Abstracts (arranged alphabetically by panel)

Anachronism and Antiquity
The past half-century has witnessed a sustained interrogation into the 'genealogy' of historical periodisation. Scholars such as Reinhardt Koselleck, David Lowenthal, François Hartog, and Zachary Schiffman are among those giving new momentum to historiography and the philosophy of history beyond the Linguistic Turn, by initiating what we might consider a 'Temporal Turn'. The work of these scholars has judiciously cautioned against reading temporality as a historical given, but their focus on post-French Revolution, European temporality has resulted in the misguided perception that what is distinctive concerning modern temporality must be placed in contradistinction to antiquity's under-negotiated temporal consciousness. The goal of this panel is to question such an approach and to enrich the premises that underwrite the archaeology of modernity's temporality, not least to determine whether such claims by modern theorists of history are true.

John Marincola (Florida): Introduction (5 minutes)

Tim Rood (St Hugh's College, Oxford): Anachronism and Art Criticism in Antiquity

This paper starts by offering a sketch of the treatment of anachronism in modern art criticism, which has played a major part in modern discussions of conceptions of anachronism. Within classical scholarship, Winckelmann's study of ancient art is seen as exercising an important influence on the periodisation of ancient history, in particular on the development of consciousness of the archaic. R. Koselleck's seminal *Futures Past* (1979) uses Altdorfer's *Battle of Issus* and Schlegel's response to it three centuries later to illustrate shifting attitudes to the past. Medieval artists have often been characterised as having no sense of anachronism, whereas Renaissance artists did, but this narrative has recently met resistance. After reviewing this scholarship, the paper analyses the evidence for a consciousness of anachronism in various ancient writers on art, especially Pausanias and Pliny the Elder. It looks at several passages relating to issues such as dating and authenticity; views of historical and stylistic change; attention to the juxtaposition of different temporal periods. It concludes by comparing the treatment of artistic anachronism in these ancient writers with ancient treatment of other kinds of anachronism, in order to compare the importance of anachronism in ancient art criticism with that in modern criticism.

Carol Atack (Warwick): Anachronism and the Socratic dialogue

As a genre the Socratic dialogue appears committed to the careful representation of the recent past. Plato and Xenophon represent and memorialise Socrates by depicting his ideas and arguments, often recalling the circumstances in which he was tried and executed. But these authors also use the past to set different philosophies and forms of education, past and present, against each other, to compare thinkers and educationalists, and to underline the author's claim to the Socratic heritage. This paper argues that anachronism, in several forms, is essential to the Socratic dialogue, enabling authors to bring together ideas and arguments in dialogues, using character and setting to bring life to abstract encounters.
Anachronism provides a toolset through which authors can use Socrates and other characters to explore their own intellectual and political pre-occupations. Many dialogues resist attempts to fix their 'dramatic dates', instead presenting debates and

ideas contemporary to the author within a past dramatic setting. The intentional use of historical anachronism in Socratic dialogue has long been acknowledged, but further types of anachronism enable other philosophies – the educational strategies of Isocrates (*Euthydemus*, *Phaedrus*) or debates within the Socratic tradition (Xenophon's *Memorabilia*) – to be compared with the author's version of Socrates.

Tom Phillips (Merton College, Oxford): Anachronistic Epic: Apollonius *Argonautica* and the Temporalities of Reading'

Scholars have often noted the importance of anachronism in Apollonius. One of the *Argonautica*'s primary features is the anachronistic tension between literary and mythological history: the poem narrates events that precede those of the Homeric poems, yet parades literary indebtedness to Homer. On a smaller scale, Apollonius utilises temporal anachronisms, as in Jason's recounting of the myth of Ariadne in book 3, and employs modern philosophical and historical discourses to explain phenomena of the distant past. These techniques are more than just the flaunting of a scholar-poet's intellectual sophistication, in that they form part of a dramatisation of the complexities of the relationships between temporal periods. 'Anachronistic' features foreground the past as a construct always being remade and presented in new forms.

This paper will focus particularly on the implications of these constructions of temporality for readers' intellectual activity. I shall argue that one function of anachronism in Apollonius is to position the *Argonautica* as a text which, rather than simply responding to the Homeric poems and other canonical texts, engages in a dialectical relationship with its predecessors, shifting the terms within which previous texts are encountered. Understood in these terms, Apollonius' anachronisms function as sites for readers' self-definition.

K. Scarlett Kingsley (Princeton): Discovering the Past: Temporal Rupture and Anachronism

The *Histories* of Polybius narrate the political upheavals that take the inhabited world from its initial, rather inchoate beginnings, to a unity under the near-total hegemony of Rome in a process the historian identifies as an 'interweaving', *symplokē*. While scholarship has often drawn attention to the importance of geographic discourse in the *Histories*, this paper examines Polybius' new temporal demarcation, and assesses its hitherto unrealised implications for his conception of practising geographical history. In describing the move from multiple, disparate pasts to a single, unified present (1.3.3-6; 1.4.1-2; 1.4.5; 2.37.4; 5.105.4-5), the Polybian narrator creates a distinctive, historicist present temporality, a 'modernity'. In addition to adopting the relatively new way of recording time, with the Olympiad – rendering obsolete the numerous civic calendars of the Greek world – this dynamic present correspondingly historicises geographical knowledge and practitioners. In the *Histories*, Polybius explicitly separates his own geographic research from that prior to Alexander, and discards past practitioners of geographical inquiry as obsolete, as 'anachronisms', in favour of those of the present, however flawed (3.59.1-6; 4.40.2-3; 16.20.3-9). This 'ils ne sont pas nos collègues' methodology represents a radical innovation, in that it reveals a concern to avoid the anachronistic inclusion of outmoded predecessors.

Ancient and Byzantine Novel

Anton Bierl (Basel): Longus' ekphrastic mimesis and simulation

According to Daniel Selden (1994) the novel is built on the figure *syllepsis*, the paradox of shifting between contrary worlds and discourses. Longus in particular fluctuates

between two systems. According to historical circumstances and ideological perspective, Longus' evaluation oscillates between an ideal work expressing a devoted reverence for the cheerfully religious world of nature and one of cynical voyeurism and rhetoric, between the stance of Goethe and that of Rohde.

This paper aims to regard this sylleptic feature and especially Rohde's critical judgment in a new light: I argue that Longus as epigone, using Theocritus and the shifting bucolic reception, writes a metatext on contemporary Second Sophistic theory of art as well as on mimesis, simulation and the intertextual rewriting of canonical literature as *zelosis*.

I argue that Longus' text, the imitation of a painting in the novelistic format, reflects on absent realities. The novel thus builds upon the *simulacrum* of a votive image and becomes a hyperrealist text that simultaneously lacks any reference to reality. Longus shows how the childish world exists only to hide the real socio-economical world. He acts as if Lesbos were true and real in its marvelous bucolic and utopian glamor, while at the same time highlighting it as imaginary. By uncritically delving into this other world without space and time, the readers escape from reality. Thus Longus camouflages the infantilism of life and love. But at the same time, by applying ironic and distancing strategies and dissuasion, the novel self-consciously makes the readers aware of the camouflage.

In conclusion this paper will shed new light on a fascinating text within a new theoretical framework.

Yvona Trnka-Amrhein, (TCD): ἔνδημος ἀποδημία in Achilles Tatius and Philo of Byzantium: A Trope of Metropolitan Ecphrasis?

Descriptions of cities were common in Greek Literature of the Roman Empire and beyond, but not every city could boast the status of metropolis or world wonder like Alexandria or Babylon. How then could truly exceptional cities stand out in literature? This paper explores the motivation and ramifications of "Philo of Byzantium's" borrowing of the striking phrase "ἔνδημος ἀποδημία" from Achilles Tatius' description of Alexandria (*Leucippe and Clitophon* 5.1.3) to conclude his sketch of the walls of Babylon in the treatise *On the Wonders of the World* (5.3). Attributing such unusual potential for sightseeing to a city praises its size and implies its wonders, two standard features of urban encomia. The vivid oxymoron is particularly effective as ecphrastic language, since it exploits metaphor, plays on the customary organization of city descriptions, and undercuts travel literature to intensify the account of one superior city. Perhaps this is why "Philo" selected Achilles Tatius' description of Alexandria as a source text for his literary tour of the Seven Wonders, despite its novelistic origin. The concept expressed in the phrase, however, extends the classic encomiastic topos of the city as an economic marvel gathering the goods of the world into itself (e.g. Isocrates *Panegyricus* 42; Thucydides 2.38.2) in a way that is particularly suited to the description of a great city in the world of the Roman Empire. Indeed, Aelius Aristides invokes both concepts in a less pithy fashion when praising Rome (*To Rome* 26.11). The paper thus considers whether the playful phrase reflects a trope of ecphrastic urban discourse and situates this potential trope in the changing view of great cities over time.

Rui Carlos Fonseca (Lisbon): The function of magical objects in the Byzantine novel Kallimachos and Chrysorroi

There are three magical objects in the 14th-century Byzantine novel *Kallimachos and Chrysorroi*: the golden ring (that makes his owner to fly), the gown covered with pearls (that heals all wounds) and the poisoned apple (that causes death and brings back to life). These magical objects are traditionally seen as typical resources from fairy tales, without relevance throughout this Byzantine novel, where they are mentioned only to be quickly forgotten.

Seeking a different approach, I will attempt to show that magical objects play an essential role within the economy of this love narrative. In fact, there are three magic items for three dragons, which the hero managed to win with the help of three assistants.

Moreover, each of these items is unique, for each one is presented differently in the narrative. While the story of the poisoned apple is told to us in its full version (making, offering and effects at working), the other two magical objects appear episodically, in order to prevent repetitions of the same magical motifs: we are only told about the gown of pearls regarding the moment of its use and healing effects; and the story of the golden ring seems to end at the time when the older brother gives it to Kallimachos.

Scholars, such as García Gual (1990) and Castillo Ramírez (2000), see the golden ring as a stock and useless element forgotten by the author, since it has no further development within the novel. Contrary to that traditional approach, I will attempt new hypotheses in order to show that the golden ring has in fact an important role to play in the story. A comparative analysis and a cross reading with previous novels, both from Hellenistic period and Medieval Age, will support the new hypotheses.

Ancient Botany in Text and Practice I

From the agricultural manual of Columella to the encyclopedia of Pliny, from Ovid's poems to Linear B tablets, ancient references to the world of plants abound. While some texts were specifically about botany and plant cultivation, others drew upon the plant world as a source of metaphors and analogies. Archaeological evidence increasingly augments our knowledge about botanical practices and plant uses in the Classical world, and iconographic studies add to this wealth of data. This panel will explore the discourse of botanical language in ancient texts, as well as the broader significance of certain key plants. Two panels of four speakers in each are proposed. The first panel engages with botanical symbolism in ancient literature, surveying anthropomorphic and metonymic incarnations of botany, which represent ancient conceptions of motherhood, gender, identity and imperialism. The second panel predominantly focuses on Pliny's discourses on arboriculture, agronomy and floriculture, as well as exploring the semiotic and somatic potency of particular plants.

Laurence Totelin (Cardiff): Mother and Nurse Plants in Roman Literature

Anthropomorphism is omnipresent in ancient botanical and agricultural texts. The Greeks and Romans attempted to make sense of plants by comparing them to animals, and in particular to humans – analogy is one of the most prominent forms of scientific thought in antiquity. However, beside technical anthropomorphic descriptions of plants and their life cycle, they often hide messages about human society and mores. This is particularly true in the writings of Pliny the Elder and Columella. Here, I will focus on descriptions of filial love (or absence thereof) in technical texts written in the first and second centuries of the Roman Empire (both in Latin and in Greek). I will analyse texts depicting the relationship between mother and child plants. We will encounter loving mothers and overbearing ones with tendencies to infanticide, as well as loving nurses who take care of infants who would otherwise die. Behind these plant descriptions, we will find discourses about infant care, and in particular infant feeding - the sempiternal debate over maternal breastfeeding. I will compare these botanical discourses to contemporary medical ones, which interestingly make use of botanical metaphors.

Miriam Bay (Birmingham): Botanical Bodies: Ovid's Gendered Floriculture

In *Fasti* book 5, Ovid recounts his interview with flirtatious goddess Flora, her body exuding fragrant roses as she describes her deification as *mater florum* by Zephyrus, and the origins of her *Floralia* festival. With playful insouciance Flora declares she

engendered Juno's immaculate conception of Mars by a flower unique to her gardens, and claims the victims of tragic deaths, Hyacinthus, Narcissus, Crocus, Attis and Adonis, owe her their memorialising floral metamorphoses. Engaging with Ovid's gendered approach to botany within this passage of *Fasti* and its related episodes in *Metamorphoses*, this paper will contrast Flora's divine embodiment with the floral incarnations of the metamorphosed youths. It will investigate how the properties of the flowers borne from their blood - hyacinth, narcissus, saffron crocus, violet and anemone - analogise the youths' ephebic masculinity and ephemeral sexuality. The implications of these exclusively male floral metamorphoses, and Juno's botanical insemination, on Ovid's anthropomorphic portrayal of plants will also be explored. It will define how Flora's femininity, expressed through the floral manifestations of her generative body, reflects conceptions of female sensuality, sexuality and identity. This paper traces the Ovidian discourse between properties of floriculture and masculine and feminine identities, offering a gendered reading of botanical aetiologies.

Peter Kelly (Galway): Transforming into Trees: Ovid's Heliades between Metamorphosis and Hybridity

This paper will discuss Ovid's depiction of the transformation of the Heliades into poplar trees in the *Metamorphoses*. It will analyze how Ovid uses tree transformation to problematize conceptions of identity and in particular dualistic notions of a mind-body divide. By focusing on how the metamorphosis of the Heliades is represented at once as being a form of encasement and transformation, this paper will also consider how to define metamorphosis versus hybridity. It will also look at how the sisters' transformation into trees results from the failure to transition the rites of mourning, following the death of their brother Phaethon. It will discuss how the tree may be read as a symbol for this liminal state. By considering how the tree becomes a corporeal manifestation of the sisters' psychological trauma, it will further discuss the confounding and inversion of mind-body divides. Finally it will analyze how the tears and cries which the sisters emit after their transformation further portray the fracturing and transition of borders, as well as indicating the survival and persistence of a psychological residue in the post-metamorphosis state.

Daniel Bertoni (Miami): Growing Ivy in Babylon: A Botanical Power Play

Harpalus, Alexander's rogue of a boyhood friend, is most famous for absconding from Babylon with the contents of the treasury. During his caretakership of the city, he worked to grow exotic plants, a tradition rooted in Mesopotamian kingship. One attempt, Theophrastus reports (*HP* 4.4.1), was a significant failure: ivy withered in the foreign environment. The plant serves metonymically for Dionysus and his travels, and its status as a Greek plant dying in foreign climes gives symbolic importance for Harpalus' future career. Indeed, the context of the anecdote is a corresponding success with ivy: Dionysus' ivy on Mt. Meros gives Alexander a crown. This story's literary reception displays ivy's entwining of science, mythology, and cultural behavior. Pliny (*NH* 16.144), citing Theophrastus, embellishes the connection between Alexander's conquest and the journeys of Dionysus. An extended version is found in Plutarch's *Table-talk* 3.2, where the imbibers question whether ivy (as used in garlands) is a hot or a cold plant. The arguments extrapolate from Theophrastus' terse account and justify botanically the plant's death in the fiery soil of Babylon. This biological understanding of the ideal relationship between a plant and its environment shows how scientific botany rationalizes cultural activities and imperial ambition.

Ancient Botany in Text and Practice II

Andrew Fox (Nottingham): *Cupressus advena*: Pliny and the Naturalisation of Foreign Trees

Pliny the Elder's moral perspective on the use of foreign goods is well chronicled, and foreign imports meet Pliny's approval only when they generate *utilitas* for the state, a consistent criterion throughout the *Natural History*. However, Pliny's aversion to imports is not a frequent component of his treatment of trees. In a list of timbers resistant to rot and age, adapting Theophrastus' similar list, the timber of native and foreign trees are equally extolled. Among the latter variety is the timber of the cypress (*cupressus*), which is further praised for not cracking spontaneously and its durability. However, the tree is attacked by Pliny, whose diatribe opens with *cupressus advena*, and contradicts his endorsement of the timber's durability. Aspects of Pliny's character demonstrated in the composition of the *Natural History* coalesce in this passage: his dispassionate inventory; his desire for a culturally unified empire; and his reverence for the *anima* in all living things. By answering questions of how Pliny's character is seen in his treatment of the tree as a foreign import compared to his regard for its status as timber, and through Pliny's treatment of his sources, this paper will explore the expression of Rome's relationship with the foreign.

Aude Doody (Dublin)   'And Italy shines blessed with bright white wheat': Competition in Pliny the Elder's Botany

In Book 18 of the *Natural History*, Pliny tells us that Italian wheat is the best wheat. He then tells us the other good regions for wheat, setting them in hierarchical order. In the course of this careful ranking of wheat types, Pliny gives us the opinions of 'Greek writers from the time of Alexander the Great', remarking caustically on their surprising ignorance of the supremacy of Italy in wheat production; his evidence that these Greeks should have known better is a line he translates into Latin from Sophocles' *Triptolemus*. This odd critique of Greek sources for Roman agriculture will be the starting point for a discussion of what counts as 'the best' in Pliny's treatment of plants: what are his criteria and where does his evidence come from? Pliny's insistence that Italian wheat is the best wheat is not surprising, given his pro-Roman chauvinism, but the ways in which he tries to prove it expose patterns of scholarship and source criticism that underpin his highly influential treatment of botany in the *Natural History*.

Jane Draycott (Trinity Saint David): The Properties of Plants used for Chaplets, Garlands and Wreaths and their Supposed Significance

According to the twenty-first book of Pliny the Elder's Natural History, while roses from Campania were initially favoured in the creation of chaplets, garlands and wreaths, more exotic flora 'fetched from India and beyond' came to be preferred, and eventually even these were replaced by imitations made from multi-coloured silks soaked in perfumes, leading Pliny to proclaim 'Such is the latest form taken by the luxury of our women!' (21.8.11). At first glance, Pliny's motivation for criticising the evolution of chaplets from flowers to fabric seems straightforward: he despises not only the luxuria, but also the artifice involved. However, in this particular instance his criticisms were entirely justified: as far as the Romans were concerned, chaplets were not simply decorative but were thought to serve a range of practical purposes that varied considerably according to the plants used in their creation. This paper will survey the Roman beliefs regarding the properties of certain plants, examine the extent to which the purpose of the chaplet was to deliberately harness them, and explore what were believed to be the consequences of using chaplets in this way.

Jo Day (University College Dublin): Irises in Antiquity

From death rituals to healing, perfumes played essential roles in many facets of life in the ancient Mediterranean. The majority of the scents were derived from botanicals, with a few key plants especially renowned for their fragrance. One such plant was the iris, still used in perfume production today as orris oil. This paper traces the use of iris from the Bronze Age into Classical and Roman times, using a combination of archaeological and textual evidence, including Theophrastus, Pliny, and Dioscorides. Where were the best irises thought to grow, and was iris perfume really an important element in the Corinthian economy? How was fragrance extracted from the plant? What other uses beyond perfume did it have? Using iris perfume as a starting point, the link between aroma and social status will also be considered in the light of methodologies derived from sensory anthropology.

Archaeology of Stardom
In her book *Stardom: Industry of Desire*, Christine Gledhill declares, "The analysis of stars has become one of the most significant areas of inquiry in recent film studies" (1991: xiv). This is also true for the field of classical receptions focusing on epic screen depictions of the ancient past: since cinema's beginnings in the early twentieth century, the elaborate and often covert mechanisms of the Hollywood star system have played a crucial role in screening antiquity. From the rosy-cheeked ingénue 'discovered' at the counter of the soda fountain to the diva in dark sunglasses lounging poolside amidst a swarm of paparazzi; from the square-jawed young stud striving for his breakout role to the past-his-prime leading man struggling to make it to the set sober – extra-cinematic images and narratives of casting couches, greedy studio bosses, scheming agents, on-set tantrums and affairs, glamorous premieres, and celebrity magazine exclusives have profoundly influenced the way audiences interact with the stars of the ancient world on screen.
This panel, comprised of four linked papers, traces the development and impact of the celebrity star image as it manifests itself in Hollywood epic cinema and premium cable television series. The panel explores the intricacies of the star system and the casting of leading roles in historical films first during the heyday of epic filmmaking in midcentury Hollywood, and again after the renaissance of ancient world films at the start of the twenty-first century. The panel investigates the relationship between audiences and the stars they watch not only when the *personae* on screen present a familiar 'star text' but also when that text is strained or even subverted. The panel seeks to interrogate why the star image – both its creation and maintenance – wields such a powerful and enduring grip on the screening of antiquity in modern popular culture.   The panel is presented by four scholars who have published widely on classical receptions in cinema and television and who are generally held to be experts in the field.

Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Edinburgh): The Archaeology of the Classic Hollywood Star System

Part of the visual appeal of the film epic is seeing Hollywood's most glamorous movie stars disport themselves in elaborate costumes, often exposing more leg, more midriff, more chest than is normally afforded in a contemporary picture. Unfortunately, famous stars tend to be more themselves than the people they play and consequently there is a big risk of confusing historic figures with modern actors. The casting of lead actors in successive 'historical' roles (in the case of Charlton Heston, for example: Moses, Ben-Hur, John the Baptist, Ivanhoe, Michelangelo) affords the film-viewer the opportunity to see through layers of off-screen/on-screen star persona. The star becomes, in a sense, an archaeological site.
This paper exposes the pitfalls and positives of epic casting in light of the classic Hollywood Star System and will look at actors such as Deborah Kerr and Jean Simmons,

Peter Ustinov and Charles Laughton, Claudette Colbert, Victor Mature, Yul Brynner, and Charlton Heston. A short case study will look at the casting of Rita Hayworth as the eponymous (anti-)heroine in *Salome* (1954). This paper will expose the truism that stars are cast not *as* but *in* character – as 'types' who, however physically particular and concrete, signify universal and general characteristics created for them by the Hollywood machine.

As a fitting finale, the paper briefly explores the on-screen/off-screen romance of Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton during the filming of *Cleopatra* (1963) and the media furore that surrounded it. The morphing of Taylor-Burton into Cleopatra and Antony was commonly recognized at the time of 'Le Scandal' (as it was known), with magazines reporting that, "Here at last is the fantastic story of how history came close to repeating itself."

Alex McAuley (British Columbia): Very Bad Alexanders: Casting and Re-Casting Alexander the Great

Alexander the Great, perhaps the foremost star of the Ancient World, has not had a glorious afterlife in film. The two epic cinematic treatments of Alexander the Great – Robert Rossen's 1956 *Alexander the Great* and Oliver Stone's 2004 *Alexander* – are remarkably similar. Neither was well received by critics or the general public at the box office, neither was a financial success, and both are held to be far too long, dull, and ponderous. This negative reception is all the more surprising given not only the subject matter, but the star power that drove each film: Rossen cast the Welsh playboy Richard Burton as the Macedonian prince, and Oliver Stone's effort chose the boisterous Irishman Colin Farrell. In this aspect the two films share deeper similarities: both leading men were as famous as they were infamous, with a common reputation for heavy drinking, womanising, and the sort of general indiscretion adored by the tabloids.

While the casting of Farrell in Stone's film and its impact on the reception of the work as a whole have already been covered in great detail by Monica Cyrino (in Cartledge/Greenland: 2010), what remains to be explored is how the blond Irish Alexander relates to his blond Welsh predecessor. This paper shall delve into the politics surrounding the casting of Burton as Alexander the Great, and how the actor shaped the film in which he was the leading man. Using contemporary interviews and reviews, I will consider how not only Burton's reputation for debauchery, but also his left-leaning politics – including a notable drunken fight with Ronald Reagan – influenced his role in Rossen's film. Turning then to Stone's film, we shall see how its production dynamics and reception by the media resemble its Cold-War era precursor. The intersection of the ancient star power of Alexander with his contemporary equivalents will be borne in mind throughout.

Antony Augoustakis (Urbana-Champaign): Who is Spartacus? Casting a New Spartacus in the STARZ Television Series

Stanley Kubrick's 1960 *Spartacus* established Kirk Douglas as the iconic eponymous hero. The pronouncement 'I am Spartacus' became a trope in subsequent films, a motto for the declaration of many socio-political statements connected with freedom. The USA *Spartacus* (2004) television movie and the most recent three seasons plus prequel in the premium cable series STARZ *Spartacus* (2010-2013) widely draw on the Ur-film, modifying, expanding, and propagating the ancient legend to fit the needs of a twenty-first century audience. But casting Spartacus has not been an easy task: how to find an actor who will 'fill the shoes' of Kirk Douglas in a post-*Gladiator* and post-*300* era? How can a star image be replaced by another image, as powerful as its predecessor?

This paper explores the dynamics of Spartacus stardom in the STARZ series. Andy Whitfield, the original Spartacus of the first season (*Blood and Sand*, 2010), tragically died of non-Hodgkin's lymphoma in 2011 and was replaced by Liam McIntyre for the second and third seasons (*Vengeance*, 2012; *War of the Damned*, 2013). The first season ended with the rebels breaking out from the *ludus*, the first step in the three-year saga of the ancient gladiator. McIntyre based his performance on both Douglas' and Whitfield's leading roles: McIntyre looks very much like Whitfield in the series in their similar physique and facial features. This paper examines how the creators of the series manipulate the 'star text' of the first season, by which McIntyre both repeats Whitfield (and Douglas), but also reverses the meaning of the 'I am Spartacus' pronouncement at the end. In the final episode of season 3, as Spartacus dies, he denies his name is Spartacus, the name given to him by the Romans. In his last breath, for the first time Spartacus is free. This reverse 'star-peat' declaration of freedom comes as foil to previous incarnations of the cinematic hero and serves as a nod to McIntyre's predecessor as the series comes to a close.

Monica S. Cyrino (New Mexico): Maximal Projections: Russell Crowe's 'Star Text' in Noah (2014)

This presentation explores how Darren Aronofsky's *Noah* (2014) takes up Ridley Scott's *Gladiator* (2000) as a specific screen intertext by using 'maximal projections.' The casting of Russell Crowe, who played Maximus in *Gladiator* and won a Best Actor Oscar for the role, as the title patriarch in *Noah* raises the theoretical question of his 'star text' that is 'read' by the audience. As originally framed by Richard Dyer in *Stars* (BFI: 1979), an actor's distinct star image affects the arousal of emotions and expectations in viewers. When a famous actor takes on a role, he brings one or more previous roles to the new performance; thus his "star text" influences how an audience engages with his previous roles within the new performance. Such 'star-peats,' so ubiquitous in the epic cinematic genre, have a particular impact on the later performance, giving it another layer of meaning, lending a veneer of familiarity or authenticity, and even inviting the audience to interpret the new role through the lens of the previous one.
In *Noah*, Crowe invites the audience to absorb the character of the ark-builder through the well-known figure of Maximus. Crowe evokes the Maximus star-memory through facial expression, bodily movement, interactions with other characters, and even specific line readings. These 'maximal' echoes are more prominent at the beginning of *Noah*, in order to draw the audience from the outset into what is not a conventional kind of epic in its dreamy visual aesthetic and narrative structure. Crowe's evocation of the Maximus 'star text' allows viewers to identify with the protagonist Noah early on as a compassionate father and husband, and a tenacious fighter for what is right, before the character becomes more authoritarian and seemingly implacable in the face of his family's (and all of humanity's) suffering. The Maximus 'star text' allows the audience – both non-believers as well as those among the faithful who prefer their biblical heroes blemish-free – to accept Crowe-Noah as both righteous *and* flawed.

Archaic Land

Samuel Gartland (Oxford): Land in Archaic Thebes

This is an exciting time for Archaic Thebes. New finds, particularly in Papazarkadas' recent collection of new Boiotian epigraphy, have significantly improved what we know about this large and influential community in the Archaic period. For the first time we have epigraphic evidence (particularly the astounding new Bronze tablets published by Matthiou), which illuminates specific detail of property ownership and economic behaviour within the community, as well as its relations with near neighbours and with

the regions that bordered Boiotia. With the new evidence, Herodotus, the bedrock of previous accounts of Boiotia in the Archaic period, has been proven as unreliable as Plutarch claimed he was malicious. Its time for a reassessment of both his information and that of other early literary sources against the increasing weight of surface survey data and individual finds.

This paper explores the new evidence and put it in the wider context of how Thebes and Thebans were using and changing the landscape of Boiotia in this period. With particular focus on the changing territory and land usage of the polis, some old questions can be reassessed including the early homogeneity of the ethnic region, its political coherence, and the potential conflicts that integration may have caused. The centrality of Boiotia to Greece and of Thebes to Boiotia made sure that Delphi, Thessaly and Attika all have important contributions to the story. Of particular interest for this panel is the relationship with Athens and the definition of the border zone between the regions, culminating in the conflicts of the late sixth century.

Anthony T. Edwards (San Diego): The Origin of Hectemorage: A Proposal

Hectemorage has resisted explanation of both its origin and its logic. This talk proposes an account of the role such an institution might have played in the Athens of Solon's time.

I assume that by Solon's time:

1. all of Attica was not consolidated within a single territory controlled by Athens;
2. intensive cultivation, requiring a relatively large and disciplined labour force, was focused around larger settlements in Attica, Athens in particular;
3. the city of Athens had entered a stage of accelerated political, social, and economic (e.g., agricultural) transformation in the direction of a more complex and hierarchized community, surpassing in this regard other settlements in Attica;
4. a fraction of the Athenian demos was held in some sort of debt bondage.

Aristotle's term, *hektêmoros*, or "sixth-parter" is a puzzle in that a sharecropping payment of one sixth of the crop appears too small but one of five sixths impossibly large. But, perhaps the sixth-part payment was less important than the obligation itself to pay. In the face of an emergent polis elite, organizing itself internally and asserting control over arable land, some of the Athenian demos might have chosen to migrate elsewhere in Attica to less hierarchized settlements offering underutilized land. Yet, such a flight of labour would have imperilled the rise of polis institutions and culture promoted by Athens' elite. In this context heritable indebtedness, designed precisely to resist repayment, may have served the primary purpose of holding in place a labour force otherwise tempted to emigrate. By this account the debt-bondage attested to by Solon represents less the ruthless victory of a mature aristocracy than a gambit intended to forestall the premature collapse of a state-building project.

David Tandy (Leeds/Tennessee): Land transfers in Archaic Boeotia and Aeolis

This paper explores the curious parallels in the accounts of property loss in Hesiod and Alcaeus. Hesiod's brother Perses has lost his share of his family's property by spending too much time idle and in the company of the local *basilees* in the *agore*; the *basilees* are implicated in that loss and accused of handing out crooked *dikai* throughout the *Works and Days*. At Mytilene, Alcaeus has lost his family's property due to poor political choices: the loss may have been formalised by an action of the local board of *basilees* (Theophrastus fr. 97) that ruled on property transfers in exilic contexts (*IG* XII 2 6). Exiled, Alcaeus probably took up the mercenary's life, as his brother more famously did, and also seems to have sought a *bios* by taking to the sea, an activity taken up also by Sappho's brother Charaxus; it seems more than plausible that we are expected to recognize that Hesiod's father left Kyme and down to the sea in his ship under the same

or similar circumstances—Kyme, years later but perhaps also at this earlier time, had a board of *basilees* (Plut., *Moralia* 291E-292A), although we do not know their remit. Do further parallels (e.g., the shared *skolymos* song (*WD* 582-588 + Alcaeus 347; Alcaeus's (325) interest in Athena Itonia, worshipped at Coronea, just up the road from the Valley of the Muses) help to explain why Hesiod's Aeolian father settled his family where he did?

Robin Osborne (Cambridge): The land of Attica and the demes

Agrarian crisis, both social and economic, lies at the heart of the traditional understanding of Solon's reforms in Athens. Yet our knowledge of the agricultural background and foreground remains very weak. Just how extensively was Attica settled in 600 B.C., and what land-holding practices is it reasonable to posit?

 This paper builds on recent work by Hans van Wees and argues that we can paint a much fuller picture of land-holding in Attica in the archaic period than has previously been done. This is partly through taking seriously the implications of the archaeological finds, including especially cemetery excavations and the evidence of monuments related to the dead, for not just the fact but the nature of settlement across Attica, and partly through realising what the very fact of the possibility of Cleisthenes creating a deme system in c.507 implies for the distribution of population, and hence of agricultural activity, across Attica.

 This paper stresses both the sheer extent of settlement and land-holding in archaic Attica and its social and economic diversity. It explores the evidence for diversity and variety both in the Athenian economy and in local social and cultural identities. Substantively, it argues that we have sufficient evidence to be confident that the background to Solon's reforms was not simple, and that descriptions of 'the poor being enslaved to the rich' were gross simplifications that misplace the location and nature of the early sixth-century crisis. Methodologically, it constitutes an appeal to historians to exploit the full range of material evidence and to archaeologists to press harder the analysis of the implications of the various assemblages and corpora that they so carefully describe.

Audience Interactions, Interactive Audiences
Working with texts, we have silent speakers addressing an absent audience. Beside the anecdotal snippets of later commentators and scholiasts who tease with tales of audience *reaction*, there is little to suggest the interactivity of the audience with the texts and authors themselves. How might a poet expect his audience to engage with his work? Is the audience distanced from the author by the boundary of the text itself? Is *audience* a passive entity, sitting to be entertained? Or are *audience interactions* – which see them become involved with the work, either read or performed – a key consideration for interpretation? Should all readers, receivers (and researchers) be considered, in essence, an *interactive audience*?
This panel raises the question not of *who* these audiences were, but of *how* these texts' authors and their audiences engage with each other. The first pairing of papers deal with Latin poets who are attuned to their audience: the first demonstrates how Ovid reads as writer and writes as reader, utilizing the intertext to outpace his audience; the second considers the *meta-* in an external audience internalized by the magic of the *recitatio.* Paper pairing two sees the language and focus shift to Greek comedy and Cleon. The third explores how the satirist's target can metamorphose into an angered or acceptive audience, the change being the viewpoint of antiquity. Finally, a work-through of a text in which intellectual interaction from the audience sees Cleon gets speared. The panel seeks to interact with its audience in establishing the importance of audience interactivity with the texts.

Charlie Northrop (Cambridge): Reading like an (intertextual) writer: the case study of Ovid's Daphne

Still very little is understood about Ovid's selection of material for his Metamorphoses. The episodes that comprise his epic are nearly all cultivated from earlier myths. When these myths are obscure, and divergent traditions defy definitive versions, the author's selections are telling. The case study of Ovid's Daphne can provide a glimpse into the world of Ovid's selective mythography, as well as his expectations and challenges to his audience. Ovid diverged greatly from the version in his closest extant source for Daphne – Parthenius, Erotica 15. This paper will combine an analysis of Parthenius 15, with a broader intertextual analysis of the motifs and themes that Ovid receives in his text to build his own unique account. It will attempt to demonstrate that Ovid reads like a writer and writes like a reader: he selects material that will make obscure subjects recognisable and relatable to his audience. Daphne offers a particularly salient case for testing this hypothesis; her story is obscure before Ovid, but the narrative's themes are seemingly more familiar. By reading her story's parallels with a writerly mind, we can hope to gain better insight into Ovid's expectations for his audience, as well as his own experience as a reader himself.

Sam Hayes (Exeter): Is there an audience in this text? Recital as performance context and poetic structure in Martial's *Epigrams*

One notable feature of Martial's *Epigrams* is the poet's constant interaction with a large crowd of addressees within the text. The poet directly addresses patrons, scolds recurring characters, and sets up a rapport with his own reader all within the blink of an eye. The effect of this mob of addressees has been seen as dizzying to a larger concept of the text's own unity or as a symbol of the text's own collation from a variety of separate micro-editions. In this paper, however, I offer a counterpoint to this view and use the lively *recitatio* scene as a model for a reading of the *Epigrams*.
In their initial performance these poems would have been read out to a vibrant, interactive audience and as such, the existence of a lively conversational relationship between the author and his text's characters could be representative of the *Epigrams'* initial performance context. By identifying his poetry as an interaction with a broad audience, Martial encourages his readers (whether in private or at a recital) to engage with the text in a vivid and compelling manner. The *Epigrams* thus stand as a text situated between performance and reading, between audience interactions and interactive audiences.

Paul Martin (Exeter): How to be a good *kōmōidoumenos*

What is the relationship between the satirist and the satiric target? Comedians frequently claim that their art is "serious" and that their words really can change the political situation of the extratextual world. The butts of their jokes can be imagined by comedians and ancient critics to respond variously to such satire. How a kômôidoumenos is said to react to comic satire is a reflection of its supposed efficacy - a litigious reaction, for example, is taken as a sign of comedy's dangerous potential. This paper examines the different representations of the kômôidoumenos in comedy and its reception, and its implications for our understanding of comic "seriousness".
I shall demonstrate that kômôidoumenoi can respond in two different ways to comic critique. One kind of response is aggressive, reacting negatively to criticism. Others are more accepting of comedy's satiric leaning. I shall then turn to study specific examples further. Aristophanes' dealings with Cleon provide a good example of a kômôidoumenos, whose aggression motivates further mockery. Cratinus' Pytine, by contrast, adopts an accepting approach, self-consciously styling him as a

kômôidoumenos to evoke laughs. Thus, I shall demonstrate that whether take comedy seriously or not is consistently open to renegotiation within antiquity.

Andrew Worley (Exeter): So much hot air: rethinking Aristophanes' *Knights* in the light of interactive interpretation

Studies of the Athenian politician Cleon tend to view his characterization as the character Paphlagon in Aristophanes' *Knights* as part political attack, part escapist-fantasy. (A slaves manipulating the addled-aged Demos and a lowly sausage-seller turned master-politician saviour-of-Athens: pure Νεφελοκοκκυγία?) *Knights* – perhaps Aristophanes' most overtly political play – is well-suited for asking the question of how far we expect comedy to be an interactive process between authors and audiences. A poet may well be meant to teach, but is an audience merely passive receptacle or rather part of a two-way process interpreting the performance?
This paper considers the performance of comedy before the collective audience of the *polis* as requiring audience interaction through their critical, cognitive involvement. Audience-brought readings alter the perception of the performance – accepting *Knights* as *yet-another-attack-on-Cleon* or *comedy-for-comedy's-sake* fails to consider such (mis)perceptive interpretations, but also what interaction the playwright may have expected from his audience. Reconstructing (from internal and contemporaneous textual analysis) potential audience interaction with the play proposes a unifying bi-lateral understanding of Paphlagon/Cleon. With the reading and level of humour dependent upon the interaction of the audience with the plot, the playwright and his comedy become reflective of their audience in all its political outlooks.

Augustan Poetry

Anne Rogerson (Sydney): From the Scamander to the Tiber

Rome's river, the Tiber, appears in many guises throughout the *Aeneid.* Its harbour-mouth stands opposed to Carthage as the poem opens (*Aen.* 1.13), and thereafter it is closely associated with the end goal towards which Aeneas journeys (e.g. *Aen.* 2.781-82, 3.500, 5.83, 5.797). It symbolises the battles to be fought to gain that goal, destined to foam with blood as Aeneas finds himself embroiled in a second great war (*Aen.* 6.87, cf. 6.873-84, 8.538-40, 11.393-94, 12.35-36). And its names, too, point to the movement (and connections) between Troy and Italy: called both Tiberinus and Thybris, and the recipient of multiple ethnic epithets, it blurs the boundaries between origin and destination (Cairns (2006); Reed (2007), 5-6).

The Tiber, however, is more than an evocative feature of a contested landscape: the Tiber is a god. He is the subject of prayer (e.g. *Aen.* 8.72, 10.421), and appears to Aeneas, fully personified, in an important prophetic dream (*Aen.* 8.31-65). There are also several moments where Tiber takes part in the action not in human form, like the Scamander fighting in the *Iliad*, but in his watery manifestation. This paper will examine those moments, when the river reverses its course (*Aen.* 8.86-89), slows its flood (*Aen.* 9.124-25), and – most startlingly – saves and cleanses the bloodied Turnus after the havoc wreaked in the Trojan camp (*Aen.* 9.815-18). It will explore the differences between Virgil's Tiber and Homer's rivers, and ask how these can shed light on "Virgil's *Iliad*" and his reworking of the epic tradition in Books 7-12. The notorious "rivers of blood" do not eventuate though plenty of blood is spilt, and the Tiber is bi-partisan, even sentimental: when the *Iliad* is replayed on Italian soil, the landscape itself contributes to radical differences the second time around.

Barbara Boyd (Bowdoin): Ovid's Homeric Elegy

Studies of Ovidian intertextuality have generally privileged two interrelated kinds of relationships: one based on genre, and the other, on chronological proximity. The works of Gallus, Propertius, and Tibullus, sharing as they do (or, in the case of Gallus, as we think they do) common themes, *topoi*, even authorial stance, provide constant counterpoint to Ovid's erotic elegy; nonetheless, the circumscribed field of the genre also invites resistance, and Ovid looks beyond elegy to bring new forms of generic tension to his work. Virgil provides the clearest, and the most chronologically proximate, point of comparison—even the Virgilian career-model has been seen as a touchstone for Ovid (Farrell 2004). A decades-long revisionary poetics can be traced through this intertextual relationship (Hinds 1998: 99-122).

Yet the almost inevitable juxtaposition of Ovid's poetry with Virgil's sometimes casts a shadow over other intertexts. My current project demonstrates that Ovid is engaged in an equally complex intertextual relationship with Homer, even—indeed, especially—in his elegy; it is evident, furthermore, that Ovid's Homeric intertextuality is neither simply opportunistic nor sporadic, but constitutes a sophisticated form of Homeric reception.

In this talk, I focus on several examples drawn from Ovid's most conspicuously "feminized" elegies, the *Heroides*, in which the poet uses Homer's heroines to activate a rereading and revision of Homeric epic. At *Heroides* 3.31-38, e.g., Briseis offers a precise, if abbreviated, "translation" of the list of gifts offered to Achilles by Odysseus at *Iliad* 9.264-98—a list that is itself an instance of formulaic repetition, closely reproducing the list of gifts originally pronounced by Agamemnon (*Il.* 9.122-57). This repetition both validates Homeric style (as already suggested by Barchiesi 1992 ad loc.) and, through a single divergence, marks the changed perspective that links gender and genre.

Mariapia Pietropaolo (Missouri): *Vir Foedus*: The Lover's Rival and the Grotesque in Propertian and Ovidian Elegy

In their depiction of the poet-lover's rival, the Roman elegists have systematic recourse to concepts of degradation, bestial behaviour and physical ugliness, allowing the disruptive principles of the aesthetic of the grotesque into the world of elegiac conventions. The lover and the beloved are ostensibly presented as the ideal subject and object of a sublime passion, though frequently undermined by a befouled and befouling rival. They too, however, are conceived as corporeal beings who are predisposed to the fascination of the grotesque and who are somewhat tinged with it. The necessary corporeality of elegiac love complicates the polarity of ugliness and beauty that characterizes the relationships between the rival, the beloved and the lover, suggesting that the grotesque-sublime dialectic is found at the heart of the genre and moves stealthily throughout its discourse on love.

In this paper I examine Propertius' and Ovid's treatment of the rival against the background of the conventions of elegy. I argue that Propertius, on the one hand, uses the grotesque punitively on the Illyrian praetor in a poetic crescendo of denigrations that parallels the poet-lover's increasing awareness of his inability to retain Cynthia with his love and his poetry. Ovid, on the other, describes him in terms of blood and gore to inquire how a delicate and learned puella can possibly allow herself to be touched by the blood-stained hands of so grotesque a creature. I conclude that for both poets, though more for Ovid than Propertius, the puella's openness to the erotic appeal of the grotesque is essentially the same as that incorporated by the poet into the aesthetic logic of the genre. The elegist uses grotesque imagery to create the impression of a jarring intrusion, while disclosing the fact that the source of that intrusion lies at the very heart of both elegiac love and the art of elegy.

Bilingualism

Livia Tagliapietra (Cambridge): The Sicilian linguistic influence in Locri Epizephyrii

The last two decades have seen a rise in research on the Greek of Sicily, particularly with regard to the Sicilian Doric koiná developed in the Hellenistic period (Mimbrera 2012). However, studies have concentrated on the epigraphic sources from the island, while the southern part of Italy remains uninvestigated for linguistic contact with and influence from Sicily. On the other hand, linguistic studies on Magna Graecia have tended not to consider contacts with Sicily, mostly regarding the two areas as separate; rather, it is generally assumed that the Tarentine dialect had a spreading influence in Magna Graecia as the result of Taras' flourishing in the fourth century (Landi 1979:75; Méndez Dosuna 1985:36; Consani 1995:77-82; Barrio Vega 1998:266-7).
In this paper I shall argue that it is mistaken to impose a linguistic barrier at Rhegion (on the strait, conquered by the Sicilians in 387/6), which has generally been taken for granted. Rather, I shall show that the analysis of official inscriptions from Heraclea (Taras' subcolony in the north of Magna Graecia), Locri Epizephyrii (on the eastern coast of the 'toe' of Italy) and Sicily dated to the late fourth and early third century suggests that the language of Locri shares more features with the Sicilian koiná than with the Heraclean (supposedly Tarentine) dialect.
By highlighting such features from Locri, I shall show that the linguistic evidence tallies with the close contacts between Locri and Syracuse at the time of Dionysius the Elder and then with Agathocles' intervention against the Brettii in South Italy in the early third century. The presence of Sicilian dialectal features in Locri, which conforms with the historical and material data available, demonstrates Sicilian linguistic influence beyond Rhegion and suggests a different assessment of dialectal areas in the West in the early Hellenistic period.

Matthijs Wibier (Pavia): Roman Cultural Knowledge in the Greek East? The Case of the Greek-Latin Bilingual Papyri.

A sizeable number of Greek-Latin bilingual papyri survive from the ancient world. While the scholarship to date has focused primarily on linguistic questions, this paper argues on the basis of several case studies that Greek-Latin bilingual papyri from Egypt can often be understood as disseminating Roman cultural knowledge to people in the Hellenized parts of the Empire. That is, I suggest that the texts under discussion are best understood as shortcuts to cultural knowledge essential for interacting successfully with the Roman administrative echelons of the province(s). This point probably emerges most clearly from the (Latin) juristic papyri annotated in Greek, which will be my first case study (esp. PSI 11.1182). Based on a close reading of the marginalia, I argue that a basic knowledge of Roman law was useful for Greek speakers in all sorts of situations—not simply for entering the law schools but also at a more modest level, such as when writing petitions (cf. ChLA 11 503) or networking with elites.

My second case study expands my reading of the bilingual evidence to non-legal texts as well, focusing on the letter collection in *P.Bon.* 5. This papyrus contains several sample letters in Latin and Greek that provide models for expressing commiseration as well as congratulations to the addressee. Developing Dickey's argument that bilingual papyri should in general be seen as sample texts coupled with a literal translation in the user's (native) language, I argue that *P.Bon.* 5 was targeted at a Greek-speaking audience (cf. Rizzi and Molinelli). A close reading will then show that the letters promote maintaining a type of Roman *amicitia* similar to—though not as high-brow as—that found in the letters of Cicero, Pliny, and Fronto.

Olivia Elder (Cambridge): Bilingual Games in the Graffiti of Pompeii

There has been a tendency to dismiss Pompeian graffiti as examples of clumsy or vulgar language use that are of a fundamentally different character to the classical literary norm. This paper will use the corpus of bilingual Greek-Latin graffiti from Pompeii to argue against this weight of scholarship, and to demonstrate how the graffiti can be taken seriously as playful and sometimes carefully considered communications. Taken as a whole, the corpus reveals that language use within the bilingual graffiti was vivid and varied, working within the epigraphic landscape of Pompeii in multiple ways. Individual inscriptions reveal strategies of particular writers, and highlight the subtle bilingual ploys used to shape communications.

   This paper will first situate the bilingual graffiti within Pompeii's wider epigraphic landscape and provide an overview of the contexts within which the two languages appeared. It will then present some detailed examples and examine language games and strategies within them. It will focus in particular on script-switching, discussing how it complicates language choices and reveals the interplay between the two languages in Pompeii. Finally, the paper will reflect comparatively on similar bilingual phenomena in literature, and consider how these often-segregated types of evidence can shed light on one another.

Body Adaptors

Claude-Emmanuelle Centlivres Challet (Lausanne): Roman 'breast pumps' and baby bottles

Earthenware or glass containers resembling small teapots are regularly found in domestic contexts, pottery workshops, tombs of children, and sometimes of adults, throughout the Roman empire. For a century they have been considered by modern scholars to be baby bottles until it was suggested, a decade ago, that they were in fact breast pumps. This attractive idea has since made its way through scientific and popular literature and websites alike. However, a new experiment I carried out tends to question the conclusions reached a decade ago. In light of this result, this paper has two aims. First, it intends to present the anatomical, physiological, practical and affective reasons explaining why these objects could not be breast pumps, and second, why they could indeed be baby bottles. It will accordingly discuss the issues related to the materiality of feeding Roman neonates and infants, depending on whether the mother would breastfeed or not, on the person who would be feeding the child, and on the age of the child.

Alyce Cannon (Sydney): Enabling the Body: Prostheses and Identity in Antiquity

In antiquity, just as today, illness and impairment comprised the reality of physical experience. But, how did the ancient conceive of the impaired body? This paper considers the evidence for ancient prosthetics in order to explore how the ancient impaired body was perceived differently in various contexts. The limited contemporary literature for the aesthetics, functionality, and significance of ancient prosthetics indicates that the subject is still in its infancy as most work has concentrated upon collecting quantitative data (Bliquez 1996). This paper redirects focus onto the transformations of the body and its identity brought about by prosthetics. It will assess these ancient physical experiences through a social model of disability in which prostheses and the individuals who wore them were not collectively stigmatised. Examining how ancient writers represent prostheses, it is argued that their nuanced accounts reveal that perspectives of impairments were not necessarily always negative. Indeed, comparative analysis of the evidence indicates that prostheses played a

powerful figurative role, from badges of valour in the writings of Herodotus and Pliny the Elder, to markers for personal ineptitude in the works of Martial and Lucian. In this way, it can be demonstrated that more varied conceptualisations of prostheses and the body in antiquity are possible.

Eleanor Leach (Indiana): Revelatory Concealment: Reading Beneath Veils

This paper concerns the semiotics of dress in gender representation to be seen in Roman mythological painting with specific focus on configurations of veiling both in men's and in women's dress. A preliminary consideration is the constituency of the audience for painting. Unlike Greek ceramic painting which, as Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones has observed men crafted for the exclusively masculine symposium, the locations of Roman wall paintings in such spaces as triclinia intended for immediate viewing by an audience of both sexes indicate that women will be assessing their effects equally with men. Which is not to claim that this assessment will tell us about the clothes of everyday life. Rather I am considering the communicative value of clothing in relationship with social conduct codes

Among the most commonly represented features of dress in painting is the veil. Both Greek and Roman women wear veils: Greeks the *himation*; Romans the *palla*, a characteristic outdoor modesty covering of matrons. In a paper on the symbolic uses of veiling in Greek literary texts, Douglas Cairns notes a kind of universal language by which the veiled subject separates itself from others to signify a relationship or refusal of the same. Veiling is multivalent in that its uses can express emotions of anger, grief, shame or embarrassment, but is seen often in situations where these emotions are qualified by ambivalence or indeterminacy. Contexts determine meaning. Although Cairns' analysis rests entirely on literary manifestations, visual evidence seems corroborative. My examples from Pompeian painting will present two kinds of situations: those in which veiling is appropriate and those where it is not including two illustrations for *Aeneid* 12. And as we will see men also may assume veils in emotionally charged situations but with a significance much affected by gender conduct codes.

Boundaries and Networks

Susanne Froehlich (Gießen): *locus horridus*? Fictional Topographies of the Urban Periphery in Petronius, Apuleius, and Horace

In Roman antiquity, entering a city meant passing the graves, which were located right outside the walls. During the day, pedestrians and horsemen came by, or merchants traded their goods. At night, however, one avoided the outskirts of the city. In contrast to historical and archaeological issues, literary references to Roman city boundaries have not yet been studied closely. Therefore, a look at fictional topographies of the urban periphery in Roman literature seems promising. The aim of this paper is to examine how the entrance to the city is depicted in the works of selected imperial Roman authors, and to shed some light on connotations and emotions connected to it. The paper shows that Petronius (*Sat.* 62) and Apuleius (*Met.* 4.18) both present the urban periphery as a locus horridus. In Petronius, crossing the city borders and entering the suburbium is linked to the transgression from man to animal. In Apuleius, on the other hand, the horror evoked at the episode's beginning gradually takes on comical aspects.

Horace's *Satire* 1.8 draws a different picture. Although conventional motives are included, *Satire* 1.8 shows that these do not belong to the text's present. No matter where he looks, the reader perceives Maecenas' beautiful garden decorated with statues, and just by chance a bone permeating the ground reminds him of the Esquiline Hill's former bad reputation. The horror that was connected to this area during the Republican period is nothing but a distant memory. It will be argued that from the

Augustan Era onwards a change in the connotations connected with the urban periphery is linked closely to the process of gentrification in the city of Rome. Horace's Satire perfectly enacts this ambivalence of the city's margins.

Jason Morris (Leicester): *Forma Facta Est*: Agrimensores and the Discourse of Power in the Roman Empire.

Therefore, since we pay heed to disputes over land, we should discuss how many ways this (property) may be divided into sections and how many varieties of property there are or what qualities they possess (Agennius Urbicus, *De Controversiis Agrorum* C18.11-12).
There are two types of boundaries, one which is recognized by a straight line, while the other is recognized by a curving one. ... Whatever might occur out in the field as part of the work of measuring out a straight boundary is called a rigor. Anything which is drawn on a map to represent this is called a line (Balbus, *Expositio Formarum*, C208.5-11). Whatever the maps might be like, if there is any dispute about the reliability of these documents, one must refer back to the private archive of the emperor (Siculus Flaccus, *De Divisis et Adsignatis*, C120.31-32).

In these passages, the Roman *agrimensores* bring together law, philosophy, mathematics and cartography in the service of empire. Important work on each of these topics has been carried out in the last ten years by scholars such as Serafina Cuomo, Julian Dubouloz, Gerard Chouquer and Richard Talbert. Yet their investigations have largely remained theoretical with little consideration for how these combined technical disciplines had an impact on the lived experiences of the peoples of the empire.
This paper will first briefly survey how the *agrimensores* employed their skills as experts in these four disciplines to structure and map the landscape. Then, drawing on three case studies, it will explore how the provincial population and imperial administrators alike employed maps as political and historiographical documents to shape discourse about place, power and identity in the Roman world [words: 278].

Kasey L. Reed (Gent): Collegia connections: evidence and theory in the inter-guild relationships of the *collegia fabrum*

The *collegia fabrum* were among the most prominent of the private associations in the Roman world. They played a major role in urban life throughout the west; however, the precise nature, influence, and activities of these collegia are still undefined and fiercely debated. In recent publications on Roman *collegia*, their significance as socio-economic influences is increasingly acknowledged. However, the precise mechanics of influence or status remain undefined for the *collegia fabrum*, among others. The primarily epigraphic evidence for the *collegia* focuses on the persons involved, and thus provides the requisite data for an investigation into those who joined, promoted, and connected the *collegia fabrum* to Roman urban life, to the social and political elite, and to other *collegia*. Onomastic and prosopographical tools will be useful in in determining the identity and ties of those affiliated with the *collegia fabrum*. Given the biases of the predominantly epigraphic evidence, though, is it possible to determine patterns in the nature or purpose of these relationships? By using the *collegia fabrum* as a test case, this paper will attempt to demonstrate the feasibility of outlining the networks and spheres of influence that a *collegium* could generate.

Carthaginian Poetics: Rome's Literary Responses to the Punic Wars
From the dawn of the first Punic War until long after Carthage had become a distant memory of the past, the threefold conflict against the Carthaginians remained at the heart of the concerns of Latin historians, orators and poets as an imperative reference

point to think about Rome's military achievements and the building, and conservation, of a maritime empire. Throughout Rome's literary history, the Punic Wars surface again and again in Rome's reflections about military conflicts, turning Carthage into Rome's veritable archenemy: an elected military and cultural 'Other,' constantly entangled with the construction and definition of a Roman identity.

The present panel purports to delineate some of the traces left by the conflict against Carthage in Latin literary texts across various literary genres (drama, lyric, rhetoric and epic) and different historical periods, from the mid-Republic to the Flavian age. The first paper (Giusti) explores the possible impact of the Punic Wars in mid-Republican theatre, arguing that the portrait of the Carthaginians as Rome's barbarian 'Other' possibly developed on the Roman stage in continuity with the 5th century Athenian representation of the barbarian Persians; the second paper (Biggs) moves on to analyse how Augustan poetry uses the first Punic War as an exemplary narrative of naval conflicts, and as an unavoidable point of comparison for thinking about recent and contemporary maritime wars; the third paper (Del Giovane) takes off from the representation of a dilemma of Scipio Africanus in Seneca's *Epistle* 86 to investigate the abundant use of the topos of the Punic Wars and Carthage in the rhetorical tradition, from the *ad Herennium* up to the evidence presented by Plutarch; the fourth and last paper (Stocks) approaches the heart of Silius Italicus' 'Carthaginian Poetics' by unravelling the pair of portraits of Hannibal and Scipio as simultaneous epic heroes, and showing how they constitute the literary climax of the Romans' problematisation of self and foe from the mid-Republic up to the age of the Flavians.

Elena Giusti (Cambridge): The Enemy on Stage: Rome's Invention of Carthage

The period of the first two Punic wars coincided with the birth and growing popularity of Roman adaptations of Athenian tragedies and comedies, with the invention of Rome's Trojan origin, and with the birth of Latin epic and historiography, namely the birth of a 'national' literature. Within this climate, it is possible to see Rome's collective action, her building of a 'national' identity and the construction of the Carthaginian Enemy as part of the very same process.

This paper suggests that the construction of the Carthaginians in mid-Republican Rome developed in theatrical performances on the model of the Greek 'invention' of the barbarian Persians (codified by Edith Hall in 1989), and that in both cases the building of a collective identity was tightly intertwined with the artificial creation of a national Enemy. While incontrovertible evidence for a Persian/Carthaginian assimilation is provided by Greek poetry, historiography and iconography, the early Roman comparisons between Persian and Punic wars amount to no more than one fragment of Cato and two of Ennius. Yet Naevius' so-called 'fragment of the Giants' provides a possible point of contact between the Greek, the early Roman, and the Augustan tradition, in which emulation of fifth-century Athens clearly exhibits a strong interest in the representation of the barbarian Other.

By surveying the evidence for a Persian/Carthaginian assimilation, I shall suggest that the locus of this assimilation was early Roman theatre, particularly those tragedies which were often adaptations or translations, staged during the years of the conflicts against Carthage, of fifth-century Athenian plays which dealt with the 'invention of the Barbarian'. Part of the evidence is provided by a retrospective reading of Virgil's *Aeneid*, whose Carthaginian episode is constructed on the model of those same 'barbarian tragedies' which were apparently popular on the early Latin stage, often with probable references to Ennius or Pacuvius.

Thomas Biggs (Georgia): *Siculum mare Poeno purpureum sanguine*: the First Punic War in Augustan Rome

This paper explores the pervasive presence of the First Punic War within Augustan cultural production. In particular, it shows that the literary and cultural landscapes of Augustan Rome engaged with elevated, epic narratives of naval victory along with architecture and iconography that served to revive the First Punic War as an exemplary narrative.

In the wake of the war against Sextus Pompey and the Battle of Actium, the symbolic resonance of the maritime gained relevance at Rome that it had not experienced since the late third century BCE (see Matthew Leigh 2010 for Rome's first 'Maritime Moment'). For example, Nora Goldschmidt has recently shown in *Shaggy Crowns* some of the key ways that the mnemotopic landscapes of Vergil's *Aeneid* evoke Rome's earlier wars with Carthage and the Republican texts that first depicted them. Following on her insights, I propose to examine an increased range of Augustan poems and to show that the interpretation and reuse of Republican history throughout these authors betrays a defined, if opaque, cultural programme wherein the First Punic War offered a perceptive lens for the interpretation of recent Roman affairs (texts include Horace *Odes* 1.37, 2.12; Propertius 2.1, 3.11; the proem to Vergil *Georgics* 3). In sum, poetic depictions of Actian victory and spectacular *naumachiae* appropriate the symbolic and literary legacy of Rome's first war against Carthage to cast Augustan naval warfare in a venerable, yet not unproblematic tradition.

In the final section of this paper, several of the more suggestive observations concerning Augustan texts receive analysis in the light provided by contemporary art and architecture. Attention is given to newly discovered sculpture and iconography from the Actium monument at Nikopolis, the rostral column for Naulochus in the Forum Romanum, and Agrippa's Basilica of Neptune at the Pantheon.

Barbara Del Giovane (Florence): *Aut Scipio Romae esse debebat aut Roma in libertate*: The *dilemma Scipionis* in Seneca's Letter 86 and the Punic Wars in the Roman Rhetorical Tradition

Two *sententiae* in Seneca's Letter 86 (86.1 *aut Scipio Romae esse debebat aut Roma in libertate*; 86.3 *aut libertas Scipioni aut Scipio libertati faceret iniuriam*) depict Scipio Africanus as choosing between leaving or not leaving Rome. These are both structured as a rhetorical *dilemma*, technically an argument employed within the *refutatio* (the *pars argumentationis* which, within declamations, counterargued the adversary's thesis). Starting from these passages, this paper argues that Seneca's use of Scipio's rhetorical *dilemma* also evokes a real *declamatio* produced by Scipio's adversaries, and that this use of the *dilemma Scipionis* points to the existence of a lost *suasoria* on Scipio, which possibly circulated within rhetorical schools.

Morever, the existence of a lost *suasoria* on the *dilemma Scipionis* also encourages us to investigate the use of the Punic Wars in the rhetorical tradition more generally. The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* provides us with plenty of evidence for the popularity of a 'Punic repertoire' in the *declamationes*: it allows us to imagine a *suasoria* centred on a 'Hannibalic *dilemma*' (3.2.2), or on the dispute between Cato and Scipio Nasica on whether to destroy or save Carthage (3.2.2); it contains Rome's traditional accusations against Carthage (4.13.19-20); references to the men of Casilinum surrounded by Carthaginians (3.5.8), to the ransom of Rome's prisoners of war after Cannae (3.2.2) and more than once to Scipio Aemilianus (e.g. 4.13.19).

The *ad Herennium*, however, makes no mention of the Africanus Major. By surveying similar evidence in Quintilian (*Inst*. 3.8.17), Valerius Maximus (5.3 ext.1), Juvenal (7.162-3), Cicero (*inv*. 1.8.11; 1.39.72), Plutarch (Plut. *Cato mai*. 27) and Seneca himself, I shall attempt an explanation for the apparent absence of traces of Scipio Africanus as *exemplum* within rhetorical literature, and demonstrate the possible existence of *suasoriae* centred on his character, whose traces are mostly, but not solely, found in Seneca's philosophical prosework.

Claire Stocks (Nijmegen): Fighting For Rome? The interchangeability of Silius Italicus' epic heroes

Epic heroes in the Roman tradition are problematic (e.g. Toohey, 2010). Virgil's *pius* Aeneas displays many Roman virtues, yet his war with the Italian Turnus acquires a 'civil' edge through his proto-Roman status. Post-Augustan (e.g. Lucan), and especially Flavian (e.g. Valerius Flaccus; Statius), authors undermined heroic ideals still further by depicting warriors openly engaged in civil, or even fratricidal, war. Through their problematic heroes they questioned the notion of what 'Rome' was fighting for: for heroism was never so 'dirty' than when one's foe was simultaneously one's 'friend'. It was Silius Italicus, however, who added yet another twist to the problem of epic heroes engaged in civil strife, by taking Rome's legendary – external – foe, Carthage, and casting it in a Roman mould through the 'interchangeability' of his heroes.
This paper shows how Silius' epic heroes, especially Hannibal and Scipio, reflect Rome's wider (literary) treatment of Carthage as the enemy who offered a mirror image of itself. For in the *Punica* Hannibal faces a crisis of identity. From Saguntum (Books 1 and 2), where he displays the qualities Jupiter claims will make Rome great (Book 3), to Zama (Book 17), where he is comparable to – and interchangeable with – Scipio, Hannibal is the hero whose Carthaginian identity is thrown into doubt by his 'Roman' behaviour. Via its heroes, the *Punica* highlights a problem inherent in Rome's memory of Carthage; namely that in (re)creating its enemy through its literature, Rome constructed an opponent that increasingly resembled its own *uiri*. In so doing, Rome blurred the boundary between friend and foe in a way that engaged with its dialogue on civil war. Silius' 'interchangeable' heroes thus show that Carthage was no longer just Rome's 'barbarian other' (codified by Hall, 1989: 1-2); it was a vehicle for Rome's exploration of its civil-strife tendencies.

Cassius Dio and his Roman Emperors

Caillan Davenport (Queensland): Cassius Dio and Imperial Ideals

A Roman emperor was required to excel as both a military and civilian leader, protecting the empire's frontiers and behaving as a *civilis princeps* towards the senate and the people. This paper will explore how these expectations manifested themselves in Dio's *Roman History*. It will focus on emperors of the second century A.D. who receive positive (though not always uncomplicated) portrayals, such as Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Pertinax. Although wars play a substantial role in Dio's work, the military qualities of emperors are often problematized or given less prominence than civilian virtues. Trajan, who is praised for his bravery, is said to have rejoiced in the title of *Optimus* because it referred to his character, not his military skill. Marcus Aurelius survived the military crises of his reign not because he possessed any qualities of a great general, but because of his character and virtues. Finally, Pertinax, who was a successful general before becoming emperor, ends up being murdered by the soldiers. Overall, Dio's work shows the necessity of a vigilant frontier policy in the face of the threats faced by the empire, yet military qualities are not in and of themselves sufficient for a successful imperial reign.

Verena Schulz (Munich): History and Literature: Rhetorical Techniques in Cassius Dio's Critical Descriptions of Roman Emperors

Dio has long been considered as a writer of low quality and his literary strategies have been widely neglected. My paper aims to show that Dio makes sensible use of rhetorical

techniques. I will analyse how he creates persuasive descriptions of emperors, focusing on the negative accounts of Julio-Claudian and Flavian rulers.

The paper is in three parts. First, I shall give an overview of Dio's techniques as a literary writer, such as motifs and functions of character depiction, the portrayal of emotions and creation of atmosphere, and the construction of rubrics of imperial actions. Second, I will focus on one of Dio's narrative techniques by analysing his methods of focalisation in detail, namely the use of primary and secondary or embedded focalisation, techniques of *paralepsis* and *mise en abyme*. Finally, I argue that Dio applies these techniques to the descriptions of all the emperors he criticises. He thus creates coherent literary strategies of criticism which connect the emperors of the early imperial times to his contemporary Severan rulers.

Adam Kemezis (Alberta): Obscure Characters: Information and Judgement in Dio's Account of the Principate

Cassius Dio's history devotes much space to moral evaluation of the emperors from Augustus on. This has often led to the view that Dio subscribed to an ideology in which emperors could be evaluated by the senatorial elite and there was a close correlation between the emperor's moral status and the political health of the empire.
This paper argues that while such an ideology is present in Dio's work, the historian takes a skeptical view of some of its key premises. In particular, his methodological statements (53.19) highlight how difficult it is in a monarchical state to acquire accurate political information. Furthermore, Dio's work was written at a time (190s-220s) when emperors were more often than not youthful figureheads whose character had a limited impact on politics.
The problem of how Dio reconciles monarchical ideology with the requirements of truthful and authoritative narration will be explored through episodes in which he relates the emperor's moral public image to the events of his reign. These include the funeral of Augustus; Nero's "good years"; Trajan's Parthian expedition; Septimius Severus' obituary notice; and Elagabalus' sexual transgressions.

Christopher Mallan (Independent): Dio and the Alexander-motif

The use of Alexander the Great as an *exemplum* in Roman imperial literature is a well-known phenomenon. As has been well recognised in the scholarship, Alexander occupied a curious position in Ancient (and Medieval) thought, and his exemplary status conveyed both positive and negative qualities. However, what has been less thoroughly discussed is how this Alexander-motif functions in individual authors from this period. Cassius Dio presents an interesting case study. Dio lived in an age where emperors aspired to emulate the deeds of Alexander. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the shadow of Alexander hangs over many of his portrayals of imperial figures from Julius Caesar down to the emperors of his own day. This paper considers how Dio employs (both directly and allusively) the figure of Alexander the Great throughout his narrative, and how he is able to manipulate the two-sides of Alexander's exemplary status in his criticism of emperors and imperial conduct. Furthermore, as a coda to this paper, given that most of these references appear in those portions of Dio's narrative preserved by Xiphilinus, a few comments will be made about how Xiphilinus' decision to retain these references fits in with contemporary eleventh century historiography.

Cicero, Roman Friendship and Power

Gabriel Evangelou (Edinburgh): Real vs ideal: Cicero's polemic against Epicurus and his friendship with Atticus

"Real vs ideal: Cicero's polemic against Epicurus and his friendship with Atticus"

Cicero's opposition to the Epicurean school is well attested in his philosophical treatises and in his correspondence. In *De Amicitia*, his attack is not limited to Epicurus, but extends to his followers who base their friendships on their personal benefit. He emphatically notes that between real friends there should be complete agreement in all matters, human and divine. However, his most intimate friend, Atticus, to whom the treatise is dedicated, was a well-known Epicurean. This creates a paradox: Cicero composed a work on friendship, after his Epicurean friend's request, only to criticise the Epicurean school and its adherents.

As a result, an obvious question arises: is Cicero simply expressing an ideal account of friendship which even he was acutely aware that was unrealistic or are his professed views of Epicureanism different from the beliefs that he held in private?

The chief aim of this paper is to examine the discrepancies between Cicero's words and deeds and to show that his Epicurean friends must have believed that his constantly negative remarks about Epicureanism were not an accurate representation of his actual views of them and of their philosophical school.

Philippa Bather (UCL): *A-mor-citia*: Interactive Interrogations of Ciceronian *Amicitia*: Horace's *Epistles* and Ovid's *Ars amatoria*

Cicero's importance for the intellectual landscape of Augustan Rome is well-acknowledged (Baraz, Fantham); yet, his importance for the Augustan poets remains largely unexplored. Feeney has recently put the oddity of this critical silence into perspective. The Augustan poets grew up in a Ciceronian world: the oeuvre of Cicero, a 'culture hero of the Roman classroom', provided a 'fundamental point of orientation' (UCL, March 2014). Seeking to redress this balance, it shall be argued that Cicero's *de Amicitia* provides a fundamental point of orientation for Horace and Ovid's competitive conceptual hustings on friendship.

Cicero's thematic importance cannot be overstated: the *de Amicitia* was highly novel in its application of Greek theory on friendship to Roman practice (Habinek). Horace's preoccupation with friendship is well-acknowledged; congenial to the generic demands of his hexameters and sympotic modalities of lyric. For Roman love poets, appropriation of friendship's terminology proved ripe for amatory ends (e.g., Cat. 109). Ovid's appropriations, however – *unlike* his predecessors – define his amatory positioning to create, like Horace, a central motif.

It shall be argued that Ovid's appropriations of *amicitia* in his *Ars* respond to Horace's epistolary ruminations on Ciceronian *amicitia*. Horace's *Epistles I* interrogate the repressions and denials of the Ciceronian ideal, rooted in political inter-association and endangered by competitive expediency culminating in the turbulence of Cicero's present (Leach). Ovid amplifies Horatian scepticism. Exploiting the etymological connection between *amor* and *amicitia* (*Ars* 1.720), Ovid advocates an expedient brand of *am-or-citia* contrary to, but informed by, Cicero's censure of *uulgaris amicitia*. Simultaneously, Ovid's facetious interrogations offer an uncomfortable assessment of Horace's own position: Ovidian expediency exposes the tension – at the expense of its satire – between Horace's scepticism and his portrayal of a harmonious bond between himself and his patron, Maecenas.

Alex Imrie (Edinburgh): Friends in Low Places: the Antonine Constitution as a tool of patronage

The emperor Caracalla emerges from our sources as an archetypal 'bad' emperor. Our primary sources for the period construct an image of a volatile despot: militaristic, anti-senatorial, financially profligate and prone to fantasy. However entertaining this image is, though, it remains an obstacle to any objective assessment of Caracalla's reign. Indeed, many have allowed the emperor's actions to be viewed as those of an unhinged tyrant, rather than a ruler attuned to the *Realpolitik* of his contemporary context. Despite an increasing number of publications advocating a more balanced view of his reign, continued acceptance of Caracallan inadequacy can be observed in connection with his introduction of the *constitutio Antoniniana*: 'a decision that has never been plausibly explained on practical grounds, but Caracalla was a shocking megalomaniac and the sheer grandiosity of the gesture may be explanation enough'. This paper offers a more considered assessment of Caracalla and his edict. Rather than an exercise in vanity, the Antonine Constitution should be viewed as a legislative response to a crisis in which the emperor's position was vulnerable, his legitimacy debatable.

That emperors would seek mass popularity to bolster their position is undeniable. This paper argues, however, that we must look beyond the *bread and circuses* mentality: Caracalla's *constitutio* represents, in one respect, an attempt by the emperor to forge a lasting and personal connection between himself and his populace via a *de facto* patron-client relationship. The final section of this paper will consider the implications of this initiative for subsequent emperors. Against this backdrop, the figure of Julian stands out as an emperor who followed a Caracallan precedent, in his case using religious reform, rather than constitutional, to consolidate his reign at the point when it might have seemed in most doubt.

Ciceronian Masks
Nearly half a century after the publication of Roland Barthes' pivotal essay, 'The Death of the Author', is it possible to engage with this theory and at the same time explore the life and person of an author? Behind the literary performance, the 'mask', of Cicero's works is a performer whose vivid identity seems to resonate with our own. Our panel aims to explore this encounter between reader and text by proposing that the writings of Cicero, as products of their time, are themselves the key to uniting a reader's creative role with a reader's experience of ethos. Cicero's works, which speak to distinctly personal matters such as family life and belief system and stand as artefacts of his own self-understanding and self-presentation, thus offer a lens for interpreting the historical personality which appears to arise from these texts. The evidence can be probed through close reading within and across the Ciceronian genres and through the reception of his works in their own context and beyond. We thereby hope to shed at least some light on the figure, both presupposed and constructed in the dialogue between reader and text, whom we call 'Cicero'.

In the first paper, Paula Rondon-Burgos explores how Cicero's harrowing experience of exile influenced the definition of his identity, especially with respect to his *domus*. Next Lauren Emslie analyses *De Natura Deorum* in order to understand how Cicero as author 'voices' his philosophical and theological positions. Henriette van der Blom then considers the extent to which Cicero directed and determined the posthumous reception of his oratorical reputation. Finally, John Dugan tackles the possibility that even Cicero's ostensibly candid writings may be inescapably self-conscious, thereby further complicating the question 'Who is Cicero?'

Paula Rondon-Burgos (Durham): Cicero the homeowner: Identity, status and the Palatine *domus* in light of exile

Cicero's exile was a blow to his sense of self and his vision for his legacy. In response to his banishment Cicero engaged in new forms of self-presentation including his identification with his demolished Palatine *domus*. Cicero's declaration *ego vero tum*

denique mihi videbor restitutus si illa [*domus*] *nobis erit restituta* (*Fam.* 14.2.3) is one of several statements underlining the significance of his house to his self-understanding. The importance of the urban *domus* to elite Romans is well known: what is striking is that Cicero assigned his house a value on par with his life and self. This paper proposes that, despite attaining the consulship, Cicero continued facing jealous resistance (*invidia*) to his social integration. The animosity emanating from elite circles led Cicero to cling to his house as a tangible manifestation of his presence in the fabric of Rome. Cicero's construction of his identity evinces his efforts to deposit his self into vessels, like his house, which could perpetuate 'Cicero'. This externalization of 'Cicero' reflected his post-exilic awareness that authorship over his life was tenuous. By casting other entities as bearers of his identity, thereby granting them the authority to represent 'Cicero', this author seems to have evaded death.

Lauren Emslie (Newcastle): Cicero the Believer? The theological reflections of an Academic sceptic

Did Cicero believe in the gods? When approaching Cicero's theological works, the matter of form and voice is frequently problematic. In the *De Natura Deorum*, particularly, Cicero marginalises his own voice to a great extent; unlike other works in his philosophical corpus, Cicero does not make himself, or give his name to, a main interlocutor of the dialogue. Cicero thus seems to relegate his 'self' to the background of this text. Consequently, in order to see whether Cicero's own opinions can be discerned, I propose to identify Cicero as author of his own work.

I argue that Cicero, as a good Academic sceptic, appreciates that his own interpretation is not unequivocal and that the author's judgement at the end of the work is unproblematic. This paper, therefore, first analyses Cicero's final remark and then asks whether the speeches of Balbus and Cotta relate to the comment in Cicero's authorial voice regarding the importance of discussing the nature of the gods. Within the intellectual context of late republican Rome, *De Natura Deorum* should be viewed as an attempt of Cicero to conceptualise his perception of religion. Through this exercise, we may understand a little more of the 'man behind the mask'.

Henriette van der Blom (Glasgow): Cicero's oratorical canonization from his death to Quintilian

First century AD prose authors present a relatively stable and consistent list of canonical republican orators, often linked to typical stylistic attributes. Yet, the extent to which these orators themselves contributed to their later reception from deliberate attempts at self-presentation and their level of control over their reception is uncertain. We must turn to Cicero to understand how a Roman orator could script his own reception by subsequent generations.

This paper aims to investigate the imperial reception of Cicero as orator from his death until Quintilian's work *Institutio Oratoria*. It shall focus on the Ciceronian speeches circulating and remembered after his death, the reasons behind the selection of these circulating speeches, the aspects of Cicero's oratory remembered and forgotten in imperial prose works up until Quintilian, and the broader image of Cicero as an oratorical *exemplum* in the imperial period.

The paper concludes that Cicero's self-presentation influenced his posthumous reception to a great extent through his circulation of speeches and his self-praise, but that the reception of his oratory in the first century AD was both messy and superficial. Only with Quintilian's systematic and detailed use of Cicero's example and speeches were specific aspects of Cicero's oratorical self-projection picked up.

John Dugan (Buffalo): The 'Secret History' and Cicero's Death as an Author

Barthes' "Death of the Author" (1967) still challenges us to negotiate a dilemma: does writing let an author cheat death, or is writing instead "the destruction of every voice"? Cicero's "Secret History," a now lost confidential account of his political calculations, offers a special instance of final writing. Entrusted to his son under seal with instructions that it not be read or released until after his death, this text seems Cicero's political last will and testament—a text framed as a voice from the grave.
This 'Secret History' would seem a distillation of an authentic and unmediated "Cicero," a glimpse into his unfiltered thoughts with a minimum of ornament and artifice, and a revelation of a private self otherwise not displayed. Yet testimonia point to an intricate inter-generic text combining polemical historiography with what appears to be passages of high literary ambition written in a sprawling manner.
This paper analyzes that paradox: what do we learn about Cicero's self when we see that his confession from the grave was perhaps as elaborately rhetorical as any of Cicero's other texts? Is Cicero's self always already rhetorical? If so, how can we find a 'real' man behind his various rhetorical masks?

Classical Myth and Science Fiction
Science fiction (SF) is associated with novelty, speculation, and above all, the future. But SF authors have long drawn inspiration from the mythologies of the past, especially Greco-Roman antiquity. Whatever the cause—be it SF authors' status as modern myth-makers, the privileged position of 'knowledge fiction' (Rogers and Stevens 2012) in ancient literature, or analogous impulses to fathom the workings of the universe and humankind's place within it—this affinity between modern SF and classical myth represents a key thread in the recent surge of scholarly interest in relationships between speculative fiction (SF, fantasy, and horror) and antiquity. This panel contributes to the discussion by focusing on a relatively understudied form, the SF novel. Apart from a few widely read classics (e.g., *Frankenstein*, *Dune*) and popular series, the novel has received less attention than comics, film, or television; yet it arguably offers more sustained and intellectually ambitious modes of engagement with the classical past.
Each speaker in the panel deals with the reception of classical myth in a different novel and sheds light on the dynamics of mythology as experienced by both the folk of antiquity and today's readers. First, Lynn Fotheringham explores Mike Carey's response to the multivalence of ancient myth in *The Girl with All the Gifts*, itself a reworking of an earlier story, 'Iphigenia at Aulis'. Tony Keen then argues for the influence of Lucian in Iain Banks' *The Bridge*, probing the timeless appeal of mythology as a source for comic writers. Next, Marian Makins finds in Roger Zelazny's debut novel a useful framework for conceptualizing myth reception. Finally, Nick Lowe demonstrates that by taking seriously Stoic physics and cosmology in *The Pillars of Eternity*, Barrington Bayley recognizes the function of ancient explanatory narratives, making sense of the irrational and reducing the conceptual distance between myth, philosophy, and ancient science. The panel thus ends by emphasizing the extent to which the use of myth in antiquity extended seamlessly into a wider intellectual and conceptual world, with mythic models permeating all systems of thought.

Lynn Fotheringham (Nottingham): Uses of myth in the Melanie-stories of Mike Carey

In 2012, the British comics and SF author Mike Carey published a short story starring a little girl called Melanie. The story was entitled 'Iphigenia at Aulis'; it is hard to imagine a clearer way of signalling intertextuality with Greek mythology, which is continuously referenced throughout the story, with the title-myth providing a model—of sorts—for Melanie to follow. Carey later revisited Melanie and her world, giving them a different

location, plot-trajectory, and guiding myth, in the 2014 novel, *The Girl with All the Gifts* (the title is explicitly stated to be a translation of 'Pandora').

Although the question of the Greek myths having variants is not directly addressed in either version of Melanie's story, and in the novel Melanie is to some extent presented as outgrowing the romanticised form of story-telling they represent, this paper will argue that Carey's work understands and re-works the multivalence inherent in ancient myth. This argument will be applied to the content of the works as well as to the act of re-working Melanie's story in the two publications and to their relationship with other examples of a modern genre-myth. The paper may include references to an interview with Mike Carey.

Tony Keen (Open University): 'I luv the ded': Greek mythology in Iain Banks' *The Bridge*

One of the strands of Iain Banks' multi-layered 1986 novel *The Bridge*—not marketed as science fiction, but definitely science fictional—concerns a barbarian whose ultimate quest takes him into an Underworld that draws heavily upon mythological imagery originating in Greek and Roman literature. The version of mythology with which the reader is presented seems more Lucianic than anything else. The approach taken by Banks is overtly comical, with the barbarian narrating these episodes in a phonetic Scots vernacular, and humour derived from the reader's appreciation of who the characters that he encounters are, an appreciation that often escapes the barbarian himself. This paper examines the intersection between myth and comedy, and ways in which the comic potential inherent in myth can and has been exploited, by looking at the manner in which Banks uses mythology in these sections. It also discusses some of the cultural filters that could be at play here, focussing especially on the Lucianic aspect, and asks how this exploitation of mythology fits in with Banks' overall plan for his novel.

Marian Makins (Pennsylvania): 'A convergence of life and myth': modelling myth reception in Roger Zelazny's *And Call me Conrad*

The 1966 Hugo Award for Best Novel was shared between two critically acclaimed works of science fiction: Frank Herbert's *Dune* and Roger Zelazny's *...And Call Me Conrad* (subsequently re-titled *This Immortal*). The former went on to become one of the world's bestselling SF books, while the latter is relatively little known today. Perhaps the waning Cold War made the post- nuclear setting of *Conrad* seem less relevant, or perhaps it was overshadowed by Zelazny's wildly popular series *The Chronicles of Amber*; regardless, *Conrad* remains in most ways as fresh and provocative as ever, and merits attention from anyone interested in myth reception.

The plot involves a group touring what remains of Greece following a nuclear cataclysm. The travellers marvel at myth apparently come to life around them: satyr- and centaur-like creatures roam the hills; monsters threaten communities, setting the stage for heroic action; and group leader Conrad Nomikos seems to have had many identities in an extraordinarily long life, among them Greek folk hero Karaghiosis and possibly the god Pan. This paper will discuss how Zelazny thematises the reception of myth in the novel through his characters' responses to 'mythical' elements in their environment.

In one scene, a poet and a scientist debate the significance of apparent correspondences between the fabulous beasts abroad in Greece and those found in myth. The poet interprets the correspondences as heralding a reversion to primal forms, the start of a new 'Big Cycle' in human history, while the scientist views them as bio-evolutionary coincidence. I will argue that Conrad himself—with his succession of identities and tendency to criticize or control others' reception of myths, including his own—offers a third alternative that can serve as a useful framework for thinking about myth reception in general, from antiquity to today.

Nick Lowe (Royal Holloway): The ataraxic cyborg

The Lucretian antagonism between mythical and materialist apprehensions of reality, whose influence on early modern proto-science has recently been tracked by historian and SF novelist Ada Palmer, has rarely been followed home to antiquity in SF itself. A notable exception is
Barrington Bayley's 1982 space opera *The Pillars of Eternity*, built on the unusual premise that Stoic physics is true. Its baroque plot, which centres on its futuristically enhanced antihero's interplanetary quest to derail the eternal recurrence of the cosmos, makes extensive allusion to Hellenistic philosophical schools and authors (not least Lucretius himself) in its sustained and ingenious attempt to map ancient ways of theorising the physical world onto SF tropes and their projection of modernist cognitive architectures of science onto the future fantastic.
Playful yet humourless, as well as more or less characterless and styleless, it represents a distinctively novelistic mode of SF *jouissance* at its purest as a genre literature of ideas. But it is also a text situated more or less uniquely at the intersection of issues in the history and philosophy of ancient science with the historical poetics of the post-mythological fantastic, using the special licences of SF in its most intellectually expansive form to present an extended exploration of the belief maps of antiquity, modernity, and futurity as they respectively align with philosophy, science, and science fiction.
Pillars is eloquent about ways in which ancient philosophical cosmology is like, perhaps is, SF: the totalising construction of a post-mythological cosmos fantastically ordered by extrapolative reason, sanctioned by imaginative leaps from the world of observable experience to intoxicant vistas of deep time and reality. At the same time, it is interested in Hellenistic philosophy's constructions of a systemic relationship between cosmology and ethics, and the resonances with SF's quest (as Aldiss's famous definition has it) for a definition of humanity's status in the universe which can stand within the advanced but confused state of knowledge we call science.

Classics in Schools: A Round Table
Tom Harrison (St. Andrews)

Our proposal is for a 2-hour round-table discussion (equivalent to a four-paper panel) on Classics in secondary education in the maintained sector, addressing both the barriers to expansion (e.g. policy factors in different parts of the UK) and possible strategies for overcoming them.
The discussion will be structured into three main sections.
· The first will address the main policy and other factors impacting on the expansion of Classics, including training and CPD, qualifications structures, and changes in the organisation of statutory education (e.g. the devolution of management to chains of academies). Reflecting the conference's location in Edinburgh, the discussion will pay particular attention to the differences in context in the different regions and nations of the UK.
· The second part of the round-table will feature a range of (very briefly presented) case- studies projects at primary and secondary level. These will all be broadly successful projects, but the tenor of the discussion will be on learning from the progress and the mistakes made to date.
· Finally, the round-table will look forward to discuss the main priorities for the development of Classics in the state sector, and the best way of delivering on these. The round-table will feature a number of (c. 12) speakers and respondents from schools, university outreach, teacher training, and education policy. It is hoped, though, that it will elicit a much wider range of contributions from CA/CAS members with relevant

experience, and that the discussion will be productive in informing all our understandings of the way ahead.

Comedy

Matthew Wright (Exeter): The Greek comedians on education

Greek comedians and their audiences found education a fertile source of humour. Numerous plays were concerned with the acquisition of knowledge, the function of education in society, the content of the syllabus, the school as an environment, or the relationship between teachers and pupils. The best known comedy on this theme is *Clouds*, in which Aristophanes has fun at the expense of new-fangled intellectualism and the style of education offered by the sophists.
But there were many other classical Greek comedies that centred on educational themes – including Aristophanes' *Banqueters*, Cratinus' *Archilochoi,* Eupolis' *Goats* and *Maricas,* Metagenes' *Sophists* (or *Men in Training*), Alexis' *Linus* and *Asotodidaskalos*, Damoxenus' *Syntrophoi,* and others. These plays survive only in fragmentary form, and consequently are much less well known.
This paper brings together the evidence from fragmentary and surviving plays to present a wide-ranging general discussion of the comedians' approach to education and the relationship between drama and society.

Anna Novokhatko (Freiburg): Tripod, visuality and materiality in Epicharmus

The enigmatic fragment of Epicharmus, 147 PCG, provides a multilayered body of material to discuss, all of which is concentrated on the object of the tripod. It is significant to pose the question which object exactly is on stage (from the way both speakers describe it and from the deictic τόδ' it is very probable that the object is brought on stage). Does the concept of a four-footed tripod as support for a vessel or cauldron undermine the distinctive significance of the number three (Suhr 1971, 216-217)? Were four-footed tables ever called tripods (cf. Crat. fr. 334 and Ar. fr. 545 PCG)? In which context could the dialogue take place? The ritual or mythological context and the "always commanded respect" referred to necessarily when a tripod is emphasized, adds another layer of interpretation to Epicharmus' fragment (Papalexandrou 2005).
In this paper I will argue that the presence of the tripod is crucial for the scene, as Epicharmus intertwines ritual, rhetorical, mythological and linguistic discourses all built around the tripod.
One might assume that Epicharmus was engaged in mocking early linguistic studies carried out by contemporary grammarians such as Theagenes of Rhegium who dealt with the correct usage of language (DK8 A1a). Further, this fragment contains noteworthy literary allusions. Τρίπους can signify at the same time „an old man who leans on a staff", and through this meaning of the word the reading αἴνίγματ' Οἰ⟨δίπου⟩ in Epicharmus' fragment fits perfectly. Further, the τετράπους in the fragment corresponds to the word τετράπουν found on the hydria from Basel (520-510 BCE) revealing the Sphinx scene and an inscription (Cahn 855, see Moret 1984, 40). The riddle is recorded in Attic drama and on many examples of vase painting from the end of the 6th and 5th century BCE (Moret 1984, 31-65). Epicharmus' fragment may thus contain sophisticated literary and mythological wordplay.

Stavroula Kiritsi (RHUL): Dimitrios Moschos' *Neaira*: A Greek 'New Comedy' in Renaissance Italy

Dimitrios Moschos, a native of Sparta, wrote a comedy in Classical Greek prose, entitled Neaira, in Italy around 1478 and dedicated it to Gonzaga, the Duke of Mantua. According

to Andreas Moustoxidis, the first editor of Neaira in 1845, the play contributed greatly in the revival of theatrical productions, mainly comedies, in the regions of Mantua and Florence in the 15th century. Moustoxidis notes that Moschos' play relies largely on Terence's comedies (the 'semi-Menander', as he dubs him, after Caesar) rather than Plautus, but stresses also the influence of Lucian's 'Dialogues of the Courtesans' (Ἑταιρικοί Διάλογοι).

Neaira is a blend of genres: its plot and characters are in dialogue with a number of literary models (comedy, mime, satire, rhetorical speeches) and cultures (Hellenistic Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Renaissance).

In my paper I will discuss the literary genres that echo in the plot and the characters of Neaira, especially the influence of Greek and Roman New Comedy. I will also examine the play's humour; and what is innovative in Moschos' comedy – for in fact, he has introduced some new and creative variations on the ancient formula. Finally, I will consider the place of Neaira among the Moschos' other literary compositions (for example, an epic poem dedicated to Helen of Sparta and Paris, and hymns for the Virgin Mary), and to what extent Moschos is representative of the Greek intellectuals who contributed to the revival of the Classical tradition in the Renaissance Italy.

Ben Cartlidge (Oxford): The Comic Agon in Menander

The comic and tragic agon scene in the fifth century are notably different in structure, both metrically and dramatically. The stylised, formal speeches of the Euripidean agon contrast starkly to the rapid quickfire of the anapaestic agon found in Aristophanes. Although such a characterisation of the formal disparity between comedy and tragedy fits most examples available to us, there are some notable exceptions: the agon-scene of Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazusae and the agon scenes of Menander. This paper takes advantages of new textual discoveries to study the four agon scenes in Menander now available to us (Asp. 180- 205, Dysk. 269-316, Ep. 240-352, 716-835; fr. 835 is also briefly considered). It is hypothesised that the absence of the chorus from dialogue portions of the work dramatically alters the dynamic of agon scenes; it is the presence of the chorus which is crucial to both comic and tragic agones in the fifth century (including that of Thesmophoriazusae). Furthermore, the function of agon scenes within individual plays can be discussed more fully, in particular how they contribute to the comic texture of the play: from the establishment of the moral compass of the characters in Aspis to the deliberate send up of the arbitration process in Ep. 240ff., agon scenes are designed to bring out human passion to carefully calculated comic effect. The paper in short forms part of a poetics of the rhesis in Menandrean comedy.

Crime and Punishment

Brenda Griffith-Williams (UCL): Was there a 'criminal law' in classical Athens?

In modern democracies, civil law provides redress for individual victims of wrongdoing, while criminal law sets the standard of behaviour expected by a state of its citizens, defining certain actions as 'crimes' and prescribing punishment for 'criminals'. The Athenian orator Lykourgos apparently had something like a modern criminal justice system in mind when he defined the function of the law as to 'ordain what must not be done' and that of the judge as to 'punish' lawbreakers. But this is a rhetorical argument, to be understood in the context of a legal and political system radically different from those of today.

Ancient Greek had no word for 'crime' as distinct from 'wrongdoing' or injustice'. Athenian law recognized that some wrongdoing was harmful to the state, and it prescribed penalties for some activities that would nowadays be called 'crimes'; but legal procedure relied on the initiative of individual citizens to prosecute, and did not

systematically distinguish redress for the wronged individual from punishment of the wrongdoer. After reviewing the relevant sources, I conclude that the language of 'crime' – anachronistic in the Athenian context – impedes our understanding of how the Athenians conceptualized their legal system.

Janek Kucharski (Katowice): Punishment and revenge in Athenian forensic discourse.

Athenian forensic discourse deploys a bewildering array of terms denoting punishment (e.g. *dikē*, *zēmia*, *timōria*, *epitimia*, *kolazō*). Many of them have a vast semantic range, bringing together ideas which modern jurisprudence keeps apart: punishment "proper", revenge, and compensation. Moreover, punishment is surprisingly frequently *personal*, conceptualized not only as something to be suffered by the wrongdoer, but imposed by a precisely defined agent: the polis, the dikasts, or even the prosecutor (a private individual). This, again, defies our expectations about the nature of punishment (impersonal) and punitive authority (exclusively attributable to the state).
By analysing the semantic and syntactic ambiguities in the language of punishment used by the orators, and also taking into account the language of extralegal or illegal revenge, this paper explores the suggestion that punishment in Athenian forensic rhetoric can be constructed as "communal revenge". I argue that vindictive ambiguity is inherent in the orators' conceptualization of punishment, resisting attempts to dismantle it. It should not be taken as a primitive or unrefined manner of speaking about penalties, but as a logical extension of the workings of the Athenian legal system, and of the role of collective action in the administration of justice.

Jakub Filonik (Warsaw): The speakers, the doers, and the helpers: the various actors of Athenian legal proceedings and their role in impiety trials

Studies of impiety trials in classical Athens usually focus on high-profile cases of public figures. This paper examines the less thoroughly studied process of bringing the crime to the magistrate's attention by the non-elite – average citizens, metics and foreigners, or even slaves – who were unaccustomed to appearing in courts and less confident in their strengths as litigants. It highlights those parts of the Athenian legal framework that allowed more discreet aid in legal actions (especially for offences deemed to threaten the order of the state, such as impiety), thus adding to the debate on the openness of the Athenian legal system to individuals of different legal status and socio-political standing. By reconstructing the legal process in historical trials and the proceedings suggested by literary and epigraphic material, this paper examines both the judicial procedures and the auxiliary means of prosecution which allowed a more limited involvement of the informant. It will stand in correspondence with Demosthenes' account of the procedural measures available for prosecuting impiety in mid fourth-century Athens, while confronting it with the cases attested by other sources.

CUCD education committee and CA teaching board panel: Transition to the next stage: moving between and within school and university
Students often experience both their school and university careers as a series of discontinuous leaps from one level to the next. The leap between school and university can be particularly terrifying, but that between GCSE and A-level (especially without AS) and between first and second year, or beginners and intermediate language, can also be problematic. This panel explores problems and challenges in transition and asks what strategies can be adopted to help students deal with it. What is reasonable to expect at particular levels? Exam boards and university departments have contributed to the discussion about how far students should go at GCSE and A-level, but what do teachers feel about it? What information is available to those moving up to the next level and how can communication of expectations be improved? How are first year undergraduates

introduced to university teaching and what can be done to improve their acclimatisation? What can universities learn from school transition and induction processes? The four papers gathered here address both school and university issues, with a particular focus on the transition between school and university. The aim is to enrich discussion of transition and encourage sharing of effective ideas between school and university teachers.

Steve Hunt (Cambridge): Gove's Classicists: the impact of the current reforms of school qualifications on take-up at GCSE and A level

The UK Government has been encouraging more state schools to offer classical subjects with the intention of 'levelling the playing field' between state school and independently-educated students applying for classics at Russell Group Universities. The inclusion of ancient languages in the list of languages which can be taught at Key Stage 2, the inclusion of Latin, ancient Greek and Ancient History in the EBacc measure of school accountability and the award of a grant to train non-specialist classics teachers in state schools are all evidence of this the most positive support of classics in the state sector for many years.
More general educational reforms, particularly those affecting examinations, may, however, have a more negative impact. This paper considers whether the new examinations will be 'fit for purpose' in the eyes of students, teachers and other subject specialists. Do they prepare students for university study of classical subjects? Are they what we actually want? Will they make the study of classical subjects more or less attractive to students? What might an A level or GCSE look like in the future - if the subject community could influence qualification development?

Mair Lloyd, James Robson (Open University): From zero to hero: managing the transition to university-level study at the OU

The Open University is renowned for welcoming students who are new to higher education, as well as nurturing those with little or no recent experience of formal study. In this paper, we shall examine some of the methods and principles that guide curriculum design both for Level 1 (first-year) students, who are new to university study, and also those beginning study at Level 2 (second year), this being the point at which OU students transition from a broad interdisciplinary study of the Arts to subject specific modules in Classical Studies. Improving retention and progression rates has become a key university priority in recent years, so how is the suite of new Classical Studies modules rising to this challenge? How do our new modules, such as the beginner's level *Classical Latin: The Language of Ancient Rome*, differ from their predecessors? And how is the OU aiming to cater for the new breed of fee-paying students? This paper will set Open University approaches in the context of results from a recent national survey of Latin and Greek teaching in UK universities along with views from Open University *ab initio* Latin students. As we hope to show, key to the success that the OU has enjoyed in meeting the challenges of transitional stages is the targeted use of IT and some innovative approaches to module design.

Helen Lovatt (Nottingham): Student expectations and attitudes to learning in first year: a preliminary survey

This paper will report the results of a survey and focus groups which aim to find out what students expect on arrival at university to study classics, ancient history and classical civilisation degrees. What worries do they have? What different constituencies of students are there and how do their needs and expectations differ? What elements of university teaching and learning do students find difficult, intimidating, confusing? I will

survey both students in a number of different departments and staff to find out what induction processes are used to ease transition, and how students are introduced to the skills necessary for university study. I will also survey literature on transition to higher education and investigate what distinctive challenges face Classics as a subject area.

Ana Kotarcic / Alice König (St Andrews): Transitioning between school- and University-level Latin Learning: A Scottish Perspective

This paper will present findings from a research-project based at St Andrews, led by Drs Emma Buckley and Alice König (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/classics/research/projects/llt/). Students are arriving to study Latin in Scottish universities with increasingly diverse knowledge bases. Differences between the content and demands of Higher and Advanced Higher, A-level, IB and other Latin qualifications (and between the approaches and resources available in different schools) mean that there is great variation in students' experience, knowledge and skills, and some (in particular Higher/Advanced Higher students) struggle with the challenges of university-level teaching. For the last three years we have been assessing the linguistic strengths and weaknesses (real and perceived) of students from different educational backgrounds, by means of questionnaires and diagnostic tests at entry to and throughout their first year at St Andrews. We have also been monitoring their learning and performance throughout their second, third and fourth years. Our research has been carried out in dialogue with a similar project in the Modern Languages department at St Andrews; and we have engaged in regular discussions with colleagues at other Classics departments in Scotland, with Scottish school teachers, and with representatives from various qualifications authorities (north and south of the border). Our aim is to re-evaluate the respective needs of different bodies of students with a view to improving their experience of the transition between school- and university-level Latin learning. Our findings have implications not just for Scottish universities but for Classics departments and schools across the UK and beyond.

Delos

John Tully (Cardiff): Delian Display: competitive royal patronage in the Hellenistic sanctuary – and its chronological implications

This paper presents the third-century vase festivals endowed by Antigonid and Ptolemaic kings, on Delos as socially mediated symbols of competitive display between the Hellenistic Kings. It is innovative in contextualising these royal festivals inside the broader Delian festival calendar, and in extending scholarship emphasising the politics of space (Scott, Shear, Dillon/Bates) into a new symbolic realm: sanctuary ritual calendars. The implications for the Cycladic political landscape apply to every Hellenistic *polis* of the Aegean.

First, the royal festivals are analogous to festivals founded by non-royal dedicatees: the two groups were equivalent in size and resulted in identical offerings. The Delians also treated both sets of offerings similarly: they stored, moved, and lost them together. Second, these festivals encode the competitive, in-group, and socially mediated dynamics of the sanctuary. The festivals were competitive: they were founded in clusters, and their continual celebration performed the ongoing position of the dedicatee amongst peers in the sanctuary. They were in-group in that their membership was exclusive: only elite Delians and quasi-royal outsiders endowed these festivals. They were socially mediated in the negotiation their form implies. Sanctuary authorities controlled the acceptance, equivalence, and continued inscription of these offerings, even as they encouraged elite engagement through the possibility of donor recognition through membership of this restricted group.

Scholars have understood exclusive control behind the endowment of royal festivals. Hence, their dedicatees have been assigned control of the region, and their foundation dates have offered clear contexts for changes in the balance of power and for specific floating events including the battles of Andros and Cos (eg, Homolle, Durrbach, Buraselis, Reger; *contra:* Roussel, Bickerman, Bruneau, Will). The kings' collective, competitive participation in socially mediated display instead implies a multipolar sanctuary. It precludes any interpretation involving an unproblematic derivation of hegemony in- or outside the sanctuary.

Erica Angliker (Zurich): The Cult of Dionysos on the Cycladic Sanctuaries

More than any other ancient Greek deity, Dionysos has captured not only the modern imagination, but also immense attention from scholars, who continue to analyze various aspects of the god and his cult's manifestation. This paper aims to contribute to these studies on Dionysos by examining the diverse manifestation of this god on the Cycladic islands where several sanctuaries were dedicated to the god with cults celebrated from at least the Archaic period onwards. On the first part of this paper, I focus on the sanctuaries on the islands of Naxos, Amorgos, and Kea. The discussion begins with the sanctuary of Kea and the hypothesis about the worshipping Dionysos already during the Bronze Age period. It will be examined the connections of the god with chthonic rituals that appeared at Ayia Irini by the end of the Bronze Age. The links between Dionysos and chthonic rituals also appear on other Cycladic sanctuaries such as Amorgos and Naxos and the evidence is investigated and reviewed on this paper. Particular attention will be given to the discussion of clay vases with phallus form from the sanctuary of Amorgos, which are unique objects with any parallel. In the second part of my paper, I examine the role of Dionysos on the Cycladic sanctuaries on multiple aspects of life such as the political and agrarian sphere and the importance of the god on rituals linked to the marriage. Last, it will be discussed in this paper the sanctuary of Dionysos in Delos on which were dedicated various sculptures and other objects with very singular god's iconography.

Julietta Steinhauer (UCL): Female networks on Hellenistic Delos

Recent scholarship has focused extensively on the networks of Italian, Carthaginian and other traders settling and maintaining businesses on the island of Delos (or just Delos). Overlooked, however, has been the large number of female settlers coming from all over the Mediterranean to Delos as recorded in the epigraphic evidence. Italian, Phoenician, Syrian, Egyptian, Jewish women and women from Asia Minor and other parts of Greece made up at least 19 % of the dead of Delos recorded in the grave monuments of Rhenea (at least 36 % were male non-Delian and non-Athenians), whereby the Italian, Syrian, Phoenician and other Semitic women clearly outweighed the others.
 In this paper I will argue that networks of non-Delian and non-Athenian women in Hellenistic Delos were established by Roman matrons and slaves, Carthaginian and Jewish women alike. Some of them came to the island with their families, while others came on their own. These women were very much involved in the religious life of the island, and some of them even ran businesses. Their names appear in the grave-monument from Rhenea and in the inventory lists mainly of the sanctuary of the Syrian deities and the three Serapeia. Here we find women like Cleopatra of Arados who, from her own funds, dedicated a column in the sanctuary of the Syrian deities (*ID* 2272 around 100 BCE) and was honoured there with a statue set-up by her son (*ID* 2245, 103/2 BCE). It was precisely here on Delos where connections were made and associations were founded (*thiasitides ID* 1403, after 166 BCE; *RICIS* 202/0139 *dekadistriai*). I argue that it was the environment of these particular sanctuaries which

created a unique platform for international exchange and sociability for the women of Delos, reflecting the cosmopolitan character of the Hellenistic polis.

Demosthenes

Roberta Berardi (Bari): Letters from exile: Demosthenes' case and other witnesses

Four letters of Demosthenes were sent by the orator to the Athenians from his exile in Calauria. They aim to persuade the Council and the People to let him return, by showing the inconsistency of the accusations against him. They might seem a unique example of this kind of letter in Greek antiquity, since the only other case of epistles written in exile is that of some of Aeschines' letters, which are, however, just forgeries. But some *FGrHist* fragments mention the "epistles about Chios" written by Theopompus to Alexander the Great to complain about his situation of exiled man and to push the king to find some helping measures. This idea can be confirmed by Photius, who tells of the readmission of the historian to Chios, through the intercession of Alexander. A second parallel might be traced in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, from whom we know the general to have sent letters to the Athenians during his exile in Argos, as a defence against some slanders circulating in Athens that might have threatened his reputation. In the light of this, this paper compares and contrasts the cases of Demosthenes and Themistocles in Athens and Theopompus in Chios, in order to understand whether a literary typology of letters from exile can be identified.

Christine Plastow (UCL): The Rhetoric of Quotation and the Ideology of Homicide Law in Dem. 23

Athenian oratory makes extensive play with the ideology of the immutability and antiquity of homicide law. This is especially true of Demosthenes 23, which uses legal quotation to support the claim that Aristocrates' decree contravenes Athenian law. Of the eleven quoted laws, nine pertain to homicide; Demosthenes also extensively discusses the various Athenian homicide courts. Canevaro (2013) has argued persuasively that the laws contained in the speech are largely authentic.
This paper, however, deals with these sections of the speech from a rhetorical perspective. Papillion (1998) has begun some work in this area, but we can gain more when we view the speech as a case study for the ideology surrounding Athenian homicide legislation. This paper will examine three aspects of Demosthenes' rhetorical exploitation of ideology in D.23: a) the ideological framing of the laws; b) the dikastic context of the trial and the digression on the courts; and c) the attribution of law-writing to various figures. D.23 can illustrate the flexibility of the Athenian ideological mindset regarding homicide, despite a consistent rhetoric of fixity and antiquity, and Demosthenes' readiness to exploit and even shape this flexibility for rhetorical gain.

Matteo Barbato (Edinburgh): Contesting the ancestors in Athenian public debate: an ideological reading of Aeschin. 2.74-7

My paper aims to explore the ideological dynamics of the orators' historical allusions. I shall argue that, compared to the context of the *epitaphios logos*, where the orators actively contributed to the creation of civic ideology, forensic and deliberative rhetoric granted the orators larger autonomy in recalling the past. I shall concentrate on Aeschines' reply to Demosthenes' accusation (Dem. 19.15-6) that he had exhorted the Athenians to forget about the ancestors and their trophies. Aeschines states that he had in fact invited the Athenians to imitate the *euboulia* of the ancestors, embodied by the Persian Wars and the generalship of Tolmides, but that he had warned them against

emulating their *philonikia*, exemplified by the Sicilian expedition and the refusal of Sparta's peace proposal at the end of the Peloponnesian War (Aeschin. 2.74-7). Aeschines, as Steinbock (2013) has recently noted, managed to challenge Athens' master narrative by relying on his family tradition as alternative carrier of collective memory; yet Steinbock overlooks the role of the institutional context in enabling the orator to reassess the traditional view of the ancestors. I will argue that Aeschines' distinction between the *euboulia* of the ancestors and their *philonikia*, unconceivable in epitaphic context, was not out of place in the deliberative context where Aeschines' original remarks had taken place. The orator is in fact keen to show that he, unlike his sophistic opponents, was only concerned with the safety of the state; this is in turn consistent with the object of deliberative rhetoric, which Aristotle identifies as 'the useful or the harmful' (Arist. *Rhet.* 1358b21-2). Through comparison with other instances of contestation of the example of the ancestors, I will thus show how Aeschines had managed to create a version of the past that both reconsidered the role of the ancestors and respected the ideological coordinates of the audience.

Digital Classics Panel
We argue both that internet technologies and communication media enable new opportunities for the teaching of many topics in classics, ancient history and archaeology, and that digital methods and approaches, such as many of those pioneered in digital humanities (DH), are increasingly essential research skills for classics researchers. While we present three different approaches to the teaching of digital classics skills—a distributed, circus module applying digital methods to historical topics, standalone workshops for digital research methods, and advanced 3D and geographical approaches, respectively—we would like to see digital teaching embedded in university classics departments, and designed to answer the needs of both teachers and students in such courses. For this reason, we propose to end the panel with a discussion and request for feedback on some of the issues raised, consulting the audience on suggested topics and methods that would be valuable in their teaching contexts.

Monica Berti (Leipzig): Sunoikisis Digital Classics

Sunoikisis Digital Classics is an international consortium of Digital Classics programs developed by the Humboldt Chair of Digital Humanities at the University of Leipzig in collaboration with the Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies. SunoikisisDC offers collaborative courses for students of both the humanities and computer science who work together by contributing to digital classics projects. In the Spring Semester 2015 SunoikisisDC has involved 17 institutions from 12 different countries with faculty members and students participating in the planning seminar and in the actual course. The form of the courses includes morpho-syntactic annotations about primary sources, modern language translations aligned to primary source texts, machine actionable information about social and geospatial networks, automatically detected and human edited links describing how texts cite, paraphrase and quote each other, and iconographic and linguistic data from media such as stone, coins, inscriptions, vases, sculpture and other objects.
Research topics for humanists include the impact of new media on both the development and communication of research data, which allow to pose new questions and develop new insights that change the cognitive impact and conclusions that can be drawn from it. Research topics for computer scientists include automatic text alignment, multilingual topic modelling, social network analysis, text reuse and allusion detection, and temporal-spatial data visualization. Research topics can also include evaluation of technology among different user groups. Projects may also focus on the development of standards for new modes of publication, such as for example how to align Classical sources to various modern language translations.

The primary goal of SunoikisisDC is to reach an international audience of Classics students offering them the opportunity to collaboratively work with digital primary sources, contribute with new annotations, and therefore learn a wide range of techniques from treebanking to epigraphic markup in order to produce digital scholarly results.

Gabriel Bodard (London): Digital Classics Teaching Strategy for the UK

I am in the process of putting together a series of digital training programmes for classics and ancient history students, hosted by the Institute of Classical Studies and the AHRC-funded London Arts and Humanities Partnership. In addition to the increasingly obvious need for introductory training in the use of electronic resources and digital humanities methods for classics graduate students, which arguably should be part of all MA programmes, I would like to see modules that offer rigorous grounding in digital practice as applied to the study of the ancient world. In the first instance, we might start by setting up a decentralized model drawing on academic expertise from multiple institutions, similar to the *Sunoikisis/SunoikisisDC* programmes. Such a programme would be more tied to the Classics discipline area than most digital humanities teaching, and would be designed to empower young scholars with practical and transferable skills in text processing and analysis, structured data and linked data management, data visualization, reception of antiquity in digital culture, imaging and modelling of artefacts, and other methods.

The ICS hopes to take a leading role in offering discipline and subject specific training, and has so far offered short workshops on: digital approaches to ancient texts, which included an introduction to EpiDoc XML; structured data and visualization, which included database skills and social network analysis; and 3D approaches to cultural heritage and landscape, including photogrammetry, architectural modelling, and landscape visualization. It is my aspiration that the teaching of digital methods to classics students become a core part of their research training, so that for example learning digital epigraphy would quite simply involve studying epigraphic materials through a digital lens, rather than a "special" digital subject. I shall discuss some experiments with teaching the subject in this way.

Valeria Vitale (KCL): Teaching 3D and Geo approaches to Classicists and Archaeologists

I shall discuss the process of designing and teaching a training workshop about 3D approaches for classicist and archaeologists. The educational package constitutes an ideal workflow from the recording to the investigation and contextualisation of ancient heritage. Said workflow, which has been already tested in various venues within digital humanities and digital cultural heritage advanced schools, offers a set of 3D digital tools that is integrated, freely accessible and easy to learn even for people who are not advanced computer users and/or do not have previous experience in the field.
The program focuses on three steps that use three different, but complementary, 3D technologies: from the 3D imaging of single artefacts through photogrammetry, to the contextualisation with other artefacts and architectural elements through 3D modelling, and the contextualisation within the natural or urban landscape through GIS and terrain digital data. The technology is taught within a methodological frame that points out issues and sensitive topics specifically relevant to classicists and archaeologists such as transparent documentation of the process, publication and accessibility of the end results, reliability and use of secondary sources. The workshop aims to offer a gateway to other, more refined, technologies, once a scholar has understood which of the 3D approaches shown is the most suitable to their own research, and is familiar with its logics and structure.

The paper will go through the building of the workflow and its constraints, and the necessity to keep it constantly updated to identify new, better solutions or issues with existing ones. We believe this set of 3D skills can enhance the understanding, study and promotion of ancient cultural heritage, from rescue archaeology to digital unification, and that its flexible applications are appealing and useful to both academic researchers and professionals in the cultural heritage sector.

Gabriel Bodard (London), chair: Digital Methods for Classicists: round table discussion/audience consultation

Economy and Society

Robert Sing (Cambridge): In Arcadia on Five Obols a Day: Fantasies of Public Pay in Athens

Money as a source of greed and inequality does not exist happily within the ideal polis for Plato or Aristotle. Yet money is fundamental to a popular vision of an Athens in which all citizens have an income.
I map the development of this neglected vein of utopian thought (broadly defined), an important part of the intellectual milieu of Ecclesiazusae, and explore its role in facilitating critical thought about Athenian political economy.

I argue that the politics of the late-fifth century produced a new understanding of public money as the means to effect large-scale improvement in material well-being. This found extreme expression in Aristophanic fantasies where the dêmos lives off funds provided by the empire (Eq.797-800, Vesp.706-11). I argue Aristophanes uses these outlandish utopias, alongside a backward-looking 'golden age', to parody the vision of demagogic orators as a beguiling but degenerate dystopia.
With tribute gone and misthos uncontroversial by the mid-fourth century, utopia now appeared in political discourse proper and with a different significance. I suggest that competing interpretations of utopia served to inform reform agendas during the financial crisis of the mid-350s. This is evident in two proposals of the time. Xenophon (Poroi 4.1-52) proposes that citizens become shareholders in a public exploitation of the silver mines and receive a subsistence dividend. Demosthenes (3.33-5) proposes an emmisthos polis in which all citizens will be paid in return for some sort of public service. For both men, the vision of a poverty-free polis is used to emblematise their controversial agendas as fundamentally democratic.
Tracing the relationship between public money and utopia is a fruitful way of explicating popular currents of thought about the 'good' polis, and Athenians' awareness of their capacity to secure their politeia of political equals by using money to address economic inequality.

Ben Raynor (Cambridge): City revenues in Hellenistic Macedonia

The relationship between the cities and the central authorities has formed a key theme in recent work on late-Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia. Whether the cities could command significant resources of their own, or whether their economic lives were circumscribed and their revenues relatively small, is a question of significant importance when considering the extent of the cities' independence from king and court. Unfortunately, the paucity of direct evidence means that the finances of the Hellenistic Macedonian *poleis* are something of a mystery. This paper therefore takes an indirect approach to the problem. By considering what little evidence for civic finances we have alongside evidence for the revenue streams and economic lives of the king and the kingdom's elite, it will argue that the Macedonian *poleis* typically had fewer

revenues than their peers elsewhere in the Greek world. While civic revenues elsewhere in the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean were generally not large, within Macedonia revenue sources to which cities elsewhere may have had access were monopolised or safeguarded by the king. These included land and customs taxes, lucrative natural resources, windfalls from warfare, and loans from sacred funds. Furthermore, while other *poleis* could call upon elites to replace civic revenues, evidence for such euergetistic behaviour by the Macedonian super-rich is comparatively scarce alongside evidence for elite spending on competitive displays of luxury. Therefore the Macedonian *poleis* operated under significant financial constraints, and were reliant upon the king to fund large projects. The final part of the paper will briefly address some wider questions raised by this conclusion: why the Macedonian cities would put up with this apparently bad deal, and how it affects our view of the substantial urban building activity throughout Hellenistic Macedonia known from the archaeological record.

Carrie Sawtell (Sheffield): People and Places: Thinking about the Logistics of Commemoration in Classical Athens

Recent scholarly interest in the social, economic and religious spheres of interaction in democratic Athens, where the legal distinctions of metic and slave played less of a role, have inspired a re-evaluation of the experience of non-citizens in the classical city. Building on recent studies that emphasise the opportunities and inclusion experienced by non-citizens, this talk will examine commemoration as an important part of their lived experience in Athens. The types of commemoration considered are grave stelai with reliefs, decree reliefs, and votive reliefs and statues, stimulating a comparison of iconographic traits across Athenian society, citizen and non-citizen alike. The cemetery, the agora and the acropolis all played host to the commemorations of a variety of different people. A dynamic existed between who and what was being commemorated and where this commemoration could be placed. In this way, it can be shown that the purpose of commemoration, rather than the identity of the commemorated, determined the placement of monuments in Athens. Therefore, this talk offers both a discussion of non-citizen agency and identities and addresses the relationship between the residents of Athens and their city through the use of its spaces.

Victoria Rotar (Trinity St. David): The Egyptian Society in Greek Historiography: Stratification and Functions

Those Greek authors who endeavoured to write a history of 'universal' scale (Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus), described in more or less detail the structures of foreign societies. Ancient Egypt almost always drew their attention, and in their reports we find the first attempts to categorize its community in 'sociological' terms. This paper analyses, in particular, the system of "classes" of the Egyptian society proposed by Diodorus in his *Bibliotheke*, in comparison to the examples found in other texts of related genres.
In Book 1 of his work, there are two depictions of social structure of Ancient Egypt as it is seen by Diodorus, who actually visited the country. In both cases the author draws a distinction between the major "classes" of the "priests", "warriors" and "husbandmen", but it is in the second instance (1.73-74) where we find a detailed observation of functions which characterize each of these groups. In contrast, the earlier classification (1.28) is explicitly told to be a version of Diodorus sources, the Egyptian priests, which has its origin in mythological tradition, rather that resulting from empirical observation. The discussion over Diodorus' examples in my paper will be supplemented by illustrations of parallels found in the works of Herodotus and Strabo. Finally I will examine the problem of terminology used by ancient authors in order to designate the elements of social systems. It will analyse such linguistic feature common for all three

works as usage of the words with abstract meaning (e.g. μέρος, μερίς, τάξις, μοῖρα, σύνταγμα, γένος). Translated with terms which refer to modern sociological concepts, such as "class" or "caste", they in fact do not possess their specialized semantics, but rather indicate the process of development of theoretical thought in antiquity.

Ecphrasis

Sarah Cassidy (Edinburgh): Reading Ecphrasis in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*

This paper will focus on the function of a crucial scene in the ecphrasis of Jason's cloak at *Argon*. 1.721-767. The third scene (742-746) depicts Aphrodite gripping tight the shield of Ares (Ἄρεος ὀχμάζουσα θοὸν σάκος) and admiring her reflection (ἀτρεκὲς δείκηλον) within it, as her tunic seductively falls from her shoulder (ἐκ δέ οἱ ὤμου / πῆχυν ἔπι σκαιὸν ξυνοχὴ κεχάλαστο χιτῶνος / νέρθεν ὑπὲκ μαζοῖο).

The interaction between Aphrodite and Ares' shield has already been noted by scholars to be a representation of Empedoclean love and strife, drawing the reader back to the song of Demodocus at *Odyssey* 8.265-366 and its subsequent allegorisations. There is a much more complex narrative at play in this scene, however, that has not been fully explored and set within the wider context of the *Argonautica*. Aphrodite not only makes us think of the abstract force of Love, but her act of gripping the shield (i.e. Ares, i.e. Strife) shows her dominance of the scene and the narrative; her slipping garment creates a parallel with Jason putting on the cloak, allowing the reader to read Aphrodite's actions as symbolic of Jason's. Furthermore, Aphrodite viewing herself encourages the reader to follow suit and view her too, as she sets an example for characters and the reader to follow as they view the cloak and the images on it.

This paper will tease out some of the ideas which I explore in my PhD research concerning the wider significance of the cloak and other cosmological passages in the *Argonautica*. I hope to show that this scene is crucial for reflecting upon the art of ecphrasis itself within the narrative and Hellenistic poetry.

Giulia Fanti (Cambridge): Role and Intertextuality of Manilius' ecphrasis on the Four Seasons

The association of *ecphrasis* with Manilius and his five-book didactic poem *Astronomica* mainly leads us to think of the figurative space devoted to the myth of Perseus and Andromeda, which occupies a significant portion of Book V (538-618). However, Manilius' poem turns out to be a much richer treasure trove of what Fowler (1991) has effectively defined as 'narrative pauses ... at the level of narration to which nothing corresponds at the level of the story'. One of these digressions, unfairly overlooked by scholars, is the epilogue of Book III (vv.625-65), where the poet pretends to set forth the importance of the four tropical signs. However, in what Housman aptly describes as 'terminal ornament' of the book, Manilius rather indulges in a colourful description of the four seasons.

Two are the aims of the present paper. In the first place, why does Manilius close this book so gracefully, of whose highly technical nature the reader is warned since the proemium (III.38-9)? Answering this question leads us to reconsider the role fulfilled by digressions in didactic poetry, where they unexpectedly interrupt the teaching process, providing the reader with sketches ancillary to the ongoing lesson. Moreover, should this narrative pause be interpreted as a sign of devotion to a poetic tradition or does it fulfil further intentional (didactic) aims?

Consequently, the paper will shift the focus on the intertextuality of the passage. The flow of time and the description of the four seasons display a remarkable literary background starting from Hesiod's *Works and Days*, to Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, where the *paulatim crescere* (I.189) proves that nothing can arise from nothing,

Horace's *Odes* and Vergil's *Georgics*. How does Manilius interpret these unsurpassed models in his text, adapting them to the highly technical nature of his poem and to the different cultural context of his age?

Tim Noens (Ghent): Medusa's gaze. Ekphrasis and silent narration in Publius Papinius Statius' *Thebaid*.

This paper examines the phenomenon of 'silence' as a narratological strategy in Statius' epic poem *Thebaid*. It asks the question whether and how Statius paradoxically integrates (forms of) silence in his act of creating/telling. As a point of departure, I take an *ekphrasis* of a goblet in the programmatic first book of the *Thebaid* (1.544-551). The *ekphrasis* introduces the silencing gaze of Medusa, whose image, both explicitly and implicitly, returns several times in the epic. I argue that Statius uses these recurrent appearances of the Gorgon, expressing a state of soundlessness and motionlessness, to reflect upon the role of silence in the creation of his narrative. This meta-poetical commentary can be connected to other passages in the text in which silence and narration also seem to be related (e.g. the implicit and explicit claims of the narrator to stop telling).

Sophie Schoess (Oxford): Experiencing the Picture: Ekphrasis and the Senses in Philostratus' *Imagines*

Philostratus' *Imagines* have been drawn on frequently in discussions of the relationship between image and text. The focus has been, and continues to be, on the importance of the *Imagines* for the development of the genre(s) of *ekphrasis*. As Philostratus guides his internal audience, a group of young men and a young boy, through a gallery of paintings, he not only describes the images to them, but also instructs them in how to 'read' an image and how to translate it into words. The external audience, the reader of the *Imagines*, on the other hand, who is seeing the image through the text alone, is literally reading the image. Many scholars have therefore focused on Philostratus' visual *ekphrastic* strategies, be they how he guides his reader's internal gaze ("Look!"), how he allows his words to overpower the image, or how he structures his descriptions along visual paths.
This paper will explore these visual strategies in the context of Philostratus' appeals to his audience's non-visual senses. Throughout the *Imagines*, Philostratus incorporates sensory perception into his *ekphraseis*, be it by describing the fragrance of a painted apple, by invoking the sound of a painted instrument, or by imagining the gentleness of a painted touch. This paper aims to show that Philostratus uses these appeals to different ends: some function as illus- trations of the painter's skill and *sophia*, others enable Philostratus to animate his own *ekphra- sis*, and still others serve to draw the audience into the painting, indeed, to blur the lines between painting, *ekphrasis*, and reality. This paper argues that, through giving space to the exploration of different sensory experiences, Philostratus creates *enargeia*, the key to a succes- ful *ekphrasis,* which enables the reader-cum-viewer not only to visualise, but also to experi- ence, the image.

Elegiac Tradition

Gary Vos (Edinburgh): A Labour of Love: Cornelius Gallus in Eclogue 10 and Prop. 2.13

Like so much of Propertius, poem 2.13 is severely mangled. Particularly vexing is the opening couplet (cf. the OCT's apparatus and Heyworth 2007, 161-162). Starting from a detail of textual criticism, I present literary arguments to maintain the vulgate text, *armatur etrusca*. However, as the most recent editor (Heyworth 2007, 161) puts it:

"Editors are generally agreed that Propertius did not write *etrusca*: what Etruscan woman was armed with Persian arrows?"
My argument consists of two intertwined strands. First, the 'Etruscan woman' must tie in with Propertius' interest in Etruria (cf. Prop. 1.21-22; Cairns 2006, Index III s.v. 'Etruria/Etruscan'). Secondly, the collocation of the toponyms 'Persian' and 'Etruscan' (*Achaemeniis*; *Etrusca*) in the hexameter and the mention of arrowheads (*spicula*) and 'Amor' in the pentameter constitute an allusion to the lovelorn Gallus' exclamation in Vergil's Tenth *Eclogue* that 'it is a pleasure to shoot Cydonian shafts (*Cydonia ... spicula*) from a Parthian bow (*Partho ... cornu*)' (59-60). That a Gallus also features in the aforementioned Prop. 1.21.7, an epigram with an explicitly Etrurian setting, cannot be coincidental: surely we are to think of the epigrammatic/elegiac poet Cornelius Gallus in Vergil and both Propertian poems.
My paper follows these intertextual patterns through Graeco-Roman history and mythology. I argue that Propertius through Vergil references Gallus' elegiac *persona*: the Cydonian bow alludes not only to the myths of Acontius or Milanion (cf. Farrell & Rosen 1986), but also to Heracles. I then provide a 'Heraclean' reading of Gallus' labours (l. 64: *labores*) in *Eclogue* 10 and Propertius' imitation of them in poem 2.13 to show that the latter poem's opening is correct after all. Finally, I offer a hypothesis as to the Etruscan woman's identity. In this case the allusiveness of Propertius' poetry is more problematic than its textual tradition.

Irene Morrison-Moncure (CUNY): Sight and Oversight in the Roman Theater

Sight is the most influential stimulus for the Roman elegist. The beauty of the *puella* is a *spectaculum* to be looked upon. There is one location, however, where the poet becomes the *spectaculum* - the seats of the Roman theater, where under the Augustan *lex Julia theatralis* women were relegated to the upper rows, thus granting the *puella* an enhanced visual over her lover so that the poet now becomes the *spectaculum*. This paper investigates the interplay of erotic sight and judicial oversight in the Roman theater and how various *spectacula* come into conflict and compete in this setting. In the elegies of Propertius and Ovid the seats of the theater become their own spectacle when the 'over-sight' of the *puella* clashes with the oversight intended by the *lex Julia.* Both the emperor and *puella* yield powers of surveillance in the theater, causing the poet to become trapped between an imperial judicial gaze and an erotic judicial gaze. This paper concludes by suggesting that the elegist is therefore caught between two masters, his *puella* and his *princeps*, a paradoxical situation in which following the law of one causes him to violate the law of the other.

Christian Lehmann (Southern California): No Consolation: Ovid *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.11 and the Elegiac Tradition(s)

In the shortest poem of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, Ovid works through the questions of what is elegy for and what can it accomplish. *Pont*. 4.11 is ostensibly a *consolatio* to Junius Gallio on the death of his wife but turns out to be a reflection on the history of the uses poets have made of elegy. In my reading, we see Ovid reflecting on the polyvalence of elegy in general: its focus on the death of Gallio's wife accesses the realms both of love elegy and threnody. The application of divinity to both Augustus' family and the gods shows elegy as court praise-poetry and hymn. Throughout, Ovid maintains the tone of ironic didacticism he used in the *Ars Amatoria*. Finally, Ovid circles back to a beginning of Latin literary elegy by maintaining a consistent interaction with Catullus 65 and 68a.

Flavian Epic

Dalida Agri (Manchester): Transgender and the Allegory of Virtus in Statius' *Thebaid* and Silius Italicus' *Punica*

In this paper, I will discuss the significance of gender confusion in the representations of divine *Virtus* in Statius' *Thebaid* 10 and Silius Italicus' *Punica* 15 and its implications in terms of gender moral reasoning.

In Statius, Virtus epitomises a trend of allegory that plays with gender ambivalence, and to which Silius lends further echo in *Punica* 15, where her gait is explicitly characterised as male. Fantham suggests a comic streak in the Statian simile of Virtus as a transvestite Hercules and writes: 'Is the comedy all in our twentieth century minds? Then Statius must have chosen this image because it makes the strongest contrast between (Herculean) inner strength and its humble female medium.' Although etymologically defined as an exclusively male quality, Virtus, as she draws nearer to the mortal world, becomes the wearer of female apparel in the disguise of the priestess Manto. By covering herself with female otherness in a manner that suggests that she is *reconstructing* her gender, just like Hercules, Virtus appears as if she is encoding herself in the language of gender deceptively. Yet, how does one reconcile the humorous tone of the simile with the more sinister associations of Virtus as a fury-like figure? Comparatively, in Silius, the stern moral stance taken by Virtus contrasts deeply with that of the less unyielding Voluptas, whose wanton ways are incompatible with the career of a young striving hero for epic *virtus*. While Voluptas is unequivocally depicted as female, the blending of male and female features within Virtus raises questions about moral associations in relation to gender. In both Statius and Silius, intertextual echoes firmly establish a filiation between the two depictions of the divine allegory, yet inconsistencies of Virtus' own rhetoric in and between the two poems draw further attention to the double-coding of gender construction in Flavian epic.

Emma Buckley (St. Andrews): Ending the *Argonautica*: Valerius, Apollonius and Giovanni Battista Pio

The Flavian *Argonautica* ends on a classic cliff-hanger, roughly mid-way through its eighth book. Various possibilities for an ending have been proposed, and recent critics revel in the diverse interpretative potential that the very incompleteness of Valerius' epic creates. Yet one early modern reader of Valerius – commentator and critic Giovanni Battista Pio – offered a different solution, with a continuation of the *Argonautica* in Latin hexameters in 1519 that 'completed' Valerius' epic via translation of Valerius' source-text, Apollonius' Hellenistic precursor.

At first sight, this seems a fundamentally mistaken approach – after all, Apollonius' epic may contribute the quid of Valerius' epic, but, it has been stressed by modern readers, the Flavian poem goes out of its way to avoid the Apollonian quale. Yet I will argue that Pio, well aware of the divergent impulses and preoccupations of the two authors he emulates, offers a fresh approach to understanding the under-appreciated and under-researched nature of the relationship between Apollonius and Valerius. Focussing on the wedding of Jason and Medea, together with their final confrontation, I will suggest that Pio's continuation offers us the co-ordinates to examine anew Valerius' debt to his Greek predecessor, re-dressing the balance of a modern critical focus which has hitherto largely neglected the Greek past of Valerius' Flavian epic.

Danielle Frisby (Manchester): The Naming of Cats is a Difficult Matter: Gender, Intertextuality and Focalisation of *tigrides* and *leones* in the *Thebaid*

This paper explores the dialogue between the multi-faceted nature of Statian intertextuality, gender, and animal representation.

The use of the feminine *tigris* is often underplayed with regard to the actual femininity of the big- cats in question, or understood as part of the increased Roman exoticism of the *Thebaid*'s faunal palette. The animal's employment as a vehicle for heroic similes and imagery is often seen as a response to Vergilian and Ovidian models (for example, the configuration of Turnus at *Aeneid* 9.730).

The *Thebaid* draws on gendered deployments from the previous literary tradition, particularly emphasising contextualisation and focalisation of already problematic motifs, and it is these on which this paper will focus. We, meaningfully alongside Athena, see Tydeus assimilated to a Homeric lion, at the close of his Iliadic aristeia against fifty Thebans. Statius' simile however surprisingly moves away from an Iliadic model toward a problematic Odyssean one: to be precise, Odysseus in his home having just slaughtered the suitors (22.402-5). This is an already fraught allusion, emphasising the tensions of heroic male acting in the domestic sphere, focalised through a female slave. Statius further compromises the image through later repetition with an internal allusion which sees a new tenor occupying a similar role and the animal altered to a *tigris* (*Theb.*10.288-92).

Tigers are significant elsewhere in the *Thebaid*: at 7.564-607 sacred Bacchic tigresses are maddened by Tisiphone. This episode evokes Catullus' Cybele maddening her lion among others (*c.*63.78-86), and the ramifications of the shift in species and gender, in conjunction with temporal games of delay and motivation, merit exploration from a gender-sensitive perspective.

My approach analyses the gendered undercurrents in Statius' appropriation of imagery in the wider context of feminine manipulation and control of perception in the text, to explore the role of gender and identity in civil war narrative.

Nikoletta Manioti (St. Andrews)   Mother Abandoned: Idyia's Farewell in Valerius Flaccus

At the beginning of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* 8, Medea bids her father Aeetes farewell in a brief monologue (*Arg.* 8.10-15) before helping Jason retrieve the Golden Fleece and sailing with him on the Argo, while her mother Idyia leads a lament never to be heard by the departing heroine (*Arg.* 8.144-170). Apollonius offers no comparable scene of separation, although it is precisely Idyia whom Medea mentions in her leaving speech (AR 4.30-31).

This paper examines the Valerian mother's lament as an example of the Roman poet's conflation of models, applicable also to his portrayal of other female relations of Medea, such as Chalciope and Circe. In their case, the disguise of two goddesses, Juno in Book 6 and Venus in Book 7, as Medea's female relatives, sister and aunt respectively, will only be convincing if the goddesses take into consideration earlier epic depictions of the sisterly and mother-daughter bond. Here Valerius combines in Idyia the figure of the abandoned heroine (as exemplified by Catullus' Ariadne and Ovid's *Heroides*) with earlier epic's maternal and sisterly attitudes to separation from their loved ones. In particular, Idyia's attitude towards Jason, seen as a bandit trying to take her daughter away from her (*Arg.* 8.150-153), reminds us of Virgil's Amata, whereas her desire to share in her daughter's plight, however dangerous it might be (*Arg.* 8.168-170), assimilates her to Dido's sister, Anna.

Frankness in Athenian Political Thought
The importance of being able to speak frankly was a recurring theme in Greek (and especially Athenian) political thought. These four papers will present four different explorations of political frankness: the rhetorical and practical importance on the emphasis on frankness in the deliberative *proemia* of the Demosthenic corpus; Xenophon's exploration of the parrhesiastic game in relation to his theorising of leadership; Isocrates' varying and complex uses of *parrhesia* within his political

vocabulary; and the problem frankness posed for Plato, and his questioning of the relationship between philosophy and politics. As a panel these papers will elaborate the importance of frankness to democratic discourse, but also the problems it posed for politicians, political theorists, and political philosophy.

Lynette Mitchell (Exeter): Frankness in democratic discourse and practical politics

That everyone had an equal right to speak on the assembly was a central tenet of democratic discourse at Athens. For Herodotus, who suggests a contrast with tyranny, *isegoria* gave the Athenians strength (5.78). Likewise, Theseus in Euripides' *Suppliants*, in response to the Theban Herald, says that unlike the rule of a tyrant, freedom is defined by the ability of any man to speak in the assembly, for, he says, 'what could be more equal than that' (438-41)? Further, the equal right to speak in the assembly was coupled with the ability to speak freely and openly and not to have to speak guardedly (cf. Aesch. *Pers.*584-96), as one does when one man, who succumbs to flattery, rules alone (e.g., Hdt. 3.80.5; Xen. *Hiero* 1.15).
The ability and willingness to speak frankly and openly thus marks out the good politician, who is useful to the community because he does not flatter the *demos* but speaks the truth, even if it is not what the *demos* wants to hear. Thus Thucydides' Pericles did not speak to the assembly to please them, but was able to oppose them in their anger (2.65.8).
In real-life political speeches it was also persuasively important for politicians to establish that they were speaking openly and frankly. Through an in-depth examination of the generally neglected Demosthenic *proemia* this paper will explore the rhetorical importance of the frank and truthful politician, and the corresponding need for the Athenian assembly to resist the desire to be flattered, but to listen patiently and quietly for the frank speaker to give his best advice.

Christopher Farrell (Exeter): *Parrhēsía* and the 'parrhēsiastic game' in Xenophon

The proposed paper analyzes Xenophon's somewhat enigmatic exploration of the concept of *parrhēsía*, which denotes 'frank' and 'true' speech. It is argued that although Xenophon never deploys any form of the term *parrhēsía*, his use of the verb *parrhēsiázomai* and of related concepts, e.g. the noun *haplótēs*, reflect Xenophon's understanding that 'frank' speech was essential to ruling well and extending the mission of Socrates. In turn the paper explores Xenophon's reflections on the limits of *parrhēsía*. It argues that Xenophon problematizes the concept and shows how the 'parrhēsiastic game' can be manipulated in order to demonstrate how and why speaking frankly/truthfully when offering advice can both help and hinder leaders. For example, Xenophon uses the adjective *krypsínous* in order to denote the inverse concept of *parrhēsía*, i.e. of concealing one's true thoughts; he suggests that doing so can merit praise or condemnation. In exploring the concept of 'frank' speech in Xenophon the paper evaluates potential parrhēsiastic advisors and instances of the parrhēsiastic game in *Anabasis*, *Hellenica*, *Cyropaedia*, *Hiero*, and *Poroi*.

Maria Gisella Gianonne (Exeter): *Parrhēsia* in Isocrates' political thought

This paper intends to highlight the crucial role that *parrhēsia* plays in the political thought of Isocrates, an author who has often been underestimated as a political thinker. I thus aim to provide an in-depth analysis of the occurrences of the noun *parrhēsia* and the verb *parrhēsiazomai* in the Isocratean corpus.
First of all, it is important to note that most of these occurrences convey a positive meaning. Indeed, Isocrates depicts *parrhēsia* not only as a constitutive feature of the Athenian democracy, but also, more generally, as an essential element that any society

must acquire in order to be well-governed (*To Nicocles* 3). However, he is clearly aware of the fact that speaking with *parrhēsia* may at times require patience from the audience (*Antidosis* 179), and that it can lead to negative outcomes (*Ad Archidamum* 12).

In addition, there are some occurrences which manifestly convey a pejorative sense, such as in *On the team of horses* 22, *Busiris* 40 and *Panathenaicus* 218. Significantly, this pejorative meaning emerges also in *Areopagiticus* 20, where Isocrates refers to *parrhēsia* as one of the negative qualities which characterise fourth-century Athenian democracy, and contrasts it with *isonomia*. Similarly, in *Archidamus* 97 *parrhēsia* is opposed to *isēgoria*.

Finally, particular attention will be devoted to *Ad Antipatrum*, where *parrhēsia* plays a dominant role. Indeed, this letter to the regent of Macedonia, in which Isocrates seems to refer to two different kinds of *parrhēsia*, one positive and the other one negative, provides, in my view, a fundamental key to understand more fully the extremely complex use of *parrhēsia* in Isocrates' works.

Carol Atack (Warwick) Plato's problem with frankness and ours

The Athenian democratic value of frankness was a problem for Plato, generating what one of what Sarah Monoson has called Plato's 'democratic entanglements', and remains a problem for his interpreters. Is democratic frankness necessary for the search for knowledge, or does use of the questioning *elenchos* enable Socrates to avoid speaking frankly? Is frankness even possible, between the manipulated language of political rhetoric and the aporia of Socratic inquiry?

Monoson distinguishes between Socratic philosophical *parrhesia* and democratic *parrhesia*, against Foucault's conflation of them (Monoson, *Plato's Democratic Entanglements*, 2000; Foucault, *Discourse and Truth*, 1983). This suggests that 'frankness' might be constituted by different types of speech in different contexts, a plausible interpretation of Athens, where specific kinds of speech – from rhetoric to *aischrologia* – had their own proper contexts, but it is difficult to see Plato accepting a non-universal definition.

Problematically for those attempting to reconcile Plato and Athenian democracy, Plato repeatedly endorsed the opposite of political frankness, the use of myths and fictions in political speech to persuade citizens to accept political structures and behave in desirable ways, from the *Republic*'s 'Noble Lie' and detailed critique of the consequences of democratic *parrhesia*, the complexity and dissonance of the democratic city, to the *Laws'* strictures on free speech and emphasis on persuasive rhetoric as the counterpart of law.

To the Straussian tradition, Plato, like other philosophers, has good reason to be anything but frank, occluding meaning to escape the censure that might arise from frankness, such as that that led to Socrates' trial and condemnation; but the freedom of the democratic city enables Socrates to speak and question (Strauss, *The City and Man*, 1964). Frankness becomes a focus for the conflict between philosophy and politics, and a touchstone for our response to Plato's political thought.

Gender and Power

Margaret Miller (Sydney): Persian Women in Greek Arts

Whereas women are omnipresent in Greek art but almost undetectable in Greek documentary evidence of the 6th-4th c. BC, women are rare in Persian art but well attested in Achaemenid cuneiform archives as economic agents across the social spectrum, humble workers to estate-owners. Modern study of Persian women in Greek sources identifies two major themes: the danger of powerful women and the confinement of Persian women (i.e. Plut. *Them.* 26.4).

Within Greek visual arts, few representations of women who may be confidently claimed to be Persian can be found. In the face of a marked lack of ethnographic precision, in Attic vase-painting women are persianised by companion, attribute, or items of dress imported from the male sphere. Unlike Greek women, who often appear in women-only scenes, "Persian" women only appear in the company of at least one Persian male. There are three possible ways of reading this imagery: orientalist (feminization of Persian men); "social realist" (the fact of powerful women); or ethno-realist (awareness of widespread polygamous structures).

The realm of Greek sculpture offers one rendering of Persian women: part of the base of the Lysippan sculpture commemorating the pankratist Poulydamas at Olympia included his exploits before Darius II (Paus. 6.5.7; Olympia Λ45). The scene shows a group of four standing women (right) who witness the display of Poulydamas' prowess (centre) before the enthroned king (left). The function of the women here is narrative, to locate the event at the inner recesses of the Persian court and so to underscore the widespread fame of Poulydamas; it is not to effeminize the man with whom they are depicted. The plurality of women serves to flag alien domestic arrangements, the practice of polygamy.

Stamatis Bussès (Thrace): Second only to men? Clichés and commonplaces in the reception of women painters in antiquity.

Little information regarding the presence of female painters in the Greek history of art has been salvaged to date. Vidal-Naquet, commenting on platonic ideas about women and art, concluded that *woman and techne share a reciprocity that is extremely ancient* and that *women are "expert artisans" of evil*. This appears to be the prevailing attitude towards women in general in ancient times.

This archaic ideal appears to have survived in later years, as well. It is characteristic and perhaps indicative of the demeaning image of female painters that writers usually refer to them only in brief, as a digression or a footnote to the main text. As a rule, the fathers of these women were painters who had to pass on their art to their daughters, in the absence of male heirs. On the other hand, exceptions –such as Helen, Iaea and Olympias, who appear independent of men and famous either in themselves or for their famous apprentices – rathen than confirm the rule, paint new shades.

It seems that in the face of this minority of female painters, writers exhibit embarrassment, caused by their two main characteristics: their gender and their art. In this manner, on the one hand, they are minimised and, on the other, they cannot be silenced or ignored. The result is that female painters are treated differently from their male counterparts. That is, while there is an obvious tendency to promote and comment on the life and works of male painters, where female painters are concerned, there is a neutral attitude. In this paper, it is suggested that female painters have been treated in a bipolar fashion: as males in their art and as females in their life. As such, they are part of a group not defined by the cliches and commonplaces of social and cultural norms of each given period.

Kate Cook (Reading): Gendered Suicides: Tragic Women and the Silence of Resistance

The gendered nature of suicides in tragedy been acknowledged since Loraux's seminal study (1985). More recently, there have also been discussions of female silence and suicide, such as those by Montiglio (2000) and Chong-Gossard (2008), both of whom treat silence as an inherently female quality. Yet in an influential response to increased discussion of female silence in the field of sociolinguistics, Susan Gal has argued that women's linguistic behaviours, including silence, should instead be considered as verbal strategies which are developed as a response to the power dynamics established by the production of gender. Gal further argued that silence can enact resistance to dominant, often masculine, discourses, rather than demonstrating powerlessness.

This paper argues that this view of silence as resistance is particularly relevant to female suicides in tragedy, whose silence in death often prevents men's express wishes for communication. For tragic women, who cannot ignore the power differential inherent in a demand from men for speech (or silence, as Tecmessa in the *Ajax*), suicide is the only available option for such resistance, and thus a choice which is driven by power differentials. Faced with the dominance of their male counterparts, tragic women attempt a response which claws back some control by denying their voices to the men seeking them. In stagings of silent female suicides, there are explicit attempts by male characters to gain further information or a conversation with the female character, all of which are thwarted by her death (*OT.* 1065, 1255-6; *Trach.* 1126, 1107-11; *Ant.* 1247-8, 1312-3; *Hipp.* 838, 840-1, 1022-4). Thus by exploring how the power dynamics involved in the construction of gender contribute to representations of silent female suicides, this paper aims to demonstrate in more depth the ways in which the tragedians gendered representations of suicide.

Gender and Sexuality
Bringing together two common strands of modern scholarship about the ancient world, this panel aims to consider exactly how gender and sexuality in the ancient world are received, interpreted and indeed translated by other cultures and other media; and whilst each individual paper will cover disparate aspects of the ancient world, and even disparate 'receivers' of the ancient world, nevertheless the panel shows a chronological process from the heart of the ancient world itself through to modern 21st century Britain.

The panel is arranged chronologically and will start with the immediate reception of Spartan male sexuality by contemporary Classical Athenian writers. In this paper, Heydon will discuss the nature of how the Athenian writers skew the understanding of Spartan sexual behavior to suit their own authorial purposes. The second paper moves us along to the later Roman Empire, and the representation of imperial women from the court of Constantine I. Here Usherwood will discuss the presentation of women like Helena and Fausta in the literary and material evidence for this period and establish the uniqueness or otherwise of these representations. The third paper by Lander moves us away from ancient reception, to the reception of the ancient world in the 18th century. This paper will deal with the constructions of the biographical details of Sappho's life in some of the earliest English translations of her poetry and how the interpretation of her life has affected the translation of her poetry. The final paper brings us right up to the modern day with a look at how modern popular conceptions about the position of women in society are represented in sit-coms set in the Roman World. Buckland will argue that whilst some attitudes have changed in recent times, in fact many of these sit-coms reinforce conceptions about women that were prevalent even in the ancient Roman world.

Kendell Heydon (Nottingham): Spartan Male Sexuality as Represented by Classical Athenian Authors

The exploration of ancient Greek sexuality is always challenging due to the generally accepted idea that the Greeks did not have a concept of "sexuality" in the modern western understanding. Rather, scholars have argued that the implications of ancient Greek sexual acts can only be properly understood in the context of the intersection between sexual behaviour and a number of other subjectivities such as gender, age and class, and had considerable political and societal ramifications.

Since the majority of literature available from the Classical period is Athenian in origin, or primarily concerned with Athenian society, the most detailed analyses of modes of sexual behaviour in Classical Greece have focused on Athenian mores. Mentions in sources of attitudes towards sexual behaviour in other *poleis,* such as Sparta, have

generally been subjected to less scrutiny – with the result that the picture we hold of "Greek sexuality" can be more accurately described as Athenian sexuality. Moreover, the Athenocentric nature of the source material, along with the absence of Classical literature of Spartan origin, means that any examination of Spartan sexuality is essentially a reception study. My paper addresses the mentions of Spartan male sexual behaviour and Spartan attitudes about appropriate male sexual behaviour in the works of Classical Athenian authors with a focus on how these depictions relate to Athenian ideas concerning sexual behaviour. The examination of these portrayals of Spartan male sexuality, through the lens of attitudes held in Athenian society, will shed light on the ways in which Spartan sexuality is constructed in these works to align Sparta with particular ideological narratives held by Athenians.

Rebecca Usherwood (UCL/Nottingham): The Saint, the Widow and the Damned: Reading Constantine's Women

After the chaos of the third-century crisis and the male-centric world of the Tetrarchy, the Constantinian period provides some of the most visible and charismatic imperial women of the later Roman empire. However, their presence was never consistent: though undoubtedly prominent when they do appear in the historical record, they vanish into obscurity for substantial periods of time. This pattern has prompted a variety of interpretations of the role that these women played within the political environment of this age. Did they exercise real power as authors of their own futures, or were they merely pawns, used to form marital alliances and as the basis of publicity campaigns, but with no real say in the direction of their lives.

This paper will examine these modern interpretations of the roles of Constantinian imperial women against a background of the surviving ancient material and literary evidence. Often this evidence is very sparse, polemical and one-dimensional, yet still many assumptions have been made as to the statuses, behaviour or relationships of these women. One such assumption is that Helena, the mother of Constantine who had been set aside by his father for a more politically advantageous union, must have 'naturally' despised Fausta, Constantine's high-status wife, even going so far as to engineer her downfall. Focusing in particular on such readings of the interactions and relationships of these women, this paper will ultimately consider to what extent Constantine's women deserve to be considered unique or exceptional, or instead part of larger constructions of female imperial behaviour of the later empire.

Harriet Lander (Nottingham): Constructing Sappho: 'Biography' in English Translation Paratexts and British Eighteenth-Century Erotica

The way in which a poet's life and actions are written about and understood can radically change the way their poetry is read. Likewise, the writing produced by a poet can alter the way in which we can understand their biographies and the stories that are told about them. Sappho was no different. By taking two very different forms of writing about Sappho's sexuality, my paper will assess the disparity between how she was written about in the small biographies, 'Lives', which accompanied the first English translations of her work in the early- and mid-eighteenth century, alongside the erotic pamphlet 'The Sappho-an'. The biographies cover a period from 1713 to 1760, and are by George Sewell, John Addison and Francis Fawkes. These show how the life of Sappho, and explicitly her sexuality, was viewed through the eyes of someone working closely with her poetry or translating it. The anonymously-authored 'Sappho-an' from 1749 is not fettered by the weight of Sappho's poetic text and re-imagines her in an entirely different, and more sexual, setting.

The tension between the ways in which these different genres discuss aspects of Sappho's sexuality and sensuality creates a figure of the poet that is at once chaste but promiscuous, hetero- but homosexual, 'real' and yet mythologised. Alongside these conflicting ideas about the poet, there are also themes which create a wider idea of Sappho and her persona that can be found in both these types of writing, such as pedagogy and deep sensuality.

By re-thinking the ways in which Sappho's persona was constructed through these two different genres, modern readers are able to gain an insight into the reasons why authors and contemporary readers made their decisions about Sappho's life and how they each created their own, individual ideas of who Sappho was and what she loved.

Carl Buckland (Nottingham): Nymphos and Nags: The Representation of Women in British Sit-Coms Set in the Roman World

This paper will analysis the representation of female characters in a number of British situation comedies from the last 50 years, all of which are set in the world of the Ancient Roman Empire. Taking into consideration the stock character types of female figures from the 1960s to the present day, the paper will chart the progress of both the status of women in contemporaneous British society and the public perception of what it was to be a woman in the Roman World, and how this two impressions may have coalesced in certain periods but diverged more recently.

The paper will start with a reflection of what was a (stereo)typical representation of women in 1960s sit-coms and how the characters of Ammonia, Erotica and Senna from Talbot Rothwell's *Up Pompeii* (1969-70) fit into the expectations of both comedies from that period and popular representations of women from the ancient world; it will also consider exactly where those popular representations come from in the first place.

The paper will then move on to consider the role of Gargamadua in McGrath's and Mulville's *Chelmsford 123* (1988-1990). The paper will assess the changes in attitudes towards the representation of women in sit-coms from the 60s to the 80s, and also consider why the character was deemed dispensable for the return of the show for its second series.

Finally, the paper will analyse the progression of female representation in the form of the characters of Cynthia, Metella and Flavia in Basden and Leifer's *Plebs* (2013-Present). To what extent are these characters the same stereotypes of 40 years ago, and to what extent have they been altered by modern concerns, modern presentations and the intervening years of female representation on television?

Graeco-Egyptian Contacts in the Archaic Period: New Findings from Interdisciplinary Approaches

Traditionally, discussions of Greek interactions with Egypt in the Archaic Period have been dominated by the consideration of a small number of common features – mercenaries, merchants, royal gifts, and Naukratis - the features which Herodotus describes to us, and which have appeared validated by archaeological finds at Naukratis and Tel Defenneh.

Naturally, however, Herodotus cannot be expected to have provided a complete or unproblematic picture of Graeco-Egyptian interactions. This panel brings together different disciplines (Ancient History, Archaeology, and Egyptology) in order to demonstrate how the utilisation of a broader range of evidence and approaches can challenge, and contribute new perspectives to, the conventional and largely Herodotean narrative of Graeco-Egyptian interactions in the Archaic Period.

The panel begins by considering evidence for archaic Greek interactions with Egypt which pre-date the foundation of Naukratis and Psammetichus I's use of Greek mercenaries (SKUSE). The ensuing two papers (RINGHEIM, HOPKINS) scrutinise, in turn, modern and ancient accounts of Greek mercenaries in Egypt against archaeological

evidence. The final paper (YOO) concludes the panel by demonstrating the benefits of a holistic, interdisciplinary approach through the discussion of a specific object, an Egyptian statue used as a votive by a Greek mercenary. Together, these papers will highlight some of the new findings which can be drawn from the consideration of classical texts and material culture in parity.

Matthew Skuse (BSA): Scarabs, Sailors, and Seaside Sanctuaries: Pre-Naukratis Evidence for Archaic Greek Interactions with Egypt

Accounts of Greek contacts with Egypt during the Archaic Period often state or imply that these contacts begin in earnest in the mid-late 7th century with the foundation of Naukratis in the Nile Delta and Psammetichus' employment of Greek mercenaries. However, evidence for substantial Greek interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture predates the foundation of Naukratis through the deposition of hundreds of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects across Greece in the late- eighth and early-seventh century, particularly at Perachora and on Rhodes.
This paper examines Egyptian and Egyptianising scarab-amulets found on Rhodes and at Perachora and considers two of the dominant interpretations of these scarabs: firstly, that the primary interface for Greek acquisition of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects pre-Naukratis was Greek contact with the Phoenicians; and secondly, that the function of these objects can be interpreted based upon the proposed motivations of two distinct social groups – mercantile sailors and non-elite women/children.
Building upon this consideration of existing models of Graeco-Egyptian contact, the paper concludes by introducing an alternative account of the actors and interfaces for pre-Naukratis Greek-Egyptian interactions, which draws upon wider advances in the study of Early Iron Age and Archaic Period Greece.

Hannah L. Ringheim (Oxford): Greek Mercenaries in Saite Egypt during the 7th and 6th Centuries B.C.: Revisiting the Archaeological Evidence in the Nile Delta

Perpetual military campaigns and power struggles between the major Near Eastern empires dominated activity during the Saite period in Egypt. It is in this strenuous environment that Herodotus' Men of Bronze supposedly anchored on the Egyptian shores and were readily welcomed and employed in the army of the Pharaoh Psammetichus I.
Past historians and archaeologists have followed Herodotus' claim that Psammetichus I strategically stationed his foreign mercenaries at various garrisons along the Nile Delta, including Migdol, Tell Defenneh, and possibly at the Greek trade settlement Naukratis. Ancient literary sources, architectural remains, and Greek material finds had corroborated this theory. Subsequently, recent scholarship has altered these conclusions, stating that the remains at Tel Defenneh and Naukratis once declared military forts represent in actuality generic Egyptian temple complexes with no mercenary evidence.
In light of recent excavations and work, this study seeks to reanalyse and to contextualize the archaeological evidence from the sites of Tel Qedwa, Tell Defenneh and Naukratis in order to assess the validity of their identifications as 7th and 6th century Egyptian temple complexes. The methodologies will include an evaluation of specific archaeological features of the sites. In particular, the architectural features will be scrutinized in comparison to other Egyptian temple structures, as well as in comparison to the Egyptian fortress Migdol. Moreover, the Greek nature of the sites will be discussed, with a focus on the ceramic imports, local workshops and imitations, other parallels in Egypt, and the find locations of these imports within the site. Lastly, the weaponry and its chronology will be examined. This material culture will provide useful foundations for whether or not Greek mercenaries were present.

The analysis will provide a novel outlook on the clarification of these significant structures in the Delta and whether the ancient literary sources and the material evidence correlate with mercenary presence. From this discussion, one can establish whether these possible temples or garrisons had, at one point in time, situated Herodotus' travelling Greek mercenaries.

Kira Hopkins (Oxford): Herodotean Influences on Saite Egypt

From its earliest days, the archaeology of Saite Egypt has been influenced, informed, and sometimes led by Herodotus' description, particularly regarding the Saite constructions in the Delta.
Although his account is used with little source criticism or contextualisation, many factors such as the timing of Herodotus' visit to Egypt, during Persian rule, the physical limitations of his tour and his natural bias towards discussing features and stories of particular interest to his Greek audience, are all highly influential to his work. Additionally, comparing his accounts of Naukratis and Sais with the finds of excavators at those sites suggests that his physical descriptions are not particularly expansive. These all suggest that, in focussing almost solely on the military aspects of Psamettichus I's re- conquest of Egypt, greatly emphasising the role of Greek and Carian mercenaries in this venture, and locating Greek contact solely at Naukratis, Herodotus was not attempting to provide a comprehensive account.
This analysis calls into question the extent of modern scholarship's focus both on military affairs, and on Graeco-Egyptian interaction through mercenary service, as opposed to other forms. It also supports some of the more recent re-interpretations of Saite structures, which argue that they are not, at least solely, forts, and suggest they should be interpreted through a less purely militaristic lens. In addition to this, it suggests that we should not underestimate other forms of Greco-Egyptian interaction, such as guest friendship and trade, or other forms of Greek inhabitation, for example the small number of potters who appear to have moved there permanently, solely on their lack of prominence in the Herodotean narrative. Conversely, the presence of non-Greek and Carian mercenaries in Saite Egypt, not discussed by Herodotus but archaeologically highly visible, suggests that Greco-Egyptian interactions in this period should not be viewed in isolation from the network of interactions around the Eastern Mediterranean in this period.

Justin Yoo (KCL): The Statue of Pedon: A Re-Assessment and Re-Analysis from both sides of a Disciplinary Divide

The Statue of Pedon, son of Amphinnes, is often cited as proof of Greek mercenary activity in Egypt. It is more often than not, simply listed as just one piece of evidence to support Greek mercenary presence in Egypt, given only a cursory mention, and rarely analysed beyond a superficial level. Its unique mixing of both Greek and Egyptian motifs makes it a particularly interesting object for study. This paper attempts to analyse this statue both within its context as a typical Late Period Egyptian block statue or Würfelhocker, together with its Greek context as a statue dedicated in a Greek sanctuary with an archaic Greek inscription.
Many participants in this panel are rightfully questioning past orthodoxy, scholarship, and disciplinary methodology with regard to Greco-Egyptian interaction. In many ways this intriguing statue encapsulates the issues found in previous approaches. Since the discovery of Naukratis by Petrie, the Greco-Roman periods that follow have in many ways been the disciplinary domain of classicists rather than Egyptologists. The very mixed nature of this statue demands a different approach. Using this single statue as an example, this paper attempts to re-assess and re-analyse prior assumptions made about

it, and in so doing, advocate for a more holistic disciplinary approach in studying Greco-Egyptian interaction.

Greek Elegy
Attempting to teach the fool: early Greek elegy and its counterparts
The scope of this panel is how early elegiac poets shaped and employed specific didactic strategies, in particular to establish and strengthen their authority within their performance groups. The core of such investigation are a series of passages scattered throughout the elegiac corpus as defined by M.L. West (*Iambi et Elegi Graeci*) which show different kinds of affirmation of authority. The composer/performer and his public shared a frame of references regarding the cultural authority of the didactic poets, and the former used this shared didactic discourse to consolidate his position within the performance context of the symposium. As archaic elegy was produced and performed in this extremely powerful social institution, didactic discourse was the key to strengthening mutual bonds among the group's members, who supported the poet's arguments and his political views.
The papers included in this panel focus their attention on these 'didactic masks' worn by the elegiac poets, which contributed to guarantee their authority within their selected circle. The first paper approaches different moments of Greek elegy and seeks to identify how the poet claims didactic authority on the basis of his own experience and wisdom. The second paper re-examines Theognis' 'seal elegy' and investigates its pragmatic function and its role within the Theognidean collection. The final paper is a case study on Empedocles' poetry, which is not elegy proper, but resembles Theognis' didactic strategies and political vocabulary quite closely. To conclude, this group of papers will open new avenues on identifying didactic utterances and the embodiment of the teacher-ideal in Greek elegy and their counterparts in non-elegiac genres.

Jessica Romney (Calgary): At the Front of the Class: Didactic Authority in Sympotic Elegy

"Walk as I do," Theognis tells Cyrnus, his student-addressee in a series of fragments about the 'middle way' and its relationship to one's behaviour and politics. Whether or not Cyrnus was real, the boy serves as a medium for the poet's teachings, delivering them to an audience who has accepted the poet's didactic authority. Theognis here operates as a teacher in the sympotic classroom, and his lessons teach young men how to be a Greek elite.
This paper examines the place of didactic authority in sympotic elegy, analysing first how it is constructed and second how it might be deployed through a case study on political elegy. By drawing on the established role of poet-as-teacher (cf. Xenophanes 10 DK and Heraclitus 57 DK on Homer and Hesiod respectively), elegiac poets asserted their speaking authority over that of their peers as the didactic voice established their prior experience with their subject matter and/or their superior ability to draw on the store of traditional knowledge.
Section one of the paper analyses a selection of elegiac poems using a didactic speaking role. I argue that sympotic poets crafted their didactic stance around their own 'experienced' knowledge of their subject matter (e.g., warfare in Tyrtaeus) and/or around their knowledge of the traditional wisdom culture of archaic Greece. This latter knowledge is demonstrated through the poet's ability to select the 'right' bit of knowledge for his purpose. Section two then applies the findings to a reading of Solon 4 and Theognis 39-52, political elegies which warn about a destructive future threatening their *poleis*. The poet asserts his political experience while applying traditional wisdom to the 'present' circumstances and, in Solon's case, their solution. He thereby teaches as he warns, alternating between the sympotic classroom and the political realm outside of it.

Enrico Prodi (Oxford): Theognis' seal and the didactics of the *Theognidea*

This paper offers a reappraisal of Theognis' so-called 'seal elegy' (lines 19ff.) in the twin contexts of oral performance and written collection, proposing a new interpretation of its text and investigating the programmatic and authorising role that the elegy plays within the *Theognidea* as a didactic corpus.

The first section argues that the speaker's central concern in the elegy is not the avoidance of plagiarism, the preservation of textual or ideological integrity, or even (not directly at any rate) an assertion of authorship, as variously understood by many in the past two centuries. Instead, he expresses a claim to ownership of the ethical message that the *Theognidea* and their individual constituents convey: a message, he claims, that can neither be taken from him surreptitiously nor replaced with something less valuable; a message his ownership of which will be patent to all, though not quite (or not yet) appreciated by his fellow citizens; a message, finally, that he undertakes to transmit in turn to his addressee, as lines 27-28 state (if, as is likely, they belong with what precedes) and as the seal metaphor itself intimates.

The second section highlights the need to consider the elegy both as an introduction to the *Theognidea* as a written collection and in its concrete performance context. Accordingly, it explores how the elegy functions in reperformance, when the verses are spoken by a person other than Theognis but who takes up Theognis' didactic mantle; how it represents the 'words of Theognis' as valuable and worth possessing, thereby authorising both the *Theognidea* as a collection and any excerpt thereof before which it may be performed; and how it authorises both the speaking voice and the individual performer as conveyors of such an ethical message.

Ilaria Andolfi (Rome): A counterpart of Greek didactic elegy: the case of Empedocles

This paper revolves around Empedocles' poetic production, which needs to be subjected to fresh thinking, definition and assessment. A new and provocative comparison with the communicative strategies employed in Greek didactic elegy may turn out to be unexpectedly fruitful.

In the first section, I read the text from a 'pragmatic' perspective, analysing the frequency of direct address, a salient feature shared only with Hesiod's *Works and Days* and Theognis' corpus, deictic terms and personal pronouns. Secondly, I analyse other textual similarities with Theognis, especially in the use of political vocabulary - Empedocles' uses terms such as φίλοι (B112, 114 DK) κακοί (B4 DK), ὄλβιοι and δειλοί (B132 DK). Since ancient times, Empedocles has been regarded as a magician, a prophet, a ritual craftsman, and his riddling language was compared to the one of oracles; a cross-cultural approach shows that in ancient societies such activities of skilled crafting were closely associated with political authority and ideological legitimacy. For these reasons, I examine the possibility of seeing the symposium as the original setting for such didactic discourse, an environment that might have worked also in Sicilian society. Difficulties caused by the use of the hexameter and, consequently, the label of epics employed for Empedocles' poetry, are not a serious hindrance for such hypothesis, and I will provide ancient evidence for this point.

In conclusion, the last section of this paper outlines Empedocles' involvement in the life of Acragas and his alleged democratic positions, as described in antiquity. I suggest that such biographical information, especially the account on his life provided by Diogenes Laertius, did not testify to democratic tendencies; on the contrary, an aristocratic political thought may be ascribed to him.

Greek Myth at Work
This panel is the outcome of a work-in-progress seminar project, *Anthropology of the Classical World*, that we run in the frame of the postgraduate program of our department

during the past academic year. We focused on the notion of myth starting from the studies carried out by Marcel Detienne and Claude Calame in the last two decades of the twentieth century (in particular Detienne 1981 and 1989, Calame 1996). According to this perspective, myth is not to be intended as a specific genre or way of thinking. In our papers, we will therefore consider myth more as a type of narrative than as a *cultural substance* (Detienne 1989), with the aim of getting as close as possible to the perception that the ancient Greeks had of myth themselves. Stressing the importance of myth as discourse, we will highlight those aspects mostly related to enunciation, context, role of the speakers and performance. In particular, we will address the semio-narrative structure of mythic discourse (mainly through the myth of Oedipus); its versions (in the myth of Koronis) and variants (around the theme of the return from the Underworld); its actants and their symbolic roles (brigands and monkeys in the tale of the Kerkopes).

Flaminia Beneventano della Corte (Siena): When lovers are phantoms: an anthropological and semiotic approach to thematic variants in Greek narratives and myths

This paper explores the topic of the *thematic variants* in Greek mythology, that is the set of versions which exist around one same plot but involve different characters and events. The focus will be on three stories, associated by the "narrative theme" of the dead lover coming back from the Underworld: Protesilaos and Laodamia, Admetus and Alcestis, Philinnion and Machates.
The three narratives cannot be considered as a mere example of what cultural anthropologists and folklorists would refer to as *motif* (Thompson). This idea entails the existence of analogies among different cultures while the chosen examples all belong to the cultural *milieu* of ancient Greece. More appropriate, to describe the similarities between the three stories, is what Wittgenstein calls *family likeness*, since each is connected to the others by a series of overlapping similarities while no precise feature is common to them all.
Moreover, the two myths bear more analogies to each other than the paradoxographical story of Philinnion and Machates does. Starting from the semiotic theory of relevance (Sperber) I will argue that, in a plot, some features are more pertinent than others. If these are shared by two or more stories, the narratives appear close and alike. If not, the plots should be considered just vaguely resembling one another.

Giulia Farina (Siena): About the structural analysis of myth and fairytale: the case of the Oedipus Rex

The aim of this paper is to examine the differences and the similarities between the structure of myth and fairytale, as two of the main forms of storytelling. From a morphological point of view, can fairytale be assimilated to myth, as Vladimir Propp suggested?
My aim is to consider both, myth and fairytale, by a structuralist point of view - as two forms of narrative, and to analyse them by stressing the structural traits which characterize them. In particular, I will study the myth of Oedipus, one of the best known in the ancient world, in the version given by Sophocles in the *Oedipus Rex*. I will study its structure in order to find a sequence of functions, in particular the same functions that Propp highlights as common to all fairytales, and trace the similarities between the two 'genres', fairytale and myth. On the other hand, I will keep in mind and progressively point out all the key elements which have brought modern readers to keep myth and fairytale profoundly distinct (Lévi-Strauss, Calame).

Damiano Fermi (Siena): Myth, variations and cultural analysis: the death of Koronis

In Pindar's *Pythian* III, Coronis is a maiden (*parthenos*) pregnant to Apollo. Since she has sexual intercourse with a stranger from Arcadia, the god sends his sister Artemis to kill the girl. According to Pindar, many neighbours (*geitones*) die together with Coronis while, in another version of the myth (Pherecydes), Artemis kills the girl along with many other women instead. My aim is to compare these two versions, reading the contradiction (death of the neighbours *vs* death of the women) in the light of the cultural analysis, especially considering the representation of the plague (*loimos*) sent by the gods. In Pindar, the focus is on the ethical principle of the fault of a single person (*miasma*) – in this case Coronis – that involves many people close to her. Thus, both the individual and the community are punished. In addition, Pindar knows the tradition, variously attested, of the Phlegyai exterminated by the gods for their impiety. On the other hand, the version given by Pherecydes emphasizes the massacre of the other women, presumably pregnant, according to the belief that the death of pregnant mothers is caused by the arrows of Artemis, who has an important role in the context of conception, pregnancy and birth.

Marco Vespa (Siena): The descent of monkeys: the tale of the Kerkopes in Graeco-Roman antiquity

If our contemporary culture has always imagined human beings as descent of primates as a consequence of the famous study by Ch. Darwin (*The Descent of Man*, 1871) and thanks to a specific cultural production made up of blockbusters and popular literature, it is not the same in other cultural traditions. In particular it was not true for ancient Graeco-Roman world. Evidence is given by a myth of metamorphosis that dealt with two Greek bandits (the Κέρκωπες) who tried to rob Herakles of his arms and to swindle the father of the Gods, who transformed them into monkeys as a punishment for their impiety. This kind of inversion in the cultural way of conceiving primates in Antiquity could offer us a useful starting point (*aphormé* according to Bettini 2009) to investigate what could be the specific cultural link imagined by ancient sources between these mythical figures and monkeys. My aim, according to a synchronic and semiotic analysis of the myth (Edmunds 1990), is to analyse the cultural codes (mythical, interactional, social etc.) on the basis of which such a metamorphosis could be considered an acceptable possibility in the group of "virtualités inscrites dans la série des valeurs symboliques" (Detienne 1977) relevant to monkeys in Antiquity.

Greek Philosophy

Marco Romani Mistretta (Harvard): A Contest of Crafts: Plato on Medicine and Divination

In Classical Greece, seers and physicians have much in common: both their crafts are meant to 1) interpret visible signs in order to discern the invisible; 2) overcome the boundaries between different temporal layers; 3) deal with domains that defy rational understanding, and yet affect a vast portion of human life. This paper shows the way in which Plato problematizes the relationship between medicine and divination by intervening in an ongoing Hippocratic debate on the subject.
The Hippocratic treatise *On Regimen*, for instance, outlines the affinities between the two crafts, while denying that divination has access to extra-rational foreknowledge. Furthermore, the author of *Regimen in Acute Diseases* (8.2) polemizes against the laypeople who confuse medicine with divination simply because different physicians have different opinions on how to treat a same disease: unlike divination, he argues, medicine is a form of explanatory knowledge.
Analogously, in Plato's dialogues, divination often appears to be an approximative, imagistic, and scarcely reliable source of information. However, Plato elsewhere

associates divination with medicine, whose epistemological dignity is not thereby challenged (cf. *Laches* 195c ff.; *Phaedr.* 248d-e). Eryximachus' speech in the *Symposium* and the psycho-physiological discussion concerning the liver in the *Timaeus* offer a positive picture of the cooperation between the two crafts. How can this inconsistency be accounted for? This paper argues that the agonistic character of the relationship between medicine and divination allows Plato to maintain an ambivalent attitude towards medicine itself. On the one hand, in fact, the medical art is required to stand in a relation of mutual enlightenment with divination, since both are functional to Plato's cosmic-political order. On the other hand, the analogy between the two crafts opposes the Hippocratic physicians' effort to distinguish their own discipline from non-explanatory practices, and ultimately undermines medicine's claim to axiological and epistemological autonomy.

Fabio Sarranito (Lisbon): Μανία and ἀλήθεια in Plato's *Phaedrus*.

Under its mythical trappings, the palinode (specifically the section of the palinode that deals with erotic μανία) introduces a radical revision of the ontological, anthropological and theological assumptions present in the previous erotic speeches of the Phaedrus. Of particular relevance is the relationship between μανία and ἀλήθεια delineated in this text. Far from the ordinary assumption that μανία distorts the access to reality, the palinode presents modalities of μανία that put one closer to ἀλήθεια. These are divided into two categories, which are, however, radically different from each other. On the one hand, prophetic, "telestic" and poetic μανίαι make use of many of the assumptions regarding reality, human nature and the nature of the gods that were prevalent in Ancient Greek culture. These forms of μανία are shown to be providers of forms of ἀλήθεια, but in such a way that they keep intact the assumptions of the "normal" socially shared perspective. On the other hand, erotic μανία challenges all these assumptions, and puts forward a revolutionary understanding of reality and of human nature within the economy of the Phaedrus. This reveals that ordinary human perspective, usually taken as predominantly defined by the presence of ἀλήθεια, is in fact steeped and dominated for the most part by λήθη. The appearance of erotic μανία shows the deficiencies of the ordinary sober perspective, and presents the apparently paradoxical idea that a distorted form of awareness can put human beings closer to ἀλήθεια. In this paper we are going to try to understand how this is possible, in what ways erotic μανία lays bare the deficient nature of the perspective normally deemed sane, and how it points out toward the possible constitution of a perspective in which ἀλήθεια predominates.

Sinkwan Cheng (SCAS): Translating "Right" into Two Classical Languages: Aristotle's To Dikaion, Confucius's Ren, and a New "Right" for the Global Age

A concept which is truly universal would have a corresponding term available in every language. The modern liberal concept of "right" could not be universal because of the difficulties of translating "rights" into a variety of classical languages – from classical Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Old English to classical Chinese, Japanese, and Korean. My paper uses the classical Greek and Chinese traditions' common incompatibility with modern liberal notion of "right" to explore the commonalities between them, and examine how two civilizations apart from each other could nonetheless share a similar idea of "self" giving rise to similar notions of "right." This will serve as the starting point in my search for a new "right" that could better accommodate both Eastern and Western traditions. Note, however, that while exploring the similarities between the ancient Greek and Chinese thoughts— represented in my paper respectively by Aristotle and Confucius--my paper also investigates their critical differences.

Both Aristotle and Confucius prioritize the collective before the individual. Contrary to modern liberal rights, Aristotle's to dikaion and Confucius's ren are both ad alterum (to another) rather than ad se (to oneself). A major difference, however, exists between the Hellenic and the Chinese thinker regarding the meaning of the "other." As evident from Nicomachean Ethics, the "other" must be "either a ruler or a copartner" (NE V 1). Justice for Aristotle, in other words, can only occur between "equal members of a civil or political society, who alone can properly be called 'others'" (Annabel Brett). The "other" for Confucius, by contrast, is all embracive—regardless of birth, class origin, and even species. One of the highest expressions of justice for Confucius is ren (仁). Being compassionate toward any other human being is ren (仁, humane). However, being kind to animals also qualifies as ren. My paper explores why Confucius believes that justice can be best realized in the world (what Confucius describes as "A World for All (天下爲公)") in contrast to Aristotle's idea of justice among "equals in the polis." I do so by probing the different cultural assumptions, moral ontology, and cosmologies underpinning both systems of thinking.

Given that ideas inevitably bear the imprint of their cultural and historical circumstances, my paper will also analyze the appropriateness and plausibility of Aristotelian polis-based justice and Confucian cosmopolitan justice for the global age.

Greek Tragedy and Reception

Florence Yoon (British Columbia): 'Messengers' and heralds in Greek Tragedy

ἄγγελος is a term long established but misused in scholarship on Greek Tragedy. The inaccuracy of the usual English translation was pointed out as early as Barrett 1964 on *Hipp.* 1151: the tragic 'messenger' is not sent with a message as the word implies, but arrives of his own volition to give a bystander's account, the so-called 'messenger speech' that defines his role. This paper aims to refine our use of the term by stressing the distinction between a character's functions and his identity, and contrasting the ἄγγελος with the κῆρυξ, the herald who does bring a message from an offstage sender. The insistence on the term 'messenger' as a character identifier has led to an artificial distinction between reporting speeches given by named heroes and those given by anonymous ἄγγελοι. But like the term *prologizomenos*, ἄγγελος describes not a fixed identity but a conventional dramatic function; it describes what a character does (i.e. delivers a 'messenger speech'), not what he is within the world of the play (e.g. a slave or a king). By contrast, κῆρυξ is a profession within the world of the play as in the Greek world generally, and this identity determines his dramatic function (i.e. the representation of the offstage entity whose message he brings).

The term 'messenger' should therefore be applied not at the level of the characters, but at the level of the playwright and audience: the message brought by the messenger is not sent by an offstage character to an onstage one, but by the poet to the external audience. The audience accepts the authority of this message because it recognizes the ἄγγελος as the narrative agent of the poet, just as the herald is generally recognized as the authorized agent of his sender.

Lucy Van Essen Fishman (Oxford): 'Where there is need of such men': role-playing and self-definition in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*

In every Sophoclean tragedy, characters are depicted as constrained by social roles. Characters often disagree about the roles they ought to play, and how individuals negotiate their social roles can provide a useful framework for judging character. In this paper, I will examine the importance of social role-playing in the presentation of the characters in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*. Over the course of the tragedy, Odysseus,

Neoptolemus, and Philoctetes all play multiple, sometimes conflicting roles, and their interpretations of their roles highlight differences in their mentalities.

Role-playing, which has been important to recent models of social interaction, is both a social and a cognitive process. An individual's social roles can both contribute to her sense of identity and provide a framework according to which others may understand her (Goffman 1961, Zebrowitz 1990). Role performance matters; others express approval when a role is performed well and disapproval when an individual does not meet expectations (Secord 1982, Burr 1998). Different roles, moreover, carry different expectations; given that unsuccessful role performance may lead to negative judgement, someone with conflicting roles may be subject to painful scrutiny no matter how she behaves.

In *Philoctetes*, the interactions between the three main characters are shaped by their changing roles. Much of the discussion between Odysseus and Neoptolemus in the prologue involves the negotiation of their respective roles, with Odysseus angling for Neoptolemus' obedience while making sure to treat Achilles' son with due respect. Later, both Odysseus and Philoctetes must figure out how to interact with a Neoptolemus who does not seem committed to any single social role. As Odysseus and Philoctetes fight for Neoptolemus' loyalty, each fights both to cast himself in a roles which will grant him authority in Neoptolemus' eyes and to convince Neoptolemus that his roles are compatible with a controversial course of action.

Alessandra Abbattista (Roehampton) / Fabio Lo Piparo (Venice): The two folds of Athena's garment: military and maternal aegis in Euripides' *Ion*

The paper aims to investigate the gendered meaning of the aegis of Athena in and around Euripides' *Ion*. With particular attention to the passages related to the aegis, the analysis will focus on the contradictory treatment of this garment, between danger and protection, in the text. The Euripidean version of the origin of the aegis from the Gorgon portrays the figure of Athena as an androgynous mistress of war. This aspect is embodied by Creusa in her attempt to kill her son with the poisonous blood scattered from the Gorgon's body. Furthermore, the snaky border and the *gorgoneion* in Ion's swaddling cloth woven by Creusa suggest an accurate reproduction of the real aegis. The use of the woven aegis in the exposition of Ion merges the motifs of the birth and the delivery of Erichthonius to the daughters of Cecrops by his foster mother Athena. This adds nurturing and child-caring features to the aegis and therefore to the two figures who bear it. Just as Athena, Creusa appears both 'male/*promachos*' and 'female/*kourotrophos*'. References from Homer to lexicographers, as well as iconographic depictions on Greek vases, will demonstrate the gender conflation beyond the aegis in the Euripidean tragedy.

Hellenistic Poetry Beyond 3rd-Century Alexandria: Alternatives to and Interpretations of Callimachean Poetics

Third-century Alexandria is often conceptualised as a remarkable site of literary innovation and lauded as the pinnacle of Hellenistic Greek culture. The Ptolemies' cultural programme, drawing the heritage of the Greek mainland to their peripheral capital, figured Alexandria as a cultural crucible. Scholars of Hellenistic literature have capitalised on this Ptolemaic context to unlock multiple literary significances, from the Library's archival influence to the cross- pollination of Greek and non-Greek traditions. Callimachus, in particular, has gained from this contextualisation. The readings of his work have been so productive that he has come to represent the period's literary habits: Hellenistic poetry slides into 'Alexandrian' poetry, which often simply becomes 'Callimacheanism'. The Augustan fixation on Callimachus subsequently validates this vision; the 'Roman' Callimachus becomes the paradigmatic Hellenistic poet.

Alexandria, however, was only one site of literary production. Other Hellenistic kings patronised their own court writers, while literature also flourished in civic and religious contexts: itinerant poets appealed to local traditions, cultic hymns were inscribed on stone and civic poets memorialised their homeland. In truth, Hellenistic Alexandria was never alone as a burgeoning cultural centre. Equally, later Hellenistic poets engaging with tradition took earlier Hellenistic poets as models; the reception of Alexandrian poetry began well before Augustan Rome, by which time Callimachus and his peers had already been read many different ways: appropriated, distorted, and realigned.

This panel intends to re-examine Hellenistic literature synchronically and diachronically, to illuminate what has been obscured by Callimachus' shadow. Two panellists explore Seleucid and Attalid literature, investigating their differing contexts of production and how this re-configures our conceptions of Hellenistic literature. Two further panellists analyse the reception of Alexandrian poetics in later authors – Alcaeus of Messene and Leonides of Alexandria – and demonstrate that Roman 'Callimacheanism' was only one among numerous interpretations of the Alexandrian's work.

Marijn Visscher (Durham): Beyond Alexandria: Cultural rivalry between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies

Cavafy's The fame of the Ptolemies celebrates Ptolemaic power and wealth by addressing two main issues: the Ptolemaic rivalry with the Seleucids, and Alexandria as the focal point of Greek culture in Hellenistic times, "the instructor, the queen of the Greek world and of all knowledge". These two points, I argue, are interrelated. In this paper, I explore the cultural rivalry between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies and how it influenced their respective literary traditions. Neither the political or cultural primacy of Alexandria, I propose, was securely established in the early third century.

First, I will consider the court geographers: the first Seleucid writers were all concerned with the geography of Asia and India, and with creating a mental map of the Seleucid Empire (Kosmin 2014). The Ptolemaic answer soon followed: Ptolemy II sent Dionysius out to India to 'correct' Megasthenes' Indica 'for the sake of the imperilled truth', and the royal tutor and geographer Eratosthenes incorporated and superseded the works of Megasthenes, Demodamas and Patrocles in his Geographica (Roller 2010).

Second, I will address the image of the royal couple. Hellenistic royal marriages provided a fertile ground for imperial ideology for both the Ptolemies and the Seleucids (Clayman 2014; Macurdy 1932). Both dynasties used the image of royal love to romanticise monarchic power and to stress the stability of the state. The differences in expression are telling for the divergent aims of the two dynasties (e.g. Callimachus Lock of Berenice, Theocritus Idyll 15, Idyll 17 and the Borsippa Cylinder, Berossus and the royal weddings at Zeugma).

I argue that these examples reflect Seleucid-Ptolemaic rivalry, showing that Alexandria was not alone as 'instructor of the Greek world' in the early Hellenistic period.

Thomas J. Nelson (Cambridge): Pergamene Poetics of Praise: Attalid Fragments in Context

The Attalids appear atypical. A Seleucid offshoot, this Hellenistic monarchy rose from humble origins as latecomers to the international stage. In terms of evidence, the situation at Pergamon is almost the exact opposite of Alexandria: we have a rich archaeological record, but the literary remains are paltry. Clearly, however, Pergamon once boasted a vibrant literary culture, with its own library, scholars and poets. Crates of Mallos conducted scholarship on Homer, while epic poets such as Musaeus of Ephesus and Leschides frequented the Attalid court. In the absence of evidence, there have been many attempts to reconstruct a Pergamene literary culture. Some have looked to the

famous Great Altar's Gigantomachy and imagined baroque epics to parallel its grandeur (Ziegler 1966:43-52); others have explored potential hints of Attalid propaganda in Lycophron's Alexandra (Kosmetatou 2000) and Nicander's Theriaca (Magnelli 20010:212). In this paper, however, I turn to several fragments of Pergamene poetry which explicitly praise the Attalids to explore how the dynasty was presented. By studying an inscribed encomiastic epigram celebrating the Olympic victory of a certain Attalus (IvP I 10), an epinician epigram by Arcesilaus of Pitane (1 FGE), and the opening of Nicander's Hymn for Attalus (fr.104 Gow-Schofield), I aim to reconstruct a Pergamene poetics of praise. These texts offer an instructive parallel to Ptolemaic encomia: both Attalid and Ptolemaic poetry lay much emphasis on the kings' genealogy and quasi-divine status, while also drawing on a shared literary past to articulate this. I conclude by questioning what might be distinctive about Attalid, as opposed to Callimachean, poetics and the extent to which either contributed to a larger Hellenistic programme of royal legitimisation.

Chiara Bonsignore (Rome): Alcaeus of Messene, Callimachus, and Theocritus: "The Road Not Taken"

After Callimachus and other Alexandrian poets, 'untrodden paths' were increasingly difficult to find, yet Hellenistic authors still arguably searched for "the road not taken". This paper aims to follow the epigrammatist Alcaeus of Messene's search for originality, and in particular the earlier Alexandrian paths on which he treads and from which he diverges. Alcaeus of Messene's case – 3rd/2nd century BCE – is peculiar in itself. Called by Wilamowitz (1924, 2.223) the last epigrammatist to have "seinen besonderen Charakter", Alcaeus stands at the crossroads between the great season of third-century Greek epigram and a later one, traditionally considered derivative, but which has lately received growing scholarly interest. Alcaeus' lot is thus to be the last of his kind, as Wilamowitz put it, but at the same time the first: his reworkings of Alexandrian poetry bear the mark of innovation, and later poets often paid homage to him. In this paper, I explore these dynamics through two epigrams (Alc. Mess. AP 7.536 and AP 12.64). While both are indebted to different Alexandrian models, Call. AP 12.230 and Theocr. AP 13.3 respectively, in each case Alcaeus' innovations produce distinctive poems. First, I show how Theocritean inspiration converges with elements from other authors in an epitaph for Hipponax (AP 7.536) to construct a unique epigram among the series of epitaphs for iambographers. Second, I underscore how Alcaeus departs from Callimachean models in AP 12.64 and how the particular route he took inspired a six-poem Meleagrian sequence which discarded every echo of its Alexandrian predecessor. Alcaeus' strategies thus shed new light on the choices available to late Hellenistic authors, whose voice might be influenced, but not defined, by the 'shadow of Callimachus', and whose reception of Alexandrian poetry left a mark on the long road to Augustan Rome.

Max Leventhal (Cambridge): Pebbles in the Stream: Leonides of Alexandria and the Callimachean Tradition

The isopsephic epigrams of Leonides of Alexandria (late 1st cent. CE) are not often read to the letter. Yet, his isopsephia (literally 'equal in counting pebbles') – taking each letter as a number, then creating couplets of equal value – introduces an innovative interpretative mode to the epigrammatic genre. This confrontation of mathematics and poetry is justified in one epigram (33 FGE) by alluding to a famous passage of an Alexandrian predecessor, Callimachus' Hymn to Apollo. This paper aims to locate the Callimachean allusion within the reception history of Callimachus and his poetry. I highlight how Leonides' opening couplet follows the course of Callimachus' reception in epigram (for example, Crinagoras 11 GP; Antipater of Thessalonica 20 & 37 GP; Philip 60

GP; Antiphanes 9 GP), although strategically diverting it to further his own poetic self-representation. More than this, however, I propose that Leonides' co-opting of the Callimachean stream intends to engage with ideas of poetic skill and specifically with ideas of measuring poetic output. Callimachus had called for skill not to be measured in any empirical sense, but only through wisdom. Leonides instead re-directs Callimachus' implied materiality of poetry at the end of the Hymn to Apollo to argue that his very measurable compositions are skilled, making his own use of ψῆφοι the grit in Callimachus' meta-poetic stream. Leonides' poetological engagement with Callimachus, both following the mainstream interpretation of his poetic imagery while also contesting his aesthetic programme, highlights the richness of Callimachean reception and its often conflicting voices. It will become clear that the value of Callimachus' poetry was debated, debased and defended by many authors besides the Augustan Latin poets and, as Leonides' epigram underscores, these various interpretations persisted beyond first-century BCE Rome as well.

Herodotus and Byzantium
This panel explores the role of Herodotus in fifteenth-century Byzantine thought. Despite a recent surge of interest in the radical revival of classical style in late Byzantine historiography, many aspects of the extensive dialogue between classical texts and the contemporary Byzantine world have yet to be explored. The panel brings together three speakers to discuss different aspects of this engagement. Akışık addresses the role of Herodotus in Byzantine discussions of ethnic identity, focusing on Plethon, Chalkokondyles, and Bessarion. Fadeev follows, exploring how Laonikos draws on the rhetoric of persuasion in Herodotus. Finally, Ellis discusses the reception of Herodotus' theology—conspicuously neither Christian nor Platonic—and the range of responses these provoked amongst Byzantine scholars.
The reception of classical Greek antiquity in Byzantium, too often ignored, is a topic of intrinsic interest, but it also has a wider significance. Many of the scholars discussed here (esp. Plethon, Laskaris, Bessarion, Kabakes, Chalkokondyles) introduced these primary texts of Greek historiography to the humanists of the Latin West. As such, the Byzantine reception of classical Greek historiography—too often ignored—represents a vital stage in the continuous exegetical tradition that links antiquity to the Renaissance and thence to the debates of European intellectual history.

Aslıhan Akışık (Oxford): The Uses of Herodotus in the last Byzantine Renaissance

Herodotus was frequently copied in the Byzantine period and was studied in the Byzantine classroom. Byzantine authors mined the ancient Historian mainly for ethnographic information (such as the information Herodotus presented concerning the Skythians). However, Herodotus was not used as a model by Byzantine authors in the sense that they did not develop Byzantine identity in a Herodotean manner, and their self-representations did not rely on "kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life." (8.144) Subsequently, George Gemistos Plethon (d. 1452), the Platonist philosopher and Judge General of the Byzantine Empire, undertook a close study of Herodotus when he abandoned the traditional Roman identity to formulate his brand of Hellenism. Plethon's personal copy of Herodotus, the fourteenth-century Laurentian Plut. Gr. 70.06, is still extant, allowing us to understand the particular ways in which he approached the text. The same manuscript was copied by Bessarion (d. 1472), Plethon's student and Cardinal of the Catholic Church in later life. Laonikos Chalkokondyles, the fifteenth-century historian of the rise of the Ottomans and the demise of the Byzantines, was also a student of Plethon who owned the same manuscript and composed an epigram on Herodotus, which he inserted on the last folio. A contextual study of Plethon's political essays, Bessarion's early compositions before he emigrated to Italy,

Laonikos' historical magnum opus, *Apodeixis Historion,* in tandem with marginalia from Plut. Gr. 70.06 shed light on the Byzantine revival of Herodotus in the Renaissance. Closely following the Herodotean discourses on autochthony, Greek colonization of Asia Minor, and the central role of language in the Hellenization of barbarian tribes, these seminal figures invented a revolutionary historicizing approach to pressing questions of identity at this critical juncture.

Sergey Fadeev (Oxford): The Rhetoric of History in Herodotos and Laonikos

When it comes to historiography, the rhetoric—or the set of techniques that make the narrative of past events persuasive—is a surprisingly neglected aspect. At the same time, rhetoric, as well as the narrative economy of the text, are crucial factors in securing the place of a particular text in tradition, which define the channels by which these texts are transmitted to future generations, and ultimately shape the idea of the past.

Examining differences and similarities between persuasive techniques in Herodotos and Laonikos does not only add new nuances to the complicated relation between these two particular texts. As the *Histories* and the *Apodeixis Historion* are so remote from each other in time and yet intimately connected, the comparison of their rhetorical methods allows us to draw enlightening observations about the development of historiographical rhetoric in Western tradition in general.

In this paper I will examine what aspects of both texts should be regarded as rhetorical. I will show how the two histories are related on the level of persuasive techniques and what lessons Laonikos learnt from his predecessor's unique success in historiographical tradition.

Anthony Ellis (Bern): Rewriting Herodotus in the Late Byzantine World

Herodotus seems to have held a particular fascination for the final generations of Byzantines scholars: George Gemistos Plethon, Demetrios Raoul Kabakes, Konstantine Laskaris, and Basileios Bessarion are all known to have copied out Herodotus' text (in part or in full, in some cases several times) producing a number of still-extant manuscripts (including Plut.Gr.70.06, Brit.Lib.Add.5424 fols.99r-v, Vat.Gr.1359, BNE MSS/4568, BNE MSS/4621). In the latter half of the 15th century Laonikos Chalkokondyles would write his *Apodeixeis Historiôn*, a monumental classicizing history describing the rise of the Ottomans and the fall of Byzantium: the work drew deeply on Herodotus (in vocabulary, narrative patterning, structure) as well as on his successor Thucydides.

Within this context, this paper explores how Herodotus' late Byzantine readers interacted with his theological and religious ideas. Plethon, Kabakes, and Laskaris show a particular interest in the oracles of the *Histories*, both by their copying choices and in their marginal notations. Plethon's own religious views—controversial since Patriarch Scholarios declared Plethon's *Laws* anathema in 1453—remain unclear, but his interest in Platonism is beyond doubt, and many consider him a committed Platonist. How did Plethon and his students understand Herodotus' theological views? Herodotus had been accused of impiety by the Platonist Plutarch, who pointed out that the notion of divine φθόνος (envy/jealousy: Hdt. 1.32.1, 3.40.2, etc.) contradicted the Platonic (and later Christian) belief in god's goodness (cf. Pl. *Tim.* 29e) and constituted βλασφημία (Plut. *DHm*, 857f-858a). That such ideas troubled Byzantine readers is attested by a remarkable (and hitherto undiscussed) intervention in Plut.Gr.70.06, which rewrites Hdt.1.32 (in perfect Ionic Greek) so as to remove the offending theological content. In this talk, I discuss the identity of the hand, the motives of its owner, and place these in the wider context of Byzantine engagement with Herodotus' theological ideas.

Hesiod and his world: intertext, genealogy, topography, cult and scholarship
The proposed panel aims to highlight the manifold literary nature of the Hesiodic text. In the light of new pathways in Hesiodic scholarship, each participant will focus on a particular text of the Hesiodic corpus and draw attention to its intra- and intertextual affinities. Professor Jenny Strauss Clay will deliver the panel keynote lecture and discuss how genealogy constitutes *Theogony's* main system of classification in terms of geo-spatial categorization, etymology and onomastics. Dr. Zoe Stamatopoulou will focus on the intertextual affinities in Diomedes' *aristeia* in *Iliad* 5 and the duel between Heracles and Ares in the Hesiodic *Aspis*. Dr. Athanassios Vergados will highlight Hesiod's presence in Homeric *scholia* and discuss how the scholiasts make the author Hesiod a *reader* and *(mis)interpreter* of the great poet. Dr. Maria G. Xanthou will discuss Artemis' presence in the Hesiodic genealogy of the Thestiadai and its connection with Meleagros' myth and Artemis' sanctuary in Aetolia.

Jenny Strauss Clay (Virginia): Ordering the Cosmos: Ecology, Genetics, and Onomastics in the *Theogony*

The *Theogony* presents an ordered universe (*kosmos*) in the making. Genealogy constitutes its main system of classification, but ecological (or geo-spatial) categorization is also present, as is etymology and onomastics. I plan to examine various catalogues (Children of Night/Eris, Catalogue of Monsters, and the geography of Tartarus) to demonstrate the deployment of these different kinds of orderings to form an intricate web of associations that culminate in the well-ordered Hesiodic cosmos.

Zoe Stamatopoulou (Pennsylvania): Diomedes' *aristeia* in *Iliad* 5 and the Hesiodic *Aspis*

In this paper, I read the duel between Heracles and Ares in the Hesiodic *Aspis* in connection with Diomedes' *aristeia* in *Iliad* 5. Dated to the first half of the sixth century BCE (Janko, 1986), the *Aspis* bears several similarities in structure and diction with the Iliadic narrative. Russo (1965), who has pointed out some of these parallels, views them as evidence that the *Aspis* is a sloppy imitation of the *Iliad*. My paper expands Russo's observations and, more importantly, proposes a radically different reading of these Iliadic resonances. I suggest that, far from being a mindless imitation of the *aristeia* in *Il.* 5 or simply a reiteration of an epic type-scene, the duel between Heracles and Ares deliberately evokes Diomedes as a foil for Heracles. The poem thus reconstructs the early heroic era, which Heracles inhabits, partly through its implicit juxtaposition with the world of the late heroic age featured in the *Iliad*. Through allusions to the Homeric poem, the *Aspis* draws attention to the gap separating the violent and ferocious world of Heracles and the later, tamer generation of heroes exemplified by the son of Tydeus. Ultimately, when compared to Diomedes, a figure defined by his inferiority to his father, his vulnerability, and his dependence upon Athena's help, Heracles emerges as an even more menacing figure, a mortal who poses a real threat to the immortals.

Athanassios Vergados (Heidelberg): The author as reader and (mis)interpreter: Hesiod in the Homeric scholia

In my contribution I intend to focus on an aspect of Hesiodic reception that has remained hitherto underexplored, viz. the views on Hesiod expressed in the remains of late Hellenistic and Imperial scholarship on Homer transmitted in the *scholia*. Despite Hesiod's authority as a source of geographical, mythological, theological, and linguistic knowledge, which the scholiasts used in order to elucidate Homer's poetry, there was also a pronounced tendency to criticize the Ascraean. (i) First, I will discuss some statements that frequently appear in the *scholia* to the effect that Hesiod had read and sometimes misunderstood Homer's poetry and therefore fabricated several of the

Theogony's stories. Characteristically, the *Works and Days* are spared of this kind of criticism. (ii) In a second step I will demonstrate that Hesiod's 'mistaken' interpretations are couched in terms regularly employed by the scholiasts when they argue against other scholars' views. (iii) Conclusions: By viewing specific passages in Homer's poems as the concrete reason for Hesiod's spinning out a particular story, the scholiasts make out of the author Hesiod a *reader* and *(mis)interpreter* of the great poet, not unlike some of their fellow philologists whom they criticise. It seems that in order to attack Hesiod the critics must make him into one of their colleagues first. This kind of 'agonistic' reading of Hesiod resonates with certain forms of Hesiodic reception in Imperial times, such as the *Certamen* tradition and the predilection for the *Works and Days* as opposed to the *Theogony*. But it can also be linked to larger critical issues in the ancient scholarly reading of literature, such as the relative dating of Homer and Hesiod and the tendency to treat exponents of a particular genre as antagonistic pairs.

Maria G. Xanthou (CHS, Washington): Topography, cult and myth: Artemis' presence in the Hesiodic genealogy of Althaea

Artemis' presence is predominant in the genealogy of the Thestiadai (*GK* fr. 23 (a) M-W) and well intermingled with various incidents of their lives. There, Artemis is presented as bestowing immortality (vv. 12, 24) or taking revenge (v. 20). Most importantly, in the same fragment her definitive nature as divine huntress *par excellence* is especially stressed by an ample use of attributes [3x ἰοχέαιρα (vv. 12, 21, 26), χρυσηλακ]άτ[ου], κελαδεινῆς, ἐλαφηβό]λος]. My working hypothesis is that Artemis' presence in the Hesiodic genealogy foreshadows in a way and through Althaea's genealogy, Meleagros' capacity as an adept hunter and his eventual participation in the Stesichorean *Boarhunters's* mythological venture. Another link between Artemis and the geographical region of Aetolia, where Althaea comes from, could be also extracted, if Αἰτωλ[[Hes.] *GK* fr. 23 (a) 6] is combined with the reconstructed name of Καλυδών in the Stesichorean P.Oxy. 3876 fr. 2.8 + 6b.2), the Aetolian city, situated in the fertile plain of Evenus. Artemis is also linked to Calydon with the latter being the headquarters of the worship of Artemis Laphria.
In my paper, I shall discuss her presence in the Hesiodic *fr*. 23 (a) 11-26 and the Stesichorean P.Oxy. 3876 fr. 2.8 + 6b.2, and explore its implications in the relation between geographical region and religious cult. In other words, I shall look into the interaction between geographical terrain and literary imagination and scrutinize how the latter is based on upon the factual and imaginary topography. I shall also examine the interrelation between factual and religious topography and their contribution in the localization of Althaea's and Meleagros' genealogy in the Hesiodic and Stesichorean narrative.

Historiography

Kleanthis Mantzouranis (St. Andrews): An agon of leaders: Thucydides' appraisal of Pericles and Alcibiades as a lesson in leadership ethics

The aim of my paper is to offer a comparative reading of two well-known Thucydidean passages, namely the historian's appraisals of Pericles (2.65) and Alcibiades (6.15). I will argue that Thucydides draws an implicit comparison between the two leaders which offers valuable insights into his understanding of the dynamics of leadership as a two-way process between leader and followers.
Thucydides' account of the attributes of Pericles and Alcibiades examines not only their effectiveness (i.e., their success or failure in handling war affairs), but also, and perhaps more importantly, their personal ethics and the impact of their character and attitude on their relationship with followers. For Thucydides, both leaders displayed a great degree

of military competence. However, their diverse adherence to ethical principles had a serious impact on their interaction with followers and consequently on their position of leadership itself. Pericles' integrity and firmness of character enabled him to build strong bonds of trust with the people and thus maintain his position and influence for a long period of time. On the other hand, Alcibiades' overt ambition, self-centredness and extravagant lifestyle quickly dissipated the capital of trust he initially enjoyed on account of his status, roused suspicion and dislike among the people, and brought about his downfall.

The comparative study of the two passages highlights Thucydides' acute insights into the workings and intricacies of leadership. His account makes trust an essential component of the leadership process and captures an important strand of modern leadership theory according to which effectiveness and ethics are inextricably intertwined in the concept of good leadership.

Peter Morton (Manchester): Diodorus Siculus, Didacticism, and the 'Slave Wars'

In his *Bibliotheke*, Diodorus Siculus aimed in part to correct the future behaviour of his readers through measured use of free speech (παρρησία), offering both censure to bad men and praise to the good. On several occasions across the work Diodorus comments on former empires' behaviour, and it has been argued that the work provides a guide to good empire for Rome, alongside a guarded critique of Rome's actions in various theatres.

The aim of this paper is to reconsider how we should understand Diodorus' references to the rise and fall of empires within the broader context of his *Bibliotheke*. This will be achieved through analysis of his two Sicilian 'Slave War' narratives. These two accounts have previously been understood as morally inspired commentaries on slave ownership (see e.g. Momigliano (1975), 33-34; Sacks (1990), 144-145; Urbainczyk (2008), 85-86). Nonetheless, despite the fragmentary survival of the text, Diodorus' explicit commentary on the connection of the 'Slave Wars' to the broader themes of the *Bibliotheke* (e.g. *DS* 34/5.2.33, 39, 40) shows that these narratives can be better understood as didactic analogies for correct conduct during changes in fortune, be they social, military, or economic. This commentary should not be seen as directed only at the leaders of Rome.

I will argue that the two 'Slave Wars', in Diodorus' reckoning, are a suitable analogy for the state of the Mediterranean in his day. His comments about correct behaviour were directed at the rapidly changing network of rulers and subjects across the Mediterranean, which arose from the expansion of Rome's power under Pompeius Magnus and Julius Caesar. These 'Slave War' narratives, in turn, should be seen as part of the bigger story about the world being told by Diodorus, and they are subsequently less easily understood as straight 'history'.

Christopher Weimer (CUNY): Interpreting Herodotean Inversions

It has long been noted that in Herodotus' ethnographic descriptions certain groups' *nomoi* are often inversions of others. However, inversion between passages also occurs in narrative sections. This paper argues that there is a relationship between the two and that the relationship allows us to better understand Herodotus' historical strategy. I begin by examining instances in Herodotus' *Histories* where narrative accounts invert the *nomoi* given elsewhere by Herodotus, e.g. the cannibalism of the Massagetae (1.216) and Cyrus' "cannibalism" upon his death (1.214). The relationship is not incidental, but deliberate; Herodotus makes it clear he chose this story of Cyrus' death over others (1.214.5). I then reexamine the ending of the *Histories*. I compare the advice of Croesus with Cyrus (1.155) with Cyrus' advice to Artembares (9.122), which I relate to the debate between *nomos* and *physis*: Croesus argues for the primacy of *nomoi* in shaping

behavior, while Cyrus instead argues that *physis* is the primary determiner. This is not only an intellectual debate, but impacts the historical narrative, for the same debate plays out in the debate between Demaratus and Xerxes (7.103-104), playing a part, I argue, in the latter's downfall.

Homer and Homerica

Bill Beck (UPenn): Lost in the Middle: Reading for the *Iliad*'s Plot

In a well-constructed plot, according to Aristotle, narrative events follow one another in causal sequence — διὰ τάδε, not μετὰ τάδε, one thing because of another, not just one thing after another (*Poet.* 1452a). When contemplated in the abstract, the *Iliad*'s plot exhibits a clear chain of causation in accordance with Aristotle's principle. However, when the *Iliad* is experienced in the vast narrative in which the poet has packaged it, the plot and its causal underpinnings seem at times to disappear; as readers have long observed and often complained, for long stretches of text subplot supersedes plot. What the plot requires to be understood as sequentially and causally- linked actions can comprise thousands of lines that obscure the causal relation between significant narrative events. Rather than emphasizing beginnings, ends, and the causal continuity between them, the *Iliad* emphasizes and protracts middle spaces, leading the reader to question not only the success of Achilles' plot, but the effectiveness of the poem's plot as well. Has this plot-about-plot-gone-awry gone awry?
In this paper I argue that in its telling of the derailed plot of Achilles the *Iliad* threatens the derailment of its own plot, thereby raising questions about plot on both a thematic and narrative level. Specifically, I argue that the narrator manipulates the representation of time in such a way as to emphasize the disjunction, rather than the continuity, between cause and effect in plot-significant events, thereby linking the audience's experience of the poem with the characters' experience of the story.

George Gazis (Durham): Voices of the dead: Hades' narratives in the *Odyssey* and Bacchylides' *Ode* 5

Homer's consistent portrayal of Hades in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as a realm in which no vision is possible (*A-ides*) creates a unique poetic environment which stands apart from the radiant world of heroes and gods. Storytelling in Hades, while lacking some of the comprehensiveness and vividness (*enargeia*) of traditional Muse narrative, offers unmediated and deeply personal access to individual characters from epic. The fact that the shades look back over their lives from hindsight makes for a poignancy of tone that is absent elsewhere in Homer. The result is a narrative that emulates that of the Muses but at the same time is markedly distinct from it: in Hades experimentation with, and defiance of, important epic values can be achieved, giving rise to a different kind of poetics.
In this paper I examine the poetic function of Hades in the most extensive underworld narrative of Greek Lyric, Bacchylides' *Ode* 5. Homeric influence in *Ode* 5 is evident and has been thoroughly analysed by scholars (Lefkowitz 1969, Maehler 2004, McDevitt 2009, Cairns 2010) who point out that the poet uses the Nekyia as a model for his own underworld narrative (e.g. Lefkowitz 1969, 64-87). By contrast with previous work, I show that *Ode* 5 is more than just an intertextually allusive re-reading of *Odyssey* 11: by evoking Meleager's underworld recollection, the poet acknowledges and adopts the function of Homeric Hades as presenting the opportunity for a more personally inflected mode of story-telling, in contrast with the vivid objectivity of the Muses. What we see in Meleager's story, I argue, is a retelling of the hero's own past that puts the emphasis not on *kleos* but on personal experience, self-pity and sense of loss, in a way that clearly evokes the narratives of Agamemnon and Achilles in *Odyssey* 11.

Sebastiano Bertolini (Edinburgh): Reconsidering *Margites*

The *Margites* is a mock-epic poem wrongly attributed, during almost the whole Antiquity, to Homer (cf. *e.g.* Ps. Plat. *Alcib.* II 147, Arist. *Po.* 1448b). The poem still presents nowadays many problems concerning its date of composition, its authorship and, broadly speaking, its specific nature. The uncertainties are mainly due to the largely fragmentary textual tradition of the poem, which nowadays consists of only nine short fragments. In my paper, I will examine the *testimonia* and the *fragmenta* of *Margites* from a philological, papyrological, literary and historical point of view, both summarizing the previous studies on the matter and proposing an in-depth rereading of the (scarce) evidence. Besides, I intend to analyse the *Margites* in the light of the wider frame of the so-called Greek *Eposparodie*, thus delineating similarities and differences in the parodic reuse of the Homeric hypotext.

Iconography and Beyond
Images on vessels, in relief or sculpture and the like are important objects for the study of Greek and Roman culture. Whilst iconography and formal analysis have been the methods governing most of classical archaeology in the twentieth century, currently visual culture studies and Bildwissenschaften, fuelled by diverse turns, give fresh impulses to analyses of ancient visual media. Questions of perception and interaction are augmenting conventional methods as well as semiotic and phenomenological approaches are fruitfully brought together. The aim of this panel is to give some insights into these developments and their epistemic potentials.
Starting in archaic Greece, the first paper will discuss certain configurations in Attic vase painting from the perspectives of action and ritual theory and thereby call into question the representational character of the depictions in favour of symbolic functions. A second paper will take us to the borderlands of ancient Greece, namely South Italy, and investigate depictions on ceramics as mirrors of different ethnic identities in an area of cultural diversity and hybridity. The following presentation offers an analysis of imperial Roman historical reliefs with a special focus on activity and narrative functions of figures within the images – going beyond traditional attributive interpretations. In a diachronic approach the final paper will show how meanings of motifs wandering from Greek antiquity to contemporary film change not only due to changing historical contexts but also due to changing sensoria.

Lioba Tempel (Hamburg): Wreaths in Depictions of Procession and Sacrifice on Attic Pottery: A Symbol of Community?

Representations of wreaths are occurring on Attic pottery i.a. in depictions of activities in the course of Greek festivals like procession and sacrifice. Scenes of procession developed from representations of round dance on Attic pottery. From the 6th century BC onwards sacrificial animals, altars, and architecture are depicted as references to sacred areas. At the same time representation of sacrificial scenes begins. Inscriptions and ancient sources indicate that wreaths have been worn by performers and participants at sacrifice and procession. This is confirmed by representations on Attic pottery: bearers of wreaths are depicted at sacrifice and procession, which are ritualized actions that produce and constitute community.
This paper targets the following questions: What is the symbolic function of the depicted wreath in situations where it was not worn in ancient reality? Does bearing of wreaths imply the existence of community? Does the wreath act as a symbol of cooperation and togetherness? The analysis through action and ritual theories facilitates answers to additional questions: Are the figures bearing wreaths because the painter of the representation or the person who wears the wreath gives its individual action a specific

expression or because the society demands the representation or the wearing of wreaths? When analyzing the representations it has to be differentiated between the content of the illustration and the socialization of the painter on the one hand and the reality of the ritual in Greek antiquity on the other hand. This paper focuses on the non-mythological scenes to be as close as possible to ancient reality.

Lilian Schönheit (Hamburg): Comic Theatre in Greek and Non-Greek South Italy on Red-figured Vases

The South Italian red-figured vessels with pictures of comic actors are well known since the end of the 19th century. They have been discussed as phlyax plays and as a link from Attic comedy to Roman Comedy or in contrast as Doric theatre in classical time, even as an Italic forerunner for Roman theatre. As in most cases, they seem to be a bit of everything, but perhaps that is just why they deserve a close look into their own artistic value and cultural meaning. While there are some famous Apulian and Sicilian examples which inspired some scholars to excellent case studies, there is a huge amount of less artistic, but even more interesting vessels, especially from Lucanian Paestum and Oscan Campania. The iconographic examination allows a fascinating insight into the development of pictures from old comedy to local semiotics of actors in Dionysiac Thiasos.

The aim of this paper is to present the locally diverse developments of South Italian comic pictures on vases and to relate them to their different ethnic contexts as there were numerous groups: such as Greeks in Taras, Metapontum or Sicily and the Italics, of whom the Iapyges lived in Apulia, Lucanians from Metapontum to Paestum and Campanians around the bay of Naples. Thereby their modified denotation from a telling picture to a symbolic, standardized picture of an actor and Dionysus and their growing connotation to funerary, grave and after live shall be discussed.

Ulfert Oldewurtel (Hamburg): Standing Still and Acting Up. The Cancelleria Reliefs and an Activity-Based Approach to the Interpretation of Roman Historical Reliefs

The two associated historical reliefs found under the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome have been the object of interpretation from their discovery in the first half of the 20th century until today. As most historical reliefs, they have been either construed as historical documents or as ideographical representation of Roman state concepts or rather political concepts of rule and authority. The incidents – or the ideas and concepts – represented in the reliefs have been seen as from almost obvious to being more or less a rebus or riddle unsolved.

The approach advocated in this paper is to take into account not only the iconographical evidence given by clothing and/or attributes but to have a closer look at the degree of activity and interaction shown by the figures in the scenes. By analyzing the action or the capacity to act it becomes clear that e.g. personifications are not merely used attributively but in a far more central role. The degree of activity shown is rather a key to the accurate transfer of visual narrative into speech and thus to the better understanding of Roman historical reliefs.

In the so-called frieze A attention has been paid to the particular combination of the gods and guards hurrying ahead while the princeps stands firmly and almost inactively in their middle. Clearly, this has been understood as an element of conveying information visually (the conclusions drawn from this vary though). But what can be found using this approach in frieze B? Here the main figures stand almost still as do most of the remaining figures. Only a group of lictores is shown in obvious and emphasized movement. The activity-based approach weakens some former interpretations while other analyses of the message intended become more probable.

Jacobus Bracker (Hamburg): Ancient Images and Contemporary Sensoria

Image-related reception studies usually deal with formal visual aspects of the images and their relation to the literary tradition alone, leaving other sensual aspects aside. When looking at certain types of images like relief, sculpture, or film it becomes apparent that not only other of the classical five senses are involved in the perception process but also senses like proprioception. However, images possess the ability to elicit and channel certain sensory responses of their viewers. They accentuate specific parts of the socially and culturally created sensorium in which the reception situation is embedded.
It follows that a change in the sensory qualities – for example when a still image is referenced in a moving image – may change the perceived meaning and viewers' responses. Images may also reflect through their sensory properties the valuing of certain sense expressions over others in a certain culture.
The paper will investigate examples from Greek vase painting (Greeks fighting Persians, Achilleus and Penthesilea) and relate them to contemporary film (*300* [Zack Snyder, USA 2006], *Avatar* [James Cameron, USA 2009]) to show that changes of meaning attached to certain images do not only depend on transformations in form, content, or iconography but also on changes of the different senses addressed by these images embedded in different sensoria. It will be argued that the observation of the sensory aspects is an important amendment of reception studies and that the semiotic and phenomenological methods to analyse such aspects have to be developed and integrated to better understand i.a. the conveyed meanings or functions of images in identification processes.

Images of the self in Aristotle's philosophy: *philia*, *sympatheia* and *homonoia*
Recent years have witnessed a surge of interest in emotions and cognition and their interrelation in Classical studies. More and more, insights from psychology and the philosophy of mind are exploited to help to elucidate the way in which the ancients engaged with others, or thought they engaged with others. Aristotle offers a particularly rich source of study in this respect, for he seems to have been the first ancient Greek philosopher who specifically values the kind of attitudes and cognitive exercises that we nowadays would designate as expressions of interpersonal sympathy. This panel seeks to examine different aspects of Aristotle's theorizing on how to successfully engage with others.
Three scholars who specialize in various spectrums of ancient philosophy—the philosophy of friendship, ancient emotions and aesthetics, and ancient political philosophy— will examine how Aristotle in his ethics, aesthetics, and politics reflects upon various ways of engaging with others both emotionally and cognitively, and will attempt to cast light on the reasons why Aristotle considered such attitudes both valuable and normative.

Elena Irrera (Bologna): Other Selves in Action: Perfect Friendship as a prescriptive ideal in Aristotle

In Books VIII and IX of the *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle presents friendship (*philia*) as an ideal that covers a variety of partnerships characterised by reciprocal displays of values, obligations, expectations and commitments. In this paper I shall take issue with a peculiar type of friendship, i.e. the one that arises between virtuous persons and named "perfect friendship" (ἡ τελεία φιλία; cf. *NE* VIII, 1156 b 7; 1158 a 11). By focusing on this sort of friendship, I will lay emphasis on Aristotle's image of the friend as *allos autos* and argue that, although displaying a combination of descriptive and prescriptive elements, the descriptive are simply "propedeutical" to the prescriptive ones. First, I shall contend that virtue-based friendships, although stimulated by a recognition of the virtue of other

individuals, are primarily determined by an active commitment to virtuous and benevolent behaviour by the loving agents. Second, building on the work of authors like Price (1990), Stern-Gillet (1995) and Schollmeier (1994),), I shall try to bring out the prescriptive side of the equality that might be established between the *allos* and the *autos.* Moving from the assumption that, on Aristotle's view, love for the other by a virtuous person is grounded on the same mechanisms of active recognition that structure one's virtuous love for oneself, I will suggest that what causes a virtuous man to treat and love another person in the same way as he loves himself is an appreciation (and a willingness) of the inherent value of the aspects that structure each self *qua* "human" (i.e., as Aristotle claims in Book IX of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the *dianoētikon* and the *nous*).

Pia Campeggiani (Bologna): Other Selves in Fiction from *sympatheia* to equality

I shall start from Irrera's understanding of Aristotelian friends as one's *alloi autoi*, discussing its descriptive and prescriptive implications in terms of recognition and equality. Irrera claims that in Aristotle's perspective those who are bound by a relation of perfect friendship are capable of recognizing each other as individuals sharing similar values and expectations. I will not develop my argument in the framework of Aristotle's theory of friendship, but from the vantage point of his philosophy of aesthetic emotions, drawing mainly on the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric*. In particular, I shall focus on the similarities between the above mentioned act of recognition operated by friends and the process of emotional sharing between spectators and fictional characters that is activated by artistic representation. I shall thus explore the emotional involvement of audiences and their sympathetic attitude towards the fictional characters they identify with in order to shed light on the equality-fostering dimension of aesthetic emotions: my argument is that our inclination to enter a narrative world and sympathetically engage in it (i.e. *feel for* the characters who inhabit the fiction) resembles and improves our ability to become ethically involved in real-life egalitarian interactions, such as those between friends. On these grounds I also aim to show that Aristotelian aesthetics and theory of emotions can significantly contribute to current psychological and philosophical debates on issues related to the ethical potential of imaginative processes.

Myrthe Bartels (Erfurt): The role of *homonoia* in Aristotelian friendship

In his *Nicomachean Ethics* (VIII, 1155a23-26), Aristotle makes the remarkable statement that, since friendship (*philia*) is the force that holds cities together, lawgivers are more concerned with friendship than with justice (*dikaiosynê*). Moreover, he claims that, since 'concord' (*homonoia*) is something similar to friendship, it is *homonoia* which the lawgiver most of all strives to procure. For, he says, people who are friends have no need of justice; yet when people are just (*dikaioi ontes*), they still need friendship in addition (*prosdeontai*). My paper will take its cue from the Aristotelian valuation of sympathy and engaging with others that Irrera and Campeggiani discuss, and trace this into the political realm. It investigates how and why Aristotle privileges *homonoia* over justice in his discussion of the cohesion of the *polis*. I shall examine the versatile analytical role of *homonoia* and *homonoein* in Aristotle's theory of friendship, and examine how these relate to *philia* and *philein*, and under what circumstances they are interchangeable. Does *homonoia* entail *emotional* involvement, and, if so, to what extent? In particular, my paper will examine the role of *homonoia* in 'political friendship' (*politikê philia*), since Aristotle uses the term *homonoia* as a definition for this type of friendship. Given that political friendship is an exchange relation premised on utility and equality of both exchange partners, the question arises what role *homonoia* plays in this type of relation. Finally, I shall investigate whether *homonoia* involves (actions and cognitions related to) sympathy, and explore possible conceptual overlappings between

homonoia and the ways of engagement with others as discussed by Irrera and Campeggiani.

Intertextual / intratextual Objects
Vital Materialist Jane Bennett calls for an 'attentiveness to things'. This panel takes up her call by reading ancient literature – from Homer to Plautus – through the things with which it is littered. Yet rather than examining individual objects in isolation, participants in this panel go further and follow the dynamic *trajectory* of particular things: between episodes in an epic or scenes in a play; from one performance to another; and across generic boundaries. Maurizia Boscagli's 2014 book *Stuff Theory* considers the life–cycle of objects, from valued possessions, to unnoticed 'stuff', to waste. In this panel we hope to uncover such material life-cycles both inter– and intra-textually, by following objects as they make transitions from one role, text or production to another. In moving from centre to periphery and into and out of the spotlight, literary and performative objects may be by turns valued or unnoticed – but they are not wasted. Material meanings explored in this panel include identity and the expression of agency; gender and generic interplay; emotional affect and self-reflexive poetics.
Organised chronologically by the texts examined, this panel is framed by the papers of Canevaro and Telò which explore the intratextual resonance of objects. Canevaro considers the repurposing of objects in the Homeric poems, the appropriation of constitutive symbols and their redeployment in new contexts within the epics. Telò balances this picture of repurposing with one of continuity, approaching the Rope of Plautus' *Rudens* as a powerfully symbolic and vital object which binds together otherwise disparate elements of plot. The middle papers of Mueller and Noel flesh out this picture by following objects intertextually. Mueller, like Canevaro, addresses the theme of repurposing, but from one poetic corpus to another, examining the deconstruction and recycling of iconic epic objects in Sappho's poetry. Noel, using case studies from Greek tragedy and working towards a theoretical framework, explores the visual parallels that objects bring to mind and how these establish links between dramatic productions.
Engaging with the New Materialisms, the papers in this panel treat objects in Greek and Roman poetry as symbolically and vitally charged entities which interact with or even exert a force over the text. More specifically, by following objects through their lifespan we show how on the one hand they can create continuity and coherence, and how on the other they can be repurposed, recycled, reconstituted and reinvented to mark change.

Lilah Grace Canevaro (Edinburgh): Identity at Stake: Homeric Repurposing

Odysseus refashions Polyphemus' club into a stake (*Od.*9.325-8). Though a crude object, the club is consistently described through images of technology, creating a picture of Odysseus as craftsman and contrasting with his foe who has only objects from nature. In *Iliad* 2 the acculturation process is reversed when Odysseus takes Agamemnon's sceptre, a grand object with a cultural biography, and by using it for physical violence reduces it to a club. This paper will read these scenes in terms of the repurposing of objects within the Homeric poems. Boscagli 2014:2-3 discusses 'stuff' which is 'always on the verge of becoming valueless while never ceasing to be commodified, awash with meaning but always ready to become junk or to mutate into something else.' Crucially, the staff is *not* stuff: it is still of great value to Polyphemus. Odysseus appropriates a constitutive symbol of the Cyclops' brute strength, and uses it to defeat him. The olive-wood stake links Odysseus with his patron goddess, Athena. This paper will also explore Athena's repurposing of objects (a boundary stone, the aegis), showing the entanglement of objects in the identity, agency, gender, and (im)mortality of their possessors.

Melissa Mueller (Amherst): Recycling Epic Objects: Material Figurations of Genre in Sappho

The recycling of epic object matter forms a crucial component of Sappho's literary aesthetics. Focusing on the downgrading of typically male epic objects—weapons and horse‑drawn chariots—as well as on Sappho's recycling of Homeric scenes involving the crafting of textiles, this paper argues that such object matter is constitutive of "epic" and its re-assemblage within Sappho's lyric corpus. In the first instance, the affective charge encapsulated by epithets normally associated with male objects in Homer gets transferred to markedly feminine accouterments or otherwise more pedestrian fare. For example, sandals at fr. 110V carry the heroic epithet *pempeboeia* (normally applied to shields in the *Iliad*). In the second case, I argue that Sappho pointedly reworks Homeric scenes of weaving to highlight their use as raw materials within her own process of poetic composition. The "multicolored flower" pattern of Andromache's web (*throna poikila*, *Il.* 22.441), for instance, gets reconfigured as Aphrodite's famous epithet: *poikilothron'* (Sappho 1.1). Sappho's intertextual engagement with epic through its object matter is, in sum, an early and distinctive form of Homeric reception/ criticism.

Anne‑Sophie Noel (Lyon): Objects and Visual Intertextuality in Greek Tragedy

For several decades now, scholars have focused on the ways in which one tragic production can recall and reinvent a previous one. Whichever labels are used (visual intertextuality, inter-performativity, or visual performance echoes, among others), the interactions between theatrical productions are often brought to light in a fresh and thought-provoking manner through stage props – the transformation of Electra's urn, from Aeschylus' *Choephori* to Sophocles' and Euripides' *Electra* being perhaps one of the most famous and striking illustrations of this practice.
This paper proposes to build a theoretical framework for the identification and analysis of plausible cases of visual intertextuality. Criteria recently listed for detecting these cases will be discussed, in the light of two examples: Andromache's chariot-borne entry in Euripides' *Trojan Women* and the staging of the prostrated Heracles in Euripides' play. It will be argued that, owing to their potential in terms of stage action, their dramatic and symbolic significance, and, finally, their particular connection with self-reflexive poetics, tragic objects appear to be the touchstones of both verbal and visual intertextuality.

Mario Telò (UCLA): End of the Rope: Vibrant Connectedness and the Object in Plautus's *Rudens*

In this paper I explore the power—symbolic and vital—of the rope that lends its name to Plautus's *Rudens*. All the Plautine plays with a titular object are implicated in pregnancy, birth, and exposure. In these plays it is the generative and nurturing powers of the female body—even when assumed by male characters—that animate objects onstage. In *Rudens*, unusually devoid of mothers, we arrive at the pregnant meaning of the title object through the convergence of a pimp, a voracious fish, and stormy waters—and a confusion of digestion and gestation. The title object—attached to a net and a trunk on one end but disconnected on the other—ties together figures of vicarious or perverted maternity. Besides signifying maternal connectedness, the rope binds the plot to the birth that marks its point of origin, materializing a juxtaposition of backstory and ending. The rope is the cord that secures the play's scattered pieces. Quickened by the imagery of pregnancy and endowed with a rich symbolic and affective life, it

awakens the somatic and emotional intensities of intimate bonds. It is an active participant in, as well as a reflection of, the plot.

Keeping to the Point: Law, Rhetoric and Character in Athenian Forensic Oratory
The papers for this panel will examine the relationship between rhetoric and law in Athenian forensic oratory. Some recent works see little connection between law and rhetoric (Yunis). For some scholars, Athenian law primarily concerned procedural matters and was aimed at getting a dispute into court (Todd, Millett). Once the case was in court, litigants used various rhetorical strategies such as appeals to pity, boasting about public service and character assassination to win a verdict and paid little attention to the letter of the law (D. Cohen, Lanni, Christ). Only the Areopagus and the other courts for homicide had a stricter standard of relevance (Lanni).
The papers in this panel will argue for a closer connection between law and judicial rhetoric starting from Aristotle's analysis of forensic oratory in the *Rhetoric* (Book 1.10-15) Aristotle's discussion examines the nature of motive and character that can be used to demonstrate wrongful intent, the definition of offense, the role of extenuating circumstances (*epieikeia*) and types of evidence, all important legal issues. One should not distinguish between legal arguments and rhetorical arguments; Aristotle viewed them as virtually identical.
Harris examines the legal procedure followed by Demosthenes in his speech *Against Meidias* and analyses how a correct understanding of the legal charges helps to understand the rhetorical strategy. Esu shows that the attack on the character of the defendant in *Against Androtion* is directly relevant to the legal issues in the speech. Oranges demonstrates how the different rhetorical strategies of Demosthenes and Aeschines in the case *On the False Embassy* are shaped by the legal charges and the evidence available to prove them. Clapperton compares a speech presented before a popular court (Demosthenes *Against Conon*) and one before the Areopagus (Lysias *Against Simon*) to reveal that the different jurisdictions did not have different standards of relevance.

Edward M. Harris (Durham and Edinburgh): The Athenian Procedure of *Probole* and the Legal Charge in Demosthenes' *Against Meidias*

Several scholars believe that the legal procedure Demosthenes followed when delivering the speech *Against Meidias* was part of a *probole* (Lipsius, MacDowell, Fisher, G. Martin). On this view *the probole* had two parts, the first being a vote in the Assembly, the second being a trial in court to determine a penalty. If this is the case, however, many of the arguments in the speech are irrelevant to the charge in a *probole*, namely, an offense against the festival of the Dionysia.
A correct understanding of the legal procedure followed in the case reveals that the rhetorical arguments are closely related to the legal charge. The *probole* was only the vote at the meeting of the Assembly after the Dionysia; it did not include a trial in court. After the vote against Meidias, Demosthenes had a choice of which procedure to use against his opponent. In one case, Menippus gained a vote of condemnation against Evander at a *probole*, then decided to bring a private suit for damages (*dike blabes*) against him (Dem. 21.175-77). Another litigant brought a
probole against Ctesicles, then brought a separate public suit, a *graphe hybreos* against him in court (Dem. 21.180). This is the choice Demosthenes made and explains two key features in the speech. First, it shows Demosthenes refers to the *probole* as something that was completed in the past. Second, it explains why Demosthenes uses the word *hybris* dozens of times in the speech. Once one understands the nature of the legal charge in the speech, it becomes possible to understand the rhetorical arguments, which are all designed to prove the legal charge. The evidence about Meidias' character, his

abusive treatment of other Athenians, and his lavish spending are directly relevant to the aim of persuading the court that Meidias committed *hybris*.

Alberto Esu (Edinburgh): Legal arguments and Institutional Ideology in Demosthenes' *Against Androtion*

The institution of the *graphe paranomon* enforced the principle of the superiority of laws over decrees (Dem. 23.87; cf. Hansen 1978). Anyone could charge the proposer of an illegal decree by bringing a charge in front of the *thesmothetai* and writing up a plaint which included the relevant statutes violated by the decree (Harris 2013). Thus, during a trial for a *graphe paranomon*, accusers aimed to show through substantive legal arguments that the defendant violated the law by proposing his decree. Some scholars, however, point out that Athenian courts based their judgements on extra- legal arguments (Todd 1993; Cohen 1995; Lanni 2006). This claim is not supported by evidence from Athenian forensic speeches.

This paper explores the relevance of legal arguments in Demosthenes' *Against Androtion* (Dem. 22). The supporting speaker Diodorus brought four charges of proposing an illegal decree: the motion was introduced without a prior *probouleuma* of the Council (Dem 22.5-7); the Council could not ask for an award unless it had ships built (8); Androtion had no right to speak in the Assembly because he had been a prostitute and a public debtor (21-24; 33-34). The paper shows that the rhetorical arguments of the second part of the speech, in particular the character evidence (Dem. 22.42-78), are relevant to the legal charge and should not be viewed as extra-legal issues. The attacks on Androtion's character aims to show he had the *mens rea* to violate the laws. They seek to undermine Androtion's attack on the motives of the accusers and to call his credibility into question. The legal charges also show that Androtion's decree was not only formally contrary to the rule of law, but also opposed to the spirit of the laws, which regulated the democratic ideology about the institutional role of the Council in the Athenian decision-making process.

Annabella Oranges (Milan): Who testifies that I took bribes? Persuasion, Law and Legal Procedure in *On the False Embassy*

This paper analyses the procedural, legal and rhetorical features in the case *On the False Embassy*. A comparison between Aeschines' and Demosthenes' speeches shows that the rhetorical strategy of each speaker is shaped by the substantive features of both the procedure and the law. It is therefore impossible to understand the rhetorical strategies of the speakers without understanding the legal aspects of the case. In 343 Aeschines was tried with a *graphe parapresbeias* because Demosthenes charged him with "false embassy" at his *euthynai* in 346. According to the law, an ambassador was responsible for his reports and advice given to the city, for following the Assembly's instructions, for carrying out his duties without taking bribes (Dem. 19.4). Through a comparison of Aeschines' reports with the Assembly's orders, Demosthenes claims that Aeschines made dishonest reports, ignored the Assembly's instructions, and intentionally wasted time. Aeschines would not have behaved this way if he had not collaborated with Philip and had not taken bribes from him. But Demosthenes I cannot produce any direct evidence of Aeschines' bribery and must therefore use a rhetorical strategy relying on circumstantial evidence. The legal and evidentiary weakness of his case turns into a rhetorical weakness. By contrast, Aeschines' rhetorical strategy appears to be stronger from a legal point of view. He undermines Demosthenes' circumstantial strategy by means of a tight chronological account both of the embassy's trip and its return. Through a systematic analysis of decrees and a careful reply to the charges, he succeeds in demonstrating his innocence and his respect for the law. He also proves that the charges have no basis in fact and are

inconsistent, above all the one of bribery. Aeschines' rhetorical strategy, which won his acquittal, was more successful because it was based on a stronger legal case than that of Demosthenes.

Ben Clapperton (Durham): Standards of Relevance and Rhetorical Strategies in the Areopagus and the Popular Courts: Was there a Difference?

Lanni (2006) has argued that different standards of relevance were applied by the Athenians across different courts. The popular courts were prepared to consider a wide variety of both 'legal' and 'extra-legal' arguments. Appeals to pity from the judges, the financial impact of a guilty verdict on them and their family, extraneous background information, and reference to the speaker's good character and the poor character of their opponent, are all cited as examples of extra-legal information that the Athenians believed was relevant for a just verdict. The discretion of the judges to apply their judgment to the circumstances of each case overrode the consistent application of a standardised set of laws independent of circumstance. In the homicide courts, however, the emphasis was on legal arguments, with clearly defined and more substantive laws and restrictions on introducing arguments that were not directly relevant to the case. Dem. 54 and Lysias 3 present lawcourt speeches given in trials for very similar offences, one of which was presented in a popular court, and the other in a homicide court. This paper compares the two speeches to show that not only did they employ very similar rhetorical strategies, demonstrating no difference in what the speaker considered relevant to their argument, but that the elements which would be considered as 'extra-legal' were in fact directly relevant to the case. The appeal to the judges' pity at 3.48 is predicated on the defendant's innocence, and the mention of the good works of the speaker's family at 54.44 is used to highlight how they are less important than giving the correct verdict based on the laws regardless of circumstance. These speeches demonstrate there was no difference in standards of relevance between popular and homicide courts, and that each judged cases based primarily upon the application of the laws.

KYKNOS: Eastern Metaphors in the Greek Novels
The ancient Greek novels, as recent scholarship has elucidated, are important as sites of cultural and inter-cultural exploration and definition. This panel consists of three papers which consider different ways in which the Greek novels reflect on and exploit traditions and perceptions of neighbouring cultures and places. Musié will look at how Chariton and Heliodorus use Persians to raise and explore traditional oppositions and how such considerations resonate with political and cultural concerns contemporary to the novelists. Norton-Curry will argue that the description of Sidon's harbours at the very opening of Achilles Tatius' novel is significant for understanding the rest of the novel, including the proleptic ecphrasis that follows it. Repath will examine Achilles Tatius' treatment of the phoenix-bird and how he uses it as a symbol for his Phoenician protagonist-narrator, a connection which has implications for how the reader should understand the narrator and the author's fiction. A variety of methodologies will be used to highlight the complexity and sophistication of the novels: intertextual, intratextual, metaphorical, and metaliterary aspects will be explored. These papers are closely connected by their analysis of the Greek novelists' use of symbols and metaphors, with Eastern places, peoples, and fauna one of the tools at their disposal to communicate with their readers above and beyond their narratives.

Mai Musié (Swansea): Through your eyes: the representation of Persians in the Greek Novel

This paper will examine the ways that Persians, as an ethnic group and individuals, are represented in the Greek novels. Two out of the five Greek novels, Chariton's *Callirhoe* and Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, take place in the Achaemenid empire and have a strong Persian engagement. The paper will explore the framework within which the Greek authors were working: the strong literary tradition and the authors' contemporary world. The complex triangular relationship that existed between Rome, the Greek world and the East is represented in the geographical and ideological space of the novels. The paper will concentrate firstly on the image of the two Persian royals, Artaxerxes and Arsake, and secondly on their relationship with their servants (eunuchs) and the Greek protagonists. Ideas of freedom versus slavery, democracy versus tyranny, wealth versus poverty, and male versus female are all played out within the context of these triangular relationships. Through close analysis of three chosen passages from the two novels I hope to demonstrate how the two authors revisit and adapt the popular image of the Persian royals not only for narrative purposes but perhaps to reflect changing attitudes towards the East/West oppositions.

Jo Norton-Curry (St Andrews): Harbouring a debt to Moschus: intertextuality and intratextuality in Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe & Clitophon* 1.1.1

The first paragraph of *Leucippe & Clitophon* has received little academic attention. Scholars writing on this novel tend to bypass the short opening completely and jump to the anonymous narrator's long ekphrasis of the painting of Europa's abduction. Bartsch (1989), Morales (2004) and Reeves (2007), for example, comment extensively on the way in which this ekphrasis foreshadows later events, such as the abduction of the hero's sister Calligone and the elopement of Leucippe with Clitophon. Vilborg (1962), notes that Lauffry's archaeological investigations at the site provided unambiguous proof that Achilles Tatius' description of the landscape can be reconciled with the modern site, but adds nothing further.
Like Sidon's harbour, the purpose of this paper is twofold. First, I intend to demonstrate that overlooking *Leucippe & Clitophon*'s modest opening is a mistake and that its sole point of interest is not its topographical accuracy. Through close study of Achilles Tatius' choice of words, I will show that 1.1.1. is just as intricately woven into the intratextual fabric of the novel as any of the longer, more elaborate set pieces. Key words used in this opening are used elsewhere in the novel. By looking at these later usages alongside 1.1.1., what appears to be a short, simple opening is shown to be imbued with much deeper significance and is in fact a key to unlocking hidden depths of meaning in later passages. Second, I hope to prove that this paragraph is an integral part of the author's intertextual plan for the first chapter, that 1.1.1. and the ekphrasis of the painting share a common intertext in Moschus' *Europa* and that, by viewing the whole of the first chapter in relation to this intertext, a new reading of the proleptic function of the ekphrasis emerges.

Ian Repath (Swansea): Achilles Tatius and the Ordeal of the Phoenix

At the end of book 3 of Achilles Tatius' novel *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, the phoenix and its visit to Egypt are described (3.25). Such passages in this text are no longer thought of as simply decorative, and the reader needs to ask what significance this passage might have. Helen Morales has argued that the phoenix symbolises Leucippe, and, without wanting to exclude this, I will suggest that the phoenix can be seen to symbolise the protagonist-narrator Cleitophon. Such a connection is encouraged by such details as the fact that Cleitophon is a Phoenician - a Phoenix (1.3.1, 2.33.3); by the comparison of the phoenix with a peacock (3.25.1), with which Cleitophon aligns himself (1,16); and by the description of the phoenix as a graveside sophist (3.25.7), since Cleitophon is prone to

rhetorical displays, including at the coffin of his presumed-dead beloved (3.16) and over her headless torso (5.7.8-9).

This connection finds particular significance in an aspect of Achilles Tatius' treatment of the phoenix-myth which is unusual, if not unique: after its arrival in Heliopolis, the authenticity of the phoenix is tested by a priest, who brings a book and assesses the bird from a *graphē*; the bird reveals its identity by showing certain parts of its body. If the phoenix symbolises Cleitophon, then the priest is a reader-figure, a sign that the reader should interrogate this narrator and his narrative. This need for scrutiny is made clear when Cleitophon relates that he once gave an edited version of his story and tried to authenticate it by showing part of his body (8.5). The game becomes a metaliterary one, since the question of the reliability of Cleitophon, a fictional character, is highlighted by the question of the authenticity of the phoenix, a mythical creature, known only from books and paintings.

Claudio García-Ehrenfeld (KCL): Hope and (Anti) Utopia in Lucian's *Hermotimus*

This paper aims at contributing to the recent interest of hope and utopia in the ancient world, and to the understanding of the fiction in Lucian of Samosata, who has sometimes been read as an author committed to παρρησία.

I focus in the anti-utopian role of hope in Lucian's longest dialogue, the *Hermotimus,* in which Lycinus persuades his friend Hermotimus to abandon the impossible of achieving εὐδαιμονία, and to live like any ordinary citizen. To do so, Lycinus uses Sceptic forms of argument against the possibility of finding any philosopher or a school of philosophy capable of guiding its followers to a perfect individual and social life.

Recent scholarship has tried to prove that the Hermotimus is significantly different from the rest of the Lucianic corpus, arguing that in it Lucian rejected the philosophical life in favour of the ordinary. This paper argues that the purpose of this dialogue is not to support the Sceptic persuasion, but to place the Stoic utopian goal - where there is no slavery and gender equality - and any other philosophical or utopian goal in the same category as the impossible desires and hopes of laymen striving for greater wealth and power.

Furthermore, the *Hermotimus* greatly resembles other places in the Lucianic corpus, in which humanity is mocked because of its vain hopes of transformation, and in particular to *The Charon or the Observers*, a dialogue in which the personifications of Ἐλπίδες and Φόβος hover over the crowds of humanity.

The analysis of the constant attack in the Lucianic corpus against hope and philosophical utopias operates to sustain the *status quo*. Thus, Lucianic fiction uses freedom of speech to restrict other forms of freedom, and to make concrete utopian intentions seem as abstract and impossible utopian dreams.

Landscape in Latin: Regional Approaches to the Natural Environment in Neo-Latin
Modern scholarship has come to see the idea of nature as landscape as a concept that belongs to early modernity and the periods that followed it. The ability to see in a section of the earth's surface a unified scene with a value above the sum of its parts developed in the visual and literary arts, as well as more generally as a worldview, from the Late Renaissance onwards. Despite the critical importance of this paradigm shift for the perception of natural world in the West, very few detailed studies of the phenomenon in Latin—arguably Europe's most important language for the period in

question—have so far been undertaken. Moreover, the fact that Neo-Latin authors often drew heavily on the classical tradition to describe the natural world raises interesting questions about the role and use of ancient literature in shaping this modern landscape paradigm.

This panel aims to explore these issues by approaching the theme of landscape in Neo-Latin literature from a regional perspective. Such a regional approach is prevalent in Neo-Latin Studies today and is evidenced, for example, in the newly published *Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin* (Knight and Tilg eds. 2015) which organises its third section according to countries and regional literatures. Moreover, the relationship between regional authors and their local landscapes, or indeed foreign ones, offers much fertile ground for productive study in landscape research.

The three papers brought together in this panel treat three very different landscapes (in Scandinavia, Britain and Canada respectively), described by authors with widely varying relationships to the scenes about which they write. Two of the authors had never set eyes on the landscapes which they portray, while in the piece from Britain the writer describes his discovery of a new part of his own country. In all of the works considered here, however, the classical tradition plays a critical role in informing the literary treatment of the landscape. The various methods and aims of these work's engagement with classical literature will be the starting point for this panel's approach to landscape in Neo-Latin literature.

Sofia Guthrie (Warwick): Iceland and Mount Hekla in Antoine Garissoles' Adolphid (1649): an anti-pastoral

The *Adolphid*, a Latin historical epic published in France by the Huguenot Antoine Garissoles, includes a description of the Icelandic volcano Hekla and its surrounding tundra. Here, features of pastoral poetry are inverted. The landscape is barren, gloomy, and sinister. Vegetation is noted by its absence rather than by its presence, and the only animals present are ravens and vultures. Instead of shepherds, the place is inhabited by the souls of the dead.

Garissoles was an armchair topographer; there is no indication that he ever left France, much less visited Iceland. For details about Iceland and Hekla, he instead relied on an early modern Latin prose source, Olaus Magnus' *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555). But his description is also characterised by Virgilian language, particularly from the *Georgics.*

This paper will examine how Garissoles' combination of ancient and early modern sources in his landscape depiction enhances the poem's political and religious themes. Specifically, I will suggest that the dreary representation of the volcanic landscape emphasises the opposition between the poem's Protestant hero (Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden) and his Catholic enemies in the Thirty Years' War.

Johanna Luggin (Freiburg): Horatian Journeys through Early Modern England

In 1583, Oxford university proctor Richard Eedes set out on a trip to Durham in the North. He commemorated this journey in a poem of 668 Latin hexameters, his *Iter Borale.* Inspired by Horace's account of his journey to Brundisium, Eedes describes both the pleasures and the difficulties of such a trip. The poem constitutes the beginning of a new type of Latin travel literature in England, which has been highly neglected by modern scholarship: the poetic description of a short journey through—oftentimes unfamiliar and remote—parts of an author's home country and the discovery of its fascinating landscape(s). The paper introduces, apart from Eedes, two other Latin satirical journey poems written by Thomas Bispham and Thomas Masters, which both document the challenges, but also the joy and pleasure a journey through one's home

country can bring—well before domestic tourism became a favourite leisure activity of the nobility and gentry.

William Barton (Innsbruck): New World Landscapes in Ancient Forms: Laurent le Brun's *Franciad* (1639)

The *Franciados Libri II* of Jesuit author Laurent Le Brun contains fourteen elegies addressed to the Dauphin of France from the mouth of Nova Gallia, the personified goddess of New France. The poems in the work's first book describe the traditions, lifestyle and religion of the autochthonous peoples of New France—at this time covering an area largely limited to the regions around the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and the Saint Lawrence River in modern day Canada—as well as its natural landscape. The second book contains elegiac epistles addressed to various French dignitaries pleading for them to send civilizing aid to the barbarous lands of the New World.
Le Brun draws heavily on the classical tradition throughout his expansive poetical oeuvre. The most important source for the *Franciad* in particular was Ovid's *Epistulae ex Ponto*. Le Brun's piece makes interesting use of Ovid's plea for an individual (himself) to be allowed to return to Rome by transforming its dynamic to make the *Franciad* a plea for the salvation of a whole country from its wayward and barbarous character.
This paper will consider Le Brun's descriptions of the Canadian landscape in the *Franciad*. In particular, I will reflect on role of ancient literature in creating an image of Canada—a place Le Brun only knew from reading the mission reports of his fellow Jesuits—recognisable to his European audience, and how the New World landscapes he describes could be put to use in achieving the specific poetical aims of the *Franciad.*

Late Antiquity and Byzantium

Maryse Robert (Laval): The literary genre and the aim of the scribe in the Syriac Romance of Julian the Apostate.

There are many hypotheses and not much certainty concerning the Syriac *Julian Romance*. It was probably been written in the third decade of the sixth century, probably in Edessa and probably by more than one author: no consensus has been reached on any of these questions. The work has been labeled a romance (Th. Nöldeke, 1874), a hagiography (M. VanEsbroeck, 1987), and a tract of religious propaganda (H. J. W. Drijvers, 1992). The methodology of the project seeks to examine the texts as a whole, since it is in this way they arrived to us.
I will argue that instead of the designation the *Syriac Romance*, which has found favor in the scholarly community, it is preferable to look at the collection of stories as a history; the title *Histories*, having been initially proposed by J. G. E. Hoffmann in his 1880 edition. Following a brief overview of the thesis mentioned above, this paper proposes to examine some sections of this literary production in comparison. Even if the text is heterogeneous, by analyzing the stylistic and linguistic characteristics of each history in juxtaposition, it will be possible to determine if the work was the creation of a single hand, or if it is the result of several histories assembled in one manuscript. Afterwards, the analysis of the objectives of the author (or authors) of each history will serve to clarify whether there is a real disparity between them. Finally, the analysis of the aims of each section will highlight the reason why, more than two centuries after his death, the need to warn Christians through the example of Julian arose again.

Francesca Modini (KCL): Ancient lyric poetry and Late Antiquity: the case of Himerius

Though characterised by its own distinctive features, Greek literature of Late Antiquity never abandoned the 'classicizing' tradition of the previous imperial era, drawing

constantly on ancient models and themes. Undoubtedly, the persistence of the Homeric epics and the enduring Atticism represent the most prominent and most studied examples of such classicism. Despite being less considered by modern scholars, however, also the reception of ancient lyric poetry played a key role in later Greek literary production.

Menander Rhetor suggests that third century rhetoricians should mention or quote from Alcaeus, Simonides and Pindar when composing prose paeans and encomia. In his Christian *Hymns* Synesius cannot avoid referring to "Doric", "Teian" and "Lesbian song" (*Hymn.* 9). Sapphic references in particular become the 'trade-mark' of rhetorical epithalamia: once again recommended by late treatises, they continue to characterise the genre during the School of Gaza and up to the Byzantine period.

Against this background of lyrical echoes, the case of the fourth century orator Himerius stands out as particularly intriguing. More than any other late author, Himerius quotes and paraphrases ancient lyric poems, and for this reason his speeches have often been mined as a source of poetical fragments. Yet Himerian lyric reception deserves a more focused approach. Alongside citations Himerius is fond of anecdotes featuring ancient lyricists, which he deploys in strict relation with the making of his own oratorical *persona*. It is exactly from the point of view of the author's self-presentation that I shall analyse the presence of lyric texts and poets in his production. Such an analysis will provide a better understanding of Himerius' rhetoric, while enriching our knowledge of the survival of ancient lyric poetry in Late Antiquity.

Niels Gaul (Edinburgh): Marginal hierarchies: negotiations of authority in Byzantine manuscripts of the classical tradition

While interest in the marginal spaces of medieval manuscripts has generally been on the rise, this trend has not yet affected research on manuscripts produced in Byzantium to the same degree. Whereas in Latin manuscript studies/book history cognitive issues such as (marginal) memorisation aids, or the, again, marginal performance of authorship and authority, have long come to the fore, the glosses, scholia, and full-scale commentaries their Byzantine counterparts carry are still, a few exceptions notwithstanding, mostly studied for their philological content. Focusing on manuscripts of the 'classical tradition', my paper will analyse aspects of layout/*mise-en-page* in order to understand the visual hierarchies between the centre of the page and the surrounding margins and, especially, between various layers of marginal commentary. Inevitably, such issues of layout in the manuscript are tied into the production context of these commentaries, which again has not received as much attention in the case of Byzantium as in the coeval Latin world (see, e.g., recently Rita Copeland's chapter in the *Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin*). Who then succeeded in inscribing his comments on authoritative texts into the margins of manuscripts, with what attitude vis-a-vis the text on the centre of the page, and in 'perpetuating' them by means of copying and transmission? Can one make a case for the compiler's social standing affecting the latter's positioning on the page? I will illustrate my points by drawing on manuscripts of the dramatic triads as well as of Homer and Pindar, with a focus on what may be called the 'two waves' of Byzantine commentary production, I the twelfth (Ioannes Tzetzes, Eustathios) and late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries (Manuel Moschopoulos, Thomas Magistros, Demetrios Triklinios).

Late Antique Poetry and Epistolography

Wiebke Nierste (Gießen): *quod vos ingenium iunxit*? Textual Interaction in Claudian (*carm. min.* 34+37)

Composition is one of the central aspects in studying texts. Since texts communicate with each other, especially if they are obviously part of a poetry book or of a group of any kind, it is fruitful to extend the view from the single text's to the book's respectively the group's composition in order to accredit each poem's poetic purpose. Regularly, the comparative perspective reveals an intricate interplay between the poems. This interplay can be thematic in nature in that three poems, for example, establish a chronological narrative, or structure, position, metre, or the like might expose relations of a formal nature. As these questions have been often asked with regard to Augustan literature, I would like to demonstrate that later Latin literature likewise relies on such principles.

The textual example this paper will focus on is a group of seven epigrams (carm. min. 33-39, edition Hall 1985) written by Claudian (370-408 AD) which deals with a crystal enclosing a drop of water. Due to their length, you can at first glance divide the seven epigrams into three sub-groups. One of these, precisely 34 and 37, shall be analysed as a showcase. The findings, however, can also be applied to the relations between the other sub- groups and the group as a whole.

Generally, the aim of the paper is to demonstrate that the epigrams display *variatio* in thematic emphasis and vocabulary, that in this the author proves his virtuosity, and that in the end, the reader beyond other things even gets the chance to rearrange the order of the poems which makes him an active reader. Finally, the question *quod vos ingenium iunxit?* can be answered by *ingenium poetae lectorisque.*

Frances Foster (Cambridge): Claudian, Servius and the Literary Presentation of the Succession of Power in Late Antiquity

At the turn of the fifth century, imperial authority became increasingly autocratic and the balance of imperial power shifted and reshaped itself. The Western Empire, ostensibly governed by the young Honorius, was in practice managed by his guardian Stilicho. Within Rome, the formerly powerful senatorial ranks had become removed from the world of the imperial court, which no longer resided in the city. And yet, the idea of proper succession, the continuity of social and political power, was an important literary theme for contemporary authors, as it had been for earlier authors.

Virgil's Aeneid, drawing on the Homeric tradition, is centrally concerned with succession and the continuity of power. Virgil's late antique commentator Servius, and his contemporary, the court poet Claudian, both address, develop and re-interpret Virgilian treatment of political continuity and succession, albeit to quite different audiences. Claudian and Servius may well have been of similar ages, and received a broadly similar education, although their backgrounds and professional lives would have been very different. Servius's commentary formed the basis of late antique teaching of Virgil — as Servius taught at Rome, his students would have likely been the sons of the wealthy Roman aristocratic and senatorial classes. Claudian's poetry was written to honour and empower his patron Stilicho at the imperial court. This paper will examine and contrast how Servius and Claudian read and re-presented the succession of power in the Aeneid, and how they reinterpreted it as appropriate for their respective audiences. I will explore how their responses to dynastic claims in the Aeneid promoted the implicit dynastic claims of their respective audiences, the aristocracy and the court.

Francesco Lubian (Vienna): Teaching through Images between *claritas* and *obscuritas*: Christ's Parables in Juvencus' *Evangeliorum libri* IV

In this paper I would like to investigate the interplays between narrative epic and didactic discourse in Juvencus' hexametrical Paraphrase of the Gospels (c. 330 AD). Even if it has been generally acknowledged that "although the *Evangeliorum libri* is an epic, it

is a Christian epic; hence, while not generically didactic, it contains didactic elements", this aspect of the poem still wait for an overall interpretation, which would also need to better precise the characteristics of Juvencus' audience in terms of (religious and literary) background and expectations.

In particular, I would like to focus the attention on Juvencus' rendition of Christ's parables (especially those of the books II and III of the poem), which represent exceptional moments of explicit - yet often ambiguous - 'didactic through images' within the Gospel narrative. Besides the adoption of a skilful paraphrastic technique (a key role is played by intertextuality) and of variegated strategies of 'evidentiality' (M. Roberts spoke of an "almost ekphrastic technique"), what seems particularly interesting in Juvencus' transposition of Gospel images is the differentiation between the two internal addressees of Christ's words, that is to say, the Jewish people and the disciples (as already in the Gospel hypotext: cf. *Mt.* 13:10-17 and *Is.* 6:9-10), which shapes a polarisation between the semantic fields of *obscuritas* and *claritas* (Iuvenc. II, 731 - III, 20) and gives rise to a stratification of the didactic discourse. A close reading of Juvencus' parables could therefore contribute to enlighten Juvencus' varied didactic strategies in relation to his Roman audience.

Alison John (Edinburgh): A Dismissed Missive: Claudianus' *Epistula ad Sapaudum* and Teaching Greek in Fifth-Century Gaul

In discussions of education and literary culture in fifth-century Gaul, scholars almost invariably look to Sidonius Apollinaris' letters. While this is an unsurprising approach, there is another fifth-century Gallo-Roman author whose life and work can be just as informative for historians of late antique Gaul, but who is essentially neglected in modern scholarship – namely, Claudianus Mamertus. Claudianus' letter to the rhetor Sapaudus is especially interesting and is a virtual treasure trove for details about education, literary culture, and teaching Greek in fifth-century Gaul.

Claudianus, in a highly rhetorical and allusive style, bemoans the decline in education and the barbarization of the Latin language and praises Sapaudus as the one and only competent teacher left in Gaul. One of the most striking aspects of the letter is how often Claudianus makes references to Greek education and culture and how he praises Sapaudus for continuing to teach his students Greek disciplines.

In this paper I will provide a close reading and discussion of this neglected letter with special attention to these references to Greek educational culture. I am interested to explore how this letter can inform our broader understanding of education and literary culture in fifth-century Gaul. Specifically, I hope to show that there was continued teaching and use of Greek in some late Gallic schools, despite the general consensus that Greek was no longer taught, read, or even understood in the late antique West.

Literary Themes and Narrative Techniques of the Second Sophistic
The literary production of that intellectual milieu defined in modern scholarship as Second Sophistic, is characterised by the flourishing influence of rhetorical declamation, and encompasses the most various literary themes and genres. This panel, formed by young and early career scholars, addresses different issues covering subversion of higher models and ironic characterisation, metafiction and interrelation between genres in epistolography, and ekphrastic techniques in rhetoric. In order to shed more light on such aspects, the panel will focus on the works of three sophists: Lucian of Samosata, Alciphron, and the Latin Sophist Apuleius of Madauros.

Leonardo Costantini (Leeds): Dynamics of Laughter: Mithrobarzanes' Disguise as a Magos in Lucian's *Menippus*

Amongst the many literary products of the Second Sophistic, few are so exuberant and satirical as those by Lucian of Samosata. In the comic dialogue known as the Menippus or Nekyomanteia ('The Oracle of the Dead'), he narrates the attempt of the Cynic Menippus to consult with the prophet Tiresias in the underworld. In order to descend into Hades, Menippus needs the guidance of the disciples of Zoroaster, the μάγοι, and he finds his guide in Mithrobarzanes, a Chaldean from Babylon (Nec.6). After some preliminary rituals, Mithrobarzanes prepares Menippus for the katabasis by means of a comic disguise: Menippus has to wear a woollen hat, hold a lyre, and gear himself up with a lion skin to pass for Odysseus, Orpheus, or Herakles (Nec.7). With such description, Lucian trivialises the figures of these mythical heroes on the wake of a well-established comic tradition (e.g. Aristoph. Batr.46-7;495-6).

In this study, I argue that Mithrobarzanes' garments (Nec.8) have a comic value as well, and this is due to the fact that he is not a real μάγος, but a Chaldean from Babylon who needs to wear a μαγική στολή ('Magian stole') to disguise himself as a μάγος. To support this interpretation, I shall discuss some key passages (i.e. Apul. Apol.25.9-26.6; Philostr. V.A.1.2;1.26; Hist.Alex.Mag. rec.vet.1.4.3- 4;3.30.6; Hsch. s.v. Χαλδαῖοι) clarifying the meaning of μάγος and Χαλδαῖος, and their semantic association with the term γόης ('enchanter'). This will allow us to understand that, by means of Mithrobarzanes' costume, Lucian aims to satirise the figure of the Zoroastrian high priests.

This study aims, therefore, to shed light on the hilarious connotation of Mithrobarzanes' disguise as a μάγος, which will enable us to recover an additional farcical note of Lucian's Nekyomanteia.

Yvonne Rösch (Bonn): Focalizing Masculinity – Lucian's 13th Dialogue of the Courtesans

Although Lucian has stimulated a flood of philological comment over the last thirty years, his fifteen Dialogues of the Courtesans have received remarkably little attention. This may be due to their bad reputation as copies of Menander's comedies – a judgement rendered by a scholiast in the thirteenth century. Rather than carrying on the stratagem of imitatio, I would like to propose a narratological and gender based approach to these dialogues, focusing particularly on D.Meretr. 13.

Here a soldier's (Leontichos) report about his heroic deeds concentrates on his supremacy among the Greek troops, his courageous φιλοτιμία and thus his status as ἀριστεύς. Hence Leontichos' deeds are a) focalized by a male narrator b) designed to convince a male audience (his slave and most likely the readers of Lucian's Dialogues) and therefore c) a true ἐπίδειξις.

At the peak of Leontichos' report it turns out that his bloodthirsty narratio was meant to be love-talk, heading for sex with a present hetaira (Hymnis). Still shivering from disgust, Hymnis slowly starts focalizing his deeds along the second half of the dialogue. Leontichos, a self-made second Achilles, is thereby a) turned into a butcher b) condemned for his poor rhetorical skills – disrespecting audience (female), time (peace) and topic (love) – and c) rejected as ἐραστής. Finally, for the sake of erotic triumph, Leontichos reluctantly admits he is a liar.

The soldier's attempt to excel in a patriarchal society ends up in a laughable disaster worthy of Lucian's satire: Instead of proving his masculinity, Leontichos is a plain failure. His exaggerated allusions to Homeric heroism make him neglect the rhetorical πρέπον. Meanwhile the economic market between ἐταίρα and ἐραστής faces breakdown, as Hymnis refuses to sell her body. By alternating male and female focalizers, D.Meretr. 13 ironically plays with prominent features of the Second Sophistic.

Owen Hodkinson (Leeds): Metafiction in Greek Epistolary Narratives of the Second Sophistic

Because of its intimate and informal nature, the (real) letter is often a place for self-conscious reflection by the writing ego; so, when epistolary form is employed as vehicle for fictive narrative (as so frequently in the Second Sophistic), the letter frequently becomes a locus for metafictional reflection by the epistolary narrator – on the writing process, the genre, the style, the narrative technique, the reasons for writing, and other features.

While metapoetic features of Latin verse epistles and the self-reflexiveness of the canonical Latin prose epistolographers have both received ample scholarly treatment, the equivalent phenomenon in Greek literary and fictional letters has yet to be treated at any length or in more than piecemeal fashion. This paper will make a start on such a treatment, firstly by surveying the more overtly metafictional passages from books of Greek fictional letters such as those of Alciphron, Cl. Aelian, Fl. Philostratus, and ps.-Chion of Heraclea (cf. most famously the sphragis of Aelian's book of Rustic Epistles, 20.2), with a comparison of the different kinds and techniques of metafiction on display. This will lead to consideration of possible reasons for the particular fondness of fictional epistolographers for metafictional reflection on their narratives; it will be suggested that this should not lazily be explained away as part of the general self-consciousness of 'sophistic' authors, but rather that it is bound up with the practice of writing literary epistolography – at least within the classical world – almost from its inception (with works such as the ps.-Platonic Epistles). Brief comparison with the metafictional techniques of contemporary, non-epistolary narratives, such as the Greek novelists, suggests that while the phenomena are comparable, there is a separate and pre-established tradition of specifically epistolary metafiction, upon which Alciphron et al. are drawing.

Francesca Piccioni (Torino): Ekphrastic Technique and Recursiveness in Apuleius' Rhetorical Works

After a thorough analysis of the manuscript tradition of Apuleius' *Florida* and *De magia*, aiming at the constitutio of a critical text currently in preparation for the OCT series, I had the opportunity to reflect on the structure of both works. As the longest extracts of the *Florida* – a collection of selected passages from originally longer orations – clearly show (Flor. 9; 15; 16; 18), the author sets in a more articulate speech brief expositions which are separable from the context; these mostly are anecdotes concerning popular philosophers, often moralizing (χρεῖαι, at Flor. 4; 14), or mirabilia (Flor. 6; 7; 12) or, finally, descriptions of artworks (ἐκφράσεις, Flor. 9).

The ekphrastic insertion is a well codified technique in classical literature, but it acquires an almost structural importance in the oratorical and narrative production of the Second Sophistic. Such technique is frequently implemented in other Apuleian works, as – for example – the praise for the mirror, for the toothpaste, and the digression concerning the crocodillus and his amica avis in the defence-speech entitled De magia; and also the insertion of various tales in the narrative texture of the Metamorphoses. These 'pearls' often become thematic and linguistic tiles bound to be re- employed and recur, in fact, in both the Florida and De magia variously variated, an elegant play of references and self-allusions.

In this study, I shall discuss how ekphrasis and recursiveness seem to complete and strengthen each other in Apuleius' literary production. I shall also argue that this particular structure per egressiones in the case of the *Florida* facilitated the process of extrapolation and anthologization (of which the author appears aware at Flor. 9.13) and, ultimately, influenced the vicissitudes of the manuscript transmission of the text.

Living Latin: communicative pedagogy in theory and practice
This panel presents an exciting opportunity to witness and experience the teaching and learning of Latin through communication in Latin itself. This approach is very rarely

utilised in ancient language pedagogy the United Kingdom, despite its almost universal inclusion as part of modern language teaching at all levels. While theoretical and practical exploration of modern language learning has expanded greatly in recent decades, Latin teaching in UK universities frequently relies on the traditional grammar-translation method or on more recent graded reading approaches. Meanwhile, little work has yet been undertaken in establishing and developing a theoretical base specific to ancient language learning.

This panel invites teachers and learners to consider adopting a wider variety of ways of engaging with Latin and gives a glimpse of one particularly lively opportunity for doing so. The panel begins by introducing sociocultural theory as a means of casting light on the ways in which language learning takes place when learners communicate in Latin. Then follow two papers dealing with the benefits and challenges of implementing communicative approaches, one in the context of the University of Kentucky, Lexington, world-renowned for its Latin total-immersion seminars or 'conventicula', and another in the University of Cork where inspiration from Lexington has led to innovative approaches to enhancing engagement with Latin texts. Our final panel will comprise a practical demonstration of some of the techniques used in Lexington with opportunities for attendees to actively participate and to take away ideas that can be implemented in their own teaching and learning.

Mair Lloyd (Open University): Living Latin: a theoretical perspective

In recent years, Latin pedagogy has begun to look towards theories and practices developed for modern languages to inspire different teaching approaches and to explore the advantages they may have for Latin learners. For example, we have seen the development of the Cambridge Schools Classics Project (CSCP) Latin course that drew on Chomsky's theories on universal grammar, as well as a number of Comprehensible Input (CI) approaches resting on Krashen's Input Hypothesis. Meanwhile, some more recent modern language learning theories and approaches remain largely unexplored, at least in the United Kingdom. This paper gives a brief introduction to sociocultural theory as it has been applied to modern language learning. It demonstrates how this theory, with its emphasis on social aspects of learning and the historical-cultural foundations of human agency, can increase our understanding of the ways in which language learning takes place when students communicate in spoken Latin. It also reports on some of the benefits and challenges of taking a communicative approach to Latin teaching and learning. The multi-method approach employed to investigate these innovative learning and teaching environments includes analysis of Latin conversations, learner reports and participant observation within a Latin total immersion context at the University of Kentucky, Lexington. It also draws on recordings and participant opinions relating to my own implementation of online spoken conversation and text chat sessions with students at the Open University.

Laura Manning (Kentucky): Living Latin at the University of Kentucky

Second Language Acquisition is a relatively new field, yet it is now widely accepted that modern languages, at least, are best learned actively. But not all educators agree about what constitutes active learning, and which methods are the most promising. At the same time, learning a second language is different from learning a first language. Classical languages, like Latin, are different in some very important ways from modern languages, which change rapidly and which we learn primarily to communicate with others. Consider that an adult, native English speaker would have difficulty understanding what Shakespeare wrote not even 500 years ago. Classical languages have changed relatively little in 2,000 years: today's student of Latin who can read the works of Cicero would be able to read and reflect on Isaac Newton's work, written in the

17th century AD. While a growing number of educators now believe that classical language learners, too, could benefit from active methods, the practice of using these methods is not widespread. Yet preliminary findings show that students learning via these methods reach the point where they are able to read complicated literature faster, they understand better, and they are able to read more. The University of Kentucky Institute for Latin Studies operates on the guiding principal that "The use of Active Latin is not merely a matter of pedagogy: it is a matter of forming and maintaining a close relationship with the Latin language." Participants in the Conventiculum Lexintoniense, an annual, week-long total immersion conference in Latin founded on the same guiding principal, develop the ability to read and communicate in the Latin language. The result is the ability to understand Latin without recourse to English. This paper reflects on the pedagogical process and benefits of the Institute and the Conventiculum.

Jason Harris, Aislinn McCabe, Alma O'Donnell (Cork): Living Latin in Cork

This paper offers an overview and evaluation of the introduction of Latin-medium instruction in the Department of Classics and the Centre for Neo-Latin Studies in University College Cork. A contextual account of the educational setting is offered by way of introduction to a reflective assessment of the successes and failures of the initiative to date. The perspectives of both instructor and students will be presented in conjunction with a discussion of the benefits of a dialogic classroom environment. In particular, the paper will examine the relationship between active use of the target language and the development of reading fluency; the influence of active use upon sensitivity to word order, idiom and tone; and the ways in which active use may generate independent student learning. Finally, the paper will address the influence of wider cultural attitudes towards Latin-medium instruction upon teaching and learning strategies within the classroom, giving particular consideration to cultural factors that might inhibit staff and student engagement with the language-immersion approach. It is argued that some accommodation of these factors has proven essential in the development of Latin-medium instruction in Cork and in the facilitation of student learning and communication through the medium of Latin.

Terence Tunberg (Kentucky): Living Latin in Action

This presentation offers an opportunity to experience three activities employed at the Conventicula – week-long total immersion seminars in spoken Latin – which take place every summer at the University of Kentucky and at Dickinson College in Pennsylvania. These and similar activities also occur during the academic year at some events connected with the Institute for Latin Studies (a graduate level curriculum for Latinists) at the University of Kentucky. Each activity involves aural comprehension of Latin and oral communication in Latin. The first two activities can be employed on any level and require little or no ability in extempore expression on the part of the instructor. They can therefore readily be deployed by teachers who have not had the opportunity to take part in Latin immersion themselves. The third activity is more suitable for students who have reached at least an intermediate level and it presupposes an instructor with some proficiency in extempore spoken Latin. (1) Repetition: this exercise helps students develop aural comprehension of Latin spoken or recited by others. (2) Dictation and dialogue: these activities develop students' powers of aural comprehension of Latin and lay foundations for ability in active expression. (3) Picture stories without words: this builds vocabulary, exercises the faculty of aural comprehension, and develops ability in active expression. Attendees will be invited to participate actively in demonstrations should they wish to do so.

Materiality and Metaphor: Language as Object in Ancient Greek Literature
This proposed panel explores the relation between language and materiality in ancient Greek literature. The four papers approach the topic from a variety of theoretical perspectives and in a wide range of genres, from classical Athenian tragedy and philosophy, to Hellenistic epigram, to ancient literary criticism. In each paper the ambiguous materiality of language is implicated with a host of complex issues, including the relation between humans and objects, the literal crafting of philosophical abstractions, the nature of literary form and the practice of literary hermeneutics, and the corporeality – and hence mortality – of poetry.

Victoria Wohl (Toronto): Matter and Metaphor in Euripides' *Troades*

In *Vibrant Matter* (2010), Jane Bennett describes a world alive with intimate communion and mutual transformation between the organic and inorganic. Euripides' *Troades* stages a similar scenario, but presents it as a catastrophe, and its nihilism poses a challenging test-case for Bennett's vibrant materialism. In this play, humans become objects. Hecuba, waiting to board the Greek ships, herself becomes a ship rocking in grief (116-19); death makes Astyanax a "bitter discus" thrown from the city walls (1121). Objects meanwhile take on anthropomorphic agency, like the shield that fought alongside Hector and dies alongside his son (1194-99, 1221-23). This consolatory fantasy of a sympathetic bond between man and object is shattered, though, as "slaughter laughs from the broken bones" of the dead Astyanax (1176-77). Less vibrant thing than Lacanian Ding, this malevolent matter challenges Bennett's optimistic ontology and marks the limits of sympathetic communication between human and non-human.
The gruesome metaphor also exposes the role of language as conduit or blockage between the two realms, something Bennett largely ignores. In *Troades*, language transcends matter (e.g. through the animating trope of apostrophe or the immortality of *kleos*) but also displays a striking materiality of its own (e.g. in polyptoton that piles woe upon woe [596, 605] or antilabe that breaks metrical lines, 577-96). The two aspects merge in the smoke imagery with which the play ends. Troy's walls will perish "like some smoke on a wing of wind" (1298; cf. 1320). What is the ontology of this stone-smoke-wing-air? Is it material or immaterial? Organic or non-organic? Alive or dead? Rising above these distinctions, smoke figures the vitality of language itself, which endures precisely in its dissipation and thus outlives (if we allow the metaphor) both people and things.

Nancy Worman (Columbia): Molding Metaphors in Plato's *Republic*

Despite Plato's rejection of painting as an imitation of an imitation in *Republic* 10, the dialogue contains central metaphors that draw analogies to the visual arts, including painting, sketching, and wax modeling. In relation to Plato's orchestration of what Jacques Rancière (*The Politics of Aesthetics*, 2004) has termed the "distribution of the sensible," these metaphors import into the recherché realm of the Forms a palpable, hands-on crafting that should have no place there, addressing the method and texture of likeness-making and language itself. As if in acknowledgment of this essentially political transgression, at these moments Socrates and his interlocutors usually engage in a witty elbowing that recalls comic play, which by convention reduces lofty ideas to the concrete stuff of daily life. In *Republic* 6, for instance, Socrates claims that he "greedily" (*glischrôs*) makes similes by mixing elements together like those who paint goat-stags, using Euripides' metaphor for Aeschylus' style in Aristophanes' *Frogs* and a term that derives from the word for glue (*gloia*) and frequently means sticky or clingy (487e4-88a7). The texture of this simile crafting, then, must be a grabby, gummy affair, as the maker snatches and pats together the matching bits. In book 9 Socrates suggests that

they "fashion an image" (*eikona plasantes*, 588b10-11), a hybrid creature resembling the tyrant's soul; and Glaucon, exclaiming that speech is "more malleable than wax" (*euplastoteron kêrou*, 588d1-2), enthusiastically attaches the disparate parts. Thus when Socrates calls attention to his work in likenesses, he grounds it, often playfully, in the hands-on materiality — even the very *feel* — of painting and sculpting. He highlights most the malleable and tactile aspects of combination: sticking, blending, and patting together, so that bit by incremental bit, the artistic process is fitted to the linguistic one.

Alex Purves (UCLA): Tangible Language in Ancient Literary Criticism of Homer

This paper investigates the correspondence between language and materiality in ancient literary criticism, arguing that reading is portrayed in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Demetrius, and ps.-Longinus as an experiential process dependent upon the smooth or rough quality of both objects and words. It will focus on two material surfaces which recur in ancient descriptions of Homer's austere style – first wool, which is tangled, unworked, and a mix of the material and ethereal; then stone, whose unhewn surface slows down and burdens the hands of Polyphemus and Sisyphus in the *Odyssey*. My focus on these two paradigmatically rough materials will show how – according to Dionysius' analysis – their surfaces shape the experience of reading itself, leading to a specifically material notion of poetic form (cf. Porter 2012). The examples of wool and stone (on the hermeneutic complexity of the latter, see differently Shklovsky 1917, Ingold 2011, 19-32) will serve as case studies for the overlap between materiality and style, but I am also particularly interested in the relationship of these two objects to time. The coarse texture of stone and wool necessitate a form of slow reading, meaning that the traction generated by the roughness of syllables, letters, and sounds (including rough breathings) overlaps with the resistance generated by the feel of the materials being described. Both surfaces privilege the use of the hands over the eyes, calling for a labored or ponderous groping into the matter of language.

Verity Platt (Cornell): Silent Bones and Singing Stones: Materializing the Poetic Corpus in Hellenistic Greece

In 1981, excavations outside Athens recovered the grave of a poet-musician, identified by a harp, lyre and aulos, fragmentary wax tablets and papyrus. Silent and barely readable, these vessels for verse (including the body of an anonymous bard) remind us that poetry is a corporeal and perishable art. Hellenistic epitaphs for poets, conversely, give us names that float free of their bodies: tethered to a living body of texts, the *epitymbia* gathered in *Greek Anthology* 7 draw upon the metapoetic potential of poets' tombs as a means of securing and shaping their occupants' literary legacies. This is no straightforward celebration of the immortality of the word, but emerges from a keen awareness of poetry's dependence upon its material vehicles – on the fraught relationship between embodied performances and bodies of verse, and the diverse media that facilitate poetry's transmission, preservation and retrieval.
Drawing on theories of memory and media, this paper explores how the tomb as inscribed marker of the poet's literal *corpus* offered a rich analogy to the process of entextualization by which s/he survives as an archived *corpus* of inscribed objects. Both books and tombs facilitate what Aleida Assmann defines as 'Storage Remembrance' (*Speichergedächtnis*) – the reification of cultural authority in the form of 'institutions of memory maintenance' through which factual knowledge of the past can be externalized, conserved and retrieved. In attending to such storage media, Hellenistic *epitymbia* also perform acts of dynamic engagement, creatively reactivating their content by means of citation, allusion and emulation. These processes of selection, connection and identity-formation define *epitymbia* as forms of 'Functional Remembrance' (*Funktionsgedächtnis*), which reanimate the knowledge stored within memory

institutions within the shared space of the anthology. Literary epigram thus asserts itself as a living medium of textual encounter in which active 'communities of remembrance' can hear (and even amplify) the silence of the past.

Metaphors and Cognitive Patterns

Alessandro Buccheri (Paris): Metaphors for and of kinship: the range of the target

William Michael Short (San Antonio): Metaphors for and of kinship: the scope of the source in the anthropology of Roman culture

[Abstract for both papers listed above]:
Cognitive linguistics takes metaphor to be a pervasive and essential feature not only of language, but also of thought. In this view, metaphorical linguistic expressions reflect 'conceptual metaphors', that is, systematic mappings of conceptual content that deliver a society's ways of making sense of – and hence speaking about – certain (mostly abstract) concepts in terms of other (mostly concrete, body-based) concepts. Highly abstract concepts in fact tend to be conceptualized in terms of whole networks of metaphors. The structuring of concepts via multiple metaphors is one way in which culture enters into metaphorical conceptualization (cf. Kövecses 2006: 70–86). There can be differences in the range of conceptual metaphors that societies (including historical ones) make use of in conceptualizing a particular target domain. Because conceptual metaphors provide the speakers of a language with their automatic and unconscious ways of thinking about things and tend to characterize those dimensions of a concept that are most culturally salient, differences in the 'range of the target' can therefore underpin – and provide good 'emic' evidence of – differences in worldview. Another way in which differences in metaphorical conceptualization can be culturally revealing lies in the 'scope of the source', that is, the overall set of target domains to which a particular source concept can apply metaphorically. Looking at how a particular source domain may provide greater or lesser opportunities for metaphorical understanding in different languages and cultures can help highlight what these cultures find most salient in experience.
In this pair of dialoguing papers, we explore KINSHIP RELATIONS from both perspectives in the hope of providing valuable anthropological insight into Roman ideas of kinship. Buccheri is thus concerned with Latin's metaphors for KINSHIP. These are drawn from the domains of PLANTS, BLOOD and SPACE, among others (consider, e.g., the term stirps for a 'lineage', suboles, satum, propago for 'descendants'; and the notions of consanguinitas and propinquitas). Buccheri analyzes which concepts in particular are selected from those domains and will try to assess the rationale for this choice of mapping. He proposes that the structure of the 'range of the target' of KINSHIP metaphors in Latin reflects the importance of the idea of continuity and resemblance between the members of a linage we find expressed in Roman texts (cf., e.g., Bettini 1991).
Short then explores metaphors of kinship: that is, how this domain is utilized for comprehending other sorts of relations in Latin. In particular, Short focuses on usage of concepts of 'exogamic' relations like sociare (sanguinem) (= 'join (bloodlines) through marriage') to signify either the act of conversation or the alliances of communities who speak the same language. Meanwhile, in expressions like coniungere lingua and coniunctio linguae, 'endogamic' relations metaphorically convey the concept of the linguistic relationship that exists between members of the same community.3 Short concludes that the structure of kinship relations served as a convenient metaphorical model for linguistic relations above all because of the importance of language, alongside blood, as a mechanism of identity in Roman society. This discussion therefore raises questions of an anthropological kind; at the same time, it suggests certain theoretical

reflections: for instance, about the nature of concepts that serve both as source and target in metaphorical understanding. If in cognitive linguistics metaphors are supposed to be unidirectional, how do we account for cases like this where the same domain serves as both a literal concept structuring the comprehension of presumably more abstract experiences and as a metaphorical concept whose understanding is delivered by presumably more concrete ones?

Annemieke Drummen (Heidelberg): Cognitive linguistic patterns in Classical Greek

Many Ancient Greek genres are blends of several subgenres. For example, tragedy contains stichomythia, lyric songs, anapaestic passages, and long *rheseis* such as messenger speeches. In oratory one may distinguish between parts like the prooemium, narration, confirmation, and epilogue. These parts differ in their communicative goals as well as their linguistic build-ups.
I will describe these subgenres in terms of "discourse patterns" (Östman 2005), a concept developed within Construction Grammar (see e.g. Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013), a sub-branch of cognitive linguistics (see e.g. Langacker 2008). A discourse pattern refers to a combination of "form"—a set of linguistic features that occur either exclusively in a certain setting, or with a lower or higher frequency than in other settings—and "meaning"—a subgenre's pragmatic goal within the larger communication. Such form-meaning combinations clarify which linguistic constructions are conventional in a certain situation.
Taking my examples from fifth-century tragedy, comedy, and oratory, I will argue that it is useful to apply this concept to the study of Ancient Greek texts, because in this way their description becomes less subjective, more systematic, and grounded in general cognitive mechanisms. On top of that, indentifying discourse patterns makes exceptional passages stand out (e.g. certain tragic choral songs employing forms that are usually avoided in this environment), which leads to refinement of our interpretations. It also becomes clearer when and how an author refers to a different (sub)genre, such as in parodies by Aristophanes (cf. the study on humor based on discourse patterns by Antonopoulou and Nikiforidou 2011). Finally, the functions of certain linguistic features that might easily be overlooked or taken for granted, such as particles or personal pronouns, gains additional significance, when we see that they play a crucial role in establishing an entrenched cognitive pattern of communication.

Nationalism and Identity: Community, Nationalism and National Identity in the Ancient World
This panel explores the idea of 'national and military identity' in antiquity through four separate, but inter-related case studies. The Greeks never formed a pan-hellenic nation state, despite the Athenians appealing to Sparta on the grounds of a common language, religion, and lifestyle (Hdt. 8.144; for Greekness in brief see Cartledge 1993: 9–17). The creation of ancient *poleis* remains a problem for ancient historians.
Overall, the panel seeks to continue the current conversation concerning 'nationalistic', civic, military and political identities in the ancient Mediterranean. In particular, it will develop and explore the connection and conflict between personal ambition/identity and community interests – seeking to use modern sociological and political paradigms to understand the complex interplay of identities visible in the ancient evidence.

James Kierstead (Wellington): Demes, Phratries and Citizenship at Athens

Citizenship and therefore identity in Classical Athens was defined by a number of small communities dotted throughout Attica and embedded within the Athenian *politeia*. At least two identifiable groups mediated citizenship status for fifth and fourth century Athenians, the demes and the phratries (Whitehead 1986; Lambert 1993). In addition,

membership in at least two other associations, the genê and orgeones, also may have played a role (Bourriot 1976; Ferguson 1944, 1949).

I ask three questions concerning the oversight and management of Athenian citizenship, and suggest an answer to each of them. Why were there at least two (and probably more) stages in becoming a citizen in classical Athens? Why was this process overseen mainly by such small and interdependent, but disparate groups, like the demes, rather than the central state (*pace* the implications of Rhodes 1981 on *Ath. Pol.* 42)? Finally, what effect did the peculiar structure of Athenian citizenship procedures have in political terms?

Athenian citizens passed three gates into the Athenian community. The first was mainly religious, the second concentrated on kinship, and the third was oriented chiefly towards political institutions. I suggest that the Athenians as a socio-political body outsourced the policing of the boundaries of the citizenry to small groups for two reasons. Small groups had advantages over centralized systems in terms of the gathering of accurate information about the identity and kinship connections of individual citizens and small groups of voters had greater incentives to exclude additional voters than did the citizen body as a whole.

This discussion will illuminate the role of associations in constructing and maintaining the Athenian democracy. Athens was democratic partly because it was able to minimize its dependence on a central state by relying instead on a network of small communities and groups spread across the territory of the *polis.*

Matthew Trundle (Auckland): The Limits of Nationalism in Classical Greek *Poleis*

Ancient Greeks struggled with the idea of political unity and loyalty. Individuals regularly found themselves torn between state and family commitments. This paper explores concepts of nationalism and identity through examples of 'disloyalty' in Athens through two specific examples from the fourth century BCE. The first comes in the form of an inscription that seeks to prohibit Athenians from crossing the border to take military service in Boeotia. This decree (Tod 2.154. 10–15) discussed and translated by Toogood (1997: 295–7) and dated to 357/6 BCE states that 'If anyone from henceforth attacks Eretria or any other of the allied *poleis*, whether he is from Athens or from one of the Athenians' allies, he is to be condemned to death and his property is to become the state's and a tithe is to be given to the goddess'. The second is a fantastic story found in Isaeus (*Hagnias* 48) concerning Macartatus. This Macartatus sold his land and bought a trireme with which he sailed to Crete, presumably on a plundering expedition (for discussion see Casson). He almost started a war between Athens and Sparta. Fortunately for interstate relations he and his ship sank before matters could get out of control.

Both incidents illustrate the loose nature of Athenian civic responsibility and yet also the state's close relationship to its citizens' actions. On the one hand, individuals strove to better their circumstances, economically and socially, through service with others outside of their civic and political community, while on the other the state balanced its duty to its people with a finite resource base with which to redistribute a community's wealth. National identity could not transcend the economic needs of citizens of any polis. Mercenary service and piracy offered enviable opportunities for enrichment overseas even to those established within the state.

Jeremy Armstrong (Auckland): *Gens Romana*: Nationalistic Energy in Republican Rome?

This paper will explore the development of an increasingly cohesive civic identity, and the possibility of 'nationalistic energy' (if not 'nationalism'), as part of a model for Roman politics and foreign policy in the fourth, third, and second centuries BC. The application of 'nationalism' to the ancient world is obviously a tricky subject. For much

of the 19th and 20th centuries, it was normal to conceptualize ancient societies utilizing the norms common to modern nation-states. However, from the mid-1990s, scholars increasingly rejected this approach based largely on post-colonial and post-modern principles. The model which emerged in contrast, perhaps best elucidated in Wallace-Hadrill's 2008 'Rome's Cultural Revolution,' presented a far more heterogeneous conception of ancient culture where "far from being a stable and agreed concept, 'culture' is fluid and disputed" and Roman society contained a multitude of 'identities' in a constant state of 'realignment.' While the present paper will not attempt to fully resurrect the concept of a 'Roman nation', it will argue that at certain points in the city's history Roman society seems to have exhibited some of the characteristics of 'nationalism' and that several, hitherto largely unexplained, aspects of Roman behavior can plausibility be explicated through the principle of 'nationalistic energy'. This is perhaps most visible with respect to Rome's territorial expansion in the early second century BC, which coincided with a well-established cultural transformation associated with the creation of the city's first unified histories, along with marked military and economic shifts. However, suggestions will also be made with regards to Roman behavior in the fourth and third centuries BC and the evidence and impetus for an increasingly unified community and elite in that period.

Louis Rawlings (Cardiff): Forging Armies: Identity and Nationalism in the Roman and Carthaginian Military Systems

Ancient warfare was rarely conducted solely only by the citizens of the state. Armies were usually agglomerations of allies, subjects, and mercenaries. It was essential for the success of such multi-focal forces that they be able to co-operate and coalesce. Commanders needed to control rivalries and ethnic tensions, overcome the problems of communication in polyglot forces, and sustain morale and commitment on campaign. The armies of Carthage and Rome during the third century BC provide important examples of contrasting approaches taken by hegemonic powers to these issues. Polybius (6.52.4-7) noted how Roman superiority was due to a reliance on the patriotism of its citizens, while the Carthaginians depended on the courage of their mercenaries, his analysis at this point only briefly acknowledges the contribution of Rome's allies (6.52.6).
I will identify the systems by which both states created common military identity. I consider the practical and psychological aspects of co-militarisation. The processes of integration, focusing on the ways that camp life and common campaign experiences fostered unity of purpose, enhanced morale and inter-dependence. Military assemblies constructed common identity helped commanders to inculcate loyalty and channel a collective will. The severity of the Punic wars tested both sides. Carthage came under severe pressure from its own army, which revolted in the aftermath of the First Punic war. Joining with the subject population of the city's hinterland, it seemingly attempted to forge its own national identity. Its coinage declared a Libyan community, 'Libyōn'. Conversely, Hannibal's campaigns in Italy created tensions in the Roman military system, as some allied communities sided with him, even as some of their men served with Roman armies. I will therefore also examine the forms of resistance to integration and subordination to the national interests of the Romans and Carthaginians – dissent, defection, desertion and mutiny.

On Speaking And Not Being Heard: Rhetoric and Political Agency
This is what freedom is: "Who has some good counsel for the city and is ready to share it?" Whoever wishes to do so wins glory: whoever doesn't remains silent. What greater equality than this could a city have? So says Euripides' Theseus (*Supp*. 438-41). This panel explores cases, drawn from the rhetorical discourse of history, comedy, and legal and deliberative oratory, in which the ability to speak falls short of the ability to

contribute to debate, and where articulate speech, for want of political agency, is at risk of being redefined as silence.

Victoria Schuppert (Birmingham): Speech and Silence in the Spotlight: the Intersection of the Tragic and the Comic Tereus in Aristophanes' *Birds*

In this paper I analyse the ways in which Aristophanes' fantasy of νεφελοκοκκυγία portrays the manipulation of free speech. The city in the sky is a city of language and its citizens, the birds, show what it is like to be given speech but no agency to use it.
I build my argument on the figure of Tereus who is already known to the audience from myth and, more particularly, from Sophocles' tragedy. Specifically, I link his portrayal in *The Birds* to his background story that features Philomela and Procne, and look at how the demonstrations of free speech (or lack thereof) in both texts interrelate. In *Birds*, we are told that the birds were barbarian until Tereus taught them language. We are presented with a case that is opposite to the one we have experienced in Sophocles: Tereus takes speech from Philomela, but gives it to the birds by teaching them Greek. However, the two cases have a common denominator, as in both cases speech is manipulated. Philomela's speech is taken away from her, and while the birds may have speech, throughout the play it becomes clear that they have no sophistication to use it. Ultimately, I argue that Tereus serves as an agent of speech who decides who has the right to speak, whether it is effective or ineffective, and who does not. By linking the Aristophanic Tereus to the Sophoclean one, we create a window into the gap between the right to speak and the right to be heard, and we are reminded of the fact that these two rights are not necessarily mutually inclusive.

Helen Tank (Birmingham): Speaking for the Voice of Zeus: Herodotus on the Birds of Dodona

In Herodotus' *Histories* he tells the story of the foundation of oracles at Dodona and the oasis of Siwa in Libya. In the version told by the priests of Theban Zeus, the female founders were abducted from Thebes; the priestesses of the Dodona oracle, however, say that two black doves flew from Thebes in Egypt, one to Dodona, one to Libya, and spoke in a human voice telling the local people to construct an oracle.
Herodotus, therefore, gives us conflicting versions but both groups have the status speak in public through their religious function. However, the stories require interpretation by Herodotus, in his role as *histor*, so that they can be understood; his account, therefore, is the authoritative one.
In the first version, he gives his opinion that the Thesprotians abducted the woman; she founded the Dodona oracle once she had learnt Greek and could explain how her sister, abducted to Libya, had founded an oracle there. In the second version, he explains that the women were called doves because they sounded like birds, until they had learnt Greek and could be understood; they were black because the women were Egyptian. In this way Herodotus enables his audience to make sense of these stories; in the first, in naming the abductors, he removes the story from the mythical tales with which he opened the *Histories*. In the second a creature of myth, a talking bird is, in fact a black woman who has learnt Greek.
Herodotus is an agent of speech, guiding and enabling his audience to understand the process of cultural assimilation and exchange involved in the foundation of two oracles.

Niall Livingstone (Birmingham): Slander in Athens: Saying What Cannot Be Heard

Lysias 10 *Against Theomnestos* is unusual in Athenian oratory as a concrete example of a prosecution for the offence of slander (*kakēgoria*). The prosecutor concentrates on establishing that what matters in such a case is the substance of the slanderous

statement, not the exact words used; this argument is developed through an excursus on the difference between the letter of the law and its intent, an *epideixis* which serves the double purpose of entertaining the judges and establishing the speaker's authority as the contemporary, accessible intermediary of archaic legislation.

My focus in this paper is on the speech's implications for Athenian attitudes to slander itself, and especially the category of prohibited or abominable speech (*ta aporrhēta*). By using *prokatalēpsis* to cast his opponent as a petty quibbler over words, Lysias' client distracts attention from his own apparent pettiness and illiberality in bringing an action for slander in the first place (10.2). This strategy has wider implications. By insisting on the central importance of *interpretation* of the offending words, and by proposing an equivalence between name-calling and legal prosecution, the speaker sets out to establish a category of speech which he and other Athenian citizens have a legally protected *right not to hear*.

This line of argument provides a specious legal basis for an important strand in the 'rhetoric of anti-rhetoric' (forensic, deliberative and polemical) in the fourth century: the move to characterise opposing discourses as 'mere abuse', lacking the quality of admissible speech and therefore unworthy, or even incapable, of being heard.

Sarah Bremner (Birmingham): Deliberatively Didactic: Demosthenes on the Right to be Heard

When faced with the threat of Philip II, Demosthenes casts himself as embodying the ideal of *logos* and *ergon* by acting through his speeches: the most direct means of political agency.

However, rather than attacking Philip in these speeches, Demosthenes' attack focuses on the Assembly. He repeatedly reproaches their desire to be flattered and their rejection of good advice, demonstrating that even if *isēgoria* was maintained there was a gap between the *right to speak* and the *right to be heard*. By continuing to listen to bad advice, rejecting good advisers and maintaining this self-deception, the Athenians act in direct contrast to their own ideals (most clearly articulated in *epitaphioi*). This breakdown of the Assembly has resulted in the neglect of their inherited duties and has caused or exacerbated all their external problems. Only by purging themselves of internal enemies and rejecting their own damaging practices can the polis regain its identity and reassert its power on the Panhellenic stage.

To this end, Demosthenes asserts not who can and cannot speak, but who should and should not be heard on the basis of their *intentions*. He not only highlights the misuse of rhetoric (the common rhetoric of anti-rhetoric) but stresses the importance of intention behind speech, to which he asserts the Assembly is currently blind. Demosthenes identifies his own intentions with those of the polis, giving his rhetoric authority through his character. By establishing himself as a microcosm of the polis, he casts those with 'different' intentions as dangerous, malignant enemies; even if they are permitted to speak, the Assembly should know better than to listen to them. Demosthenes develops his deliberative oratory into a form of didactic: an art to advise, fix, and heal the polis from within. Only then can Athens hope to challenge Philip.

Pedagogy

Arlene Holmes-Henderson and Mai Musié (Oxford): What impact does learning Latin have on children's cognitive development?

This paper will present findings from research undertaken by the Classics in Communities project, a Classics education partnership between the University of Oxford, the University of Cambridge and the Iris Project. The project team organised and delivered teacher training workshops across the UK in 2014, to provide primary school

teachers with subject knowledge and a range of resources to make learning Latin a viable option for pupils Key Stage 2 classrooms. Now into its third year, the impact and legacy of the six national training workshops will be shared through the presentation of case studies charting the subsequent introduction, by workshop participants, of Latin in their schools. Longitudinal quantitative pupil attainment data will be shared, in addition to qualitative data (gathered from pupils, teachers, school leaders and parents) which illuminate the impact of learning Latin on children's cognitive development. Of particular interest in this phase of the project has been the impact of learning Latin on literacy development and the cultivation of critical skills. Results of the data collection, analysis and evaluation (to date) will be discussed, as well as new directions for the Classics in Communities project including priorities for the next phase of its Classics education research.

Athina Mitropoulos (Cranleigh): Teaching Ancient History Through Images: a case study on Herodotus' Persian Wars

Teaching text-based Ancient History at secondary school level is challenging; primary schools focus mainly on mythology and, if Ancient History is taught, the focus is on isolated, individual events. When pupils come to study Ancient History at GCSE or A-level therefore, they lack knowledge of chronology and development in the ancient world, and struggle to cope with individual and topographical names. This lack of contextual familiarity and understanding, combined with the exam-focus on individual texts, means pupils cannot envisage or engage with the events of the past, rendering them more distant and inaccessible. The solution must be to introduce visual elements into the study of text-based Ancient History modules, which illustrate the events and enliven them for our pupils. Such a method better supports special educational needs pupils (SEND) as well as meeting the growing OFSTED requirements to incorporate ICT in the classroom.
This paper presents the result of research undertaken at the British School at Athens, under the School Teacher Fellowship. Focusing on the AQA GCSE paper on the Persian Wars, which is based exclusively on Herodotus' Histories, this paper presents a variety of manners in which a collection of visual resources may be effectively used both by teachers and by pupils. This test case highlights the importance of variety in presentation, as well as clear differentiation between exam-requirements and extension material. It ranges from interactive maps charting Xerxes' invasion of Greece, to a timeline of the Battle of Thermopylae, to a newspaper coversheet celebrating Greek victory at Salamis. Each resource contains images that relate directly to the material studied, as well as excerpts from Herodotus' text so pupils stay focused on course specifications.

Bartolo Natoli (Randolph-Macon): Project Based Learning in the Latin Classroom: The Case of www.frontoonline.com

Over the past thirty years, pedagogical theory and practice in second language acquisition (SLA) have seen a shift away from a traditional, teacher-centered model of instruction to a more active, learner-focused model. One of the major manners in which this shift can be seen is the increase of Project-Based Learning (PBL) in the language classroom, an approach that has been shown to improve language skills, content learning, and sustained motivation in learners. However, nearly all published research on PBL has been focused on modern language instruction and not on the teaching of classical languages. Therefore, this paper seeks to address this dearth of scholarship by detailing how PBL was used to construct and deliver an undergraduate advanced Latin course at Randolph-Macon College in Fall 2015, a course that culminated in the learner construction of a fully-searchable, online database of text-commentaries on the letters of

Marcus Cornelius Fronto: www.frontoonline.com. First, a brief overview of current PBL theory and research in SLA instruction is given, the chief value of which will be as a comparison with the situation of classical language instruction. Then, a detailed discussion of the implementation of PBL at Randolph-Macon will be provided, including a reflection on the qualitative and quantitative results of the course.

Pindar

Robert de Brose (Ceara): Τέκτονες σοφοί: towards a cognitive approach to a poetics of orality in Pindar

Most scholarship on Pindar takes it for granted that the poet must have written his odes; an assumption often made clear by the usual description of Pindar's creative process in terms of writing. In this talk, I shall try to counter this notion and argue that Pindar was a poet steeped in an oral tradition of poetic composition for which writing need not be assumed, either because it played no role in the actual composition of his poetry or, as I shall propose, because it did not influence the mental habits responsible for its production. In the latter sense, I follow the steps of Bakker's (1997) study of Homeric poetry as speech, taking Pindar's poetry to be conceptually oral, even though it may have reached us only in written form. Drawing on ethnographical and cultural studies, such as that of Olson (1977; 1991), Ong (2004), Goody (1963), Havelock (1963; 1991) and Zumthor (1983), I intend to demonstrate that Pindar's songs show clear signs of metaphorical conceptualizations compatible with construals associated with an oral culture. Working within the framework established by Lakoff-Johnson (1980), Kövecses (2005) and others, my investigation will focus on Pindar's use of metaphor. Indeed, in describing his poetic art, Pindar draws metaphors from many human activities such as farming, sailing, chariot driving, archery, flying, wrestling, building, sculpture, weaving, javelin throwing, etc. (Race, 1997), while never referring to writing (I shall deal with apparent exceptions such as that of *O*. 6.84 and 10.1-3). By analyzing the way these metaphors are construed, I intend to further an understanding of Pindar's composition process as an entirely embodied experience, rather than a process dominated by abstract categories that would be associated with a writing culture.

Paul Grigsby (Warwick): Prophets, Priests and Pindar: The Role of the Daphnephoros at the Theban Ismenion

The ritual of the Daphnephoria – a ceremonial procession of sacred laurel to the Sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes - has long courted speculation as to its meaning. Described in two sources which face each other across the gap of a millennium, the link between Pindar's lacunose fragmentary *Daphnephorikon for Agasikles* (fr.94b) and Proclus' Fifth-Century AD description of the rite is unclear, though roles described in the latter are commonly projected back a thousand years and assigned to the named individuals in Pindar's text.
These assigned roles have been influenced in part by a passage in the *Description of Greece* where Pausanias describes the *daphnephoros* as the yearly boy-priest at the Theban Ismenion. My paper will address the question of whether Pausanias' *daphnephoros* is really to be equated with that found in Proclus' rite, or if perhaps a different figure might be imagined. Equally, the identification of Pindar fr.dub.333 as a possible *Daphnephorikon* for Echacrates of Orchomenos and the imagined link between this figure and the prophet of Tegyra mentioned by Plutarch begs the question as to the mantic role of the *daphnephoros*, and to the possible oracular meaning of the ritual itself. I will examine this link, contrasting the Theban Daphnephoria with the possibly related Delphic Septerion in order to show that as well as a possible oracular component to the

rite, a territorial meaning linked to cult catchment may perhaps be its strongest central element.

Thomas Coward (KCL): Pindar on the Art and History of playing the aulos

Pindar, the lyric poet from Thebes, was an accomplished poet and musician, who critiqued and praised instruments, song-types, cultures and the composers associated with them. This paper looks at implied and explicit references to famous *aulos* players and the origins of the *aulos*, and examines how Pindar creates or modifies a history of this instrument and its composers.

After summarising references by Pindar to the *aulos* and its famous players, this paper first examines a fragmentary Pindaric poem of unknown date and genre (140b S-M = G9 Rutherford). It is possibly a cult song connected with southern Italy. Pindar commends the music of a certain Locrian (inferred as Xenocritus of Locri), who created a *harmonia* for the *aulos* and composed paeans, and inspires the performers of Pindar's song. The second part investigates the mythical narrative of *Pythian* Twelve, a victory ode for an aulete at the court of a Sicilian tyrant, which describes the creation of the *aulos* and its *polukephalos nomos*. Pindar diverges from Pratinas' account (4 F8 *TrGF*[1] = 713i *PMG*) and imitates the story and features of the *Pythios nomos* of Sacadas of Argos (7 Gentili-Prato), an elegiac poet and composer for *auloi*. Pindar described the activities of Sacadas elsewhere (269 S-M). Pindar uses a named divine figure to displace any fictional or real predecessor to his patron's winning instrumental piece, and this victory ode is a multi-faceted piece of stated and unstated musical history.

Both poems feature an archetype that Pindar uses different strategies of implicit and explicit performance criticism in order to validate, embellish or differentiate his song. Pindar creates his own history of Greek music and both poems show the reception of Greek music and lyric and elegiac traditions to audiences in the West.

Plutarch
This panel endeavours to delineate and clarify how Plutarch explores negative *exempla* in his works. It seeks to examine how Plutarch envisages negative examples and the negative aspect of the *psyche* to be morally beneficent.

That Plutarch considered a subcatergory of *negative* biographies to exist in his oeuvre is strongly suggested in his introduction to the pair of *Demetrius–Antony* (*Dem.* 2.1). Heretofore there has not been a close and elaborate study of Plutarch's negative *Lives* or of his concept of *negative* biographies, though scholars acknowledge Plutarch's willingness to explore less than wholly praiseworthy individuals or negative aspects of otherwise highly respected historical persons (Pelling 1988; Stadter 1989; Duff 2002; Verdegem 2010).

By the time Plutarch turned to his grand biographic project, his readers were already well versed in the exemplary tradition, especially in prose literature. Historians from Herodotus onwards enthusiastically categorised individuals and communities as positive and negative *exempla*, yet sometimes blurred the lines between these polarised positions. The application of this distinction to the genre of biography by Plutarch entailed a depiction in which a characterisation as a *negative* exemplum was to become more demanding. For instance, a focus on the protagonist's political or military failure (e.g., Nicias) dictated a certain overall presentation which in fact precluded other interpretations.

This panel asserts the validity and utility of this subcategory by considering several inter-related questions: the concept of a negative *Life*; the extent to which Plutarch seeks to articulate a discourse of moral failure together with political success; the imagery and examples of the negative aspects of the *psyche*; the way this concept operates within Plutarch's parallel structure; the relationship to the question of a

changed or static nature; and the expectations of Plutarch's readers with regard to a biography that is seen to be a negative *exemplum*.

James T. Chlup (Manitoba): Positive Life, Negative Exemplum: C. Cassius Longinus in Plutarch's *Life of Brutus*

Scholars have consistently pointed to the prominent role of C. Cassius Longinus in Plutarch's *Life of Brutus*; it is almost as if it is a double Life. Therein lies a significant challenge in its interpretation: M. Iunius Brutus and Cassius are not natural Life-fellows, since it appears that the biographer constructs the narrative to situate the tyrannicides as awkward allies at best or intellectually incompatible ideologues at worst. Plutarch's comment early in the Life – that the Romans ascribed the noble aspects of the conspiracy against Caesar to Brutus, the ignoble to Cassius (1.4) – would seem to serve as a wedge between the co-protagonists.

      This facet of *Brutus* surely merits scrutiny. If Plutarch intends for Brutus' character to be understood in relation to Cassius', then clarifying the latter will bring the former into sharper focus, which will in turn allow the position of *Brutus* in the Parallel Lives more precisely to be understood. A negative representation of Cassius may serve to accentuate the positive representation of Brutus; or – to suggest another possibility – a negative representation of Cassius problematises Brutus as a positive *exemplum*. Thus, what is at stake in this analysis of *Brutus* is whether it is a Life which contains a negative co-protagonist or it can in fact be classified as a negative Life, becoming part of, or resting alongside, this problematic (sub)group within the Parallel Lives, the existence of which, admittedly, not all scholars acknowledge. Moreover, Cassius' role in *Brutus* serves to define the relationship between *Brutus* and the other later Roman Lives (for example, *Caesar* and *Antony*).

Eran Almagor (Independent Scholar): The Dark Side of Life: the Persian King as a Negative Exemplum in Plutarch's *Artaxerxes*

In his *Lives*, Plutarch aspired to provide his readers with both instruction and delight, aims that he intended to achieve not only through the stories of prominent Greek and Roman statesmen, but also via a barbarian figure, in the solitary biography of King Artaxerxes II. Almost by definition, the choice of a barbarian hero posed a counter, and therefore negative, example to the Greco-Roman readership; it appealed to their interest in the world of the "other," and presented them with another set of human interactions, to morally benefit from.

Artaxerxes is not introduced merely as a negative example to be rejected by his Greek audience; instead, his dark side is underscored and given prominence. It is as if Plutarch suggests that it was precisely the barbarian traits of the Persians and their disregard for boundaries that contributed to the establishment of a worldwide empire, and to the domination of many peoples, including Greeks (e.g., in the King's Peace). Accordingly, Plutarch stresses Artaxerxes' barbarity. On the one hand, highlighting the monarch's negative aspects, Plutarch demonstrates the unique Persian way this hero deals with his passions and impulses. Presumably, this was in line with the Socratic tradition of setting Persian kings as exemplars of the power of education (Plato, *Menexenos* 239-40, *Laws* 694-5; Antisthenes' *Cyrus*; Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*; Demetrius of Phaleron's *Artaxerxes*). Moreover, this presentation enables Plutarch to illustrate the traits of the competing Persian civilization.

On the other hand, Plutarch shows the Persian very lack of restraint as a possible source of success (e.g., the king at Cunaxa and its aftermath: *Art.* 10-21; the king's handling of revolts: *Art.* 25, 29; the elimination of competitors by Ochus the prince: *Art.* 30). This also corresponds with the ethical notion (contrary to the Stoics' doctrine) that passions should not be entirely eradicated. In this manner, Plutarch encourages his readers, as it

were, to find the negative example, making it valuable to moral education as well as to historical understanding.

Alexei V Zadorojnyi (Liverpool): The Bad and the Ugly: Negative Typification in Plutarchan Biography

Hannah Arendt, reporting on the trial of the Nazi criminal Eichmann, famously talks about the "banality of evil". To Plutarch, whose agenda and conceptual framework are of course very different from Arendt's, negative biographical scenarios translate into profitable ethical lessons (*Demetrius* 1.4, 1.7) and, by the same token, imply a degree of canonicity (or, better, taxonomic stability...) of wrongfulness. In this paper I am going to argue that while Plutarch's approach to the past hinges on ethico-biographical individuation (e.g. *Aemilius* 1.2; *Virtues of Women* 243B-C), there is also a discernible tendency for typification of anti-heroes broadly understood. The Plutarchan characters are no "stock types" (Duff), however, it is important to recognize how regularly and readily across the *Lives* the historical background, minor figures, and protagonists themselves reflect the established character-templates of Greek psychological tradition and rhetoric (e.g. *Lycurgus* 30.2; *Demetrius* 1.7; *Pompey* 23.5-6).
Furthermore, Plutarch's authorial commentary sometimes creates tension between individuation as the principle of biography and moral judgement as its programmatic purpose: the latter takes over biographical material when, for instance, references to ambitious yet deluded autocrats crystallize into a negative collective profile (*Aristides* 6.2) or when personal names of Athenian and Spartan commanders are used in the plural form for the sake of a panoramic view of ethico-political folly (*Flamininus* 11.5). Plutarch's theoretical stance on vice and disorder in general is a paradoxically balanced acknowledgment of an infinite and dynamic phenomenological variety alongside the well-known, pre-set finiteness at a deeper level (*Table-Talk* 8.9, esp. 732E vs 731C); the negative characters in Plutarch's biographical narrative seem to be treated in line with this antinomy.

Katarzyna Jażdżewska (Warsaw): Examples of Negativity: Plutarch's Imagery of Passions

When speaking about the human soul and its passions Plutarch frequently uses metaphors and images in order to illustrate imperceptible psychological processes and to get across to his readers; in this practice he follows Plato, whose famous city-soul analogy (*Republic*) and horse-imagery (*Phaedrus*) have impacted subsequent ethical and psychological discourse. This paper discusses Plutarch's metaphors for the soul with a particular focus on how images serve as examples designed to visualize and explain vices and demoralization of the soul.
I will begin by discussing the three main images Plutarch uses in the *Moralia* to illustrate the structure of the soul and the relationships between its irrational and rational parts:
(1) Platonic political model of the soul as a city (e.g. *De audiendo*),
(2) a model in which the irrational passions are represented as animals (e.g. as dogs, *De tranquilitate animi*, or horses, *De virtute morali*),
(3) an agricultural model, in which the soul is likened to soil, and passions (*pathe*) and virtues to plants (e.g. *De vitioso pudore*).
In the second part of the paper I will examine how these models are used in Plutarch's discourse about passions and vices both in texts of moral advice dealing with faults of characters (*De curiositate*, *De cohibenda ira, De vitioso pudore*) and in the biographies, in particular in *Lives* of problematic, flawed figures, such as *Antony* and *Demetrius*, which are presented as negative examples.

Political Oratory: Addressing the Powerful across the ages

Political oratory is highly sensitive to historical, cultural and political contexts – especially if it is to be successful. Nevertheless, there are some forms of oratory which we might expect to share traits across historical periods, cultural milieus and political circumstances because of similarities in the relationship between orator and addressee and the resulting negotiations of authority and power within such a relationship.

This panel explores oratory aimed at powerful individuals and groups in four different historical and political contexts: the oratory of Demosthenes in the Athenian city-state of the fourth century BC, the oratory of Cicero in the first-century Roman Republic, Latin political oratory in late antiquity, and the communication from members of the public to politicians in modern British politics. Themes going through the papers are the attempts to build up authority and credibility when addressing the powerful, the extent to which orators could criticise the powerful, the flexibility in the power dynamics of this kind of rhetoric, and the varieties in communicative modes between the powerful and the not so powerful.

The panel is sponsored by the Network for Oratory and Politics, which aims to facilitate research into and discussion of political oratory across historical periods and regions. Designed especially for the CA 2016, this panel offers the chance to compare and contrast political oratory in Greco-Roman settings with that of a modern democratic society.

Guy Westwood (Oxford): Power and Danger in Demosthenes' earlier speeches

On his journey up the political ladder in mid-fourth century BC Athens, Demosthenes publicly confronted several established senior politicians either in the Assembly or courts. In his early speeches for these venues, composed in his thirties, he develops an often vitriolic rhetoric of the political outsider which addresses his political seniors collectively and sometimes individually. He uses it to criticize their collective responsibility for allowing Athenian domestic and foreign policy to be paralysed by what he carefully depicts as a culture of introversion, misguided priorities, and lack of enterprise; and, in Assembly contexts, he uses it as a way of recommending himself as a compelling alternative – a 'true' statesman.

In this paper, I argue that the rhetoric developed in Demosthenes' encounters with these senior political opponents in the mid-350s to mid-340s – calculating how to treat those in authority and how to make criticism of them sound independently authoritative to mass audiences – functioned as an important thematic template for his proposals (351 onwards) regarding how Athens should confront Philip of Macedon. Demosthenes' chosen rhetorical pivot is the issue of existential threat to Athens: to its values and spiritual identity in the case of the self-interested political class, and to its physical being in the case of the expansionist Philip; warnings of the danger to the democracy are prominent in both cases. I examine how the Third Olynthiac (349/8) reworks, and explores with reference to Philip, ideas from On Organization (c.352) which there had helped articulate the threat posed by Athens's political grandees.

My overall aim, therefore, is to demonstrate that the dynamics of addressing the powerful could be made highly flexible and mutually adaptable between the full range of individuals and groups worth challenging in Athenian public contexts, offering Demosthenes significant opportunities for creative framing and linking of apparently disparate issues.

Henriette van der Blom (Glasgow): Cicero and the rhetoric of asymmetrical relationship

The Roman Republic operated as a hierarchical political system where constant negotiations of influence and control between individuals and groups were conducted through public speeches. We rely on Cicero for full orations to help us understand how the powerful could be addressed in a Roman republican setting. Although there was no

single ruler, there were arguably always people with some claim of power or authority over him, whom he had to treat in a particular way to achieve his argumentative goal. Depending on the role of the person(s) in power, the topic and the stage in Cicero's career, he used various techniques for dealing with this asymmetrical relationship, as illustrated by three case studies: Cicero's defence of Roscius of Ameria in 80 BC (Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino), where he had to argue Roscius' innocence whilst avoiding offending Sulla; in his speech to the pontifical college on the topic of his own house in 57 BC (*De domo sua*), when Cicero had to deal with a group of priests and fellow senators who could influence his public standing in Rome after his humiliating exile; and Cicero's plea that the dictator Julius Caesar pardons his staunch enemy M. Marcellus (*Pro Marcello*) in 46 BC. The aim of this investigation is to identify similarities and differences between these successful speeches to three sets of powerful individuals or institutions across three different speech situations and three different decades of Cicero's career. I shall argue that Cicero developed an oratorical persona, combining elements of the underdog, the expert, and the good citizen; thereby he managed to negotiate the delicate balance between submission and arrogance. In doing so, and in circulating his speeches, Cicero showed his contemporary and future audiences ways in which to address the powerful whilst keeping the dignity of the speaker intact.

Roger Rees (St Andrews): The Voices of Political Praise in Late Antiquity

Relationships are fundamental to political process, no less in antiquity than today. And when it came to oratorical praise-giving as an act of political display and petition, the relationship between speaker and addressee is crucial to the dynamics of the exchange, and ultimately to its chances of success. It would have been one thing for a member of the imperial family to address another in praise, such as was the case with Julian's three surviving panegyrics, or for a high-ranking official of state to address the Emperor, such as was the case with the consuls Claudius Mamertinus (in AD 362) and Ausonius (in AD 379); in these cases, the authority of the speaker's voice would be unproblematic and assumed. But in lower-profile situations, when less distinguished orators addressed the emperors, the authority of the speaker's voice was not a given. Meantime, rhetorical treatises such as Menander Rhetor's Basilikos Logos offer no advice on how to establish oratorical authority, although the genre of panegyric was chronically beset with crises of reliability and trust. In fact, many surviving Latin panegyrics from the third and fourth centuries are anonymous; sometimes, details of the orator's career and status can be reconstructed from the text, but largely confirm the vast imbalance in power relations between speaker and addressee. The Panegyrici Latini collection, consisting of named and anonymous speeches, offers a ready opportunity to explore the variety of literary and rhetorical means by which such orators asserted the authority of their rhetorical voice. This will be explored through several categories: effacement of the self and the insistence on fulfilment of civic responsibility; prosopopeia by which an orator could ventriloquise a more authoritative voice; and the use of earlier texts, iconic and otherwise, as cultural authority.

David S. Moon (Bath): Modern Political Oratory within Heteronomous Politics: Lessons from the 2015 British General Election Leaders Debates and beyond

Modern British politics is quite different to that of classical politics. Specifically, the modern form of Western liberal representative politics draws upon concepts derived from the ideas developed by contract theorists. Modern politics thus institutes an ontological division between the demos and the polis, delimiting politics to the status of a particular activity, carried out by a select few (elected representatives), in specific arenas (Westminster and the devolved parliaments), and with minimal interaction from citizens themselves (individual lobbying via email campaigns being the major form of

'formal' communication from below). Thus, today British subjects experience themselves purely as individuals on the receiving end of technically constructed laws, lacking a clear ability to influence, let alone formulate said laws themselves (autos-nomos). From this comes the notion that the "State is Them" [l'Etat c'est eux], which births the "Them-and-us" politics informing interactions between those with power and those without today.

This paper discusses the question of how the powerless (normal members of the public) can address the powerful within the spaces available in a fundamentally heteronomous form of politics. It does so via an analysis of oratory and rhetoric of the selected audience members – and in reply, the political leaders – within the controlled and moderated environment of leaders' debates broadcast during the 2015 General Election. It then contrasts this with the rhetoric and styles of argumentation enabled within the grass-roots campaigns surrounding the Scottish independence referendum, and Jeremy Corbyn's Labour leadership campaign. The levels of enthusiastic engagement in these debates, it argues, point to an enthusiasm among people to engage politically, but to do so in a different discourse to that of the powerful (with results that shake the establishment).

Politics and the Provinces at the end of the Republic
The provinces played an increasingly central role in Roman politics at the end of the Republic. The appointment of military commanders was always an important feature of political life, but competition intensified as the control of provinces concentrated in the hands of individuals, to the point where civil wars were fought over, and by means of, provincial commands. Our panel examines some key moments in this process, with a focus on the tumultuous years of the 40s BC.

David Rafferty sets the scene by elucidating the 'routine politics' of provincial command in the 60s and 50s: while Pompey and Caesar accrued extraordinary commands, more ordinary struggles played out between departing consuls, obstructive tribunes, and rival candidates. Some of these problems were addressed by the *lex Pompeia de provinciis* of 52. Though exploited in 49 for partisan purposes, Kit Morrell argues that the law was intended to reduce political competition and improve provincial governance; Caesar's complaints are in fact evidence for the new appointment process.

The *lex Pompeia* was soon swept away by civil war and Caesar's dictatorship. M. Antonius' provincial arrangements in 44 are the subject of Kathryn Welch's paper, which illustrates Antonius' respect for law and his facility with legislation as a political modality. Finally, Hannah Mitchell takes us to the provinces themselves and to some of the individuals who held command under Antonius' aegis. Their aspirations suggest that traditional attitudes to provincial command had not changed, despite the upheavals of civil war.

Two important conclusions emerge from the four papers: firstly that concern for good government and stricter regulation began a generation before Augustus' reforms; secondly that, despite the advent of dictatorship, triumvirate, and principate, individual Romans continued to forge reputations (and fortunes) in provincial arenas. In short, the Augustan future was deeply rooted in the Republican past.

David Rafferty (Melbourne): Provincial allocation and 'routine politics' in the Ciceronian era

This paper aims to demonstrate how the requirements of provincial allocation in the 60s and 50s BC threw up structural political contests which recurred each year. Christian Meier was the first to differentiate major political issues from 'routine politics' (regelmäßige Politik) in the late Republic, and Peter Brunt applied this idea to reconstructing how political combinations actually formed (Meier 1980, 162-200; Brunt

1988, 443-502). Cicero gives us several concrete examples of this 'routine politics' in action, and here we will examine two: the way in which tribunes could make life difficult for consuls departing for their provinces, and the way in which strategic prorogations could control which candidates actually contested the consular elections.

Tribunes could block a consul's (or praetor's) *lex curiata*, or could veto the decree of funds for their provinces. This created a structural political dependence of the consuls on the tribunes (which the tribunes jealously preserved), and individual consuls tried different methods of dealing with it. For instance, Cicero (*cos.* 63) resigned his province to preserve his political independence, while Ap. Claudius (*cos.* 54) tried to forge the relevant decrees. Similarly, the Senate's decision about which (praetorian) provincial governors to prorogue and which to recall had a definite impact on the consular elections. As many of the prospective candidates were governors, their rivals (and these rivals' friends) could calculate the most favourable year for a consular canvass and so influence the Senate to keep a strong candidate detained in his province in that year. It was only the elimination of 'routine politics' by the civil war that ended such intrigues.

Kit Morrell (Sydney): The *lex Pompeia de provinciis* and the provincial assignments for 49

Following the outbreak of civil war in January 49, the senate proceeded to assign provinces to Caesar's enemies. In his civil war commentaries, Caesar made several complaints against these appointments: that provinces had been assigned to private individuals, that the men appointed were not outgoing praetors and consuls but those approved and selected by a handful of senators, and that L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Marcius Philippus had been excluded from the ballot for provinces (*BC* 1.6.5, 1.85.9). As Linderski points out (2007, 152-4), not all of Caesar's criticisms can be taken at face value; the senate's actions, he suggests, were 'openly partisan but perhaps not strictly illegal' (154).

I would go further. Caesar's complaints essentially describe the regular process of provincial appointments under the *lex Pompeia de provinciis* of 52. By requiring an interval between magistracy and promagistracy, the law dictated that provinces be assigned to private citizens. In addition, I argue that the *lex Pompeia* gave the senate some legitimate discretion to 'approve and select' the men who would receive provinces. Other seeming discrepancies can also be explained by reconstructing the appointments process in more detail than Dio (40.56.1) offers.

The *lex Pompeia* was exploited in 49 for partisan purposes, but it appears that its terms were, for the most part, respected. Tellingly, the core of Caesar's complaint is not that the senate had acted illegally, but that the laws had been changed to his disadvantage (*in se iura magistratuum commutari*, *BC* 1.85.9). We need not accept, however, that the *lex Pompeia* was designed as a weapon against Caesar (cf. Gruen 1974, 457-60; Gagliardi 2011, ch. 4). Rather, I would relate the senate's enhanced control over provincial appointments to the law's concern with improving the governance of Rome's empire.

Kathryn Welch (Sydney): Antonius and the provinces: politics, legislation and survival strategies

Just how good a politician was Marcus Antonius? Recent works (for example, Ramsey 2005 and Ferriès 2012) have demonstrated that Antonius was well acquainted with legal procedure and extended his reach by consulting with legal as well as rhetorical experts. Manuwald (2007) rightly reminded us that the arrangements Antonius made for governing the provinces of the Roman empire could not be challenged on technicalities. Instead, Cicero was forced to employ high-risk strategies of dubious legality in order to outmanoeuvre him. In short, Antonius, far from being the lawless

enemy of order presented by our hostile source traditions, was a careful politician who respected existing legislation or changed it where necessary.

Doing politics by means of inventive legislation was one of the hallmarks of the later Roman Republic and especially of its last decades. Millar (1973) examined the importance of law and law making to the Triumvirs while Ramsey (2005) credited Antonius with adapting legislation in order to shore up his position. Ferriès (2012) showed the extent to which Antonius modified Caesar's legislation to advance the causes he espoused. Caesar had already passed a new *lex de provinciis* in 46. This paper will examine Antonius' own provincial legislation of mid-44, and his conduct in assigning governors to provinces later in the year. It aims to illuminate his facility with law as a political medium, along with the importance of provincial arrangements to Roman politics in the wake of Caesar's murder.

Hannah Mitchell (Oxford): Provincial commanders in the sphere of Antonius the Triumvir: the negotiation of relationships

This paper seeks to look behind the personality of the triumvir M. Antonius to the individual commanders who administered the eastern half of the empire in the years 41-32 BC. Cassius Dio provides our most explicit evidence for tensions between Antonius and his provincial commanders. To take one example, he wrote that military progress stalled in Syria in 37 because the commander C. Sosius did not want to do anything that might advance Antonius' interests rather than his own (49.23.1-2). Dio envisaged a situation in which what Antonius wanted and what the provincial commanders wanted was at odds; military glory was limited, and the commanders felt they were competing with Antonius to secure it. Yet, in doing so, they risked arousing Antonius 'jealousy' (*phthonos*), a quality which Dio emphasised.

In Dio's narrative, Antonius' strained relationship with some of his provincial commanders was juxtaposed to the good working relationship the young Caesar had with his. The contrast was made to highlight the character of each and to explain the eventual victor in the civil war. Yet Dio's use of this situation for literary effect should not blind us to the historical reality of the very different political aims of Antonius and his commanders in these years. By combining Dio's evidence with sources such as Josephus and Plutarch, we can reconstruct more of the often-neglected aims and perspectives of the provincial commanders themselves. What did they hope to achieve in their commands? How did the complex situation of the triumviral assignments hinder them? How did they negotiate their relationships with the Triumvir? Examining these questions helps us to build a picture of the everyday workings of politics in the east during these years, and to understand more clearly the political careers and aspirations of this ambitious group of politicians.

Power Ranging: Processional Routes from Republican Rome to Napoleonic Paris
This session examines the triumphal aspects of processions in Rome, focusing on the procession as a demonstration of imperial power from the Republican period to Napoleon's reinvention of the triumph in Paris. The four papers are wide-ranging in their case studies, but all have as their underlying theme the elite appropriation of movement through urban space, with a secondary focus on sensory experiences of the procession from the perspectives of both participants and spectators. Webb's paper explores the relationship between gender, movement and status in the introduction of the cult of Magna Mater to Rome, via Ostia. Östenberg continues these themes when she considers the triumphal elements of funeral processions in Rome, whilst Hoggarth introduces the role of bridges in the route of the Roman triumph and their significance in determining some of the most influential routes through Rome. In the final paper, we go beyond Rome and here Rowell examines Napoleon's appropriation of Roman triumphal processions in his transformation of Paris into an imperial metropolis of

unprecedented magnitude. A key aspect of triumphal processions was the display of consumption, which served as a mechanism by which the elite could underline their power and authority in the city, not least by appropriating public space for these spectacles.

Processional routes defined movement within and across the city at particular times (festivals, funerals, triumphs) and the way people interacted with urban space. The perspectives of the participants were often at odds with those of the spectators. An underlying theme of the papers is the way in which people adapted to different uses of urban arteries and boundaries on specific occasions. Each explores the tension between the event imposed by the elite on the cityscape and the (normal) functioning of the majority of the populace, some of whom might be described as active spectators, but many of whom operated in their particular locales, affected to differing degrees by the unusual events taking place around them.

Lewis Webb (Umeå): Of Matrons, Movement and Majesty: *matronae primores civitatis* and the advent of the Magna Mater (204 BCE)

This paper explores the intersections between gender, movement and status in the advent of the Magna Mater in 204 BCE (Livy 29.14.5–14, Ovid *Fasti* 4.293–348). Drawing on recent studies that focus on religious processions and movement in Roman Italy (Bonnemaison and Macy (eds.) 2008; O'Sullivan 2011; Östenberg, Malmberg and Bjørnebye (eds.) 2015), it underscores the important role of gender and status within the first religious procession for the Magna Mater. In this procession, *omnes matronae* of Rome, including many unnamed *matronae primores civitatis* and, most notably, the patrician Claudia Quinta, transported an image of the Magna Mater from Ostia to Rome, where it was initially lodged in the Temple of Victory on the Palatine in 204, before being moved slightly west to the newly dedicated Temple of Magna Mater in 191. The procession was ceremonial, concluding in festivities on the Palatine, including votive *dona*, a *lecisternium*, the first celebration of the *Megalesia*, and *mutitationes cenarum* between the elite. Gender, movement and status were clearly at the core of the advent of the Magna Mater. The scholarship on the advent of the Magna Mater is extensive (Satterfield 2012), but these three concerns, gender, movement and status, have not been well considered collectively. This paper reflects on the place of the spectators and participants in the first procession, underscoring the importance of viewing hierarchies, gendered walking, and conspicuous consumption for the female participants. Ultimately, it stresses that high status women were central to this procession, and that it stands as a paradigmatic example of status projection.

Ida Östenberg (Gothenburg): Grief and glory: Triumphal Elements in the Roman Funeral Procession

It is quite clear that imperial Roman funeral processions included many triumphal elements. As many scholars have noted, Augustus' funeral was dense with triumphal claims, and it is well known that Seneca called Drusus the Elder's funeral a *funus triumpho simillimum.* Sulla's funeral is often pointed out as a starting point, but this paper argues that the idea of including triumphal achievements in the funeral procession went further back in time.

More specifically, this paper aims at targeting the conflicting images and messages of a triumph and a funeral. The triumph was a celebratory feast, a communal event marking joy and relief, in which people were dressed in white, sang songs of praise and jested cheerfully at the winning general. The funeral, on the other hand, offered a place and time for mourning, especially so when the dead was a promising young man such as Drusus the Elder or Germanicus. People wore black dresses and lamented the cruel fate of young heroes. Having learnt of Germanicus' death, they even attacked temples and

threw images of the gods out on the streets. So in what ways were funeral processions also triumphal? Which elements were taken up and which were discarded? Did female funerals also include triumphal parts? Both rituals, triumph and funeral, were filled with strong emotions, and especially the funeral offered a potential set for violent outbreaks and protests against the emperor. Funerals could thus be marked with conflict, but they also provided arenas for consensus. An aspect of this paper will be to show that the Augustan era saw a novel ideology, which transformed funerals into triumphal manifestations of world-wide hegemony that celebrated heroic death as acts performed for the good of Rome.

Catherine Hoggarth (Kent): Neglected Crossings: the Role of Bridges in the Movement and Memory of Ancient Rome

Rome's location was determined by its position as the lowest bridgeable point of the Tiber; trackways snaked out from that crossing point and trading areas sprung up in its neighbourhood. From their very earliest days bridges have played a decisive role in determining how the city was accessed and how traffic moved within its confines, yet Rome's urban bridges have been relegated to obscurity by scholars; conventional wisdom perceives them merely as extensions of roads and largely devoid of agency. This paper will challenge that perception.

Rome's bridges determined some of the most influential routes through Rome including the triumphal march. This display of power utilised the bridge to create a visual representation of Rome's mobility and power demonstrating its ability to master and subdue nature. Bridges played a key role in the visual representation of Rome from Augustus to Honorius. Together with their preceding arches they were used to create a unique visual and sensory entrance and exit for the city. The arches created the impression of entering a walled city where no walls existed, and later (when the Aurelian walls were constructed) created a route which softened the impact of entering or exiting the city though the vast walls. The sensation of crossing the bridges, with the noises of the Tiber below, surrounded by images of the emperor and dominated by its facing arches would have been a powerful and unique experience for those crossing the Tiber. The bridges also acted as a repository for collective memory, representing both sacred spaces and heroic deeds of the past.

This paper will argue that in order to understand movement around Rome and her most important routes, we must first look to understand her bridges. It will argue bridges, as well as being key determiners of movement within Rome, played a vital role in the emergence of new routes of power and legitimisation in the city.

Diana Rowell (Kent): On the Road to Domination: The Reinvention of the Roman Triumph in Napoleonic Paris

Classical Rome – home to the great Caesars – was central to Napoleon I's ambitious plans to transform Paris into an imperial metropolis of unprecedented magnitude. The Roman triumph, in essence, a ritualistic ceremony of 'entrance' encapsulating the notion of conquest and domination, was also very much a part of Napoleon's grandiose visions. Within this relationship, I plan to touch upon the Napoleonic capital's triumphal architecture which, like the triumphal landscape of Imperial Rome, served as a stage set for triumphal ritual, and stood as an impressive and enduring epitaph to its Emperor's universal hegemony.

The paper will therefore act as an introduction to the interrelationship between antiquity, the display of power and the reinvention of Napoleonic Paris as a 'new Rome'. By tracing (briefly) the evolution of Napoleon from the Republican general and *triumphator*, Bonaparte, who fought for the French revolutionary cause through to an 'absolute' ruler whose magnificent triumphal processions resembled those of Imperial

Rome, it will also be possible to gain insight into the changing nature of Napoleonic Paris and its founder's rule.

A glimpse into the world of Napoleon's often convoluted exploitation of the Roman triumph in Paris, however, would be incomplete without reference both to the conflicting symbolic landscape(s) of the city prior to his rule as emperor and to existing recreations of triumphal ritual further afield. Rather than being a two-way (bipartite) relationship, we should therefore envisage the Napoleonic re‑appropriation of Roman antiquity – and the triumph – as a tripartite relationship. Napoleon was not simply reinventing the Roman world; he and his entourage were simultaneously manipulating former Rome‑inspired traditions to reinforce the impact of his own form of power over the past, the present *and* the future.

Propertian Transformations

Peter Heslin (Durham): Sleeping Beauties? Myth in Propertius 1.3

The theme of paradoxical inversion is ubiquitous in Propertius, so it is no surprise that it features programmatically in the first three poems of his first book. The opening lines of his first elegy invert Roman gender relations by putting Cynthia in a position of power over the narrator, while simultaneously inverting the same-sex dynamic of the erotic epigram of Meleager on which those lines are based. The second poem praises the unadorned beauty of nature, but paradoxically subordinates it to the standards of art. The third poem is a narrative of inversion. The drunken narrator intends to commit an act of sexual assault against the sleeping Cynthia, but in his clumsiness he wakes her up and she abuses him verbally for coming home late and drunk. This role-inversion implies that these assaults, physical and verbal, are in some sense equivalent, which says a great deal about the culture of routine sexual violence toward women in the patriarchal culture of Rome. My paper will focus on the way myth foreshadows this harrowing act of "violence" committed by Cynthia against the male narrator.

At first, each of the three mythical females at the start of the poem seems to embody the theme of the sleeping beauty. Their passivity and their subjection to the male gaze articulate the traditional hierarchy of gender roles. But when we examine these three myths closely, each heroine also embodies a fantasy narrative of female violence against men. In this way, they prefigure both the attempted rape that the narrator has in mind, and the "violence" he receives in the event. In her own speech, however, Cynthia rejects both of the poet's caricatures of womanhood, helpless waif and harpy. She creates a new mythical paradigm in which she is both Penelope and poet, weaver of her own narrative.

Cornelia Ritter-Schmalz (Zurich): From *servitium amoris* to *servitium scribendi*

The poetic trope of *servitium amoris* has undergone many changes and was increasingly used by the Augustan elegists to present the pleasures and pains of a lover subjected to his mistress. This paper argues that Propertius transforms this trope in a unique way, adding a third component to the conventional nexus of love and slavery: poetry. This transformation is not about disruption, but enrichment and complication, as the elegiac lover is always also a poet and the *puella* also a recipient. What is more, like love and slavery, the system of literature can be understood as characterised by dynamic relationships of power. Special intensity is added through the linkage of slavery and the production/distribution of texts in Roman realities.

Focusing on elegies 1.16, 2.13, 3.6 and 4.7, I will discuss firstly how Propertius, through scenes of writing and experiencing poetry, elaborates his erotic narratives and protagonists. The elegiac *ego* devotes not just his mind and body, but also his poems to the *domina*. At the same time, the attempts to secure Cynthia's *obsequium* are dramatised as moments of Orphic power. The second part of the paper presents a

reading of Propertius' trifold constellation with shifted weight. Just as the discourse on poetry can stand for the discourse of slavish love, the display of erotic power- struggles has metapoetic, especially metamedial potential. The staging of the writing lover and the reading/listening mistress, both slave owners, reveals capacities for authorial anxieties and fantasies: on one hand Cynthia's writing imperative – like Maecenas' *iussa* in 3.9 – blends slave and poet, but on the other hand the *puella*'s physical dedication points to an intimate and possessive author-reader relationship. The final part of the paper will look at the ambivalent relationship between the elegiac *ego* and his messenger-slave Lygdamus in elegy 4.7.

Bobby Xinyue (Warwick): Female masculinisation in Book 4 of Propertius

Recent studies on book 4 of Propertius have noted that the motif of costume change appears in several elegies (cf. DeBrohun 2003) and that combined or problematic gender roles pervade book 4 (cf. Welch 2005). The ambiguous divine figure of Vertumnus (4.2) and the transvestism of Hercules (4.9) have attracted the most scholarly attention, as these two characters' claim of using clothes changes to enable switches of identity and crossings of boundaries can be read as a metapoetic statement about the artistic project of book 4. This paper pursues this line of enquiry further by focusing on a number of female characters in book 4, namely Arethusa (4.3), Tarpeia (4.4) and Cynthia (4.8), who profess a willingness to cross-dress or are depicted as taking on traditionally male roles. It will be suggested that these instances of female masculinisation are presented as doomed transgressions of generic and social norms, which may in turn be interpreted as expressions of the difficulty and potential for failure attached to Propertius' attempt to transform himself into a writer of aetiological elegy. The first part of the paper will focus mostly on the tensions at work in Arethusa's fantasy of becoming the Amazonian Hippolyta in order to join her lover, the Roman soldier Lycotas, which presents a double inversion of the *militia amoris* trope – both in its literalisation of the love-soldier metaphor and its application to the *puella* – before moving on to consider the implications of this reading for the Tarpeia poem which follows. The second half of the paper will examine Cynthia's final appearance in Propertius' poetry, in which the archetypal *puella* figure is masculinised through the use of military language and imagery. Given Cynthia's status as a figure of metapoetry throughout the elegies (cf. Wyke 1987), I will suggest that this poem attaches a particular significance to female-to-male transformation, which can be read back into the proceeding examples of female masculinisation in book 4, and forward into the depiction of Cornelia (4.11) which closes the book.

Donncha O'Rourke (Edinburgh): Translated to the Stars: the politics of catasterism in Propertius and his models

Propertius' proclamation of literary filiation with Callimachus at the start of his Roman *Aetia* (Book 4) is followed in conspicuous proximity by a character who claims descent from Conon, the Alexandrian court astronomer who 'discovered' the *Coma Berenices*, the constellation that takes voice at the end of Callimachus' *Aetia* to explain itself as the catasterised lock of hair dedicated by Queen Berenice II for the safe homecoming of her husband, Ptolemy III Euergetes, from war in Syria (Callim. fr. 110.7-8 Hdr, Cat. 66.7-8; cf. Prop. 4.1.77-8). Callimachus' elegy on the Lock's lament for its absent mistress, via its 'translation' in Catullus 66, has long been thought to have influenced the development of the feminised voice of subjective love- poetry at Rome. In the late republic and early empire, it also offered a powerful poetic and political intertext for Virgil's meditations in the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* on the divinity of Julius Caesar and his adopted heir. These two traditions come together in the political elegies of Propertius 4, which in some obvious senses are both Callimachean and Virgilian. This paper examines the

transformative effect of Propertius' erotico-political reception of the *Coma* and its Virgilian intertexts, as heralded by his allusion to Conon's stellar discovery in elegy 4.1. Central to the fourth book is the impending catasterism of Augustus in elegy 4.6, but inflections of Berenice's *Lock*, and of her successful and failed counterparts in Virgil, are to be detected also in the separation of Arethusa from her Lycotas through war (elegy 4.3) and of Cornelia from Paullus through death (elegy 4.11). In this way, the paper explores the poetic and political consequences of the intersection of Augustan astropolitics with Propertian *amor*.

Reassessing Honour I
Encouraged by renewed interdisciplinary interest in concepts of honour, this panel reassesses the complex nature and functions of honour (*timê*) across ancient Greek thought and social practice. While earlier studies have generally pulled out one thread of this vibrant tapestry for closer examination – whether honour and shame, *hybris*, *philotimia*, euergetism, or civic honours – here we argue for the importance of scrutizing these and other threads of honour as they were originally interwoven across the same cultural tapestry. The three-fold purpose of this panel is (a) to explore *timê* as a cultural phenomenon in all of its diversity, thereby (b) drawing greater attention to the complexities of its nature and negotiation and (c) advancing an understanding of the societal allocation of honour that better integrates these complexities.

Daniel P. Tompkins (Temple): τιμή in Thucydidean Dialogue and Diplomacy

At the "summit meeting" preceding the Peloponnesian War, Corinth assails Sparta's flawed leadership (1.68-71). Then, more subtly, the Athenians review their own record, faulting Sparta as they do so (1.73- 78). Both speeches undermine Sparta's "ontological security" and the sociolinguistic basis of her identity.
Sparta's self-assurance, the Corinthians say, harms both her allies and herself: she is untrusting *and* untrustworthy (1.68.1). The Athenians, on the other hand, offer three "justifications" for empire: δέος, τιμή, and ὠφελία (1.75.3, 76.2). These are not timeless or universal truths, as generally supposed, but contingent, culture-specific dispositions, revealed at particular places and moments. Thus with δέος, "apprehension," Athens locates herself opposite the Spartans, who are influenced rather by "panic fear," φόβος (1.23.6, 1.88). The Athenians likewise use ὠφελία cunningly, three times of Athenian actions that "benefited" all Greeks and only then of her own self-interest.
"Honour," τιμή, is even more intriguing. Surprisingly, Thucydides reserves this trait for Athenians (Pericles, Nicias and Alcibiades). Among Spartans, only Pausanias and Brasidas – telling exceptions – show interest in it. Plato, of course, did introduce his section on "timocracy" in the *Republic* with a bow to Sparta (8.543c – 545a), but that concerned timocracy's more positive side. Plato then emphasizes the dangerous "spirited" (θυμοειδής) element of timocracy, the easy slide into oligarchy (553) – at which point, Sparta has disappeared: it stands only at one end of a scale that slides from Vernant's "societal" honour to the isolating and constricting drive that ends in oligarchy. At Athens, on the other hand, societal honour co-exists with its hostile, contentious sibling.
δέος, τιμή, and ὠφελία, then, are not the universal political imperatives favored by many classicists and political scientists. Rather, the triad is one element of a supple and complex rhetorical and emotional network.

Benjamin Keim (Pomona): Aeschines' Scrutiny of Timarchus' Honour

I argue that the success of Aeschines' *Against Timarchus* should be attributed to the speaker's careful engagement with the institutional and individual discourses of Athenian honour. Although usually consulted for its remarks on Athenian sexuality, *Against Timarchus* offers valuable commentary not merely on individual (dis)honour but also, when read in light of its original historical and procedural contexts, on the manner in which extra-institutional evaluations were integrated into the *dêmos*' institutional decision- making.

I begin by exploring three interwoven discourses of Athenian citizen honour (*timê*). First, Athenian citizenship was conceived in honour terms (*epitimos*, *atimos*), with the *dêmos* an honour-group that shared in, and controlled access to, community honour(s). Second, Athens annually bestowed hundreds of honours (*timai*), ranging from crowns to civic offices, upon worthy citizens in order to inspire and reward behavior beneficial to the *polis.* Third, whenever citizens were chosen for office, their fellow-citizens scrutinized their lives and values. Only the honourable citizen could represent civic interests properly.

Within his scrutiny of Timarchus in 346/5 B.C. Aeschines evaluates citizens by their attentiveness to Athenian views of honour and shame. The good citizen honours *what* and *whom* and *how* he should, and may thus receive additional community honours. The good citizen appropriately desires such honours (*philotimos*), yet is also sensitive to any shame besmirching himself or his community. Timarchus, however, appears as 'the ultimate bad citizen': both profligate and hybristic, Timarchus was, as a result of his chosen actions and dishonourable character, without any authentic tie to the community. His shamelessness and lack of personal honour, argues Aeschines, means Timarchus is really no citizen at all.

I conclude by considering Aeschines' multiple contemporary audiences. As Athenian power wavered before the ascendancy of Macedon, as the *diapsêphêsis* questioned the *dêmos*' content and character, Aeschines argues forcefully for a vision of Athenian citizen honour – embodied by every citizen, enshrined within the laws, and managed by the *dêmos* – that was the ultimate foundation for the civic honour and standing of Athens herself.

Josine H. Blok (Utrecht): *Timê* and *Timai*: An Institutional Approach to the Distribution of Public Roles in Ancient Greece

In ancient Greece, *timai* – translated as 'honour(s)' – included all kinds of public honours and offices that the *polis* conferred on citizens and non-citizens; one subcategory of these *timai* were the *archai* (e.g. Hdt. 1.59, Arist. *Pol.* 1281a31), usually translated as 'political offices'. *Timai* is the plural of *timê,* 'honour', which in the singular indicates the standing of a person in a community. Ancient historians interested in public offices have tended to approach the *archai* as a category essentially different from other *timai*, especially priesthoods, whereas scholarship on *timê* as individual honour appears ill-equipped to consider distribution of *timai* as offices. This paper proposes an institutional approach, in which individual *timê* is fundamental to the distribution of public *timai,* in order to clarify some dynamics of ancient Greek *poleis*.

Every use of *timê* builds upon its fundamental meaning of 'value'. In a social context, *timê* entailed recognition of one's social *persona*, shown by receiving what one might expect to be one's due. Underlying this process of social evaluation we find the informal rules of reciprocity between individual and society; at the level of the *polis*, these rules were transposed into formal assessments for the just distribution of *timai*. The dynamics of *timê* were thus guided by those rules that Douglass North calls 'institutions': "the rules of the game in a society, or, more formally, [...] the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction ... [and] structure incentives in human exchange, whether political, social or economic." With North's conceptions we can identify the main rules of the process: 1) the assessment of one's value to the

community, based on valuation of one's material (wealth) and non-material ('good' birth, prowess, knowledge, etc.) assets, with additional rules for the significance of gender and age; 2) the display of conduct appropriate to one's value; 3) the bestowal of *visible* recognition by the community of the valuation thus attained (*timê*), with 4) the possibility of achieving particular honours (*timai*), notably public offices.

Dominika Grzesik (Wroclaw): The honorific polis-culture of Delphi in post-classical times

This paper explores the culture of civic honours within post-classical Delphi, as revealed through the civic honors awarded, and honorific documents recorded, by its citizens. The relevant epigraphic material is plentiful, as about one thousand honorific decrees and nearly eight hundred honorific inscriptions survive. Here, moving from the mid-4th c. B.C. through the late-2nd c. A.D., I explore the emergence, evolution, and unique features of Delphi's honorific culture.

The study of Delphi's honorific decrees allows us to redefine the history of this extraordinary community. Through the texts of these public documents we can trace its international relations with the Hellenistic monarchs and Rome, with other Greek cities and *koina*, and with particular citizens from across the Mediterranean world. Moreover, the decrees of Delphi also reveal the evolving internal situation within the *polis*. The entire honorific system was a well-organized program that functioned, was developed, and was improved upon throughout the centuries.

A particularly interesting type of granted honours are statues, which allow us to examine the Delphic statue habit against the backdrop of monumental space within post-classical Greece. The main focus of my paper is an examination of the *tituli honorarii* inscribed on bases of public statues. In order to achieve a fuller picture of 'honorific statue habit' at Delphi, however, I will also study private monuments erected with public approval in public spaces, trying to find out who, apart from the public institutions, had the right to set up statues in Delphi. This paper argues for a location of statues within public space answering the questions concerning the relevance of location: where were the statues set up in Delphi? In the sanctuary of Apollo, in agora, or in town? Were some locations more prestigious than others? Whose statues were set up in the best spots?

This 'statue habit' was a phenomenon and distinctive feature not only of Delphic but of broader Greco-Roman culture. Thus this paper concludes with further discussion on the issues of habitus, memory, and spatiality, as well as the monumental aspects of inscriptions and their engagement with the space around them.

Reassessing Honour II

Janet Powell (Birkbeck): Xenophon's *Poroi*: Honorific Practices in Fourth-Century BCE Athens

Xenophon wrote his short text *Poroi*, or *Ways and Means*, in 355 BCE, responding to the financial and political crisis in which Athens found herself after the Social War. Athens had lost most of her allies and her financial reserves were badly depleted. Xenophon proposed various strategies intended to revive trade and industry – principally by deploying state-owned slaves into the Attic silver mines – in order to generate income for the *demos* from within the state's own natural mineral resources and through the entrepreneurism of her citizens and resident metics. In order to stimulate commercial activity he also suggested the encouragement of Athenian and non-Athenian traders and entrepreneurs through the building of harbour facilities and the establishment of greater legal protection for merchants. As an inducement to benefactors and traders to

participate, he recommended the offer of various privileges and honours such as *enktesis, proedria, xenia* and inscription as a *euergetes*.

Xenophon's proposed extension of honours beyond traditional elite recipients in order to reward profit-driven commercial activity has been described as both enlightened and subversive. It has also been invoked as a response to decline, whilst the effect on society of the occasional awarding of honours to traders which did take place later in the century has been described as corrosive. This paper seeks to contextualise Xenophon's proposals within the known pattern of Athenian awarding of honours and privileges both before and after he wrote, in order to assess whether such judgements can be substantiated. It will argue that Xenophon restricted the socio-economic range of potential honorands more closely than has generally been recognised. Rather, his strategies reflected the city's pragmatic approach to the offering of limited honours in encouragement of the recipients' usefulness to the polis regardless of their status.

Mirko Canevaro (Edinburgh): The *graphê hybreos* against slaves and the honour of the *hybristês*

Hybris is commonly understood as behavior that impinges on someone else's *timê* (Fisher 1976; 1979; 1992). In Athens, acts of *hybris* could be prosecuted through a *graphê hybreos*. This public action has been interpreted as central to the workings of the democratic system – its purpose that of protecting the 'democratic dignity' of the Athenian citizens (e.g. Fisher 1992; Ober 2012).

This interpretation is called into question by the fact that the law (Dem. 21.46, 48-50; Aeschin. 1.15, 17) also makes *hybris* committed against slaves actionable. This is problematic because, if the *hybris* sanctioned by the law is that displayed in treating others as if they were of lesser status, then the possibility of *hybris* against slaves implies that there could be a status lower than that of a slave. Even worse, because *hybris* is sometimes defined as treating others as if they were slaves (Dem. 21.180), the implication seems to be that treating slaves like slaves could be considered hubristic.

In fact, Cairns (1996) stresses that *hybris* has to do not only with the (dis)honour of the victim, but also with a miscalculation of one's own *timê* – in arrogating to oneself prerogatives that are not one's own. Recent research has also highlighted that what makes an act honourable or hubristic is the opinion of a third party – the community as audience of the act – that assesses it according to shared communal norms (cf. Appiah 2010). This new understanding of *timê* and *hybris* 'can accommodate purely dispositional, apparently victimless forms of self-assertion', which are deemed hubristic because they go against the community's shared sense of appropriate behavior (Cairns 1996: 32). The Athenian understanding of *hybris* against slaves falls squarely in this category: the sources never stress the dishonour of the slave, but rather the need to sanction hubristic behavior at all levels, whoever the victim is, because of its dangers for the community (e.g. Aeschin. 1.17; Pl. *Leg.* 777c).

Øyvind Rabbås (Oslo): Honour in Aristotle's *Ethics*

The value of honour (*timê*) is evident in Aristotle. When Aristotle talks of "honour" (*timê*) he generally has in mind the outward signs of honour (i.e. "honours"), such as prizes, symbols, pride of place, deferential gestures, etc. These are visible, which is what makes honour an external good, and they can therefore be reified into objects of pursuit, competition, and even commodification. This has led scholars to focus almost exclusively on honour as an external good.

However, the value of honour is ultimately grounded in the merit or worth (*axia*) of the agent – that he is honourable or to-be-honoured. Aristotle discusses various grounds for such merit, but concludes that merit is properly ascribed on the basis of virtue, i.e. qualification for the task. So virtue grounds merit, but merit also entitles its possessor to

certain privileges, such as performing certain tasks or functions ("offices") and receiving the appropriate honour from others.

According to Aristotle virtuous action is action done from understanding and a stable character, but the action itself must be right (*EN* II 4). The extensive discussion of the individual virtues (*EN* III–V) shows that this rightness to a large extent is based in respect for the merit of others. So respecting, including honouring, each other as appropriate is a constitutive dimension of virtue and virtuous living, in Aristotle's view. Thus, while honour is an external good and the object of an agent's pursuit, it also figures in the practical life of other people, viz. those who interact with the agent, and when seen from their perspective the agent's honour appears as a value to be respected and taken into consideration in deliberation and action. In my paper I argue for the importance of the way that merit or honourability of other people figure as a crucial criterion for the rightness of an action, and a fortiori for its being virtuous. I do so by focusing on the individual virtues of character in *EN* III–V.

Reception of Homer and Archaic Poetry

Malcolm Heath (Leeds): Divine and human laughter in later Platonism

Pythagoras is said to have avoided derisive laughter. Porphyry admired Egyptian priests, whose laughter is sparing and never goes beyond a smile. Plotinus smiled when he invited a colleague to respond to Porphyry's ill-informed criticisms of their views. Given his characteristic kindliness, that was probably a more typical response than mocking laughter. In the *Enneads*, admittedly, Plotinus consistently uses *geloion* and its cognates to dismiss what is absurd or ridiculous. But judging something laughable is one thing: laughing is another.

In Plato, too, *geloion* and cognates are most frequently used to dismiss the absurd or ridiculous. But his dialogues present philosophy as social interaction, in which friendly or good-humoured laughter is unobjectionable (and more frequent than smiles). There are also instances of aggressive laughter, and the analysis in *Philebus* 48a-50a has the potential to be developed into a very negative assessment of laughter. But in the *Republic*, a fondness for laughter is objectionable only when it risks a loss of self-control: we must avoid overpowering and uncontrollable laughter. The potentially corrupting effect of showing human role-models in the grip of overpowering, uncontrollable laughter is grounds for censoring Homer; so, *a fortiori*, is the portrayal of gods in the same deplorable state.

That puts later Platonists in a complex position. Though they are influenced by a tradition that treats laughter with less qualified disapproval than Plato, their commitment to reading Homer as an exemplary theological poet obliges them to defend representations of uncontrolled divine laughter. How do they achieve this?

Lawrence Kim (Heidelberg/Trinity): Dio Chrysostom and the Imperial Greek Reception of Aeschylus

In this paper, I examine the view of Aeschylus put forward by Dio Chrysostom in his famous comparison of the *Philoctetes* plays of the three great Athenian tragedians (*Or.* 52: Luzzatto 1983; Müller 2000; Hunter 2009). I am interested particularly in the way that Dio, while vigorously defending Aeschylus and insisting upon his greatness, nevertheless acknowledges the playwright as something of an anachronism, unlike Sophocles and Euripides. For Dio, Aeschylus is a problem—a canonical, classical author, no doubt, but one that does not quite exemplify the aesthetic and stylistic values that 'classical' authors are supposed to possess. One can see this especially in Dio's recurrent references to Aeschylus' 'willfulness' (τὸ αὔθαδες: 52.4; 15), 'simplicity' (ἀπλοῦς: 52.7; 11; 15), and 'old-fashioned qualities' (τὸ ἀρχαῖον: 52.4-5)—literary-critical terms with

as much negative as positive valence. I will show how Dio manages to 'save' Aeschylus' reputation only by treating him as someone whose style, plotting, and ethics are those of a bygone era, no longer appreciated by modern readers. But how, then, can Aeschylus be called a classical author, one considered worthy of imitation by the *pepaideumenoi* of the Second Sophistic? As a look at other examples of Aeschylus-reception in the period shows, Dio reflects a broader anxiety about Aeschylus' place in the canon that has characterized his reception ever since (cf. Stanford 1942; Most 1989).

Ian Goh (Birbeck): The Younger Africanus and Homer: The Practice of Practical Quotation

Scipio Aemilianus, the younger Africanus, famously quoted *Il.* 6.448-9 on the fall of Carthage, to reflect that of Troy. On the death of Tiberius Gracchus, Homer again came to Scipio's mind, this time *Odyssey* 1.47 about the death of Aegisthus. This paper uses these two famous occasions where the statesman thought Homer worthy of citation as emblems for Scipio's self-presentation in times of crisis.

Plutarch in his *Moralia* relates that the Elder Cato appraised the young Scipio using *Odyssey* 10.495, and compares one of Scipio's fact-finding voyages to *Odyssey* 17.487. This dovetails with Polybius' use of Homer as a moral 'philosopher' (34.4.4). But does the historian deploy Homer to absolve Scipio, the far-seeing humanistic statesman, of grubby politicking? And can Homeric influence on the modest young Scipio, in Polybius' Book 31 portrayal, be exempted from the corrupting Greek laxity which surrounds him? Comparison with Philopoemen's Book 5 zeal for Homer helps analysis of the *ur*-Poet's impact on world affairs. Another member of the so-called Scipionic circle, the satirist Lucilius, creatively appropriates Homer, quoting an entire line from *Odyssey* 11 (462-3 Marx), talks of 'not blaming Homer all the way through' (408-9 Marx), and casts aspersion on those taken in by Homeric monsters (480-3 Marx). So perhaps quotation serves as hands-on application of epic to public ends.

I conclude with two late Republican re-readings of Homeric Scipio. Cicero makes Scipio quote Homer (as at *De Re Publica* 1.56, on the nod of Jupiter), and his invention of Scipio's dream in *De Re Publica* 6 is explicitly indebted to Ennius' dream of a visitation by Homer. But the distance of these examples from the original Scipio is illuminated by Lucretius' (3.1034-38) juxtaposition of Scipio and Homer as subject to the march of time: this corresponds to Scipio's own idea upon Carthage's destruction.

Rhetoric and Persuasion

Lydia Spielberg (Radboud): Universal truths and political persuasion in Tacitus

This paper considers the efficacy of commonplaces relating to political theory in the speeches of Eprius Marcellus and Petilius Cerialis in Tacitus' Histories (4.8.1-4, 4.73.1-74.4). Scholarship has focused on these speeches' interaction with Tacitus' own jaded views on freedom and empire. I argue rather that Tacitus contrasts the central role of "ideological" topoi in these speeches with the responses of their audiences in order to critique the Ciceronian-Quintilianic ideal of the influential orator who can change his listeners' moral and political views. Powerful "ideological" sententiae and topoi, however pragmatic, are shown to have no effect on their hearers.

Cicero has Crassus praise this use of commonplaces and topoi, which connect the specific question to universally applicable theses and truths, as the height of an orator's task (DO 122). By manipulating well-known commonplaces and framing new ideas as axioms, orators impose their worldview on their audiences as "universal truths" (Gildenhard 2001).

Although speaking about concrete issues, Marcellus and Cerialis devote most of their speeches to changing their audience's worldviews in this way, confronting appeals to

libertas in the senate and provinces respectively with a ruthlessly pragmatic topos: "pray for good rulers, but endure whatever you get" (4.8.2, 4.74.2; cf. Thucydides 5.89.1). The space devoted to elaborating the truth of this worldview, however, proves rhetorically irrelevant; Tacitus shows their audiences responding instead to appeals to their self-interest and fear (4.8.4: metu; 4.74.4: graviora metuentes). The disparity between the speeches' focus on the universal and their success only in the particular constitutes a Tacitean refutation of the "ideal orator." It appears that political philosophy and ideology only provide speakers (and their audiences) with a plausible ethical veneer for speeches appealing to less elevated motives. That in the Histories unflinching Realpolitik provides such a veneer is perhaps Tacitus' most cynical comment on contemporary oratory.

Sarah Lawrence (New England): How to Shame Cicero: Persuasion, Ethics and History in Seneca the Elder, *Suasoria*, 6.

Seneca the Elder notes that few speakers dared argue for the affirmative in s*uasoria* six: 'Cicero ponders whether he should beg mercy from Antony' (*Suas.* 6.12). Though *suasoriae* necessarily could be argued from either side, all but one speaker urged Cicero to die in the strongest possible terms (e.g. *Suas.* 6.2). This paper seeks to explain why by examining the tools of persuasion used in this emotive *suasoria*. Wilson has argued that declamation provided a stage for negotiating the new political context of early imperial Rome (2008); I will similarly focus on the richness of *suasoriae*, but as ethical and historical texts.
On an ethical level, recommending that Cicero not compromise himself by pleading with a tyrannical figure might seem fitting; Roller, expanding on Quintilian, argues that morality - the question of what is *honestas* - is the core of declamation (1997, 113). In the case of Seneca himself, Bloomer argues that the declamatory works are primarily concerned with articulating and exploring contemporary social frameworks of ethics and identity (1997, 212-215). Nevertheless, historicity could be just as important as morality when treating a figure like Cicero; according to Quintilian, appropriateness to both imagined audience and *persona* was crucial (*Inst.* 3.8.39-50). Thus, despite modern perceptions of anachronism in the text (Gunderson, 2003, 83) and Seneca's own pointed division between declamation and history (*Suas.* 6.14-6), Seneca evaluates speakers' readings of Cicero's character for their accuracy (*Suas.* 6.12) and the speeches frequently build arguments on historical *exempla*, events, and even quotations from primary sources, including Cicero's own works. In short, the speakers attempt simultaneously to inhabit Cicero's specific context and articulate moral ideas that resonate with their contemporary audience. I argue that this tension makes *suasoriae* a unique source for exploring the way in which Romans understood, and reconciled, living ethical standards and their own past.

Jennifer Hilder (KCL): Licence for *Licentia*: frankness of speech in the late Roman Republic and early Empire

The existence of the freedom of speech in the ancient world is a debated concept (Raaflaub 2004). In the Greek world, the term *parrhesia* was used to describe 'free speech' but scholarly consensus holds that there is no equivalent in the Latin language. Although the potential for speaking freely is demonstrated by the prevalence of invective in Cicero's speeches, *libertas* was used as a catch-all for freedom of all kinds (Arena 2012). Scholars add that, when speech went too far in the Roman world, it was labelled *licentia* (Braund 2004).
The evidence from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, a rhetorical handbook contemporary with Cicero's youthful *de Inventione*, suggests otherwise. In the handbook, *licentia* is found as a figure of diction (4.36.48), a technique recommended by the anonymous

author of the text. *Licentia* is not only encouraged but described as a right, *ius*, that the orator ought to perform. Four examples of such *licentia* demonstrate that the technique can be used to appeal to the *Quirites*, fellow citizens, and *iudices*, men of the jury. In a public assembly or law court, then, this form of speech was permissible at the time of writing.

By the time Quintilian wrote his *Institutio Oratoria*, however, the common term for this form of speaking was *oratio libera* (9.2.27). Quintilian recognises that it had been called *licentia* by some, and *parrhesia* by the Greeks, but the implication is that terminology had changed in the intervening years.

In this paper I will argue that the meaning of the term *licentia* underwent a transformation. By tracing the term from the *ad Herennium* through Ciceronian texts, I suggest that it was in Cicero's interest to recast certain forms of speech as negative and that the change results from Ciceronian usage.

Roman and Late Antique History

Elizabeth Palazzolo (UPenn): The sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia and Praenestine Civic Identity

The massive sanctuary complex of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste is the most recognizable feature of the city that survives to the present, and would have similarly dominated the visual landscape of the ancient town. Literary references to the cult of Fortuna at Praeneste in Livy and Valerius Maximus, as well as the presence of Fortuna on coins issued by members of families associated with Praeneste, suggest that contemporary Romans closely associated the cult of Fortuna Primigenia with Praeneste as well. This paper evaluates the context of the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, focusing particularly on its relationship to other central Italian sanctuaries constructed in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, as well as the literary evidence for the worship for Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste and at Rome, and argues that the sanctuary should be understood as closely tied to Praenestine civic identity. The construction of the sanctuary's grandest incarnation in the late 2nd century BCE expanded a shrine to Fortuna that had existed in the central civic space of of Praeneste for centuries. As this massive construction project occurred in a period for which we have few sources attesting to the relationship of Rome and Praeneste, the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia provides one of the only pieces of evidence for Praeneste's civic identity and relationship with Rome's growing political and military power in the period between the Roman-Latin wars of the late 4th century BCE and the Social War. The construction of a massive complex that attracted worshippers from afar and that was closely tied to the physical space it occupied, I argue, should be taken together with Roman literary references to the town as evidence of a thriving community at Praeneste shortly before its incorporation into the Roman citizen body as a result of the Lex Julia.

Byron Waldron (Sydney): Diocletian, Hereditary Succession and the Attitudes of the Soldiery

The emperor Diocletian is notable, among other things, for his failure to conform to the norms of hereditary succession. In 293, 305 and 308 CE Diocletian oversaw the co-option of men into the imperial college. On each occasion the biological sons of ruling emperors were overlooked. I argue that Diocletian's repeat snubbing of imperial sons was largely influenced by the fact that soldiers had become disillusioned with claims to legitimacy based upon blood connections.

Through a survey of the history of the post-Severan period I demonstrate this disillusionment and argue that they were far more interested in having an emperor-general. Using Phang's 2001 study of soldiers and family, I show that this attitude

stemmed not merely from practical concerns, but from the societal perspective of the military, which less valued marriage and children, and by extension familial inheritance. This factor is suggested by military ideology and culture, past and present legal regulations and the role of the family as attested in documentary and literary sources. The attitudes of the soldiery played a major role in Diocletian's decisions due to their exceptionally great readiness to revolt against the emperor in the later third century and Diocletian's own background as a soldier.

James Corke-Webster (Durham): A Christian Network on Classical Lines: Intellectuals in Eusebius of Caesarea's Ecclesiastical History

Early Christianity was a series of highly fragmented communities scattered across the Empire for much of the first three hundred years of its existence. That range of contexts and influences, as well as only intermittent communication, spawned an eclectic range of views, attitudes and inevitable conflicts. But this is not the picture of the early church we get from its earliest historian, Eusebius of Caesarea, writing in the early fourth century. Eusebius presents us with a picture of Empire-wide homogeneity and harmony. That literary picture was achieved by twin narrative tactics: foregrounding epistolary communication and constructing chains of pedagogical succession. Eusebius conscientiously records the author(s) and addressee(s) of countless letters going right back to Jesus himself to create a matrix of reciprocal letters. He then works to suggest that these disparate Christian writers were related through teacher-pupil ties, and exaggerates the scope and extent of institutionalised Christian "schools". These twin ties of intellectual inheritance and epistolary communication are the means by which Eusebius constructs a worldwide church, homogenous through time and space, the same in the first century as the fourth, and in Gaul as in Edessa. But they are also two strategies with classical roots, employed most prominently in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* and Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*. This paper will explore Eusebius' debt to this tradition, and its role in his wider vision of Christianity as the true inheritor of Rome and her values.

Roman Satire

Andreas Gavrielatos (Edinburgh): Persius' attack on the masses as a paradigm for reading his *Satires*

Juvenal is annoyed by the massive and un-critical behaviour of the peoples who are allured by the 'panem et circenses' practices of the emperors (*S.* 10.81). The attack to peoples' superficiality and vain aspirations that eliminate their potentials for critical thinking, making them easy targets to propagandas, mass culture, and stereotypes is an old interest of Roman satire. Persius connects seems to condemn this society and deliberately exclude them from his potential audience: *vel duo vel nemo* (*S.* 1.3).
This paper aims to understand the way the behaviour and the reactions of the masses are received by the satirist throughout his book. Furthermore, to try and identify the features of the masses that provoke the satirist's criticism.
Throughout Persius satires it is possible to find constant themes and recurring problems or thoughts, and metaphors, which have been thoroughly examined by the scholars in the filed. However, although implications created by metaphors have been thoroughly discussed, the features attributed to the Roman society that resemble a mass behaviour, have not been addressed before. Alongside the constant metaphors, the presentation of mass behaviours in every aspect of Roman life, from literature to morals and religion, and their condemnation dominate Persius' satires. Moreover, it will be shown that this topic becomes a link between them and offers a constant theme from the Prologue to all six poems. Through the constant problematic of this behaviour, the satirist is able to

address particular aspects he wishes to attack and develop links between them, such as the known relationship between morals and poetics in *S*. 1.

Osman Umurhan (New Mexico): The Globalizing World of Juvenal's *Satires*

Juvenal concludes his second satire (2.159-170) with a statement about Rome's expansion beyond Ireland and Great Britain (*Iuvernae,* 2.160; *Orcadas, Britannos,* 2.161) and its repercussions, namely increased commerce and communication (*commercia*, 2.166) between Rome and its geographic frontier. This link between core and periphery establishes the opportunity for cultural exchange—via people and goods—that potentially threatens both Rome's institutions and, equally, foreign practices on the margins of its empire. The author's anxiety about circulation between the local (Rome) and the global (Armenia, Great Britain, etc.) speaks to a larger discourse about the consequences of increased connectivity, sense of place and identity in the *Satires* that acquires deeper resonance when applied to current bio- and sociological theories of globalization and the modern experience (Robertson 1992, Appadurai 1996, Tomlinson 1999, Robertson and Inglis 2004).
In this paper I argue how Juvenal's examination of these threats to some of Rome's political (Satire 2.159-170), social (7.98-105) and economic (11.1-10) institutions comes into sharper relief when read against one process of globalization entitled "deterritorialization." This process involves the increasing flow of people, goods and foods to a locality—the conditions of which "act to dislodge everyday experience and meaning construction from their 'anchors' in the local environment" (Tomlinson 2012). The author's literary portrait illustrates how the indiscriminate circulation of people and goods dislodges the meanings of these institutions (and their participants) from their traditional and stable Republican context anchored in the city of Rome. Juvenal's Rome of the Imperial period, instead, showcases the result of deterritorialization in the example of displaced clients, local environmental devastation and political upheaval.
In conclusion, deterritorialization proves not only relevant to the study of "pre-modern" contexts including Rome (Jennings 2011, Pitts and Versluys 2015), but also helps delineate more clearly how Juvenal must negotiate the shifting parameters of cultural and political activity at Rome because of increased connectivity with the Imperial world at large.

Nancy Shumate (Smith College): Full Circle: The Re-emergence of Anger in Juvenal, *Satire* 15

An established strain of Juvenal criticism sees a distinction between the tone of the earlier poems, especially *Satires* 1-6 with their signature *indignatio*, and the later poems, which are read as repudiating *ira* in favor of detachment or humanitarian sympathy. On the other hand, others have seen this poem as a return to *ira*, whether they focus on the speaker's righteous indignation, taken seriously, at the crimes of the Egyptians, or the destructive anger of the Egyptians themselves.
McKim approaches the return of *ira* in 15 from another angle, arguing that the "tirade is a tissue of hysterical racism, stupid morbidity, and smug self-congratulation." This comment provides a key to situating the anger of *Satire* 15, when we remember that it is also a perfect description of Juvenal's most famous angry character, Umbricius in *Satire* 3. I argue that the speaker of *Satire* 15 is a carefully worked out reprise of precisely that earlier nativist/xenophobe, transposed from the domestic to the provincial sphere. The mechanics of his rhetoric of othering closely track those of Umbricius, and characterization through speech (hyperbole, logical lapse, etc.) undermines the pronouncements of both. The patina of civility in 15 is strained at every turn; it is as if Umbricius is posing as cosmopolitan, with intermittent success, in another rhetorical context.

Linking *Satires* 3 and 15 in this way allows us to include 15 in the set of 1, 3, 6, and possibly 9, all of which articulate prototypes of what we might now call nationalist, colonialist, misogynist, and homophobic discourse, and the cross-currents among them. Here anger is explored or revealed (depending on one's degree of acceptance of *persona* theory) not just as a rhetorical construct or a philosophical issue, but as a driver of real ideological formations.

Greco-Roman Topography and Art

Claudia Baldassi (Edinburgh): Dioscuri, Leucippides, Apharetidae: a story in the making, from the Archaic period to Theocritus

Theocritus' *Idyll 22* is a hymn to the Dioscuri; it follows quite closely the structure of traditional hymns, but with an unexpected twist to a traditional story. For the first time ever, Castor is the only protagonist of the abduction of the Leucippides and of the fight with the Apharetidae, their husbands-to-be. However, what should attract our attention is the connection itself between the two episodes – never before had it happened, at least in literary sources. While both episodes are widely attested, mainly in iconography, they do not converge until the Hellenistic period.
Nonetheless, Theocritus is not the one who invented the abduction as the cause of the fight – the iconography already hints at it before. Probably, he is the first to introduce the abduction *of the brides-to-be* as the cause of the fight, but this extra detail – satisfying from both a logical and an emotional point of view – is only the conclusion of an evolutionary process that brought to the fusion of two episodes into one.
In the beginning, the Dioscuri took part with the Apharetidae in an ill-fated cattle raid. They still abducted their chosen brides, but in a completely different (and we can assume more successful) context – a cultic context, judging by the pottery paintings. By the time we have our first detailed narration of the episode in the Hellenistic age (i.e. Theocritus'), these events have all merged into a single, more complex structure. How did it happen? This paper aims to shed some light on the main moments of this story, with a particular focus on the interactions between literary and iconographic sources.

Brian Martens (Oxford): Portable artworks and shifting sacred space: Marble statuettes in Roman and late antique Greece

This paper explores how marble statuettes enhanced or even created sacred space in Greece during the Roman and Late Antique periods. Special focus is given to the evidence from the Athenian Agora with comparative study of selected assemblages from Corinth, Delos, and Epidauros. The author argues that these highly portable artworks were displayed primarily in households and, less frequently, in sanctuaries and elsewhere, and that their moveable nature contributed to ever-shifting private and public sacred landscapes. A contextual approach reveals the difficulties associated with the reconstruction of a specific display space within these settings, suggesting that statuettes were placed in varied viewing environments over lives bridging multiple generations. Non-anchored religious artworks, when found outside of the boundaries of a formal precinct, problematize the idea of a fixed sacred space. It is accepted that an object sited within a religious precinct is sacred, usually in terms of being a dedication; however, can an object endowed with religious meaning in an otherwise neutral setting—in this case, a statuette of a divinity, usually in the form of a recognized cult type—create or shift sacred space? The author concludes that, in some instances, sacred space was visualized as moveable and permeable, much affected by the presence or absence of art.

Nicolas Liney (Sydney): Censorial building programs and public space in Rome

The extensive civic building programs of the censors in the middle Republic are well known, as is the central role of the censor in the superintendence of public works and spaces in Rome. However, the legislative and legal frameworks within which this magistracy engaged in public building is little understood. Recent scholarship (Russell 2011, Cooper 2007, Milnor 2005) has also helped us understand the definition of 'public' and 'private' spaces, and the importance of these categories in the study of Roman topography.

Less well observed, however, is the legislative and legal framework within which the censorship operated. Moreover, the mechanics behind the assignation of public space, and the processes by which it could be adapted and produced, is unclear. How was public space in the city created? What do the logistics, procedures and legalities involved in the creation of designation of public space tell us about how such spaces were or could be understood?

My paper examines the censor's role in the production of public spaces between 220 – 125BC. I focus on three vehicles for the acquisition of land within the city – purchase, donation, and confiscation. Close reading of this evidence suggests that the means by which land was acquired influenced the ways in which it was used.

Rome in the provinces: Tacitus and the peripheries of empire
Tacitus' works are dominated by the uncomfortable political relationship between the senatorial elite and the principate: the *Agricola* narrates the rise and fall of his father-in-law under the paranoid and jealous Domitian; the *Histories* recount the power struggles that followed the death of Nero and the vicissitudes of the Flavian regime; and the *Annals* delve back into the Julio-Claudian roots of the principate and a long sequence of confrontations between the new regime and the recently disempowered aristocracy. But Tacitus is not concerned just with internal affairs: at key junctures throughout his corpus he directs his readers' attention to events at the fringes of the empire, which are also characterized by struggles for control and a stand-off between domination and liberty. Although scholars have often explained these provincial narratives as leisurely digressions to offer a break in the narrative, as a display of the author's mastery of a range of literary genres, or as a subtle and nuanced commentary on the pervasive and cyclical nature of the human condition, a growing body of work has shown that they also illuminate the narratives of domestic politics in which they are embedded. This panel aims to consolidate and develop the insights of this approach with a series of close readings drawn from Tacitus' oeuvre.

In sum, this panel will provide a tour of Tacitus' empire from the centre to the fringes and reconsider the function of provincial voices, character, behaviour, and ethnography in his corpus.

Mark Bradley (Nottingham): Noble savages? British behavior and political ethics in Tacitus' *Agricola*

'Britons never, never, never shall be slaves': so concludes the chorus of Arne's 'Rule Britannia!' (1740). But back when Britain was on the receiving end of imperial conquest, Tacitus knew only too well that empire, political domination and slavery were mutually dependent. His *Agricola* presents a biography both of his father-in-law and of a nation fractured by the mechanics of Roman *imperium*: Britons in the south, lulled into a false sense of security by the attractions of Roman civilization (*humanitas*), effectively became slaves (*ubi pars servitutis esset*, 21.3), whereas those in the north offered the Romans fierce and noble resistance to protect their freedom ('*nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos*', as the British chieftain Calgacus puts it, 30.3). Britain itself – its climate and terrain – is presented as an indomitable nation, a challenge both for the disciplined

Roman governor and for the ambitious historiographer, but Tacitus also forces us to consider the challenge faced by the Britons who had to come to terms with a new way of life. Metaphors of slavery and freedom abound: nearly thirty instances in the *Agricola*, applied to senatorial politics under Domitian and to provincial experience in Britain alike. This paper will examine the representation of Britain and Britons in the *Agricola* – geography and ethnography, as well as the words of resistance put into the mouths of Boudicca and Calgacus – in order to survey the connections invited by Tacitus between the advent of the principate in the metropolis and the effects of imperial conquest at the peripheries. What was the most appropriate form of behaviour in these challenging landscapes: noble resistance with inevitable annihilation, or submissive compliance? Tacitus' trademark pessimism leaves us scratching our heads, but he shrewdly persuades us that the internal power struggles of the principate and the external politics of empire were closely intertwined.

Katie Low (Oxford/Independent): *…acrior est Germanorum libertas*? Distance, proximity, and the two halves of the *Germania*

Recent work on the *Germania* has shown how its multi-faceted portrayal of Germany and the Germans echo aspects of Roman history and society. But there has been less specific focus on the second half of the text – a catalogue of individual tribes and their links to Rome in the context of recent history (28-46) – and indeed on its distinctive bipartite structure; the relationship between this section and the preceding ahistorical description of the Germans as a primitive people (1-27) is far from clear.
This paper will address both issues. I will begin by suggesting that this portrayal of the Germans as both a single group wholly unlike the Romans and a collection of different peoples whose history is entwined with Rome's reflects the double role played by northern barbarians in late republican and early imperial historiography. The sense that they may be both opposites and associates of Rome echoes Caesar's fundamental characterisations, looks forward to characters (especially Arminius) who feature in the *Annals*, and represents a historical reality in which Germans could serve as partners in practical imperialism but also be presented in imperial rhetoric as mortal enemies of Rome and continuing targets for conquest.
I will then argue that the *Germania*'s second half presents a further perspective. The catalogue of tribes, in a loose geographical sequence spanning both morally upstanding and degenerate peoples, reflects Rome's own past trajectory and its present contradictions; there is correlation between German autocracy and dysfunctionality, but some of the most martial tribes are those who have come under Roman influence. Tacitus' portrayal of German affairs offers uneasy echoes of Rome under Domitian and, perhaps more subtly, addresses the question of how under the principate so few Romans had influence within a state that ruled over so many others abroad.

Myles Lavan (St Andrews): From Calgacus to Boudicca: revisiting rebellion in *Annals* 14

Over the course of his writing career, Tacitus returned again and again to the subject of northern barbarians rebelling against Rome. The series of Tacitean rebels includes Calgacus, Civilis, Arminius, Caratacus and Boudicca – to mention only the most important. By narrating their rebellions and giving voice to their complaints, he was building on a tradition that stretched back to Sallust and Caesar. He was also repeatedly revisiting his own earlier work.
Much has been written about how these accounts of barbarians struggling for *libertas* are bound up with Tacitus' analysis of the Roman *res publica*. Less has been said about these texts read as a sequence – about the ways in which the later examples reaffirm, refine or revise the meaning of the earlier material. This paper offers a study in intratextuality within the Tacitean corpus. Focussing on Tacitus' Boudicca narrative in

Annals 14, it explores how meaning is created through interaction with earlier narratives of rebellion in Britain, Germany and Gaul.

The paper will show that the metaphor of provincial enslavement familiar from earlier narratives is here made literal in the physical treatment of Boudicca's family and retainers, that Boudicca's gender is exploited to bring out a theme of irrationality latent in earlier revolt narratives and that the remarkable compression of Boudicca's short speech in indirect discourse concentrates material covered at much greater length in earlier rebel speeches.

Simon Malloch (Nottingham): Tacitus' eastern narratives in the *Annals*

This paper will discuss the function of Tacitus' narratives of Parthian/Armenian affairs in the *Annals*. Starting broadly, I will discuss why Tacitus might have judged it appropriate to includes *res externae* in the *Annals* at all. I will then turn to examining the eastern narratives and their internal features. I shall consider to what extent they form a cohesive narrative in themselves, and how far they can reasonably be said to join Tacitus' writings on the western peripheries in influencing reading of the Roman material in the narrative contexts in which they appear, and vice versa. Scholars have perceived similarities between Tacitus' presentation of Roman and Parthian/Armenian politics. Do they suggest a conscious attempt on his part to design eastern *res externae* as a mirror for *res internae*? The nature of Tacitus' historiographical project and the importance of eastern affairs to the history of the early principate suggest that he was otherwise motivated to include eastern affairs in the *Annals*. This paper will consider what other factors were at play in Tacitus' construction of these narratives, how similarities with *res internae* might be generated, and how Tacitus' approach to eastern narratives relates to his treatment of western affairs.

Sensational Sanctuaries

Ancient Italic and Greek sanctuaries were multisensory locales unlike any other in the ancient world, since they were outside lived space. This session explores how the physical spaces of sacred sites and sanctuaries may have been experienced by people with differing degrees of sensory acuity. It also considers the perspectives of those people who made a journey to a sanctuary. The physical effort of reaching these places made demands on the body, and the journey (sometimes a pilgrimage) heightened sensory awareness, creating particular bonds between person and place. For the sick, injured or disabled individual who visited the sanctuary in search of healing, certain senses may have been impaired, and others enhanced, which would have impacted on their interaction with, and understanding of, the sacred space. In addition, someone visiting a sanctuary as part of a rite of passage, such as preparing to give birth, would have had very different physical and emotional sensory experiences from their everyday life. In considering the multisensory experience of sacred landscapes, we should also take into account those who accompanied visitors to the sanctuary, or who worked there in an official capacity, since their sensory perception of the place would differ from those people who were seeking solace from the gods.

The papers in this session explore the nuances of these different experiences from a multisensory perspective. They consider some of the possible relationships between the human body, sanctuaries and their associated landscapes and material culture, with a particular emphasis on the effects these relationships had on the senses. A question underpinning each of the papers is the extent to which it is possible to understand (and, perhaps, to empathise with) the experience of ancient sanctuaries and the impact these experiences may have had in defining sanctuaries as sacred, religious, or merely ritualised places.

Matteo Fulvio Olivieri (Milan): Hearing Ethnicity and Sensing the God: Landscape, Communities, and Sensory Experience at the Sanctuary of Apollo of Delos

The social functions and the psychological meaning of the cult of Apollo at Delos can be explored by three factors: the sacral values of the island of Delos, the identity of the cultic community, and the sensory experiences in the festivals honouring Apollo. The whole of the landscape of Delos was sacred, by the agency of myth, tradition, and human practice: hence the spatial, visual, and psychological experience for the pilgrims was one of spatial displacement and heightened psychological sensitivity.
The cultic community that attended the Delian festivals was a composite social environment of sacred delegations form city-states of Ionian ethnic identity and from the broader Cycladic and trans-Aegean maritime region. The partaking communities spoke a multiplicity of Greek sub-dialects and local varieties: from a perspective of sensory studies, this determined for the pilgrims an immediate aural experience of identity, diversity, and sharing. The other key sensory experience was the lyric performances associated with the rituals: expressing homogeneity in their immediate formal and musical features, but also local and *polis* interests in their content.
The values of the Delian landscape and the pilgrims' sensory experiences can be understood in light of recent scholarship on ethnicity and identity. Points to be considered include: the importance of underpinning factors, the centrality of kinship and territory, the instrumentalist approach to ethnicity as a social tool, the permeability of ethnic boundaries, and dynamics of aggregative or oppositive identities. In revising the values attached to the sanctuary of Delos and the rituals to Apollo we may identify a set of factors functional to a discourse on ethnicity and shared collective identity in which the pilgrims were both performers and spectators, experiencing both unity and differences.

Patty Baker (Kent): Views and their Contribution towards the Salubrious Nature of Greek Healing Sanctuaries

Plutarch asked in his *Moralia* (286 D) "why is the shrine of Aesculapius (in Rome) outside the city? Is it because they considered it more healthful to spend their time outside the city than within the city walls? In fact, the Greeks as, might be expected have their shrines of Asclepius situated in places which are clean and high, ... and the Epidaurians have their shrine of Asclepius at some distance from the city." The answers presented give us a possible insight into how the Romans in Italy may have understood an environment ideal for healing in Greece. Yet, the archaeological evidence does not support Plutarch's claim. Greek Asclepia were not always placed in high or rural locations. For example, the sanctuary in Athens was located in the city on the lower, southern slope of the Acropolis. When comparing the geographical features of healing sanctuaries in Greece and Asia Minor, it is apparent that they share similar views in both urban and rural settings – they are either orientated towards mountains, the sea or both. Although there is evidence in some cases that there was a religious association between the sanctuary and the mountain it was orientated towards, the aspect also contributed towards the sensory experience – in this case vision – the pilgrim/patient who would have had when visiting the site. In this paper, a comparison of ancient medical and philosophical literature with the environmental situation of healing sanctuaries will demonstrate that pleasant views were believed to have contributed towards one's overall wellbeing. Thus, when people visited healing sanctuaries for their conditions their senses were stimulated to improve their health. The sites were likely chosen and constructed, in part, because of how the environment contributed towards a sense of calm and healthfulness.

Eleanor Betts (Open University): Fluid Bodies: Experiencing 'Abnormal Water' in the Sacred Landscape of Adriatic Central Italy

Water, vital for human life and taking multifarious forms, was an intrinsic element of the sanctuaries of ancient Italy (Edlund-Berry, 2006, p. 174). This paper explores the ritual use of water in Adriatic central Italy (Marche and North Abruzzo). A phenomenological approach is taken in order to understand how water affected the contact senses of smell, taste and touch. These are often referred to as the 'lower' senses (Howes, 2005, p. 10) because the sensations they stimulate are immediate and proximal (Hall, 1966, pp. 107–22). Whilst the sensations of smell, taste and touch will be given primacy, the visual and aural will play their part, as the relative importance of each sense in relation to 'abnormal water' is explored.
Ruth Whitehouse applied the term 'abnormal water' to types of water often found in Italy's karstic cave systems, namely, hot, coloured by a high mineral content, bitter-tasting or solid (1992, p. 133; 2016). In contrast, the water which sustains life should be cold, clear and potable. Here, I expand Whitehouse's definition to include a wider range of sacred sites and their associated water contexts, specifically thermal and mineralised springs and rivers, which Pliny (*NH* 32–3) and Seneca (*NQ* 3.1–2) describe as having particular curative or harmful properties. 'Abnormal water' is defined here as water which has colour, taste and/or smell, and which may in addition be hot, volatile, solid or stagnant (cf. Edlund-Berry 1987, pp. 54–5; 2006).
The aim is to illustrate that taking a phenomenological approach to the effects of water on the human body enables a fuller understanding of the function of Italic sanctuaries and of the people who used them. Questions considered include the extent to which these places should be described as healing sanctuaries and the role of women as participants in the rituals.

Emma-Jayne Graham (Open University): Feet of Clay: Movement, Mobility and Religious Knowledge in the Sanctuaries of Ancient Italy

The sanctuaries of early Roman central Italy were filled with gifts offered to the divine in expectation of, or in gratitude for acts of divine healing. Amongst them were models of feet, legs and the lower torso, connected perhaps with petitions concerning mobility: injuries, walking difficulties, congenital conditions and paralysis. But these objects could also be multivalent, potentially acting as a material declaration of both a pilgrim's journey to, and subsequent presence at, a sacred site or a celebration of movement through the life-course or society. Together they point towards both real and metaphorical movement as a fundamental framework for votive cult. Following recent scholarship in the field of religious studies which has demonstrated that religious knowledge is produced by kinaesthetic experience, or 'the patterns of feelings and sensations bound up with performances, objects, and spaces' (Morgan, 2010, p. xiv), this paper will argue that ideas about movement were encoded and expressed in ritual activities as well as embedded in individualised experiences of mobility and sensory understandings of ancient sanctuary landscapes. In particular attention will be drawn to the extent to which existing work on movement, the senses, place and religious identity is predicated largely on the model of a 'perfect' body whereas the votives left at ancient sanctuaries attest to the presence of petitioners and pilgrims with a range of differentially mobile and potentially painful bodies. An investigation of how the consequently disparate sensory experiences of these people could create distinctive forms of religious knowledge concerning the nature of sacred places and religious performances, makes it possible to argue that 'movement' was instrumental for defining the identity of particular religious communities and for producing dynamic and fluid understandings of ancient sanctuary landscapes.

Sexuality of persuasion: Body, garb, and gender in Greek oratory
This panel aims to examine the persuasive potential of references to body, attire, and gender in Greek oratory. These are important aspects of the oratorical debate, whose influence on the audience has yet to be fully examined by modern scholarship on the Greek orators. In the transmitted speeches, references to an opponent's unusual physical characteristics, attire, gait, gestures, posturing, sexual deviancy, villainy, or misbehaviour are a form of vigorous attack – often based on gendered expectations – that are aimed at undermining arguments, discrediting moral worth and social standing, and estranging the adversary from the audience.

Thomas K. Hubbard (Austin): Timarchus' Body as Rhetorical Evidence

Aeschines' infamous prosecution of Timarchus is notable for its lack of real evidence of the defendant's alleged prostitution, but Aeschines' rhetoric effectively deploys Timarchus' physical appearance as demonstrative of his guilt. The judges' gaze is repeatedly directed toward Timarchus' presence in the court through deictic demonstratives and vocative addresses. Aeschines ridicules Timarchus' unrestrained oratorical gestures for exposing too much of his body, in contrast with the dignified sobriety of ancient orators who kept their arms tightly wrapped beneath their cloaks (25-26). Timarchus' self-confident style of corporal gesture is thus focalized as tangible proof of his bodily shamelessness.
I suggest that the law on scrutiny of orators which forms the basis of Aeschines' case was an innovation of the radical democratic culture of the late fifth-century, where claims of prostitution could be used to attack an enemy's citizen-status (as in Aristophanes, *Knights* 875-80). This "law" was a collective memory and cultural codification of the principles behind demagogic attacks on handsome elite opponents whose pederastic histories made them easy targets for exaggerated claims of mercenary motives or questionable adherence to "citizen" values.

Andreas Serafim (Dublin/Cyprus): Body, attire, and sexual deviancy in Aeschines' speeches

In his speeches 1 (*Against Timarchus*) and 2 (*On the False Embassy*), Aeschines refers five times to Demosthenes as being a *kinaidos*: 1.131, 181; 2.88, 99, 151. In 1.131, for example, Aeschines refers to Demosthenes' luxurious clothing, his effeminate physique, and the lack of military valour as being indications of his *kinaidia*. These are the only attestations of that term in oratory; and *kinaidos* has limited ancient warrant, being rarely used in other contexts (e.g. in Plato's *Gorgias* 494e; Aristotle's *Physiognomonica* 808a, 810a, 813a). This limited use makes it hard to pin down the traits of a *kinaidos*. Winkler ("Laying down the law: the oversight of men's sexual behaviour in classical Athens") defines *kinaidos* as the sexually insatiable individual, who succumbs to homosexual promiscuity, while Davidson ("Dover, Foucault and Greek Homosexuality: Penetration and the Truth of Sex") sees him as an effeminate men-seducer. This paper uses the repeated references to Demosthenes as *kinaidos* in Aeschines 1 and 2 to explore the traits of a *kinaidos*; how this accusation functions as a means of character assassination; and what its persuasive ends are.

Konstantinos Kapparis (Florida): Women in the dock: body and gender in women's trials

Among the fragments of the attic orators we find a number of speeches delivered in trials of women for a narrow range of offences, usually involving religion or immigration. References to physical appearance, sexual behaviours, profanities, dress, rituals, female paraphernalia, and art objects had an important role to play in these

cases. These topics luckily attracted the attention of later grammarians and lexicographers, allowing us to see how gender and sexuality could become significant factors, even when they were unrelated to the core charge. Some memorable cases, like the trial of Phryne for impiety and the unusual defence strategies of Hypereides, the renowned conviction of the priestess Ninos, the trial against Lais (which contained uncustomary obscenities and references to sexual positions that shocked later scholars), the vicious prosecution of Aristagora, and the famous case involving the priestess of Athena, for which Lycurgus delivered a much admired speech, were remembered in later centuries, not so much for their core arguments, as for these gender-related stratagems and vectors of attack. This paper aims to explore the factors of gender and sexuality in the prosecution of women in Athenian courts, and how they influenced the outcome of these cases.

Eleni Volonaki (Peloponnese): Women in homicide cases

This paper aims to explore the role of women in Athenian homicide trials, in particular the representation of women as plotters or accomplices to homicide as well as the persuasive value of the arguments concerning female thoughts and acts in these cases. Two female figures in Antiphon's *Against the Stepmother* are of particular interest: the stepmother, who plotted her husband's murder, and the mistress who followed the stepmother's advice in order to win back the love of her man, but ended up murdering both the stepmother's husband and her lover.
This paper examines the persuasive capacity of the arguments used against the stepmother, especially in terms of how these arguments influence the audience's behaviour, and activate their ideology and expectations in respect to such an accusation against an Athenian woman. Issues of gender and sexuality concerning the female argumentation for persuasion, the plan for murder and the choice of poisoning, are worth exploring as a means of rhetorical manipulation. In this regard, Antiphon's speech provides interesting insights into Athenian attitudes to gender and sexuality, female seduction, deception, homicide and revenge perpetrated by women in the context of the long-standing homicide law of Drakon.

Suetonius and Imperial Biography

Oliver O'Sullivan (Maynooth): We of the Crooked Walk: Characterization and *aurea mediocritas* in Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*

It is not what Caesar did but rather how he did it that is telling of his personality. In *De vita Caesarum*, Suetonius crafts deliberate and layered characterizations of his Caesars. 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. This paper will examine Suetonius' characterizations of the Caesars, within the Julio-Claudian *Lives*, via the concept of *aurea mediocritas*. The various illustrations of finding a medium offered by Cicero and Quintilian will be used to articulate the concept, for example in Cicero's *De Officiis* where the idea of a mean between extremes is important to *decorum* (Cic. *Off*. 1.128-9; 1.131). This will be utilized in reading the various representations of emperors in Suetonius' *Lives*. The main points of discussion will include the contrast and interplay between Suetonius' portrayals of Augustus and Tiberius, with the former being exemplary in terms of physical appearance and mannerisms (*Aug*. 79) and the latter's proving disagreeable and interpreted as arrogant (*Tib*. 68). In a similar way, the juxtaposition of Suetonius' accounts on Augustus' elegant oratorical style (*Aug*. 86) and Tiberius' pedantry (*Tib*. 70) are also illustrative of finding the medium in behaviour. Furthermore, moderation in respect of such personal mannerisms in the *Augustus*

serves to heighten the extremities of characterization found in the *Caligula* and *Nero*. In respect to these matters, this paper will seek a more intricate understanding of Suetonius' biographical construction and characterization of the Caesars.

Phoebe Garrett (ANU): Transitional statements in Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum*

In most of Suetonius' *Lives,* the author makes an abrupt change in direction, from good to bad, or from public to private, marking the transition with a *diuisio* such as the famous sentence at *Caligula* 22.1: *Hactenus quasi de principe, reliqua ut de monstro narranda sunt.* The statement marks a clear division between what has gone before, the good or neutral, and what will follow, Caligula's vices. The transition in the narrative probably does not represent a chronological break in Caligula's career; in the *Nero* a similar statement (19.3) is much more clearly a break in the structure of the *Life* and not a change in Nero's character. *Diuisiones* in *Divus Augustus* and *Divus Iulius* separate public and private life; in *Divus Iulius* there is also a line between his good deeds and the ones that led to his assassination. *Galba, Vitellius,* and *Domitian* exhibit *diuisiones* that appear to be as structural as they are chronological; with *Titus* the *diuisio* is between his bad reputation and his unexpected virtues. *Claudius* poses problems, and as usual the *Tiberius* is a curious case. Only *Otho* appears not to be divided. This paper identifies the statements that mark abrupt changes in the direction of the *Life* and seeks to account for the different choices Suetonius has made (including, sometimes, the choice not to include a *diuisio*) and, most importantly, how these statements affect the way we read the *Lives.*

Trevor Luke (Florida State): Ganymede Rules at Rome: Sex and Succession in Suetonius' *De Vita* XII *Caesarum*

This paper explores physical intimacy and sex as it appears in the context of Suetonian anecdotes bearing on the origins of the Principate and the imperial succession. Suetonius draws the reader's attention to the relationship between sex and power early on in the work when he reports the rumor that Caesar surrendered his virtue to Nicomedes, king of Bithynia (*Jul.* 2). Later in the biography (*Jul.* 49), Suetonius expands on these rumors, which include a colorful description of Caesar as the cup-bearer of Nicomedes (*ad cyathum… Nicomedi stetisse*) in language reminiscent of Horace *Carm.* 1.29.7-8 (*puer quis ex aula… ad cyathum statuetur*). In this poem, the image of a boy who will serve as the victorious Roman's cupbearer represents the spoils that follow imperium. In Suetonius, the image is reversed: The young adventurer Caesar, on a similar quest, makes himself the spoils of Nicomedes. Nevertheless, Caesar reaches the apex of imperium at Rome and becomes a god.
Similar sexual imagery continues in Suetonius' biography of Augustus. The biographer relates M. Antonius' accusation that Octavian acquired his inheritance by submitting to Caesar's lust (*Aug.* 68). In this biography, however, pederastic imagery is also imbued with a divine aura. Q. Lutatius Catulus dreams of the boy Octavian being entrusted with the future of the Republic in a scene that can be interpreted as Jupiter initiating a pederastic relationship with the *puer* (*Aug.* 94.8). The reappearance of similar language and imagery in subsequent biographies suggests that, long before Hadrian met Antinous, Suetonius was employing pederasty, both human and divine, to mythologize the origins of the Principate and the imperial succession.

Roberto Chiappiniello (St. Mary's, Calne): The *Historia Augusta*: the irreverent art of faking inscriptions

The corpus of imperial biographies known as the *Historia Augusta* has captured the interest of scholars since Dessau's magisterial article 'Über Zeit und Persönlichkeit der

Scriptores Historiae Augustae' in 1889. Having Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars* as one of its main models, the author of the *Historia Augusta* builds a kaleidoscope of real and fictional lives of emperors, princes and usurpers from Hadrian to Carinus (117-285 AD). The biographer puts his vast culture (*pace* Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (2011)) at the service of his personal whims to produce a curious cabinet that displays real and faked documents as entangled as Laocoon and his serpents. In this paper I will narrow my study to the presence of epigraphic documents and select some key passages that best exemplify the author's ability to construe lives where the real, the possible and the manifestly fake are amalgamated into one coherent fictional world. My aim is to show how the biographer of the *Historia Augusta* mingles fiction with reality to make a parody of the typical traits of the genre of imperial biographies in order to amuse or perhaps purely to fool his audience.

Topography and Agora

Julia Shear (Boğaziçi): Erasing Macedonians at Athens: The Agora and the Good Citizen in 200 B.C.

After the Athenians bought back their freedom from the Macedonians in 229 B.C., they pursued an external policy of neutrality. Faced with increasing external pressure, however, the Athenians abandoned this policy in the spring of 200 B.C. and declared war on Philip V of Macedon. According to Livy, they also passed a decree which mandated various actions against honours for the royal house, particularly the destruction of all statues and inscriptions for Philip and his ancestors (Livy 31.44.4-6). Recent reconsideration of these dramatic events focused on the date and political circumstances of the decree, while earlier scholarship either discussed the historical ramifications of the Athenians' actions or used them to explicate particular aspects of selected material remains. In this paper, I ask how the events in 200 affected the images presented by honorary inscriptions in the Agora, the primary area of the city involved in this process of erasure, and the ways in which these documents fitted into the larger space of the marketplace. As I shall argue, these events required a distinct change in the image of the good citizen and not all earlier honorary monuments could accommodate this new imagery. In the case of Phaidros of Sphettos (*IG* II3 985), the changes caused by these activities significantly altered the image of the honorand, who no longer looked like an exemplary Athenian worthy of his highest honours. Indeed, he had now become a model of how an Athenian should *not* act. The erasures in these texts were complemented by the removal of statues of Macedonians in the Agora. Together, these different forms of de-Macedonianising created new models of the good citizen and they allowed the Athenians to remake themselves as fighters of Macedonians.

Helene Whittaker (Gothenburg): The Temple to Ares in the Athenian Agora in its Athenian Context

The foundations of a Classical temple in the Agora at Athens have been identified as the Temple to Ares mentioned by Pausanias. It has long been known that the temple had been moved from elsewhere in the early Imperial period and more recently it has been established that the temple had originally been dedicated to Athena and stood in the deme of Pallene. The significance of the relocation and rededication of the temple has generally been interpreted from a Roman perspective and seen as a reflection of the Augustan cult of Mars Ultor in Rome. Underlying this view is also the idea that the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, were too civilised and enlightened to have worshipped a god whose main concern was war. There is no reason to doubt Roman involvement in the establishment of a cult to Ares in the Agora. However, in this paper I wish to modify the view that it represents the imposition of a foreign cult that was

distasteful to the Athenians. On the basis of literary and epigraphic evidence, which indicates that Ares was of importance in Athenian official cult from an early date, I argue that the new cult of Ares in the Agora also had its Athenian roots and should be seen as a merger of Athenian and Roman religious traditions. As such it can be seen as the articulation in religious terms of a political ideology which explicitly aimed at creating a new civic identity for the Athenians as part of the Roman Empire.

Danielle Kellogg (CUNY) / Sylvian Fachard (Geneva): Topography, Landscapes, and Mobility in Classical Attica

In a famous passage, Thucydides informs the reader that as the Athenians prepared to evacuate the countryside in 431 BCE, "they found it difficult to move, as most of them had been always used to living in the country". He goes on to note that most Athenians did not wish to migrate to the city in the face of the impending Peloponnesian threat (2.14.1-2.16.2).
This passage not only emphasizes the relationship between the Athenians and their location, it also has influenced subsequent scholarship on migration in classical Athens. While it is accepted that many Athenians did not reside in the deme with which they were affiliated, (Whitehead 1986; Osborne 1985; Jones 2004; Etienne and Müller 2007), it has been generally assumed that the value placed on ancestral place of residence shaped people's migratory habits so that they were predominantly bipolar – either countryside or city – and centripetal, as the economic and political attractions of the urban center could be the only inducement strong enough to break the ties of attachment with the home deme (Jones 1999).
This perspective has obscured the dynamic nature of life in the ancient Athenian countryside. An evidenced-based approach to migration in Attica, combining a comprehensive examination of the epigraphic and literary record with an updated archaeological study of the road-network, an appraisal of agricultural potential and an assessment of real travel times and costs for crossing the landscape, reveals that migration decisions were affected not only by a complex nexus of social, religious, political, and economic factors, but also to a significant extent by the landscape and topography of the peninsula. It appears that the regional landscape influenced the choices made by the Athenians as to place of residence, creating vastly different migratory patterns in different areas of the *polis* (Osborne 1985 &1991; Cox 1998).

Tragedy and Travel
Alcmaeon, Oedipus, Orestes and Telephus, are among those listed by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1453a17-22) as the most prominent heroes of tragedy. They, and many others, all have at least one thing in common: they appear on stage as itinerant exiles. The theme of the wandering hero, though ubiquitous in the surviving texts and fragments, has received little attention. This neglect is all the more surprising given that recent scholarship has begun to reassess evidence for the travels of tragic poets and performance outside Athens. This panel aims to contribute to the ongoing debate concerning the early reception of tragedy by considering how an awareness of the theme of travel affects both our interpretation of the plays and our understanding of their context.
Questions to consider include:
What forms does travel take in tragedy? These may include exile, pilgrimage (θεωρία), flight by suppliants, travel to found new cities or sanctuaries, to take part in war, athletic contests, trade or commerce.
Which locations are prominent as settings and why? How does tragedy map the world (e.g. in the travels of Io or Triptolemus) and what is its significance?
What role does travel have in tragedy and why is it so prominent? Possible suggestions include the wish to include localisations to appeal to multiple audiences (as in the case of Euripides' *Archelaus,* for example); an awareness that the wanderer is in some sense

inherently tragic; or the wider importance of wandering in Greek culture and its influence on earlier mythical traditions.

To what extent may the theme of travel define the genre as panhellenic (as opposed to Athenian)? How does travel in myth build and maintain links between Hellenic communities?

Edmund Stewart (Nottingham): Greek Tragedy and Travel: The Case of Euripides' *Phrixus* Plays

Euripides wrote two plays entitled *Phrixus*. Both of these dramas concern the same story: Phrixus is the son of Athamas and grandson of Aeolus. His stepmother Ino conspires against him and his sister Helle. She procures a false oracle demanding that the children should be sacrificed, but Phrixus escapes to Cholcis on the Golden Ram. However, a major difference between the plays is that this same action takes place in different settings: Thessaly (in *Phrixus* A) and Boeotia (in *Phrixus* B).

This paper will pose two questions. First, why this was the case? Possible factors that will help us to answer this include the presence in both Boeotia and Thessaly of the cult of Zeus Laphystius, associated at least in the latter case with Athamas; the account in Apollodorus (1.9.1) of Athamas' exile from Boeotia into Thessaly; and the tradition of migration between Thessaly and Boeotia reported by Thucydides (1.12.3), among others.

Second, what this can tell us about how the Greeks understood tragedy and the world they inhabited? Euripides' Phrixus plays appear to be part of a common pattern, whereby the travels of tragic heroes, who found cults and cities in the regions they visit, provides links between different widely-dispersed Hellenic communities. I suggest that we should compare these dramas to works such as Euripides' *Temenus, Temenidae* and *Archelaus*, which concerned the journey of the hero Archelaus from Argos to Macedonia, or his two Melanippe plays, which are set respectively in Thessaly and Italy. Is it significant that performances of Euripides' plays almost certainly took place at two of these locations (Macedonia and Italy) in the late fifth century? I suggest that a focus on the theme of travel can help us understand how tragedy functioned as a panhellenic, rather than Athenian, genre during the classical period.

Lucy Jackson (Oxford): Travelling Choruses in the Classical Period

In a well-known passage of Plato's *Republic* we find a list of professions that are to be invited into the so-called 'luxurious city' (373b-c). Amid the huntsmen, poets, actors, rhapsodists and 'manufacturers of all kinds of articles', we find a class of performer that, though familiar in discussions of ancient Greek theatre's sociology and spectacle, is not so prominent in discussions of the travelling, booming economy of theatre before the Hellenistic period – the singing, dancing, acting choreut.

This mention of a 'choreut' as a profession (as opposed to a temporary occupation expected of many citizens) is not an idiosyncracy of Plato's. There is, in fact, a sizeable collection of evidence, literary and iconographic, from the fourth century BCE that suggests the label 'choreut' would be recognised around the ancient Mediterranean as a possible full-time occupation.

Many of the advances made in recent years concerning the expansion of the theatre and performance industry support the idea that one could make a living by travelling and performing in choruses. Even limiting our geography to Attica, a possible 'season' could run from December and the earliest Rural Dionysia, through to March and the City Dionysia and perhaps even until June and the Panathenaea, close to the time when the archons would be selected, and the whole process of choregic selection, and then choral selection, would begin again.

In this paper I discuss some of the less well-known pieces of evidence that suggest the travelling professional 'choreut' was alive and kicking from the early fourth century. Further, it will be shown how modern scholarship has something at stake in current constructions of specifically *civic* (as opposed to professional) choral participation, and that this may be why the evidence discussed here has been overlooked for so long.

Thomas Sims (Nottingham): From refugee to returnee: Perseus on the tragic stage

From Odysseus to Orestes, Aeneas to Alexandros, the travels of the wandering hero are a mainstay of Greco-Roman literature. One example is that of Perseus whose life, from exile in a floating chest to the island of Seriphos to flight by winged sandal to the Near East, has attracted attention from all manner of ancient writers. With such a wide array of trials and tribulations, it is little wonder that all aspects of Perseus' life were presented on the tragic stage. Yet, with the exception of the preservation of a few lines on papyri, parody in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, and quotation by later writers, all dramatic renderings of myths about Perseus have been lost to the ravages of time. This paper will consider anew these plays, focussing in particular on those produced by the three main tragedians. It will group the plays into four categories according to the stage of Perseus' life each treats, and explore how the poets present Perseus, whether at Seriphos, Larissa, or the promontory on which Andromeda was exposed. This paper will then contextualise these treatments of Perseus within the wider dramatic corpus, drawing parallels from the works of other tragic poets, to compare the various depictions of Perseus as a wandering hero with those of similar figures in tragedy and to consider what features, if any, may have been prevalent in the presentation of the wandering hero on the Greek stage.

Annie Zourgou (Nottingham): Io's Wanderings in *Prometheus Bound*: Travelling towards Civic Evolution

One of the most interesting aspects of *Prometheus Bound* is its setting before the age of heroes and, thus, before cities have been established in the course of civic evolution. The case of Io in the play is of particular importance: she is the only human presence in a play dominated by – mainly male – divine figures and the elaborate narration of her wanderings, as they are accounted on stage by herself and Prometheus, is a section full of movement, in a rather static play. A lot of work has been done on the geography of Io's wanderings and on their significance in depicting the primitive and savage state of the world at that time. This paper, however, will focus on the importance of travel per se in the play. It will be argued that, since in the case of Io travel is not a matter of adventure seeking (something quite common during heroic times), it is rather presented as an alternative form of torture that offers a different sense of agony than the one Prometheus is experiencing. The restraining feeling that Prometheus' state creates is enhanced and at the same time contradicted through the full account of Io's frenzied wanderings. This type of travel, characterised by the lack of destination or purpose, fits very well with the nomadic and savage state of the world at that point. In this context, Prometheus offers hope to Io that her wanderings will be over by revealing to her a final destination. This twist in Io's wanderings signifies that once she finds herself in Egypt (where her mating with Zeus will eventually cause the birth of Heracles, who will be Prometheus' saviour) the world will be entering the era of heroes and humans will be reaching the next stage of civic evolution.

Whether it comes through Horn or through Ivory: Dreams and Public Discourse in Antique Prose
This panel proposes to explore the function of dreams in ancient public discourse. While dreams in literature have been extensively studied, their role in prose

and especially their function in public discourse have been little explored. Dreams in prose tend to be viewed as religious experiences (Renberg 2003), as part of collective memory (Harrisson 2013), or as a narratological tool in historical writing (Pelling 1997).

The richness of the dream accounts of authors such as Aelius Aristides and Artemidorus have understood dreams as a healing practice in ancient medicine, which has resulted in an interpretation focused on the private and personal experience of dreaming. This panel, by contrast, aims to look at the different roles played by dreams in prose writing that centres on public discourse. Dreams were integrated in the lively and relevant debates which touched upon ancient political life, whether at the heart of decision-making processes or as part of theoretical discourses. They were not only divine manifestations or prophetic announcements of drama to come but were used to discuss, illustrate and explore the values and institutions at the heart of political consciousness. In order to show this we have chosen to focus on three different periods and three different mediums from antiquity. We hope to show through this varied approach the scope which dreams play in public discourse. Hyperides, in his *In Defence of Euxenippus*, is forced to skilfully balance the authority and 'truth' of divine will with the human authority of the Athenian legal and political decision-making processes. Plutarch uses a dream as the medium through which to explore Demosthenes' own relationship to oratory and the place of the orator within this changing fourth century Athenian democracy. Artemidorus proves to go beyond the private sphere by interrogating and exploring their use in the realm of public discourse.

Rebecca Van Hove (KCL): Hyperides and the dream of Euxenippus: religious authority in Athenian decision-making processes

Hyperides' *In Defence of Euxenippus* is the only speech preserved from Classical Athens which discusses an occasion of oracular divination by way of a dream. It recounts the case of Euxenippus, an Athenian citizen who had been tasked to undergo incubation at Amphiaraos' sanctuary in Oropos. He was ordered to consult the god about a dispute between two Athenian tribes and the Oropian sanctuary of Amphiaraos himself, which concerned the allocation of land.

The religious dimension of this case and the significance of the Athenian demos consulting the oracle of a god in this decision-making process have been downplayed by recent commentators: Papazarkadas (2011), for example, emphasises the economic dimension of the dispute, while others point to the personal interest of the god's sanctuary in this case as explanation for the Athenian demos' decision to consult the oracle (Harris 2009, Whitehead 2000). These readings do not however provide a complete explanation of the function of this oracle consultation and the incubation dream in the public debate surrounding both the land dispute, and the subsequent *eisangelia* trial, as reported in Hyperides' speech.

In this paper I examine the authority with which different elements – the god, the incubant, 'religious experts' and the demos - are invested in this decision-making process. I argue that the case study of Euxenippus' dream illustrates the complexity of the public consultation of a god through incubation, as a process made up of a number of different stages in which human fallibility complicates the transmission of divine will from its expression in a dream through to human understanding of this will. While unusual, the case at the heart of Hyperides' speech thus gives as an important glimpse into the potential role of dreams in the public discourse of the Assembly and the law courts of fourth-century Athens.

Raphaëla Dubreuil (Edinburgh): Demosthenes Dreaming: from the Triumph of Oratory to the End of Democracy

While the treatment of dreams in Plutarch has received some attention, they tend to be interpreted as either dramatic foreshadowing of key events (Easterling 2008), as an important intertextual tool (Cooper (2007), or as integral parts of Plutarch's biographical interest in characterisation (Brenk (1979). I propose to shift away form these explanations by offering a more political reading of Demosthenes' dream preceding his suicide. In this dream he competes in a tragic agōn with Archias, an ex-actor and Macedonian agent sent to coax him of his sanctuary in order to kill him. While Demosthenes wins over the crowd, he is voted out for his lack of preparation and *choregia*. When he wakes up, Archias tries to persuade him with conciliatory words but Demosthenes uncovers his act.

I argue that this dream serves to crystallise two of the *Demosthenes*' driving themes: the ambiguous relationship that Demosthenes has with the stage and the symbolic end of Athenian Democracy. Plutarch has asserted the theatrical quality of Demosthenes' approach to politics in the early stages of the *Life*, and the theatrical setting of the tragic agōn serves as a reminder of this ambiguity. Yet, while Demosthenes does not hesitate to fashion his voice and gestures to enhance his public performance, he remains true to his political ideas and values. Archias on the other hand does not perform according to his inclination but seeks to influence Demosthenes through an artificial act of kindness. It is through this distinction between true intentions and theatrical manipulation that Plutarch signals the initial triumph of oratory over theatrical paraphernalia, symbolised by Demosthenes' enthrallment of the audience. Archias, however, knows how to win the jury. These judges are the Macedonians, themselves masters of theatrics in the Plutarchan corpus. By favouring costly choreography over sophisticated oratory, they metaphorically deny Athens its political sovereignty and its democratic identity.

Chris Mowat (Newcastle): Dreaming discourses, or: Is Artemidorus shouting into a void?

Dreams, and the idea of prophetic dreaming, occupy a unique position in the ancient world. They are completely private events, frequently nonsensical constructions which can only be experienced by one person alone, and yet they frequently make their way into public discourse, occasionally even shaping the course of future events. Artemidorus of Daldis, in the second century CE, tries to advertise his *Oneirocritica* as the be-all and end-all of discourse on dream interpretation for individuals, collecting and presenting nuanced meanings. He has done the leg work, he claims, so we don't have to. He even took 'public discourse' to the extreme, conversing with the "much-maligned diviners of the market-place" (1.praef), bringing the idea of discourse out of the ivory tower and directly to the public. Similarly, this has been believed by modernity, and Artemidorus is frequently credited with being the only extant ancient 'oneiromantic' scholar (cf. Del Corno 1982). But this is not quite true, as numerous other ancient writers have reflected on dreams, and attempted to categorise them, in different ways.

This paper will look at the discourse Artemidorus provides, and question just how public a discourse about private dreams can be. I will also question the suggestion that there is a single line of development in dream theory that culminates in Artemidorus, but rather that this latter writer embellishes a unique model, that starts and ends with himself. But how he categorises dreams, declining to give too specific a definition, tells much about what he thought the meanings dreams held could be. And yet, can his discourse really be extended to suggest the outlook of the public? Or is, perhaps, Artemidorus' treatise not as conclusive as he presents it. There is, in a way, no single answer to the attempt to categorise a topic that ultimately defies categorisation.