka (Oxford)

Panel: Pindar

Further Voices in Pindar? Echoes of Homeric Narratology in Epinician

Recent scholarship has continued to expand our understanding of the significance of Homeric formulae: in addition to their superficial denotative function, they can carry deeper structural connotations, serving as narratological signposts that guide the audience's expectations of how the action is likely to unfold (see Kelly (2007)). This paper explores the possibility that awareness of this aspect of epic composition survived into the 5th century BC, and that Pindar could exploit it by alluding to one of these signposts, which allowed him to convey a cluster of intertextual meanings with great economy in a variety of ways. For example, *Nemean 2* (which foregrounds the continuity of rhapsodic recitation of Homer in its opening lines) contains the briefest mythic narrative in the epinicians, a laconic reference to an encounter between Hector and Ajax at Troy: Pindar's phrasing seems to expect the audience to be conversant not only with the facts of their confrontation in *Iliad* 7, but with the compositional grammar that structures it as well.

In other instances, this technique can isolate a phrase (not necessarily a formula in the strict sense) which recurs significantly in related epic scenes, thus alluding to larger narrative arcs. For instance, in the group of odes for the family of Theron, tyrant of Acragas, examples can be found that relate to the theme of the triumphant *nostos* of Odysseus and his vengeance upon the suitors: unlike *Nemean 2*, where the allusion supports the familiar encomiastic strategy of mapping a contemporary victor onto a heroic exemplar in a fairly straightforward way, in these cases there exists the potential for suggestive ambiguities, and even the subversion of the imperative to praise that underpins the genre.

Andrew Simpson (Catholic University of America)

Panel: Mikis Theodorakis

The Spirit of Comedy in Theodorakis' Lysistrata

Theodorakis' *Lysistrata*, the only comedy in his operatic tetralogy modelled on ancient Greek drama, participates in the tradition of ancient comedy. It emulates the self-conscious questioning of its own function on stage as well as the institutions and expectations which support it. This paper examines how Theodorakis transfers Aristophanes' comedic practices to the operatic sphere by examining specific musical and dramatic techniques in his *Lysistrata*: meta-theatre, quotation, instrumentation, vocal and musical style, and what I term localization.

In antiquity, the state and the dramatic festival were the context of Aristophanes' work. The Modern Greek state is an important framework for Theodorakis, but opera itself becomes the primary material for artistic commentary in his *Lysistrata*. Aristophanes' play is a story of powerless agents triumphing over the traditional holders of power. Theodorakis imbues this gender conflict with class elements, partly to reference the Greek Civil War of 1946-49 (the time period in which the premiere stage production was set). This class conflict finds a musical analogue in the relationship between folk music and the high-classical genre of opera. Theodorakis uses this opposition to powerful dramatic effect, as evidenced by the juxtaposition of folk and classical styles.

Theodorakis' opera is also a celebration of Modern Greek identity, through localization (for example, Aristophanes' focus on specific eminent individuals is paralleled by Theodorakis' casting of the popular Greek singer George Dalaras), and by the composer's extensive use of quotation, of his own music and that of other composers. Disruptive meta-theatrical moments also evoke the spirit and effect of ancient comedy.

This paper will consider specific musical examples as well as audio and video excerpts from the premiere production.

Stella Skaltsa (Copenhagen)

Panel: Private Associations in the Greek World

Associations and the making of the built space in sanctuaries and meeting places in Attica during the Hellenistic period

Attica has yielded a wealth of information about private associations from the fourth century BC to the Roman period. Whereas scholars' interest has been primarily focused on the various types of associations, their organization and membership profile, little attention has been paid to the formative role of associations in shaping and transforming the built space. This paper investigates the role of individuals, be it associations' members and/or benefactors, in financing building and repair works in sanctuaries and places frequented by associations. It goes on to examine the way in which space was organized and used by closely studying the architectural terms as attested in the epigraphic record. Finally, it is argued that structures and amenities were built and rebuilt in the course of time as a response to the changing and increasing needs that sanctuaries and meeting places came to fulfil.

Alex Smith (Notting Hill and Ealing High School)

Panel: New Approaches to E-Learning

'Using Web-Design to teach Latin Literature'

This thesis is concerned with discovering the impact of using web design technology to improve the achievement of gifted students in a collaborative environment. The program 'eXeLearning' was used with a group of nineteen high ability Year 10 students. The students (in groups of three or four) had to design a website based on sections from the set lines of their Latin Prose Literature GCSE prescription. Before producing the website, the first half of the prescription was taught in a

‘traditional’ way in the classroom based around the teacher taking the students through the text by whole class instruction. Tests were administered after the ‘traditional’ teaching and ICT teaching stages along with questionnaires to see what impact the ICT intervention had and whether their perception of their own skills had altered after the two teaching sequences. The results then formed the basis of an interview with a group of six students in order to elicit further information. The questionnaires revealed that, although the students felt using computers made tasks easier and quicker, they did not feel they ought to be used in all contexts. The student test results showed a higher level of exam performance in Latin literature by 12 of the 18 students studied after the ICT intervention than after the ‘traditional’ teaching but the results of 6 students decreased, leaving the overall conclusion concerning achievement inconclusive. It was observed that involving web design in the teaching sequence made the students more aware of their skills in areas such as evaluation and collaboration. This research implies that further use of web design technology could enhance students’ learning of Latin literature (and potentially other topics) while also developing their wider skills.

Christopher Smith (British School at Rome)

Panel: Institutional theory and practice

Caesar, sacrosanctitas and tribunicia potestas: a jurist’s view

Did Caesar obtain something equivalent to tribunician power in 48 BC, and if so how was this possible? This paper addresses this problem within the context of how jurists like Trebatius Testa may have been involved in the complex constitutional issues which arose as the Republican constitution began to show signs of stress. How did jurists and others required to give their positions on these changes respond? How did the Republic’s rules come to be bent and reshaped? And what might this tell us about the way that early Republican history was rewritten, to accommodate the new order?

Laura Snook (Birmingham)

Panel: Classics in Museums (1)

Visiting Places of the Past – Exhibitions of Classical Sculpture

During the nineteenth century, excavations of sites such as Delphi, Olympia and the Sanctuary of Aphaia at Aegina helped to spark the public and academic interest in Greek architectural sculpture. Many of these pieces were deemed of such archaeological and art-historical importance that following the acquisitions of the original pieces by the national and royal collections of Western Europe, other organisations wishing to display them turned to full-scale copies in plaster. Today these pieces are still exhibited in almost two hundred galleries across the globe.

Chris Spensley (Queensland)

Panel: Classics and Children’s Literature (2)

History Through My Eyes: Using viewpoint to recreate Roman culture in The Eagle of the Ninth

Representations of history in narrative fiction gain more richness from authentic contexts than strict adherence to the historical timeline (Lukács 1974 p 151). This paper argues that the narratological technique of viewpoint is a fundamentally important mechanism for engaging young readers with classical antiquity through historical fiction, and that Sutcliff’s *The Eagle of the Ninth* provides a successful template for how this may be achieved. Children’s historical fiction offers its readers the chance to interact with historical events, societies, and cultures (Ringrose 2007 p 212), though this requires the author to have effective command of narratological techniques. Viewpoint characters, like Marcus in *The Eagle of the Ninth*, therefore must play a significant role in engaging young people with reading these stories (Hughes-Hessel & Rodge 2007 p 27, et al).

Viewpoint characters from inside a cultural context offer specific benefits for engaging readers with this context through the character’s subjective thoughts, reactions and experiences (McCallum 1999 p 30). Sutcliff focuses the narration tightly upon Marcus’s viewpoint as a privileged insider within Roman society, and therefore is able to build readers’ empathy and understanding for a character whose cultural experience is significantly different to that of readers’. She achieves this through specific techniques, including how she orients each scene, how she chooses imagery suitable to Marcus’s cultural experience and expectation, and how she builds historical exposition into Marcus’s responses to visual or other stimuli. These techniques offer readers a means to empathise with—and thus understand—Roman values, attitudes, and beliefs. Therefore, viewpoint creates empathising with characters’ experiences of offers the author an effective means to guide young readers into reflecting upon the experience of life in classical antiquity.

Catherine Steel (Glasgow)

Panel: Institutional theory and practice

Pompeius’ Senate

A Roman Senate accompanied Pompeius on his march east in 49 B.C.: although much of our evidence for its activity derives from Caesar’s sardonic comment, its actions appear to have been dominated by a concern for legitimacy in the face of Mediterranean-wide fragmentation. Parallels can be found in the earlier Senates of Sulla and Sertorius – also the products of civil war and the collapse of unified authority – but the Senate in exile of 49 was distinct in its size, the status of its members and its concern to maintain continuous authority. Its existence underlines the scale of disruption which followed from Pompeius’ strategy to fight outside Italy; it also offers an opportunity to explore what contemporaries thought were, and were not, essential components of the Roman Senate.

Rex Stem (University College Davis)

Panel: Ancient Biography

Measuring Exemplarity through Invidia in Nepos’ On Foreign Generals

At the end of his book *On Foreign Generals*, in which he presents brief biographies of twenty-two famous non-Roman commanders, Cornelius Nepos says that a book *On Roman Generals* will follow so that the reader, having compared their deeds, can judge which men are to be preferred (*qui viri praeferendi sint*, Hann. 13.4). Although the Roman book is no

longer extant, I propose that we take this charge seriously and seek common themes and criteria by which to compare the subjects in *On Foreign Generals*. One such theme is *invidia*, the envious spite that the prominence of a successful leader inspires in others, which Nepos declares to be a vice common to states that are great and free (*commune vitium in magnis liberisque civitatibus*, *Chab.* 3.3). Since several of Nepos' subjects are faced with *invidia* (*Themistocles* 8.1, *Cimon* 3.1-2, *Alcibiades* 4.1 and 7.1, *Dion* 4.2, *Chabrias* 3.2-4, *Datames* 5.2, *Epaminondas* 7.1-3, *Timoleon* 1.5, *Hannibal* 1.2), comparison of Nepos' presentation of their responses allows for the creation of an exemplary spectrum of behaviors that gives readers the moral and/or political grounds to judge some more preferably than others. I will argue that the fulcrum of that spectrum, the dividing line between Nepos' implicit endorsement or criticism, is the commander's willingness to bear *invidia* without retaliation and thereby to place the sovereignty of his republic, even when its citizens or institutions are culpable, ahead of his own interests.

Sarit Stern (Johns Hopkins)

Panel: Homeric poetry and Divine

Anything she can do, he can do better? Apollo and Artemis in the Homeric Corpus

Apollo and Artemis, the twin gods, were both important deities, honored and revered by many Greek cults and sanctuaries. Yet some literary sources present each of them in a remarkably different way. The best example for this comes from the writings of Homer, especially in the *Iliad*, with Apollo depicted as the mighty defender of the Trojans, while Artemis is portrayed as weak and marginal (e.g. *The Iliad*. XXI.435-520).

What is the source of this disparity, and why does Homer treat Artemis in such a belittling manner? This paper analyzes the depictions of Apollo and Artemis throughout the Homeric corpus in order to explain the gap between these literary representations of the gods and their perception in the Greek cultic reality.

One possible answer is that since Greek mythology often presents a younger son as the main successor (e.g. Cronos, Zeus, etc.), this might make Artemis, within the realm of myth, inherently weaker than Apollo, who was born after her. Another solution may derive from the fact that Apollo and Artemis are an unusual pair of twins, since Zeus fathered both of them. Could it be that instead of having one twin who is weaker since he or she had a mortal father, it was Artemis' gender, in our case, that was perceived as a weakening factor by Homer, especially since the two gods are portrayed together? Or maybe Artemis' weakness in Homer derives from the presence of Athena, not allowing any other goddess to outshine her?

Lav Subaric (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute)

Panel: Neo-Latin

The emotional value of Latin as spoken language in nineteenth-century nationalism and language conflicts

One of the last territories in which Latin played a larger role in society outside education, academia, or the church was the eastern half of the Habsburg Monarchy. In the late 18th and early 19th century, Latin was still the official language as well as the language of social elites in this region, although pressure from the vernacular languages was growing. Beyond its role as neutral medium of communication in a multi-ethnic society and as element of identity for social elites, Latin also had an emotional value for its speakers. Based on the evidence of Latin speeches, supplemented by other material from the period, this paper examines the attitudes towards Latin and the emotional value associated with it at a time when language conflicts dominated public discourse and the gradual advancement of new, language-based national identities made society increasingly less inclined to use the language of the Romans.

Tristan Taylor (University of New England)

Panel: Roman Military History

Mass-Enslavement in Caesar's Gallic Conquest: A Case Study

Mass-violence and mass-deportation, or 'ethnic cleansing', were an ugly feature of some 20th century conflicts (eg, Kiernan 2007). Plutarch reports that in his Gallic conquest, Caesar killed 1 million Gauls and enslaved a further million (*Caes.* 15). While the figures may be doubted (Westermann 1955), they do raise the question as to the link between mass-violence and mass-enslavement or deportation in Caesar's Gallic conquest. Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* is an interesting work to examine in this regard, written as it is by an actual participant in events with a keen eye to his own public self-representation. This paper will argue that, although Caesar himself places in the mouth of Vercingetorix that enslavement of a civilian population is the usual outcome of conquest (*BG* 7.14), it is only infrequently that enslavement of very large numbers of non-combatants is reported, such as the Aduatuci (*BG* 2.33), Veneti (*BG* 3.17) and Alesia (*BG* 7.89). Caesar's usual strategy is, rather than enslaving the conquered, to secure their *deditio*. Further, some reports appear to be exaggeration, such as the looting of Cenabum (*BG* 7.11), which a year later was able to host a Roman army (*BG* 8.6). As with episodes of mass-violence, such as the destruction of the Usipetes and Tencteri (*BG* 4.14-15), the Eburones (*BG* 6.34) and Avaricum (*BG* 7.28), mass-enslavement appears to be utilized by Caesar as an exemplary measure, to punish and deter (Hopkins 1978). Further, mass-enslavement did not always lead to depopulation, as some slaves appear to have been sold within Gaul itself (*BG* 2.33 and Westermann 1955), and Gauls possessed other Gauls as slaves (eg, *BG* 5.45 and 7.20). Therefore, while mass-violence and mass-enslavement can be linked in the exercise of Roman imperialism, it was far from what we might term 'ethnic cleansing'.

Oliver Thomas (Cambridge)

Panel: Greek Religion (1)

Religious politics in Limenius' Paeon

Limenius' *Paeon* was composed for the Athenian Pythais of 128/7 BCE, and has been mostly studied as the longest surviving example of Greek musical notation. This paper will focus instead on the historical background and literary strategies of the hymn.

First, Limenius reacts to and ‘maps’ the geopolitics of his day, in particular Rome’s power in Greece, and the resurgence of Athens (through its alliance with Rome) including control of Delos. Secondly, he uses a radically reconstructed history of the paean genre to intervene in a long-running debate between two groups of the Craftsmen of Dionysus (those of Athens and those of the Isthmus and Nemea) about performance rights at Delphic festivals. Thirdly, the Athenians had started to keep an archive of documents relating to the Pythaic pilgrimages on display on the South wall of their treasury at Delphi. I shall argue that Limenius shaped his composition with this publication context in mind, as well as making skilful use of melody for the initial performance.

Besides arguing for a more positive view of Limenius’ literary qualities, I hope to show that his hymn is an excellent case-study for several fundamental aspects of the political ‘embeddedness’ of Greek religious performance: the influence of contemporary international relations; the negotiations governing the right to perform in certain sanctuaries; the tendentious construction of a ‘shared’ mythical past; and the use of international sanctuaries for interstate display.

Christian A. Thomsen (Copenhagen)

Panel: *Private Associations in the Greek World*

The civic aspirations of private associations: the katoikeutes and geōrgeutes in late Hellenistic Lindos

The island of Rhodes is often named as a land of associations, and rightly so. From the late third century BCE and well into the first centuries of our era the epigraphic evidence from Rhodes attests to the presence of a great variety of associations whose number come to more than 200. The sheer wealth of associations in Rhodes and their regular appearance in monumental epigraphy gives rise to questions concerning the interaction of associations with the surrounding society and particularly with the state: did private associations have civic aspirations and if so, how were they realised?

The paper focuses on a single association, the *katoikeutes en Lindiai polei kai geōrgeutes en tai Lindiai*, which was active in Lindos from the mid first century BCE to the mid first century CE, and came to occupy a central position in the civic life of Lindos. First, the paper traces the relationships of the association with members of the local Lindian elite and the publication of these relationships through monumental epigraphy. Secondly, the paper considers the association’s relationship with the Rhodian (and Lindian) state in an effort to reconsider the traditional divide between private and public, between associations and the state.

James Thorne (Manchester)

Panel: Roman Military History

Italian Slave Imports and the Gallic War

The scale of slave imports from Gaul to Italy during the later Republic has long been of interest, for example to Tchernia (1983). In addition to the capture of slaves by Roman armies, there was a ‘peace-time’ trade in exchange for Italian wine, attested by literary sources (e.g. Diod. 5.26.3), and taken to explain at least a portion of the transport to Gaul of 50 million or so amphorae during ca. 150-1BC.

Here, I synthesise recent work on Italian population size, both free and slave (Lo Cascio & Malanima 2005, Hin 2008, Launaro 2011) with the debate on the slave supply (e.g. Harris 1999, Scheidel 2011). This allows us to see what level of slave replacements falls within a plausible range. Then, whereas the Harris/Scheidel debate has assumed a slave population of constant total size, I go on to consider the level of ‘reinforcements’ required in addition to replacements, to accommodate the significant secular growth of the slave population, ca. 225-27BC.

Finally, I turn to Gaul. Crawford (1977) once argued that dated hoards of Republican denarii in Romania allow us to infer changes in the regional sources of slaves over time. Many more hoards are now known (Moisil & Depeyrot 2003) and they appear to show that the Dacian slave trade ebbed very low during the 50s, suggesting what we might expect, that Gaul took the strain in that decade. Even in this case, the numbers of Gallic slave imports implied are quite low compared to what has previously been thought. This means we may have an as yet unexploited way of critiquing the hypothetical scenarios proposed in the debates about both the Italian population and the slave supply. It also means we may have to find more explanations than sheer hyperbole for the gap between the numbers of slaves reported captured in ancient literature and those actually needed to replace and reinforce the Italian stock.

Laila Tims (St Edward’s School, Oxford)

Panel: New Approaches to E-Learning

iVocab? Language learning on a laptop

This paper aims to explore some of the ways in which the benefits of e-learning could be applied to language teaching in Classics at secondary schools, specifically looking at vocabulary acquisition. The research is focused on how the literature on educational IT use can be translated into concrete use in the classroom, connecting the strengths of IT (in areas such as differentiation, direct feedback, etc) with specific challenges encountered in the classroom. The problem of pupils being ineffective and poorly motivated when learning vocabulary was tackled by developing a website with a rich variety of exercises to acquire and practice vocabulary, where students were free to choose their own preferred exercises and encouraged to make independent decisions about their learning process. The exercises had to: vary in form, stimulate multiple intelligences, build up a context for learnt words, vary on a taxonomical level, repeat a large part of the vocabulary learnt and give students range of choices. Before and after the series of lessons students’ motivational levels were tested through a questionnaire, and to assess any improvement they were given vocabulary tests before and after the experiment. The results of these assessments showed a slight increase in motivation, and a significant improvement in test results for all students, leading to some recommendations to further improve the efficiency of this project. Pupils’ enthusiasm while working on the exercises was great and served to encourage further work on similar projects.

Daniel P. Tompkins (Temple)**Panel: Classics and Politics**

Marx, the Communist Party, and Moses Finley's Historiography

Though Moses Finley famously claimed Karl Marx as “part of his *paideia*,” his use of Marx has been insufficiently explored. Finley came to ancient history and Marxism in the early 1930s, and for over half a century thought seriously about Marxian topics, particularly class, historical evolution, slavery, revolution, and “modes of production.” Studying these topics deepens our understanding of his practice as an ancient historian.

Because few papers survive from Finley's American years, reconstructing his early career is not easy. A handout will briefly review new archival findings in Moscow, the United States and the United Kingdom concerning a) Finley's important work (1938-46) as an organizer for left-wing groups, b) his brilliant fellow students at Columbia, c) and his long and close association with non-Stalinist Marxists, especially Max Horkheimer, at the Frankfurt School (1934-47), as well as Finley's important later contacts with East Bloc scholars, including Andreev, Pecirka, and Kreissig.

The presentation itself will use archival findings that illustrate Finley's thinking about of three important topics and the problem of historical change that is basic to each:

- a) Historical stages, with special reference to his correspondence with Kreissig, his conversations with Karl-August Wittfogel in 1938 about “oriental despotism,” and his concerns about the work of Chris Wickham.
- b) Slavery and the labour force, as debated with Andrea Carandini.
- c) The utility of “class” as an analytic category for antiquity, a recurring topic in Finley's lengthy correspondence with Geoffrey de Ste. Croix. Although assailed for his seeming “deviations” on this topic, Finley was moving in directions shared by social historians in other fields, including Britain during the Industrial Revolution.

Some of his friends praised *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* when it appeared in 1938. Finley never did, though it often furnishes a baseline for his comments.

Stephen Trzaskoma (New Hampshire)**Panel: What the Heck-Phrasis?**

Ekphrasis, Mythography and Originality in the Later Greek Novels

The work of recent decades on the role of ekphrasis in the ‘Sophistic’ Greek novels has moved us decisively away from an assumption that description is mere empty rhetoric inserted (more or less at random) to dazzle audiences and toward a view that sees ekphrastic elaboration as vital components in establishing and resolving—sometimes—interpretive issues.

However, one minor consequence of this necessary corrective and its focus on the internal workings of the text has been a neglect of some of the real-world causes and consequences of the importance of ekphrasis since the earlier, more naive view was rooted in simplistic assumptions about rhetoric and description. In this paper I want to discuss how an audience educated in and surrounded by art and ekphrastic representations of that art, and likewise surrounded by myth and educated in the subject mythographically—that is, through the systematizing and interpretive scholarly and semi-scholarly works about myth in wide circulation during the Empire—would have read the mythical narratives and particularly those that come in the form of ekphrasis of mythological paintings and are central to the novels of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus. *In nuce*, I will advance the thesis that Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus manipulate audience experiences and expectations to make claims to originality that are both generic, that is, they are made on behalf of prose fiction as form, and specific, that is, they are made by the narrators on behalf of the novels' authors. When viewed in this fashion, we can then see that the same techniques were pioneered by Chariton and Xenophon Ephesius in their earlier novels and employed in a typically modified way by Longus as well.

Sebastiano Tusa (Soprintendente del Mare, Regione Siciliana)**Panel: Inscribed Rostra**

Presentation of The Egadi Islands Project ('Archeorete Egadi')

The history of research into the site of the Battle of the Aegates Islands begins many years ago, when Cecè Paladino, a pioneer of underwater exploration, and ‘last of the Florio family’ (the famous Sicilian mercantile family which between the later 19th and early 20th centuries dominated the Italian economic scene), told me of the recovery, during the 1960s and 1970s of hundreds of lead anchors found on the sea bed below the rocky slopes of the eastern side of the island of Levanzo, an inaccessible coastline with vertical cliffs. That prompted me already to wonder whether that could have been the place of anchorage of the fleet of Lutatius Catulus. However, that would have required the battle to have taken place to the north of Capo Grosso, and not in the vicinity of Cala Rossa as historians tend to insist. Nonetheless, our first underwater explorations in the vicinity of Capo Grosso revealed some tens of anchors still *in situ*.

At the same time, rereading Polybius, it seemed to me more logical that the route followed by the 700 Carthaginian ships could not have passed through the channel between Levanzo and Favignana, but rather to the north of Levanzo, since the only possible landing point for reaching the summit of Mt. Erice, where Hamilcar was besieged, lay in the bay of Bonagia, to the north of Trapani. Field survey on the mountain confirmed this hypothesis. It was, therefore, possible that Lutatius Catulus had guessed the likely route of Hanno and prepared an ambush accordingly, using Levanzo as cover.

The location of the engagement ought to lie, therefore, in the region to the north of Levanzo. We began our explorations with this in mind, but at that point a chance discovery came to our help: in 2004, in collaboration with the Carabinieri's unit for safeguarding cultural heritage, we recovered a *rostrum* in the office of a Trapani dentist, who had received from some fishermen who had evidently found it in the course of trawling to the north-west of Levanzo. We therefore concentrated our research in that area, with considerable success, since in the area c.2.5 miles north west of Levanzo, between 2004 and today, we have found another 9 *rostra* and multiple other objects belonging to the two fleets from the battle. We have to date still not found a wreck, but that is entirely understandable, reading Zonaras, who, with impressive hyperbole, tells us

that the timbers from the fleets filled the seas between Sicily and Sardinia. The Punic ship found by Honor Frost, at Punta Scario, at the northern end of Isola Longa, near Marsala, lies a long way from the site of the battle. The discovery of the rams, with their Latin and Punic inscriptions, has opened up additional horizons, and confirms that the Romans shared in the financing of the construction of the final victorious fleet of the First Punic War, in contrast to the Carthaginians who placed their trust in the favour of the gods. Moreover, this research has demonstrated that it was between the fourth and third centuries BC that the trident-form ram was developed and spread across all the fleets of the Mediterranean, and that it had an exceptional capacity for ramming, disabling, and sinking opposing ships. The rams were made of bronze (the punic example presents a higher percentage of lead), manufactured through lost-wax casting, sometimes in two parts, and they often show signs of repair.

Rebecca Usherwood (Nottingham)

Panel: Christianity and the Roman Emperors

Tyranny in Stone

As the historian T. D. Barnes has demonstrated, by the end of the fourth century AD the word ‘*tyrannus*’ had grown beyond its original literal meanings, coming instead to mean ‘usurper’ in a more narrow political sense. It was a word which had complex meanings, with strong moralistic overtones, designating someone who had misused imperial power and was therefore undeserving of it. Its development is linked to the growth of Christianity, as demonstrated in the writings of apologists such as Lactantius, where any persecuting emperor was branded a ‘*tyrannus*’ and his legitimacy under question. From Constantine onwards it was adopted as a derogatory label for failed usurpers (such as Maxentius and Magnentius) and defeated imperial rivals (such as Licinius).

This paper will investigate one particular aspect of this development: the use of the word ‘*tyrannus*’ in inscriptions on state monuments in the fourth century. The word ‘*tyrannus*’ had never been used in public inscriptions before its emergence in political discourse following Constantine’s defeat of Maxentius at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312. From this point was utilised as a way of making reference to defeated imperial rivals in victory monuments without the need to name them explicitly.

I will focus in particular on the arch of Constantine, the equestrian statue base and obelisk of Constantius II in Rome, and the obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople, investigating how the use of this powerfully loaded term developed during the course of the fourth century. I will investigate issues of inter-monumentality, and the relationship between the use of ‘*tyrannus*’ in epigraphy and other contemporary sources, in particular panegyrics and legal edicts. What kind of reaction was this term intending to provoke in its audience? And what, by contrast, is being said about legitimate imperial power?

Cas Valachova (Edinburgh)

Panel: Plutarch (2)

A Crisis of Faith? The Inconsistency of Cassius in Plutarch's Roman Lives

Between Plutarch's *Crassus*, where he plays the pragmatic and perceptive straight man to the downward-spiralling protagonist, and the *Brutus*, where he is portrayed as the misguided, unpopular and somewhat comic side of the tyrannicidal partnership, the character of Cassius undergoes a series of drastic personality changes. Depictions of these are accompanied by assertions of his philosophical beliefs which are not only at odds with what we are told by other sources but internally inconsistent.

In these *Lives*, as well as in his smaller appearances in the *Caesar* and the *Antony*, Plutarch vacillates between portraying Cassius as a lifelong hater of tyrants and a power-hungry warmonger; a firm believer in facts and reason and a superstitious observer of omens and portents; an ardent follower of Epicureanism and a hasty abandoner of the doctrine. These changes in attitude do not cohere to a straightforward chronology, but occur when expedient to the plot of each *Life*.

This paper will explore the manner in which Plutarch uses Cassius to shape the narratives of the lives of others, the philosophical agenda which caused him to repeatedly link the man's actions to his Epicureanism, and the consequences of these for our utilization of the *Lives* as a source on this individual. I will argue that the deviations from the strict materialism of his sect by Plutarch's Cassius have more to do with the author's project of highlighting the importance of divine signs in both the *Lives* and the *Moralia* than with any psychological or philosophical insight into the man himself.

Henriette van der Blom (Glasgow)

Panel: Institutional Theory and Practice

The censorship: the Strange Case of 50 B.C

When App. Claudius Pulcher and L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus were elected censors for 50 BC, they and their contemporaries could not know that they were to be the last censors functioning under the Roman Republic. But the developing crisis between Pompeius and Caesar was already obvious. This paper explores the final Republican censorship as a tradition modified by exceptional circumstances: the censors managed to complete some of their tasks, though not all, and their approach to their duties offers a revealing snapshot of elite perceptions and understanding of events as civil war loomed.

Ghislaine van der Ploeg (Warwick)

Panel: Performance, Presence, and Memory

Sacred Laws in the Cult of Asclepius

Sacred Laws in the cult of Asclepius detailed supplicants’ actions and guided their behaviour. They have been found in various Asclepieia and were probably set up at the entrance to the sanctuary. These laws were prescriptive, controlling a supplicant’s actions within the sanctuary and setting out a model for healing behaviour within it. By outlining the rites which must be performed and the sacrifices made by a worshipper, they acted in a way similar to the Epidaurian *Iamata*,

inscribed records of the miracle healings which took place in Epidaurus, in that they prepared the supplicant to be receptive to healing and told them what to do and expect.

The positioning of these laws in the sanctuary would have been very important, as would the ability to read the text. This paper will explore issues of performance and literacy within the cult. The latter is a vital area for research in the cult of Asclepius as a great portion of the god's supplicants seemingly came from poorer socio-economic backgrounds than in other cults, as is demonstrated by the votives made of cheap materials found *en masse* in the Asclepieia.

As sacred laws have been found in sanctuaries of Asclepius across the Roman empire such as in Pergamum, Cos, and Thuburbo Maius, they will be used in this paper as a case study to explore wider themes of regional and Pan-Mediterranean identity in the cult of Asclepius by asking: To what extent did sacred laws reflect the uniform nature of cultic rites? To what extent to specifically local religious rites occur in these laws? How do the laws reflect the socio-economic make-up of the cult's supplicants?

Olga Vartzioti (Patras)

UNLizing Latin

Building on the attempt for driving a new generation of computational analysis in Latin and putting linguistic research in Classics a new project under development is sponsored by the UNDL Foundation. The UNL Programme is a knowledge representation language with main goal to create the UNL multilingual infrastructure in an effort to facilitate an interchange of cultural values and to contribute to the dialogue among civilizations.

Language and computer specialists are creating natural language resources (dictionaries, grammars, etc.) for “translating” (=language interpretation) into and from UNL. The main goal of the UNL-ization process is to map the information that is verbally elicited in the surface structure of Latin written texts into a language-independent and machine-tractable database. This process is at first based on the production of an *UNL-NL-UNL* dictionary (source: Lewis & Short Latin Dictionary), where the natural language entries created in *UNL-NLdictionary* are described and classified referring to *Inflectional Rules (Igrammar)*.

In two UNL Grammar Workshops a corpus (head words with one to three *attributes*, and/or one to three *relations:semantic functions*) has been translated into Latin in order to prepare the initial versions of the grammar for sentence-based [UNLization \(IAN, i.e. analysis\)](#) and [NLization \(EUGENE, i.e. generation\)](#). [see an example of the work in progress in Table1].

The UNL challenge is to re-store a representation of Latin Language within a computer, and not only encoding all the linguistic information of Classical texts, considering that UNL process is interactive in language managing. This means that the UNL representation is not committed to replicate the lexical and the syntactic choices of an original text, but focuses in representing, in a non-ambiguous format, one of its possible readings, preferably the most conventional one. In this sense, the UNL representation is going to be an interpretation rather than a translation of a given text.

Berenice Verhelst (Ghent)

Panel: Nonnus of Panopolis

“ὄφρα τις εἶπη” *Potential τις-speech in Nonnus’ Dionysiaca. A Homeric device revived*

‘Tis-Rede’ is in Irene de Jong's and René Nünlist's 'Homerische Poetik in Stichwörtern' (1996) defined as direct speech by an unidentified speaker (τις), often expressing what the crowd thinks. A distinction is drawn between actual τις-speech and τις-speech that is pronounced by a character imagining the reaction of others (tertiary focalisation). In Homer we count 23 actual τις-speeches, and 10 potential τις-speeches. John Wilson (1979) makes note of the dramatic use of potential τις-speeches in Greek tragedy, but also draws attention to its almost complete absence in Greek literature later than the 5th century BC. The by contrast extensive use of potential τις-speech by Nonnus of Panopolis (15 in the *Dionysiaca* (and another 6 in indirect speech) and 2 in the *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John*) was not taken into account.

Introduced by “ὄφρα τις εἶπη” or “ὄταν [...] τις ἐνίψη”, a great number of these examples are discussed in contributions to Nonnus research for their epigrammatic style, ending a rhetorically elaborated speech with a short embedded speech as a punch line. Notwithstanding the great formal similarity with Homer, Nonnus research has not regarded them as examples of τις-speech before. By comparing Nonnus’ use of potential τις-speech with Homer and the tragedians, I shall point out the differences and similarities. The two examples in the *Paraphrase*, where Nonnus makes a small addition to the text of the *Gospel*, indicate most clearly that potential τις-speech in Nonnus has become a stylistic feature and part of his poetic language. I will show that the revival of potential τις-speech in Nonnus does not only mean an extensive use of it as one of his more common rhetorical devices used in character speech, but also a creative search for new alternatives and derivate forms.

Laura Viidebaum (Cambridge)

Panel: Performing Justice

Ἠθοποιία -- between rhetorical theory and oratorical practice

Much of the terminology that is used to describe ancient oratorical texts, be it illustrating its literary quality or performative effects, can be traced back to the second and/or first centuries BC – to a time when the context of forensic oratory itself was significantly different from its original fifth-fourth century BC Athenian setting. For instance, one of the first identifiable definitions of *ἐνάργεια* and *ἠθοποιία* stems from the first century BC critic Dionysius of Halicarnassus (DH). Admittedly, there are passages in the fragments of his predecessors, most notably in the works of Philodemus (recounting the positions of the so-called *kritikoi*), that indicate the existence of an elaborated and wide-spread critical terminology at least by a generation before DH. This suggests that various concepts used to discuss literary and performative qualities of oratorical texts had already become part of a shared intellectual property of the theorists of the time.

As we have no evidence that would indicate whether and to what extent this critical terminology was used already by the early rhetoricians and speechwriters themselves, this paper addresses the gap between the forensic texts that originate from the fifth-fourth century BC Athens and the reconstructions and theorisations of these texts by later Greek writers/rhetoricians. In particular, this paper takes its cue from the usage of the concept of *ἡθοποιία* in first century BC literary criticism to refer back to elements of characterisation in Athenian forensic texts, and conducts ‘intellectual archaeology’ of a sort to explore the development of this term. There seems to have been some confusion over the meaning of both *ἦθος* and *ἡθοποιία* among later (i.e. post-Aristotelian) rhetorical theorists (cf. Worman 2002), and this paper traces out the source for this confusion and shows to what extent this confusion among ancient critics is reflected in the contemporary debates of these concepts.

Kostas Vlassopoulos (Nottingham)

Modalities of slavery

Traditional scholarship approaches slavery as a single entity, defined usually as a relationship of property and as a form of social death. But historical research continuously shows that slavery has always been a complex reality which encompasses much more than what these definitions suggest. Instead of approaching slavery as a single entity, I propose that slavery is always an agglomeration of various modalities, which co-exist in diverse configurations ranging from mutual compatibility to irreconcilable contradiction.

One modality is to define slavery as a relationship of property between owner and slave. A related modality construes slavery as a distinctive legal condition, which differentiates slaves from freemen, citizens, metics etc. Another sees slavery as a relationship of domination, and focuses on the problem of power. Slavery can also be seen as a means of providing the labour necessary to maintain a certain desirable lifestyle. A fifth modality construes slavery as a reciprocal, if asymmetrical, relationship of service between master and slave. A sixth modality perceives slavery as a relationship of dependence: the slave needs the master and vice versa. Freedom and slavery can be seen as different states of being; finally, slavery is an extreme form of bad luck for the individual slave, and a potentiality applicable to every human being.

This paper will examine the diversity of the modalities of slavery by focusing on two very different sources: the famous inscription recording regulations regarding the mystery cult of Andania in Messenia (*IG* V.1 1390), dating from the first century BCE, and the treatise *On the Interpretation of Dreams* by Artemidorus, dating from the second century CE. Despite the differences in genre, space and time, I will be showing how diverse and often contradictory modalities of slavery can co-exist within the very same text.

Panel: New Theoretical Approaches

Shane Wallace (Trinity College Dublin)

Biography and Epigraphy in Plutarch's Life of Demetrius

Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius* provides an invaluable addition to the historical accounts of the early Hellenistic period (namely Diodorus Siculus Books 18-20). In particular, it offers a notable, extended account of Demetrius' relationship with Athens in the late 4th and early 3rd centuries. Plutarch's *Lives*, however, need to be approached with caution as by his own standards Plutarch was concerned with writing biography, not history. Modern scholarship, therefore, must negotiate the dangers involved in using Plutarch's biographies as sources for early Hellenistic history. The problem is particularly pertinent for the *Demetrius*, in which Plutarch states at the beginning that the life furnishes an account of a bad individual, a ruler who was not to be emulated but instead to be used as an exemplum of how not to act. Consequently, not only must we disentangle biography from history, but we must do so within a work that seeks to create a negative and biased image of its subject.

This paper will explore the accuracy of Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius* by juxtaposing it with contemporary epigraphic sources. It will focus in particular on the years 304-302, for which a copious number of Athenian decrees survive. Plutarch's Demetrius is presented as power-corrupted and totalitarian, frequently demanding Athens' acquiescence to his royal will. By comparing Plutarch's account with the contemporary epigraphic record (e.g. *IG* II2 486; *SEG* XVI 68, XXXVI 164), this paper will examine the degree to which the image Plutarch creates of Demetrius' relationship with Athens is a literary embellishment designed to represent Demetrius in an overtly negative light. It will argue that although Demetrius did act in a demanding and commanding manner to Athens, the epigraphic evidence shows that the relationship between both was not as one-dimensional as Plutarch represents. Athens was not totally cowed by Demetrius. Rather, not only was Athens able to integrate Demetrius' royal commands within the structures of its democratic system, but it was also able to assert its own primacy in its dealings with Demetrius.

Panel: Plutarch (1)

Alex Wardrop (Bristol)

Violence in Ettinger and Ovid's Eurydice

“We “look back” without punishment, but this does not mean that the act of doing so is easy or without pain.” (Vigneault 2011: 129)

From 1992 onwards, the artists and psychoanalyst Bracha Ettinger created a series of mixed-media artworks entitled “Eurydice.” Incorporating public archival images and personal photographs of the Shoah, along with textual material, Ettinger photocopied, traced, retraced, inked and splashed thick but permeable lines of red and purple paint across recycled paper, creating an aesthetic which she terms a “matrixial borderspace” (Ettinger (2006). This space of interaction and *co-response-ability*, of sharings and connections, gives Ettinger the tools to reconfigure a past that was never meant to be remembered to that which can never be forgotten. I draw on Adriana Cavarero's “horrorism” — repeated, and repeatable, acts of violence which work at “the undoing of the wounded body” — to illustrate how Eurydice, for Ovid and Ettinger,

Panel: Embedded in the Root

takes place within this field of incessantly repeatable undoing (Cavarero 2009:12). This paper argues for an acknowledgement of this violence, not to redeem Eurydice or give voice to her, but to open up the space for ethical questions and response-abilities given with/in her undoing. The body and name of Eurydice (which recede towards the destruction of both), allows Ettinger to negotiate aesthetic, psychoanalytic, and historic traditions which refuse to hear loss. What is left is an already undone aesthetic of violence. But, for Ettinger, this does not sever creative connections because “the sign of loss, the remnant of loss [is] understood as the link ... between trauma and beauty itself” (Butler (2006: xi). Returning to Ovid’s performance of bodies multiply undone and incessantly wounded, I see Eurydice as a *vital* and *violent* receptive link. For both Ettinger and Ovid, Eurydice becomes the ethical and aesthetic challenge of (re)making the unmade; of creating with/in the undoing of violence.

Catherine Ware (Maynooth/Liverpool)

Panel: Reading, Writing, and Rhetorical Communication

Performing Praise: Imperial Orations in Late Antiquity

By the fourth century AD, imperial orations were an accepted part of court ceremony, performed as consular *gratiarum actiones*, at the *adventus* of the emperor and in formal expressions of civic gratitude. The orations, as well as evidence from mosaic and public sculpture, give some idea of these ceremonies but little work has been done on the performance of the speeches themselves. Taking as its main source the speeches of the *Panegyrici Latini* (which, with the exception of the model speech of Pliny on Trajan, were performed before emperors from Maximian to Theodosius), this paper will look at the performance of late antique imperial orations in theory and practice. Such writers as Quintilian and Cicero advised students of rhetoric on all aspects of delivery, from gesture to verbal emphasis, but the orators who delivered panegyrics before the emperor were experienced and skilful speakers and had developed their own techniques. An examination of the individual speeches gives insight into the practicalities of speaking: for example, preparation, breath control, the role of extemporisation, gesture, language, the use of humour, involvement with the audience and the use of physical surroundings to make the speech part of the ceremony.

James Watson (The Perse School)

Panel: Secondary-Level Teaching

Classical Civilisation at GCSE and AS/A Level: a challenge or a chance?

Ever since its introduction as a GCSE and AS/A Level subject, Classical Civilisation has rightly been viewed as a means of increasing the number of young people studying the ancient world at school by offering them the chance to investigate Greece and Rome without needing knowledge of the Greek or Latin languages. Although the number of students taking exams in Classical Civilisation has always been healthy (at least in comparison with other classical subjects), there are several challenges for those studying it and for those teaching it which, this paper suggests, may be limiting the subject’s potential to widen access to Classics yet further.

The absence of a linguistic element from Classical Civilisation is, ironically, one of those challenges: it leads to a perception (among students, parents and the wider community) of the subject being ‘easy’ and ‘poorly-regarded by universities’ which, if believed, can encourage less able students to choose the subject whilst acting as a disincentive for the more able. Those who do study Classical Civilisation soon discover, however, that it is not a ‘soft option’; the quantity and diversity of the material needing to be covered even at GCSE level is very considerable, and the resources available to support teaching and learning of the subject are very limited in both number and usefulness. Classical Civilisation also faces the challenges of not counting towards the English Baccalaureate (unlike what may become its ‘rival’, Ancient History), and of often being taught by those whose own route into Classics was through Latin and Greek and whose exposure to Classical Civilisation itself has been minimal.

This paper explores these issues through a number of case studies and hopes to promote discussion of possible ways forward for a subject that still has the potential to inspire a broad interest in the ancient world.

Tim Whitmarsh (Oxford)

Panel: CA–APA Joint Panel: Idea Networks

Why monotheists can't write ancient Greek history

The last 150 years or so of classical, and particularly Greek, scholarship have been largely dominated by a cultural-relativist paradigm: broadly, how like or unlike ‘us’ were ‘the Greeks’? Nowhere has this been more evident than in the field of religious history, where the monotheist-polytheist distinction has been repeatedly paraded as a sign of the unassimilable otherness of the ancients. For Nietzsche, Rohde and the ritualists - and we are all heirs to this ‘alienatory’ mode of thinking - an empathic account of Greek religion was held to be unwritable except by those who have first ‘unthought’ their own monotheism (however residual that may be). Early in the twenty-first century, it is the very idea of system (even ‘structure’, in the Parisian sense) that is seen as inappropriately theological/theocratic; Greek ‘religion’ emerges, in the work of scholars like Versnel, as a series of local improvisations within a field, not as a ‘thing’ at all. Similarly, Robert Parker’s new book *On Greek Religion* is structured around a series of absences (church, bible, clergy, etc.). We risk reaching a kind of impasse, whereby any kind of generalisation about what the Greeks thought and felt in respect of the supernatural may be perceived as an ‘anachronistic retrojection of Judaeo-Christian values’ (to borrow a cliché). This paper seeks to turn the question on its head, and ask whether ancient religious history is any more writable for atheists: what are the possibilities for ancient religious studies, post-God? Focusing not on the idealised representations of ancient religion found in official documentation but on the dysfunctionality, the fissures, and the ruptures that the Greeks themselves identified in their own thought, I shall argue, we may attain a better understanding of what Greek religion was really about.

Matthew Wright (Exeter)**Panel: The Ancient Bibliocosm**

Tragedy and quotation: between performance and textuality

The study of quotations from the tragedians in the work of other ancient writers can open up questions of performance and of textuality. Even though recent scholarship on fifth-century drama has tended to take its methodology from the field of performance studies, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that these tragedies were designed not just as works for the stage but also as texts for a reading public.

This paper concentrates, in particular, on the opening lines of *Stheneboea* and certain other Euripidean tragedies. It examines the function of these lines in their dramatic context within the play as well as their function as 'a quotation' in their own right. It suggests that Euripides deliberately framed these lines in such a way that they can be read either in or out of context, and it explores ways in which the lines might have created a distinct effect on the stage or on the page. Further illumination (or provocation) is provided by an explicitly 'textual' approach to our material, using Genette's theory of paratextuality.

Maria Xanthou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)**Panel: Greek Religion 2**

Tripods, statues and treasures in the first book of Herodotus' Histories: material artifacts and monuments as τεκμήρια and cognitive signs for securing authority of the Herodotean narrative

In the first book of his *Histories* Herodotus refers to statues, tripods and other offerings stored in treasures in Delphi. The reason for this is threefold. On a macroscopic level the link between the Delphic oracle and the attribution of material offerings, usually made of gold, from the Lydian kings point almost self-evidently to the key-role of Delphi in foreign politics between the Greek city states and the vast eastern empires, as illustrated in its role during the Persian wars. On a microscopic level, the enumeration and illustration of material artifacts and monuments in the narrative of the first book of Herodotean *Histories* gives credit to the narrative itself. In fact, it is used as an authorial strategy that contributes to the authorial credibility and enhances truthfulness. A third point is that through this enumeration and meticulous documentation of artifacts and offerings, usually attributed by the Lydian kings, the author underlines the conflict between fate and the possession of riches, with the latter being no secure measure for avoiding the first. This authorial strategy permeates the first book of Herodotus' *Histories*. As a result, it will be argued that all the artifacts and the offerings mentioned represent cognitive points of reference, which form a solid ground for the audience of *Histories* and to which they can relate. They act as anchors to a reality that existed or still exists.

In the paper excerpts of the first book will be examined, where this authorial strategy is best illustrated. It shall also be attempted to examine how this authorial strategy enhances authorial credibility and if this strategy survives later on in other literary genres. Parallels of this authorial strategy will be sought in the first and fifth book of Thucydides' *Histories*. Along these lines, it will also be examined to what extent this authorial strategy has affected fertilized other genres such as Pausanias' *Periegesis*.

Vasiliki Zali (UCL / Kent)**Panel: Reading Herodotus' Gods**

Fate, Divine Envy, and the Wheel of Fortune: the Reception of Herodotean Theology in Early and Middle Byzantine Historiography

Byzantine historians consistently engaged with Herodotus' *Histories* in various ways, ranging from imitation to forthright criticism. In a society so deeply preoccupied with religion, Herodotus' complex religious standpoint and strongly moral outlook both made him an even more attractive historiographical model and posed serious challenges to the historians' perceptions of historical causation.

In this paper I shall explore the role that three concepts central to Herodotean theological and historical thinking, divine *phthonos*, fate, and the wheel of fortune, play in historical works from the early and middle Byzantine period. I will focus on three texts that between them betray Herodotean influence in terms of subject matter, style, ethnography, geography, dramatic presentation and digressions: Procopius' *Wars* (6th century), Michael Psellus' *Chronographia* (11th century) and Nicetas Choniates' *History* (12th-early 13th century). Chance, the cycle of human affairs and envy, both as a supernatural power and a human emotion, hold a more or less pivotal position in all three works.

My aim is to examine how these pagan Herodotean concepts shed light on the theology of the Byzantine historians. Do the concepts contradict Christian beliefs or have their semantics changed to accommodate to a Christian outlook? Could it be that the historians' use of these religious notions facilitates potential criticism of the supernatural, be it God or fate, and underlines the role of human agency in historical explanation? Does the employment of such concepts ultimately reflect wider cultural trends or the historians' personal views? This paper will argue that the reception of Herodotean divine envy, fate and its instability in early and middle Byzantine historians discloses the complexities of their theology, and it may further reveal elaborate historical thinking which goes beyond a simple pagan-Christian dichotomy. In Byzantine historiography, religious concepts associated with Herodotus can be so much more than mere rhetorical devices.

Christodoulos Zekas (Open University of Cyprus)**Panel: Secondary Teaching**

Between Diachrony and Altertumswissenschaft: The Teaching of Ancient Greek in Contemporary Greek Schools

Ever since the establishment of the modern Greek state in 1830 the idealization of the classical past has deeply influenced intellectual life in Greece. This influence is primarily reflected in the teaching of the ancient Greek language and literature in secondary education, a process that has been regarded as the ideal means for the 'purification' of the language from its 'debasement' in the Ottoman period and the construction of modern Greek identity. Given its close affinity with politics,

the teaching of ancient Greek at school level has traditionally been a hotly debated issue among the Greek elite, whereas contemporary school instruction could be described as an amalgam of rather conflicting methodologies. The aim of this paper is to address a number of important aspects relating to the theoretical background described above, which revolves around the following trends: first, the idea about the prominence of the diachronic approach, realized in Greek schools through the close reading of texts in classical, hellenistic, byzantine and katharevousa ('purified') Greek; second, the current ever-increasing emphasis on the historical dimension in the teaching of classics, which is obviously linked to the scholarly *milieu* of *Alttertumswissenschaft*; third, the so-called text-centered theory of teaching, which aspires to offer a detailed and comprehensive approach by co-examining content and structure. And yet, despite this arsenal of teaching methods the competence of Greek pupils in ancient Greek is progressively diminishing, a fact that urgently calls for a rapid change in the overall philosophy of teaching a classical language. To this end, I suggest that a possible solution could be accomplished through an energetic method of learning, which is not extremely ambitious in terms of the curriculum, takes into account the pupils' perception abilities and approaches ancient Greek more as a foreign language and less as a language of the (Greek) past.