THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2018

Friday 6–Monday 9 April

hosted by
The School of Archaeology & Ancient History
University of Leicester

PANELS & ABSTRACTS

Website: http://www.le.ac.uk/classical-association-2018
E-mail: CA2018@le.ac.uk
CONTENTS

1 SUBMITTED PANELS 1
2 COMPILED PANELS 14
3 PAPERS (INCLUDING RESPONSES) 16
4 POSTERS 97
5 WORKSHOPS 101
1 SUBMITTED PANELS

Arranged by title. Abstracts of papers making up these panels are in section 3.

[A Magnificent Seven, see under ‘M’]

Archaic Communities M. 11.30
Convener and Chair: Kate Caraway (Liverpool)
Speakers: Kate Caraway, Paul Grigsby, Serafina Nicolosi

This panel interrogates the idea of the archaic Greek community by focusing on the ways in which individuals interacted with one another. Traditionally archaic Greek communities have been approached through a developmental, teleological prism that seeks to structuralise the emergence of the Greek polis. One result of this approach is a focus on the appearance of organisational and institutional features—especially the political—of the archaic community (e.g. Raaflaub 1997), another is the tendency to treat local developments as evidence of broader trends, extrapolating outwards and across time (e.g. Snodgrass 1980). Recent studies on networks have highlighted how individual interactions and relationships underpin all social interactions; Sociology and Anthropology told us long ago that these form the basis of society. By undertaking an examination of individual-community interactions at Athens, Miletos and in Boiotia, using a range of archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources, the panel confronts the established narratives of community and polis development in the archaic period. It reintroduces the impact of social relationships on communities, elucidating the link between communal practices and community cohesion, and proposing new avenues for approaching archaic societies.

The first paper (Caraway) looks at intra-polis relationships in sixth-century Athens. Challenging the notion of top-down intervention by the Athenian tyrants in ‘public space’ it reasserts the organic influences impacting a community’s physical environment, produced by the intersection of the social and the spatial. The second paper (Grigsby) explores how the religious spaces shared between Boiotian communities facilitated interaction across territorial boundaries. These laid the foundations for the notion of a Boiotian ethnos, enabled by the social pathways religious interaction had created. In the final paper (Nicolosi) the meeting point of individuals and their community is explored through the Herodotean logos depicting of women as crucial in the transmission of culture at the Greco-Carian archaic Miletos.

Aristocracy and Monetization M. 9
Convener: Gianna Stergiou (Hellenic Open University)
Chair: Douglas Cairns (Glasgow)
Speakers: Vayos Liapis, Richard Seaford, Gianna Stergiou, Marek Węcowski

The wealth of the traditional Greek aristocracy, consisting principally in ownership of large estates, contributed (together with the prestige of hereditary nobility) to the establishment of personal power and status through a system of gift-giving. With the advent of money to the Greek city-states, and especially with the issue and rapid spread of coinage, the old system of ‘long-term transactions’ came under threat. One of the most important features of money is that it provides its owner with (real or fictional) self-sufficiency, which may result in the elite institution of gift-giving being undervalued. Moreover, the ubiquitous circulation of money—inter alia as a means of exchange and a measure of value—tended to reduce the distance between social classes. Leslie Kurke has argued that coinage ‘represents a tremendous threat to a stable hierarchy of aristocrats and others, in which the aristocrats maintain a monopoly on precious metals and other prestige goods’ (Kurke 1999: 46). And a number of scholars have argued that money played an equalizing role between aristocratic elites and wealthy non-aristocrats by fostering a common lifestyle resting upon the symposium, literacy, luxury, xenia, eroticism, and athletic games. The question whether money/coinage was problematic for the identity and status of the Greek elite is the central concern of our panel. The fundamental question we wish to explore is whether Greek aristocrats were, in fact, hostile to money and/or its uses, and (more generally) how Greek elites reacted to the pervasiveness of money in the Greek polis.

Association for Latin Teaching (ArLT) Sa. 2
Convener and Chair: Steven Hunt (Cambridge; President of ArLT)
Speakers: Henry Lee, Lottie Mortimer, Allison Newbould

Teachers of classics at the school level are much underrepresented at national conferences for classicists and the teaching of classical languages in particular is infrequently discussed and often misunderstood or misrepresented. The current situation in UK schools of constant qualification change against a background of deepening financial difficulty is forcing classics teachers to adapt to shortened timetables, an increase in the
diversity of students, and demands from parents, senior management and government to seek constant improvement against ever-fluctuating standards. Despite this, teachers remain constantly alive to changes and opportunities, and also seek new approaches of their own to match together their own teaching preferences with the learning needs of their students.

These three papers bring together some discussion about what constitutes good classical languages teaching in today’s non-selective school system. Each contributor, a young, recently qualified classics teacher, draws on practical experiences in the classroom and offers advice and possible solutions to old and new problems.

**Beyond the Author/Body/Text: Contemporary Women’s Receptions of the Classics**  
*Sa. 9 & 11.30*

**Conveners:** Dr Tom Geue (St Andrews), Dr Emily Hauser (Harvard), Dr Holly Ranger (Institute of Classical Studies), Polly Stoker (Birmingham)

**Chairs and Respondents:** Fiona Cox (Exeter), Elena Theodorakopoulou (Birmingham)

**Speakers:** Josephine Balmer, Emily Hauser, Holly Ranger, Tom Geue, Ruth MacDonald, Polly Stoker

Contemporary women writers are looking back to the classical world more than ever to explore the nature of their identities as women, authors, and creators (Cox 2011, Theodorakopoulou 2012). This panel brings together creative practitioners and scholars—and those who bridge that gap—with the aim of unpacking the complex relationships to canonicity, creativity, embodiment, gender, and identity in women’s writing and classical reception.

In part, the panel will consider the reception of ancient authorship, and explore how women writers are starting to prise apart associations between authorship, masculinity and privilege in conceptualisations of ‘the author’ and the western literary ‘canon’—formulations that have persisted from antiquity through the classical tradition (Plant 2004; Zajko and Leonard 2008). In addition, the panel will consider the dynamic between creative practice and feminist theory, exploring the interaction between the classical and the theoretical in the formation of contemporary identities—expanding the panel’s consideration of authorship and ‘voice’ to consider subjectivity and embodiment, in line with the current turn to materialism in feminist theory. At the same time, papers will consider the difference made to a reception tradition by the simultaneous seemingly paradoxical turn to the personal and emotive in contemporary women’s writing and feminist literary criticism.

The panel opens up a conversation between the papers that explores interlinking questions, including: Why do contemporary women artists continue to look back to the classical past, and what does this tell us about the currency of classicism? How do contemporary women writers and translators investigate and problematize the relationship between gender, authorship, subjectivity, embodiment, and creativity? And what does it mean to read the classics as a woman?

**British School at Athens: see Current Research on and Future Prospects for the Greek City**

**CUCD and CATB Pedagogy Panel:** see *The Virtue of Variety*

**Current Research on and Future Prospects for the Greek City (British School at Athens)  
Sa. 9**

**Conveners and Chair:** Robin Osborne (Cambridge)

**Authors/speakers:** Zosia Archibald; Cyprian Broodbank, Evangelia Kiriatzi, Andrew Bevan, & Ioannis Petrochilos; Daniel Stewart

**Respondent:** Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (Cambridge)

The Greek city lies at the heart of most of the work that Hellenist scholars undertake, yet if asked to conjure up a picture of that city, most would be hard-pressed to do so. There are good reasons for this in the priorities of archaeologists working in Greece, who have often either devoted their attention to individual sanctuaries and cemeteries, rather than the less glamorous residential quarters of towns, or have preferred to focus on the countryside and its settlement patterns, assessed by archaeological survey. As a result too much of the picture of the Greek city that is assumed in research and taught in the classroom is based on the atypical vicinity of the Athenian Agora or the excavations of part of Olynthos early in the previous century.

But in the course of the past 20 years or so archaeologists have variously turned back to the city, devising ways of using survey archaeology not simply to give a broad-brush picture of settlement across the landscape but a detailed picture of settlement within urban areas, and returning to urban sites for carefully targeted excavations that can massively illuminate urban history. This panel will both give a glimpse of some of the most exciting work that is being done, by presenting the latest findings from three of the most exciting urban projects currently being carried through under the aegis of the British School at Athens, and will air what are currently the crucial questions about the nature of the Greek city.
The study of the Greek classics began as early as the late Archaic age, became established as an academic discipline in Alexandria, and by means of a multifarious tradition reached Byzantium and the present day. Over the centuries it developed a complex toolkit to conceptualize the literary phenomenon and analyze specific genres, authors, texts, in a fruitful interaction with disciplines such as rhetoric, philosophy, history, mythology, religion. As such, it is a key area for the investigation of the cultural history of antiquity as well as of the ancient reception of classical texts. However, most of what survives to us of ancient scholarship does so in fragmentary, epitomated, or compressed form, from later authors’ citations to papyrus scraps to scholia. An awareness of the challenges of non-completeness is therefore essential when attempting to grapple with this rich and diverse body of evidence.

This panel approaches the interaction of scholarship and fragmentation from different viewpoints. The first paper examines the earliest evidence for the exegesis of epic, finding in the tattered remains of sixth-and fifth-century mythographers and philosophers the antecedents of later criticism on the key poems of the Greek canon. The second paper continues the epic theme by focusing on Lucian’s Dialogue with Hesiod, uncovering its engagement with a wide range of works of criticism from the fifth century onward, both whole and fragmentary. Scholarly traditions are also the kernel of the third paper, which investigates the scholarship of Seleucus—a figure at the crossroads between the Hellenistic and the Imperial age—by digging up what remains of his non-Homeric works in the Byzantine Etymologica. The final paper concentrates on the lexicographical interpretation of archaic iambos, tracing its scattered fragments across lexica and papyrus commentaries and showing the transmission of material across different genres of scholarship.

Identity In & Beyond the Polis: Local Responses to External Changes and Challenges M. 9 & 11.30

Convenors and Chairs: Stelios Damigos (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster), Manolis Pagkalos (Leicester)

Speakers: Stefanos Apostolou, Ioanna-Roumpini Charami, Charalampos I. Chrysafis, Stelios Damigos, Manolis Pagkalos, Andrea Scarpato, Michaela Šenková

As a rule, the diffusion of collective identity and memory comes with an agency. Communities and population groups do not decide collectively on their identity, nor do they unanimously choose which part of their traditions better support and shape their sense of belonging and identification. Usually, the élites are in a position to formulate, transform, and even create, myths and traditions advocating specific perceptions of community.
and society. On a regional level and beyond, powerful players attempted to interact with local communities in order to impose their versions of local and wider identities. Conversely, within individual communities, tendencies of affiliation to more powerful political authorities developed, not always with success. Modern scholars of memory and identity often come across a wide range of possible reactions to the dissemination of specific messages and standard sets of indicia of co-belonging. A typology of reactions to super-imposed collective identities, however, is a near-impossible task. Nonetheless, a study of relevant reactions at the local and the regional level can shed some light on aspects of the use of memory as a political instrument. Those aspects can be determined by examining how Greek communities used to function and adapt to a changing actual and conceptual environment. Our panel brings together scholars researching different themes, regions, periods, and subjects. A wide range of cases from many different locales—the Peloponnese, north-western Greece, Athens, Italy, and Asia Minor—will be discussed, tackling issues of memory, identity, and interstate relations. Our interdisciplinary panel will offer a fresh insight into various processes of identity formation, in and beyond the polis. All in all, we will investigate the range of potential strategies and pathways that different Greek communities opted for when conversing with powerful local or regional authorities.

Interactions in Late Antique Cities: Emperors, Administrators, Intellectuals and Crowds  Su. 11.30

Convener: Mark Humphries (Swansea University)

Chair: Nicholas Baker-Brian (Cardiff)

Speakers: Mark Humphries, Shaun Tougher, Daniëlle Slootjes

This panel, arising from the Cardiff—St Andrews—Sussex—Swansea network on 'The Other Capitals', explores three case studies relating to the question of interactions within late antique cities, in order to understand better the nature of late antique urban society and culture. The topics to be explored are: the increasing presence of emperors in cities in the late Roman period, exemplified by the regional centres adopted by the Tetrarchy, and the response of subjects to this; the interaction between government and intellectuals in urban settings in the period, through the prism of the visit of the praetorian prefect Anatolius to Athens in the 340s, and the related visit of the sophist Prohaeresius to the court of Constans in Gaul; and the role and nature of the crowd in late antique cities.

Latin between the Private and Public Spheres in Early Modern Education (Society for Neo-Latin Studies)  M. 9

Convener: William M. Barton (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies, Innsbruck)

Chair: Sarah Knight (Leicester)

Speakers: Tommy Alho, William M. Barton, Isabella Walser

During the early modern period, Latin was the principal language of education throughout Europe. Exerting its influence from the school classroom right up to the university, Latin dominated the teaching environment at every stage of learning and in every field—be it reading the classics or studying anatomy—until well into the 18th century. In many countries the use of Latin persisted, especially in the context of education, until much later. While many aspects of Latin’s role as the language of instruction in the period have been studied (Waquet’s Le Latin, ou l’empire d’un signe, 1999, and Farrell’s Latin Language and Latin Culture from Ancient to Modern Times, 2001, are two particularly influential studies), the points at which Latin was used in educational institutions to communicate with a wider, external public have received far less attention. Latin was used, for example, in the plays and recitals performed by grammar school pupils to an audience of parents, old boys and dignitaries to mark feasts and holidays. Latin was the language of the public disputations held at early modern universities to sharpen students’ rhetorical skills or to achieve a degree. Latin was also the language of the inaugural speeches given by university professors to an audience of students, local worthies and, depending on the stature of the university, even royalty, in which they presented their views on topics relevant not only for their academic interests but also for a wider public.

This panel offers three papers dealing precisely with these areas where Latin acted as a means of communication between the private and public spheres in early modern educational contexts. It thereby aims to open a conversation about the role of this ancient language in shaping not only the classroom but also society more generally between the 16th and 19th centuries.

Locating Plutarch: Places in Plutarch’s Experience and Thought  Sa. 9

Convener, Chair, and Respondent: Judith Mossman

Speakers: Chandra Giroux, Philip Davies, Alexei Zadorojnyi

Across his vast corpus, Plutarch engages with a wide variety of locations: urban and rural; settled and unsettled; Greek, Roman and other. In some cases he clearly had personal experience of these places; in others
he clearly did not; in most cases, we cannot be sure. In this panel, we bring together three papers discussing three places which, for differing reasons, play a significant role within Plutarch’s writing. Chandra Giroux (McGill) will commence the panel with a paper discussing Plutarch’s engagement with his hometown of Chaeronea. This town was by no means the most prominent or influential contributor to Greek and Roman history, but was Plutarch’s first, local, and arguably most enduring context, and the immediate environment in which much of his writing will have taken place. Philip Davies (LMU) will discuss Plutarch’s engagement with Sparta—a historically significant city, which features prominently in multiple Lives, and which Plutarch knew as a visitor. In particular, he will address the question of how great a role Plutarch’s first-hand experience played in his presentation of Sparta and its history, and how this interacted with his other sources of information. In our final paper, Alexei Zadorojnyi (Liverpool) will turn our attention to Syracuse—a powerful and prosperous city, but one which Plutarch does not appear to have known personally. He will examine how Plutarch uses this city and its people to develop key themes across chronologically and contextually diverse Lives. Finally, Judith Mossman (Coventry) will provide a response, connecting the papers, and broadening our discussion of the roles which individual places played in Plutarch’s experience and thought.

Lucian at Play with Genre and Tradition Sa. 11.30
Convenor: Nick Wilshere (Nottingham)
Chair: Oliver Thomas (Nottingham)
Speakers: Judith Mossman, Nicholas Wilshere, Paul Martin

Lucian was proud of his generic innovation in the form of the philosophical comic dialogue, but his works also show a keen interest, typical of the ‘Second Sophistic’, in debate about how writers of his time might best maintain standards of linguistic correctness and literary tradition. The three papers in this panel focus on works in which Lucian reflects such intellectual tensions between old and new, serious and comic. He vividly personifies the letters of the alphabet that are fundamental to the literate culture of his day (Mossman); sneakily subverts the apparently dry genre of the documentary list with a political message (Wilshere); and draws attention to his own place within the long traditions of comedy and satire as he reassesses philosophers past and present (Martin).

Each contribution also explores how a work of Lucian illustrates a different understanding of ‘authenticity’—not only in relation to modern scholars’ competing views concerning the correct attribution of a text but also through Lucian’s own interest in questions about what makes for historical, philological or philosophical truth.

A Magnificent Seven Against/On/About Thebes Su. 9 & 11.30
Conveners: Andrew Worley (Exeter), Sam Hayes (Exeter)
Chair: Emma Buckley (St Andrews)
Speakers: Guy Brindley, Hannah Culik-Baird, Helen Dalton, Sarah Lagrou, Rowena Fowler
Respondent: Sam Hayes

The myths of Thebes have reverberated through the ages. From antiquity to modernity authors have been captivated by Oedipus’ patricide and incest, and his sons’ mutual fratricide outside the city’s seven gates. The figures and tales of Oedipus, the Seven, and the Epigoni have a varied and extensive literary and cultural afterlife; most famously in the subjects of plays by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Seneca in Antiquity, through to Freud’s appropriate of Oedipus as one of his many classical borrowings for the formulation of psychoanalytical complexes.

Yet these motifs and myths have a wider currency that this panel will explore. Taking on a varied range of different works from across the spectrum of Thebes’ reception, we consider: the place of Thebes’ populace within various iterations of the cycle, the appearance of Thebes in Republican theatre, the civil violence of the Flavian text against its predecessors, the uses of Jocasta in both antiquity and modernity, and the broad impact of Thebes on Modernist texts. By scrutinising the reception of the Theban cycle’s key actors over the past two thousand years, this panel brings specific (re)uses of the Theban into a wider conversation about the nature of reception itself.

The ‘Making’ of Fragments Su. 9
Convenor and Chair: Gesine Manuwald (University College London)
Speakers: Vergilio Costa, Alan Sommerstein, John Briscoe, Sander Goldberg

Working on the basis of what has been transmitted from ancient texts, we all accept that fragments exist. Rarely, however, do we stop to question how these texts came to be ‘fragments’ and whether differences in their number, shape and character can be identified, depending on the language of the texts, their literary genre and the original date of composition or particular details of transmission. Greater awareness of the process of fragmentation, however, would enable a more accurate assessment of the interest in those texts over time, the process of transmission and of the value that
can be attached to the surviving pieces with regard to form, content and their paradigmatic relevance.

This panel, therefore, will address the question of whether differences in the process of fragmentation and survival suggest differences in the way later Greeks and Romans understood and put to use the works of their literary legacy, including the process or processes by which authors are fragmentized rather than simply passing into oblivion as their complete texts cease to be of interest to readers. The four papers will look at fragments from Greek prose and poetic texts as well as from Latin prose and poetic texts, so as to cover all main types of texts and allow for the potential identification and discussion of differences and similarities.

Materiality & Gender: Women, Objects & Antiquity
(Women’s Classical Committee UK) Su. 9 & 2
Conveners: Kate Cook (Manchester), Liz Gloyn (Royal Holloway), Rosa Andújar (King’s College London)

Our aim is to demonstrate how much we have to gain from examining the relationship between women and objects in the ancient world, and from considering the particular experience of ancient women handling classical objects. These panels seek to showcase recent academic work from a range of perspectives, underscoring the benefits of embracing a diversity of scholarly perspectives in the study of classics. The papers interact with a number of CA2018’s themes: Dress, Textiles, and the Clothed Body; Elites, Leaders, and Rulers; Families and Households; Fragments; Gender and Sexuality; and Late Antiquity.

Panel 1: Women’s Experience and Materiality Su. 9
Chair: Liz Gloyn (Royal Holloway)
Speakers: Sarah Sheard, Samantha Rainbow, Ellie Mackin Roberts, Lewis Webb

While recovering a gendered archaeological lived experience is undoubtedly fraught with problems, analysing material objects from this perspective opens up a range of new research questions and possibilities for understanding how ancient women engaged with physical objects that they encountered in their daily lives. The following papers span a wide chronological and geographical time span, and seek to expand scholarship by using new approaches and methodologies. This panel thus collectively moves forward the study of women’s physical experience in the ancient world, contributing significantly to the discipline of classics generally. These papers, which consider a new interpretation of a casket hitherto understood through the male gaze, female engagement with ritual knives, the objectification of adolescent female bodies in religious ritual, and the impact of ancestor masks on female members of elite Roman households, all share a theme of placing women’s experience at the heart of their analysis, rather than adopting a male position as the unspoken and unquestioned default.

Panel 2: Materiality and Gender in Greek Literature Su. 2
Chair: Rosa Andújar (King’s College London)
Speakers: Katherine Backler, Maria Gerolemou, Katerina Ladianou, Chiara Blanco

Attention to material matters in literature can yield new interpretations of the text. Such approaches are particularly valuable when applied to texts that deal with female experiences, and provide new methods for gleaning information about antiquity as well as understanding and interpreting ancient literature. The papers in this panel use case studies from Greek literature to provoke further discussion about how these kinds of methodologies advance our understanding of the texts at hand, and serve to explore the agency of female characters. These papers explore fabrics as alternative Homeric texts, Hesiod’s Pandora through posthuman feminism, the symbolic role of the chorus in Alcman’s Partheneion, and Sophocles’ Deianira inducing a case of hysteria in Hercules.

Military Rhetoric and Reality: Ancient Greek Warfare in Word and Deed Sa. 2
Conveners: Mathieu De Bakker (Amsterdam), Charlotte Van Regenmortel (Leicester)
Chair: Charlotte Van Regenmortel (Leicester)
Speakers: Mathieu De Bakker, Emma Nicholson, Nicholas Sekunda
Respondent: Hans van Wees (University College London)

The military rhetoric and the historical reality pertaining to the ancient Greek battlefield do not always align. The Athenians, for instance, reserved public praise for the hoplite warriors, rather than their successful navy. Alexander encouraged his soldiers on the basis that they were ‘free’ soldiers who did not fight for money like their Persian counterparts, although a large part of his own troops consisted of mercenaries. Battle narratives are often take on a form in which the course of battle fits the presupposed conceptions of the way in which it should have been conducted.

Such discrepancies between the political and historiographical discourse on how war ought to be fought on the one hand, and our understanding of the historical reality on the other, is commonplace within the ancient Greek source material, and forms the topic of this
panel. The panel’s aim is to discuss these apparent discrepancies by investigating both the rhetoric and reality of Greek warfare, in order to further enhance our understanding of the historical circumstances and the written sources.

This panel brings together both historians and literary scholars. Dr M. P. De Bakker will discuss the Athenian rhetoric of their alleged ‘constitutional supremacy’ and its relation to the battlefield in light of the propositions made by the 4th-century orators. Dr E. Nicholson will examine Polybius’s view of an ideal military situation, and how he related it to the historical military developments he witnessed. Prof. N. V. Sekunda will offer a paper on the way on way in which modern preconceptions related to the military have affected scholars’ interpretations of Antigonid agema. Prof. H. van Wees, an expert on the ‘myths and realities’ of Archaic Greek warfare, has agreed to act as a respondent.

**Modes of Engagement with Textile Technology in the Ancient World**  Sa. 9

**Convenors:** Magdalena Öhrman (University of Wales Trinity St David), Giovanni Fanfani (Deutsches Museum)

**Chair:** Francesca Spiegel (Alexander von Humboldt Universität, Berlin)

**Speakers:** Ellen Harlizius-Klück, Giulia Maria Chesi, Giovanni Fanfani, Magdalena Öhrman

This panel highlights the substantial influence exercised by textile technologies on different artistic, literary, and philosophical discourses in Graeco-Roman antiquity. It emphasises the theoretical complexity of ancient textile techniques, still imperfectly recognised, and their impact on the development of other artistic technologies (Harlizius-Klück), as well as the ways in which literary texts of different genres and periods acknowledge and utilise precisely this complexity of ancient weaving techniques for structural, metapoetic, and rhetorical purposes (Fanfani, Öhrman). Through its focus on textile production as technology, the panel also discusses various modes of engagement with technology in antiquity, ranging from the professional to the private (Öhrman), and from the desirable to the destructive (Chesi).

**Novelty and Commemoration in Triumviral and Augustan Rome**  Sa. 9

**Convener:** Kathryn Welch (Sydney)

**Chair:** Eleanor Cowan (Sydney)

**Speakers:** Hannah Mitchell, Kathryn Welch, Alina Kozlovski

An act of commemoration records and recalls past people and achievements, and leaves behind traces in the form of texts, objects, buildings, and memories. Recent world events have brought significant public attention and new resonances to commemoration’s old genres. Statues and monuments have been rethought, with some reinforced and others removed. As a result, the issue of commemoration itself has been revitalised as a topic of concern and debate as we navigate multiple approaches to remembering the past. This panel brings together research on some of the different forms of commemoration that emerged in the wake of civil war and civic re-stabilisation in Rome in the forties to twenties ace, with a view to gaining fresh perspectives on how the people and events of the past stayed relevant in the present. The three papers examine commemorative novelty through the respective themes of spectacle, power, and anachronism. We argue that social and political upheaval offered new opportunities for those who wanted to be remembered. Ultimately, while the princeps was at the forefront of moves to appropriate the symbols of the past to reinforce the current political message, he was not alone in developing innovative ways to leave a meaningful imprint on the Roman landscape.

**Paradeigmata and Persuasion in Oratory across Time** (RHUL Centre for Oratory & Rhetoric)  Sa. 9

**Conveners:** Giulia Maltagliati (Royal Holloway), Lawrence Newport (Royal Holloway)

**Chair:** Kathryn Tempest (Roehampton)

**Speakers:** Giulia Maltagliati, William Coles, Lawrence Newport

**Respondent:** Christos Kremmydas (Royal Holloway)

Anaximenes’ Rhetoric to Alexander defines paradeigmata as ‘actions that have taken place that are similar or contrary to those being discussed by us now’ (1429a), while Aristotle’s Rhetoric stresses their centrality to inductive reasoning, distinguishing between historical and fictional examples (Rhet. 1393b). Modern scholarship has explored the use of paradeigmata in Attic Oratory (e.g. Grethlein 2010, Steinbock 2013) and debate is ongoing regarding the function of arguments are based on past examples that the listeners are told they must emulate or avoid (e.g. Nouhaud 1982, Lanni 2004, 2006, Rubinstein 2007, Harris 2013).

This panel seeks to shed light on the function of paradeigmata in different rhetorical genres and across different historical periods. First, Maltagliati will focus on Attic Oratory and examine the role of historical examples in public forensic orations. She will stress the cognitive processing of inductive argumentation based on historical examples and explore similarities in the usage of examples in forensic and deliberative oratory. Coles will
examine the different ways in which appeals to historical precedents are deployed in speeches by envoys in Hellenistic interstate diplomacy. He will compare their use in ambassadorial speeches recorded and summarized in Hellenistic inscriptions to their use in speeches represented in Polybius’ *Histories*. Finally, Newport will focus on the controversial trial of King Charles I in 1649 and, more specifically, on Lord President Bradshaw’s speech. He will argue that, like Attic public prosecution oratory, it combined rhetorical arguments defined by Aristotle as belonging to the forensic and deliberative genres respectively. This in turn will explain the very diverse range of examples employed (biblical, classical examples and appeals to legal precedents).

One central aim of the panel is to highlight the continued importance of *paradigmata* in rational argumentation and the flexibility with which they can be used in different rhetorical and historical settings.

Past and Present in Greek Imperial Literature  
**Sa. 2**

*Convener, Chair, and Respondent: William Guast (Bristol)*

*Speakers: Caitlin Prouatt, Daniel Jolowicz, Estelle Strazdins*

That the Greek literature of the Roman imperial period resorted endlessly to the classical past in both content and language is well known. But such commemoration of the past remains under-theorised, and all too often has been dismissed as simple nostalgia or escapism. Such approaches neglect the range of sophisticated work both old and new on the ways in which past can relate to present in any era. There is, for instance, a rich body of historiographical work on this question, stretching from notions of exemplarity familiar in the ancient world to ideas of narrative and identity more prominent in our own time; more recently the new discipline of Memory Studies has added key concepts such as *mémoire collective* and *lieux de mémoire* to the debate.

In this panel three specialists in Greek imperial literature discuss the relationship of past and present in this period. The first paper considers Plutarch, and his three dialogues set in Delphi, that most evocative of Greek historical sites: how do this new setting for Platonic dialogue and other innovations reflect the philosophical inheritance? In the second paper, Roman history enters the picture, with a bold new argument for powerful echoes of Roman imperialism amid the classical Greek history presented in the Greek novel. Finally, the third paper explores an exciting and hitherto unexplored implication of the Second Sophistic’s pervasive classicism: if authors such as Demosthenes enjoyed such canonical status in the Greek imperial period, could not Greek imperial authors achieve a similar status themselves in the future? The presenters share a conviction that Greek imperial literature achieved contemporary resonance not despite its use of classical history, but precisely because of it, and seek to exemplify what rich resources that history offered.

Position and Power in Classics and Comics  
**Sa. 9**

*Convener and Chair: Carl Buckland (Nottingham)*

*Speakers: Ben Greet, Harriet Lander, Lynn Fotheringham, Carl Buckland*

Focusing on modern comics and, in particular, on *Wonder Woman*, this panel aims to consider exactly how masculinity, power and gender in the ancient world are received, interpreted and indeed translated into the modern comic-book medium.

The panel is flanked by papers specifically about the *Wonder Woman* comics and how power and gender are an important ingredient in the composition of the 21st-century tales about her. In the first paper, Greet discusses the metaphorical and physical origin of the *Wonder Woman* mythos in the form of her mother Hippolyta and her connection with the mythic figure depicted in ancient texts. The second paper uses *Wonder Woman* as a starting point, and her early catchphrase ‘suffering Sappho’, and moves on to think about how comic-book depictions of Sappho are influenced by 19th-century representations of the archaic poetess. Lander will also consider the reasons for the concentration on her sexuality in these visual depictions. The third paper by Fotheringham continues this theme of how comic-book receptions are influenced by what has gone before by discussing the representation of the Spartans in Kieron Gillen’s *Three*, and how the use of an academic historical consultant assisted in portraying the concepts of helotage and ritual violence to a comic-book audience ‘well-versed’ in Spartan matters due to the commercial success of Frank Miller’s *300*. The final paper will bring us back to *Wonder Woman*, in which Buckland will argue that the reception of villains like Circe and Medusa are on a par with the way goddesses like Athena and Diana herself are depicted. He will pick up on the themes of expectation from the third paper and talk about how these various women are used in the comic-books to discuss matters of power, politics, propaganda and gender in a way that transcends both time-periods and media.

Pulling the Threads Together: Current Research in Textiles and Dress  
**Sa. 11.30**

*Convener and Chair: Mary Harlow (Leicester)*

*Speakers: Jennifer Beamer, Lisa A. Venables, Mary Harlow, Amy Place*

The study of textiles and dress is by its very nature interdisciplinary. It is impossible to talk about clothing in antiquity without understanding how it is made, which
leads to considerations of resources and raw materials which leads to further questions of landscape and economy. The papers in this panel will demonstrate some of the different approaches to textiles and dress in which researchers at Leicester are undertaking—from loom-weights to texts to shopping.

Rethinking the Boundaries: Visual Culture in the Roman Provinces and Beyond  Su. 2
Conveners and Speakers: Giacomo Savani (Leicester), Rubén Montoya (Leicester), Jane Ainsworth (Leicester), Phil Hughes (Leicester)
Chair and Respondent: Sarah Scott (Leicester)

Recent studies on various aspects of material culture in the Roman provinces have revealed the importance of local, as well as global, factors in shaping the lives of individuals. This panel travels across the spatial and temporal boundaries of the Roman Empire, from the first overseas province of Sicily via North Africa and Spain, to the imperial possession of Britain, to uncover different aspects of everyday life by interrogating objects on their own terms. Papers dismiss physical, as well as conceptual limits traditionally created between: Rome and the provinces, administrative and natural limits, ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’, ‘art’ and ‘archaeology’, ‘Roman’ and ‘indigenous’, ‘imported’ and ‘local’ to investigate whether Rome brought peace, a wasteland, or a different dynamic entirely to the boundaries of the Empire.

Rhetoric and Education in Late Antiquity  Su. 9
Conveners and Speakers: Lea Niccolai (Cambridge), Teresa Röger (Cambridge), Bram van der Velden (Leiden)
Chair: Shaun Tougher (Cardiff)

Studying the intersections of rhetoric and education in Late Antiquity contributes to understanding one of the most significant processes of the period, religious change. Education is of great concern to religious leaders, so one would expect. Strikingly, however, late antique education—at least the elite education we know of—appears to have long preserved a traditional syllabus (which we might classify as ‘secular’).

When the elites began with increasing self-consciousness to adopt Christianity, religious leaders felt the need to negotiate their perspectives on the traditional elite education. This process culminated between the second half of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth. The proposed panel spans this period with papers on the emperor Julian, Augustine, and the Christian commentary tradition of the time.

All the writers we propose to study engage with interpretive traditions and their role in education. What difference does it make whether you read Homer or Holy Scripture? Can you increase the impact of your teaching more by arguing with Cicero or with Jesus? The uir dicendi peritus might no longer be bonus just for his eloquence, but what if you still need his skills to get behind the moral teachings in your Scripture?

Julian addresses the question of education openly in the Letter to Theodorus. So does Augustine in De doctrina christiana, where he also provides the contents of the programme he outlines. Julian and Augustine both think of the education of the priest, potential disseminators of what they suggest. The Christian commentators, on the other hand, write to educate, not to theorise about education. Thus, they provide a means of control against the theoretical treatments of the topic. At the same time, to ask whether they speak well or ill of Cicero’s rhetoric allows conclusions about their views on educational programmes.

We hope that by joining many threads—the forms and functions of rhetoric and education transmitted from classical antiquity, religious politics in the East and the West of the Empire, the interpretation of classical and biblical texts—our panel will help to understand the processes that led to the coinage of a European educational tradition both classical and Christian.

RHUL Centre for Oratory & Rhetoric: see Paradigmata and Persuasion in Oratory across time

The Rule of Law in Ancient Rome  Su. 9
Conveners: Eleanor Cowan (Sydney)
Chair: Andy Merrills (Leicester)
Speakers: Andrew Pettinger, Kit Morrell, Eleanor Cowan
Respondent: Paul Burgess (Edinburgh)

The papers in our panel apply insights and approaches drawn from modern legal theory in order to understand the ways in which ancient Romans thought about law and the place of law in their community, and the ways in which Roman institutions and political norms protected

§1 Submitted panels
citizens against the arbitrary exercise of power. The product of interdisciplinary collaboration, our panel brings together contributions from scholars of Roman history, Roman law, and modern legal philosophy in order to answer such questions as: To what extent did ancient Rome aspire to live under the ‘rule of law’ as it is represented in the Western legal tradition? Did the Romans believe they lived under the rule of law? And might modern conceptions of the rule of law be revised and improved in view of new understanding of the Roman experience? The conclusions drawn, and the new approach offered to the study of law at Rome, will be of interest to scholars and students of classics and law alike.

Science Fictional Interpretations of Homer’s Odyssey: see ‘Wandering from Clime to Clime, Observant Stray’d’

Seneca on Law and Sovereignty Su. 2
Convener: Erica Bexley (Durham)
Chair: Liz Gloyn (Royal Holloway)
Speakers: Erica Bexley, Nicole Giannella, Ioannis Ziogas
Respondent: Matthew Leigh (Oxford)

Questions about the legal basis of sovereignty and the practical limits of executive command have grown pressing in light of recent political developments in America and across Europe. To what extent are those who make the law also bound by it? What are the limits of legality? And at what point does autonomy slide into absolutism? This panel approaches such questions from a historical perspective by exploring the combined topics of sovereignty and law in one of Rome’s most prominent political thinkers: the younger Seneca. Drawing Chiefly on the work of Agamben (1998; 2005), contributors to this panel demonstrate how Seneca’s philosophy tackled political problems, and further, how alert Seneca was to the conceptual ambiguities that underpin autocratic rule: breaking the law in order to make it; distancing oneself from power in order to claim it; translating self-command into external control. The focus here is on Seneca’s prose works, and on the interlinked topics of Clementia, libertas/servitium, and autarkeia.

The panel aims both to excavate and to reassess Seneca’s political thought. Although plenty of recent scholarship deals with Seneca’s concept of autocracy (Roller 2001; Stacey 2007); autonomy (Setaioli 2014); clemency (Dowling 2006; Braund 2009; Tuori 2016); and philosophical versus literal slavery (Edwards 2009; Pierini 2014), most of these studies either restrict themselves to the role of metaphor in Seneca’s language, or define Seneca’s philosophical libertas as a comforting but ultimately impotent form of compensation for the Roman aristocracy’s loss of real political power under the principate. In contrast, this panel contends that Seneca’s theories cannot be extricated from legal and political practice. Far from being wish-fulfilment, Seneca’s writings on law and sovereignty articulate a direct political challenge, since, as Cicero remarks (Off. 1.69), both the sage and the king aspire to the same end: freedom to do as they please.

Social Mobility as a Consequence of Spatial Mobility in Ancient Greece (from the Sixth to the Fourth Century BC) Su. 9 & 11.30
Convener: Laura Loddo (Aix-Marseille Université)
Chair and Respondent: Claire Taylor (Wisconsin–Madison)
Speakers: Alessandro Brambilla, Livia De Martinis, Laura Loddo, Francesco Mari, Annabella Oranges, Paolo A. Tuci

The papers presented in this panel aim to analyse the relation between spatial mobility and social mobility in Ancient Greece from the sixth to the fourth century. While the subject of ‘social mobility’ with respect to ‘spatial mobility’ has been deeply investigated in the Roman society from the origins to Late Antiquity in relation both to the chronological framework (Hopkins 1965; Frézouls 1992) and to the geographical contexts (Patterson 2006; Jones 2009) in which it was realised, the very existence of this phenomenon in the Greek society has been strongly underestimated. However, some attention has been paid to the social mobility in ancient Greece, especially in relation to the connection between wealth and public visibility (Davies 1981; Millet 1991), the upper classes’ moral concerns linked to the social advancement of the poorest (Fisher 2000) or with respect to some categories of economic migrants like craftsmen and labourers (Coulié 2000; Migeotte 2004) or artists (Linder 2014). More recently, scholars have been engaged in studying the connections between social mobility and ancient networks (Taylor–Vlassopoulos 2015). Not least, the topic of social mobility in Athens was the subject of a doctoral dissertation (yet unpublished) by Marloes Deene: some articles have been published by the same author about some aspects (the chances to improve individual social condition offered by economic cooperation, Deene 2014) or specific cases (like that of Apollodoros, Deene 2011).

Despite these important contributions, a global reflection of the relation between spatial mobility and social promotion is still lacking. This panel intends to fill the gap by studying some specific cases in which it is possible to retrace the stories of ancient migrants, individuals and groups, who, leaving the native context by choice or constriction, were successful in improving their social condition.

f1 Submitted panels
Society for Neo-Latin Studies: see Latin between the Private and Public Spheres in Early Modern Education

Speaking Objects Su. 9
Convenor: Anna Reeve (Leeds)
Chair: Victoria Donnellan (British Museum)
Speakers: Sadie Pickup, Sally Waite, Anna Reeve, Emma Stafford

The four linked papers consider objects connected with the ancient world, focusing on their changing receptions over time. These explorations cover a broad chronological range, from the moment of creation in antiquity, to exhibitions taking place in the twenty-first century. They contrast objects with secure provenances, whose collection history adds to their status, with those for which little contextual information survives. They consider ways in which ancient objects, and those that draw on the ancient world, can speak to diverse modern audiences, and how provenance, iconography and display influence interpretation. The papers address questions of how objects interact with their settings to create meaning for the viewer, and how these interactions change between different times and places.

Teaching Rhetoric Su. 2
Convenor and Chair: Sarah Knight (Leicester)
Speakers: Isabella Walser, Sarah Knight, Jan Haywood, Gesine Manuwald

At the start of the Orator, Cicero asks what greater (maius) task there could be than to decide (iudicare) what is the best kind (optima species) of oratory, when there is such diversity among great orators (tanta sit inter oratores bonos dissimilitudo). And in 1630s England, the Cambridge tutor Richard Holdsworth told his students to master ‘Latine, & Oratory: without those you will be disgraced, & vilified’. Somewhat less sternly than Holdsworth, our panel will show how teaching rhetoric in all its diversity helps students understand its importance in writing, performance and in civic life (education, law, politics, religion). Understanding rhetorical theory and practice is fundamental for recognising how Latin and Greek texts work, from the ancient to the early modern world and into our own times.

Offering both British and continental European institutional perspectives, the speakers will each discuss their own teaching experiences and offer practical suggestions about bringing the study of rhetoric into the classroom, whether at secondary, tertiary or HE level. We will offer four case-studies of how teaching students about rhetoric helps inform their understanding of drama, educational training, historiography and literature. We will focus on teaching rhetoric in the original languages as well as in translation, and across a number of disciplines. The talks should prompt wider discussion among the audience of how we teach rhetoric at school, college and university level, stimulating different perspectives on how rhetoric can be made interesting and engaging to students at these educational stages. We will also consider how knowledge of rhetoric can build students’ confidence; enhance their awareness of and ability in using strategies of persuasive argument; and, finally, enable them to present themselves as articulate and convincing speakers.

The ‘Making’ of Fragments, see under ‘M’

The Rule of Law, see under ‘R’

Thinking about Fragments Su. 11.30
Convenor: Naoíse Mac Sweeney (Leicester)
Chair: Nick Lowe (Royal Holloway)
Speakers: Laura Swift, John Harrison, Naoíse Mac Sweeney

Our sources for classical antiquity are fragmentary. From broken sherds of pottery to scraps of quoted poems, and from the remnants of the Parthenon sculpture to the lost ending of Livy, we must piece together disparate fragments of information if we are to understand the classical world. But dealing with fragments raises broader methodological questions of how we engage with this type of source, how far we should go in filling in the gaps, and how aware we are of the underlying assumptions that we make as soon as we start. In this panel, we will present three contrasting approaches to thinking about fragments—one developed from a collaboration between literary studies and theatre practitioners; one from professional psychology; and one from archaeology. We hope to stimulate debate about the methods and strategies available for working with fragmentary sources; and to raise awareness of the fact that we all, as classicists, do work with fragments. We will look at how pervasive the experience of fragmentation is, on a human level as well as a scholarly one, and consider what we as classicists can learn about our methodology of dealing with fragmented sources from considering how the human brain constantly extrapolates from fragments. Finally, we will consider the peculiar aesthetic appeal that fragments hold.

Tibullus beyond Elegy Su. 9
Conveners: Sandro La Barbera (Georgetown), Rachel Philbrick (Georgetown)
Chair and Respondent: Ian Goh (Swansea)
Speakers: Sandro La Barbera, Massimo Giuseppetti, Jason Nethercut, Rachel Philbrick

In antiquity, Tibullus’s preeminence as a poet was undisputed. He was Quintilian’s favorite elegist, and Ovid’s particular attention to him attests to his contribution to Latin poetry broadly. He has been sidelined, however, in modern discussions of Augustan poetry, which have focused, among the elegists, on Propertius and Ovid. This panel aims to expand the current bounds of Tibullan scholarship and to demonstrate that this is an author who repays careful (re-)reading, using some of the lenses, especially the intertextual and metapoetic ones, that have shaped current scholarly understanding of the highly self-conscious poetics of other authors of the Augustan period.

The approach is broad, across time scale and literary traditions. These papers situate Tibullus within the larger context of Greco-Roman literature beyond Latin love elegy, reading his work in light of the hexameter and elegiac poetic traditions of both languages. By pursuing different threads from texts ranging from Hesiod to Ovid, they cumulatively reveal Tibullus’s dense web of literary allusions. This complex interweaving and reworking of poetic material demonstrates the richness of the Tibullan texts, gives insight into their importance for his contemporaries and successors, and suggests new avenues into Tibullus’s literary world.

The Virtue of Variety: Opening the Doors to Wider Pedagogical Practices in UK Schools and Universities (Council of University Classical Departments & Classical Association Teaching Board Pedagogy Panel) Sa. 9

Conveners: Mair Lloyd (Open University), Steven Hunt (Cambridge)

Chair: Sharon Marshall (Exeter)

Speakers: Steven Hunt, Clive Letchford, Mair Lloyd, Laura Manning

The CUCD surveys of 1995 (CUCD, 1995) and 2012 demonstrated a restricted set of approaches to Latin teaching in UK universities with little evidence of activity outside grammar-translation and graded reading. Despite this, in the 2012 survey, some United Kingdom university tutors made claims for the benefits of experiencing more varied pedagogy, including communicative Latin, in their own previous study and in Summer School Immersion events (Robson & Lloyd, forthcoming). In schools, a number of challenges continue to provide motivation to move away from current norms of provision (Forrest, 1996; Lister, 2007; Hunt, 2016). Meanwhile, in America, changes in curriculum and methods are being proposed and implemented to meet the challenges of falling enrolment on Latin and other Classics courses. This panel affirms the need for change and proposes and demonstrates some steps that can be taken towards implementing a broader pedagogical approach to Latin teaching in our schools and universities. These have the potential to provide benefits for our students and to strengthen the sustainability of Latin teaching in our organisations.

This panel will be supplemented by the workshop ‘Enlivening Latin Pedagogy in Practice’ (see section 5 below) where participants can experience demonstrations of a number of different teaching techniques and take part in a variety of learning activities. These will be led by panel presenters and teachers with varying degrees of experience in communicative teaching.

‘Wandering from Clime to Clime, Observant Stray’d’: Science Fictional Interpretations of Homer’s Odyssey Sa. 2

Convenor: Tony Keen (Roehampton)

Chair: Lynn Fotheringham (Nottingham)

Speakers: Tony Keen, Sarah Gouldesborough, Juliette Harrisson, Nick Lowe

2018 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the release of Stanley Kubrick and Arthur C. Clarke’s ‘proverbial “really good” science-fiction movie’, 2001: A Space Odyssey. The movie’s subtitle under-lines and furthers the place Homer’s epic has in conceptions of science fiction, such that Homer is granted an entry in the Science Fiction Encyclopedia, though it is ‘not, of course, sf’, but ‘proto sf’. That relationship can be seen in the television series Ulysses 31 (1981), whilst a science fiction movie version of the epic has been in ‘development hell’ for a decade.

This panel examines four manifestations of engagements between science fiction and the Odyssey: the degree to which 2001’s subtitle makes critics impose a Classical reception reading upon it; how science fiction comics use the Odyssey to address contemporary issues; echoes of the Odyssean nostos in two recent sf tv series; and the place the Odyssey has in histories of science fiction. Over the panel, a flavour will be given of the wide variety of reflections of Homer that have been manifested in science fiction.

Was the Archaic Period in Ionia a ‘Golden Age’? (Debate Panel) Sa. 2

Convenor and Chair: Naoíse Mac Sweeney (Leicester)

Speakers: Michael Kerschner (for), Anja Slawisch (against), Robert Hahn (for), Alexander Dale (against)

Respondent: Jan Paul Crielaard (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

f1 Submitted panels
We traditionally characterise the archaic period in Ionia as a ‘Golden Age’. From lyric poetry to natural philosophy; from international trade to intercontinental exploration; and from the invention of prose to innovations in architecture, sculpture, and the decorative arts, this was a time of prosperity and cultural vitality. But was the archaic period really a Golden Age? Has evidence for instability and conflict been underestimated? And, as has often been assumed, did Ionia really pass the baton of Greek culture to Athens at the start of the classical period?

This panel will take the form of a set-piece debate, with two speakers arguing for and two speakers arguing against the proposition. Speakers will deliver short speeches in turn. The debate will then be opened up to the floor, with discussion overseen by the chair. The aim of the panel is not to present new research, methods, or approaches; but rather to stimulate discussion, to question received opinion, and to provoke.

Women’s Classical Committee UK Panels: see Materiality and Gender
2 COMPILED PANELS

Arranged by title. Authors are listed in expected order of speaking; but please check against the final timetable. These panels have been compiled from individually submitted papers, and as such do not have panel abstracts. Abstracts of the papers are in section 3.

The Archaic East Aegean   Sa. 11.30
Speakers: Elif Koparal; Rik Vaessen & Yaşar Ersoy; Michael Loy
Chair: Alan Greaves (Liverpool)

Aristotle and Quotation Culture   M. 9
Speakers: Robert Hahn, Kenneth Yu, Takashi Oki, Mathilde Brémond
Chair: Malcolm Schofield (Cambridge)

Choosing Texts   Su. 11.30
Speakers: Edwin Shaw, Rosalind MacLachlan, Mirte Liebregts
Chair: Dan Stewart (Leicester)

Classical Reception I   Sa. 11.30
Speakers: Ben Earley, Mark William Padilla, Barnaby Chesterton
Chair: Andy Merrills (Leicester)

Classical Reception II   M. 11.30
Speakers: Vassiliki Kotini, Karen Possingham, Anne Ploin
Chair: Nick Lowe (Royal Holloway)

Commemoration   Su. 11.30
Speakers: Vasiliki Brouma, Henry Clarke, Constantin Pietschmann
Chair: Jan Paul Crielard (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

Early Greek Poetry   Su. 2
Speakers: Virginia M. Lewis, Ahuvia Kahane, Angus Bowie, Odysseas Espanol Androutsopoulos
Chair: Jan Paul Crielard (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

Educating the Ancient World   M. 9
Speakers: Roberta Callegari, Chiara Meccariello, Emilie-Jade Poliquin, Jan R. Stenger
Chair: Mark Humphries (Swansea)

Greek Drama   Sa. 9
Speakers: Almut Fries, Fayah Haussker, Effimia Stavropoulou, Ariadne Konstantinou
Chair: Jan Haywood (Open University/Leicester)

Greek Gender and Identity   M. 11.30
Speakers: Claudia Baldassi, Kendell Heydon, Nicholas Henderson
Chair: Ellie Mackin Roberts (Leicester)

Greek Historiography   M. 11.30
Speakers: Aniek van den Eersten, Egidia Occhipinti, Giustina Monti
Chair: Jan Haywood (Open University/Leicester)

Greek Myth and Politics   M. 9
Speakers: Leyla Ozbek, Di Yan, Graeme Bourke, Nicholas Hanson
Chair: Emma Stafford (Leeds)

Greek Rhetoric   Sa. 11.30
Speakers: Christine Plastow, Harrison Rochford, Paola Bassino
Chair: Kathryn Tempest (Roehampton)

Greek Tragic Fragments   Sa. 11.30
Speakers: Efstatia Athanasopoulou, Niall W. Slater, Maria Haley
Chair: Laura Swift (Open University)
Hellenistic Culture  M. 11.30  
Speakers: Livia Tagliapietra, Edmund Stewart, Rukhsana Iftikhar  
Chair: Graham Shipley (Leicester)

Honour and Dishonour in Athenian Politics  Su. 2  
Speakers: Andrea Giannotti, Eugenia Michailidou, Daniel Unruh  
Chair: Zosia Archibald (Liverpool)

Latin Poetry  Su. 2  
Speakers: Maria Ozana Lima de Arruda, Trevor Fear, Carmine Canfora, Jisoo Park  
Chair: Eleanor Cowan (Sydney)

Lucretius  Su. 11.30  
Speakers: Nicoletta Bruno, Anastasia Vassiliou-Abson  
Chair: Ian Goh (Swansea)

Plato’s Characters  M. 11.30  
Speakers: Vilius Bartninkas, Davide Massimo  
Chair: Malcolm Schofield (Cambridge)

Praising Roman Leaders  M. 9  
Speakers: Elisabeth Slingsby, Panayiotis Christoforou, Simone Mollea, Christopher Knibbs  
Chair: Andy Merrills (Leicester)

Rape Narratives  Sa. 2  
Speakers: Sabrina Mancuso, Jean Zacharski Menzies, Claude-Emmanuelle Centlivres Challet, Caroline Chong  
Chair: Jane Masséglia (Leicester)

Religion in the Later Roman Empire  Su. 2  
Speakers: Jill Mitchell, Natalie Mendes, Michael Wuk, Daniel Hanigan  
Chair: Mark Humphries (Swansea)

Renaissance Receptions  Sa. 2  
Speakers: John Muir, Cressida Ryan, Agnese Bargagna, Graham John Wheeler  
Chair: William Barton (Innsbruck)

Roman Colonization and Migration  M. 11.30  
Speakers: Halfdan Baadsvik, Eleni Bozia, Sarah Scheffler  
Chair: Jack Lennon (Leicester)

Roman Political Identities  Sa. 2  
Speakers: James Crooks, Andrew Worley, Eleonora Zampieri, Mike Beer  
Chair: Jack Lennon (Leicester)

Roman Women in Space  Sa. 11.30  
Speakers: Vasiliki Kello, Liz Gloyin, Lovisa Brännstedt  
Chair: Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (Cambridge)

Teaching the Classics  Sa. 11.30  
Speakers: Andrew Christie; Alanna Nobbs & Elizabeth Stockdale; Emily Rushton  
Chair: Robert McLean (Leicester Grammar School)

(Un)adorned Bodies  Sa. 2  
Speakers: Antonia Marie Schrader, David Woods, Joana Fonseca, Jane Reijnierse-Salisbury  
Chair: Nikki Rollason (Leicester)

Women in Roman Religion  Su. 11.30  
Speakers: Sophie Chavarria, Morgan E. Palmer, Leonardo Costantini  
Chair: Jack Lennon (Leicester)

Women and War I: From Troy to Tarpeia  M. 9  
Speakers: Catherine Rozier, Sophie Raudnitz, Marc Bonaventura, Jaclyn Neel  
Chair: Aimee Schofield (Leicester Grammar School/University of Leicester)

Women and War II: Women and Soldiers in Greek Warfare  M. 11.30  
Speakers: Richard Evans, Aimee Schofield, Ricarda Meisl  
Chair: Nicholas Sekunda (Gdańsk)
3 PAPERS (INCLUDING RESPONSES)

Arranged by surname of speaker; respondents (in some submitted panels) and co-authors are included. Some abstracts have been lightly edited, and some panel titles shortened.

* Indicates submitted panel.

**Ainsworth, Jane (Leicester)**  Panel: Rethinking the Boundaries*

**Herakles on the edge: the realities of artistic choices in a changing world**

Objects depicting the figure of Herakles are found across the ancient world. Herakles can represent an aspirational and an Everyman figure, providing insights into the artistic choices made when selecting and producing his image. Traditional interpretations of Hellenistic art emphasise its inferiority to the perfection of classical pieces and the movement of artists away from Old Greece (e.g. to the Successors’ capitals). Models of cultural emulation presuppose a unidirectional movement of ideas and techniques from Greece or Rome as the centre. This paper considers how relevant these interpretations may be to individuals on the edge of these and other cultures in Sicily, by investigating what an interrogation of artistic choices and object biography reveals about the realities of their lives.

Through detailed consideration of a group of sealings from Selinunte, I consider the choices available to and made by creators, traders, commissioners and buyers in western Sicily during a period of socio-political change, drawing conclusions about the different identities sought or rejected by individuals. By considering the different cultural inspirations for, and contexts of provincial art, traditionally dismissed as non-classical, emulative, or simply ‘bad art’, I draw conclusions about communities on the periphery of the Roman Empire and modern scholarship.

**Alho, Tommi (Åbo Akademi)**  Panel: Latin between the Private & Public Spheres*

**Hi Satanae proles sunt et Jesuitica: poetry, politics and religion in a Restoration grammar school**

The *Orationes* manuscript (CCA Lit. MS E41, Canterbury Cathedral Library) represents one of the most substantial sources of English school drama from the Restoration period. Containing speeches and plays performed and partly composed by the students of the King’s School, Canterbury, the manuscript was compiled by George Lovejoy during his time as headmaster of the school (1665–84). The texts in the manuscript—written in English, Latin and Greek—are divided into four subgenres according to the occasion of performance. On Oak Apple Day (May 29th) the boys celebrated the birthday and restoration of Charles II; on Guy Fawkes Day (November 5th) they recounted the events of the failed Gunpowder Plot; in December they pleaded with the Dean of the Cathedral for a Christmas break; and on Lent they engaged in rhetorical battles.

The texts within the manuscript offer an insight not only into the early modern schoolroom practices but also into the content and the means by which the King’s School students communicated values and ideas to the wider public. The present paper focuses on the orations and plays performed on Oak Apple and Guy Fawkes Days which were penned as annual manifestations of providential nationalism, celebrating England’s deliverance from the consecutive threats of popery and civil war. Through allusions to their grammar lessons, their schoolbooks and contemporary Latin and vernacular literature, the students brought the Jacobean myth of deliverance to the grammar school stage. In my paper, I discuss the broader context of these performances, in particular their relation to other Gunpowder and Oak Apple Day literature, ranging from Anglo-Latin historical epic to such text-types as sermons and prose narratives.

**Andolfi, Ilaria (Istituto Italiano di Studi Storici, Naples/Heidelberg)**  Panel: Greek Literary Scholarship*

**Snatches of scholarly criticism: mythographers and philosophers read Homer and Hesiod**

This research is aimed at demonstrating that a scholarly interest in the epic poems was not a Hellenistic discovery, as Pfeiffer (1968) believed, but, as it has come to be increasingly recognized, that other preliminary attempts developed between the end of sixth and the fifth century BC paved the way for the emergence of literary criticism. This paper is especially focused on ancient scholarship and, more broadly, on ancient Greek criticism that have come down to us in fragmentary form. The main areas of interest that I will outline are three: a lexical one (including discussions on grammar proper, like on the gender of names, on accentuation and so forth), an ethno-cultural one (e.g. Homeric geography) and a biographical one (ancient lives of poets).

The paper will be divided into two sections. The first one analyses evidence from the corpus of early Greek mythographers, in particular Hecataeus, Acusilaus and Pherecydes of Athens. In this section, for instance, I will
include Hecataean discussions on ancient toponyms and populations that are only mentioned in the epics and then forgotten (e.g. F 25 Fowler, ForHist 1 F 115, 131, 199) and Acusilaus’ interpretation of Aphrodite’s behaviour during the Trojan War (F 40 Fowler: he argues she had an agenda and wanted Priamus’ house to perish). The second one revolves around the corpus of early Greek philosophy, esp. Xenophanes, Democritus, Protagoras, Hippias and Prodicus. Some of the most relevant texts discussed in this section are Protagoras’ A 30 D.–K., which demonstrates that the sophists engaged in the analysis of the structure of some sequences of the Iliad (a very rare occurrence), Hippias’ B 18 D.–K. on Homer’s life and Prodicus’ A 18, which shows how his expertise in the ‘synonymic art’ was based on poetic exegesis.

**Androutsopoulos, Odysseas Espanol (Liverpool)**

**Panel: Early Greek Poetry**

**Theognis and the Persian Wars: a new perspective on the old debate of the dating and location of the Theognidean corpus, based on lines 757–64 and 773–88**

Of particular interest for the questions of dating and locating the Theognidean corpus are two poetic prayers for aid against the ‘Medes’, lines 757–64 and 773–88 (LCL edition). In recent scholarship, these lines are invariably taken to refer to the Persian Wars of the 5th century BC. This date is problematic, as it is an outlier compared to the other historic indicators in the poems, which place the corpus in the earlier Archaic Era. The verses are either seen as spurious or else used to date the entirety of the Theognidean corpus to the early Classical Era. The idea of linking the verses with earlier Persian military activity was largely discarded by the time of M. L. West.

I will, however, argue that in light of modern theories of oral composition of the corpus, specifically T. J. Figueira’s ‘Pan-Megarian’ Theognis, this idea may be rehabilitated. According to Figueira, ‘Theognis’ is an oral poetic corpus with origins not just in mainland Megara, but also including verses from the Megarian colonies, mainly Sicily. However, by broadening the scope of Figueira’s ‘Pan-Megarian’ Theognis to also include the Megarian colonial network in Asia Minor and the Black Sea, we can posit an interpretation of lines 757–64 and 773–88 as referring to a conflict with Persians (or even other Asian peoples) earlier than ‘our’ Persian Wars: such a conflict would have been far closer to home for the Megarian colonists in Asia Minor. Furthermore, as the corpus is oral, this does not preclude the subsequent use of the poems to refer to the Persian Wars in mainland Greece.

Such an interpretation would solidify the temporal unity of the Theognidean corpus without the need of expunging verses. More generally, it would provide a new perspective on one of the fundamental debates of Theognidean scholarship, age-old but often overlooked by newer scholars, from a more modern lens.

**Apostolou, Stefanos (Nottingham) Panel: Identity In & Beyond the Polis**

**The importance of being Aeolian in Hellenistic Asia Minor**

The Aeolian phyletic affiliation of Greek poleis between the river Hermus and Pitane emerges in full already by the middle of the 5th century BCE (cf. Hdt 1.151). In the late classical period, foundation myths outside the tale of migration were circulating in scholarly circles, alluding to an earlier putative time before the coming of the Greeks. Myths of Amazons as founders of Aeolian poleis were restricted to the narrow coastal strip defined by Herodotus as the union of the twelve Aeolian poleis, the core of Aeolian identity. It was only in the late Hellenistic period that these scholarly discourses acquired an emic character, traceable in the numismatic and epigraphical record of Cyme alone.

This paper aims to investigate the importance of phyletic identity in the Hellenistic period when new opportunities and challenges raised in Asia Minor and to explore local responses to supra-polis identities. The consolidation of Troy to the north-west of the peninsula, its new centrality, rendered the phyletic affiliation of the poleis on the southern Troad open to negotiation. Poleis previously acknowledged as Aeolian became members of the Koinon of Athena Ilias at the end of the 4th century. Important settlements sought to exploit new opportunities and reap the benefits of both identities (e.g. Assos). Others rejected an alternate affiliation (such as Skepsis) or refrained altogether from ascribing to any collective identity (such as Adramytten). In Cyme, the Amazon foundation myth supported both conflict and rapprochement, first against nearby settlements in the 3rd century, afterwards to establish common ideological ground with a powerful authority in the proximity, the Attalids. At the same time, in Elaea, where Attalid influence was stronger, myths of Athenian foundation were advocated. Arguably, local variations form a diverse conceptual hard surface onto which political authorities attempted to steer and exploit new opportunities.

**Archibald, Zosia (Liverpool) Panel: Current Research on the Greek City**

**Olynths: rewriting ancient urban history**

Surely Olynthos is the best known of Greek cities? After all, its infamous destruction by Philip II in 348 BC has been reprinted by generations of students, labouring over Demosthenes’ Olynthiac Orations. And D. M. Robinson’s decade of excavation and multi-volume publication yielded enormous quantities of information. But just as
Demosthenes is witness less to what took place than to what he hoped would happen, so Robinson coloured our picture of the city as a whole by perceptions of urban planning and organisation that may have been satisfactory in the early twentieth century, but are no longer fit for purpose.

The Olynthos Project (2014–20) is bringing our knowledge of this key northern city up to date. A new collaborative project between the Greek Archaeological Service, and the Universities of Michigan and Liverpool, under the auspices of the British School at Athens, has been conducting field survey, geophysical prospection, and excavation within a 7 km² area that includes both the North and South Hills. Data acquired during the project will be openly available via an Enterprise Geodatabase platform, linked to the BSA website.

What have we learned from the project so far? What is emerging is an Olynthian, and a regional (rather than an Athenian) perspective on the city’s history. The town turns out to have been a highly dynamic place—spatial organisation on the North Hill was more varied than the published ground plan suggests, and the South Hill has revealed itself to have been densely occupied between some time in the eighth to seventh, and the mid-fourth century BC. For the first time our investigations are producing a vivid impression of the private lives of Olynthians through their changing consumer habits. The social and economic history of Olynthos is proving to be just as volatile as its political history.

ATHANASOPOULOU, EFSTATHIA (PATRAS) PANEL: GREEK TRAGIC FRAGMENTS

WHEN SPECIES MEET: POSTHUMAN SUBJECTIVITIES IN SOPHOCLES’ SATYR DRAMAS

The aim of this paper is to explore satyr drama in general and Sophocles’ fragmentary satyr corpus in particular as a template for the emergence and the articulation of multiple diverse posthuman subjectivities.

In Sophocles’ fluid fragmentary corpus the chorus of Satyrs emerges as a multiplied subject, a collectivity in plural tense. The Satyrs are at intervals described as παῖδες and παῖς in Sophocles’ Ichneutai fr. 314, 53, 366 (cf. Achilleos Erastai) and as νομφίοι in Oineus fr. **1130, 6 who consider themselves as a single entity when asking for Oineus’ daughter in marriage. This constant fluctuation between plural and singular tense when it comes to the description of Satyrs together with the temporary dissolution of the chorus in its inner voices suggests a mutating collective subjectivity which dominated the theatrical stage of the polis of Athens before the advent of more individualized theatrical representations of the Satyrs. Secondly, the subject related fluidity extends further so as to include metamorphosis which is a common satyr play locus occurring under the effect of a magical object or divine power (Sophocles’ Inachos). Thirdly, Satyrs and gods in Sophocles’ satyr universe seem to be constantly in motion, transversing considerable geographical distances in no time and thus likening themselves to nomadic figures on and offstage. Finally, all satyr drama subjects are relational in the sense that they are constituted in interaction with diverse others in a dramatic universe populated with gods, mythical figures, Silenos, Satyrs, monsters, mutating entities and cultural objects which are being re-invented.

Posthuman satyr drama figures co-shape and are co-shaped by others while experiencing the world not only via dialogue but also via hearing (Ichneutai), smell (Ichneutai) and touch (Pandora or Sphyrokopoi, Dionysiskos). All in all, Sophocles’ satyr drama allows for the dramatic instantiation of a world always in the making where being is mainly a posthuman relational becoming in the hiatus of multiple belongings.

BAADSVIK, HALFDAN (OSLO) PANEL: ROMAN COLONIZATION & MIGRATION

COLONIZATION AND CREATIVITY IN VITRUVIUS

Vitruvius’ De architectura offers three instances of colonization as the setting for architectural innovation. The first is the anecdote of the Macedonian architect Dinocrates and his lofty plans for a colony at Athos (II, pr. 1–4). Second is the digression on the history and topology of Halicarnassus which is presented as the ideal Hellenistic cosmopolis (II, 8, 10–15). Finally there is the elaborate account of how the Doric and Ionic orders came into being after the Ionian migration (IV, 1, 3–8).

History and aetiology play an important rôle in De architectura, but the architect wavers significantly when it comes to what he identifies as the driving forces behind cultural, technological and aesthetical achievement. Sometimes Vitruvius portrays architectural history as a gradual and accumulative process brought about by a common human effort. His name therefore makes frequent appearances in lists of adherents to Democritean anthropology, and his debt to the Epicurean heurematistic tradition, i.e. the body of Greek and Roman texts that present cultural history as a series of great discoveries by so-called πρῶτοι εὑρηται or primi inventores. In the cases where colonization forms the backdrop for architectural innovation the heurematistic ideology is particularly pronounced as Vitruvius here tells of singular inventions and brings up the sole instance in De architectura of divine influence, a notion far removed from Epicurean thought.
This paper examines the connexion between the mythical and historical elements of these passages and the architectural developments themselves as they are portrayed by Vitruvius. Viewing colonizations as both political and cultural events it discusses how this context clears the way for heurematic explanations and forces Democritean ideas of cultural evolution into the background.

Backler, Katherine (Oxford)  Panel: Materiality & Gender

Μνήματα χειρῶν: textiles and their authors in the Homeric epics

In the Odyssey, Helen declares that a peplos she has made is a μνήμα Ἐλένης χειρῶν, a ‘memorial of Helen’s hands’. I explore how textiles memorialise the women who made them within the world of the Homeric epics, and how that process can bring women’s stories into our readings of the poems.

I argue that social pressure for women constantly to be producing fabrics meant that textiles functioned as ‘timesheets’ attesting to the hours women had put into them—a function echoed in the memorialisation processes surrounding the textiles dedicated at Brauron in Attica. This social pressure also led women to ‘perform’ their work to male relatives and guests. The memorable visibility of textile production meant the cognitive connection between product and producer could withstand attempts to suppress it by attributing the textile to its maker’s husband or owner. Thus Helen’s phrase reflects the wider reality that all textiles could memorialise the women who made them.

I examine instances in the poems where textiles preserve the latent stories of their makers, suggesting that such stories enhance our understanding of the poems. This can lead to exciting new readings of familiar passages: I offer as a starting-point a new reading of Achilles’ shield, focusing on the concerns of Thetis. I conclude that Homeric textiles constitute alternative Homeric texts.

Baldassi, Claudia (Edinburgh)  Panel: Greek Gender & Identity

Women on the border: the Leucippides in Sparta and Messenia

The Leucippides, Phoibe and Hilaiëra, the two daughters of the mythological Messenian king Leucippos, are (barely) known to modern scholarship as the girls abducted by the Dioscuri in one of their last and less glorious exploits. It is common knowledge that the Dioscuri—the divine (or semi-divine) twin sons of Zeus—are deeply embedded in every aspect of Spartan life; however, much less is known about the position of the Leucippides in Sparta.

The abduction of two unmarried girls by two young heroes is perceived by modern scholarship as an episodic reflection of the wider sociological theme of ‘female initiation and marriage’, as it spread throughout the Greek world. However, this specific episode resonates in a considerably deeper and more complex way inside the Spartan context, as is to be expected of a myth dealing with the ‘national’ heroes and gods of a city. What is less expected is the vital role played in this story by the Leucippides as Messenian characters. The abduction is placed on the historically turbulent border between archaic Laconia and Messenia, and as a myth about rivalries between royal families and border-crossing raids, it is bound to tell a story of some political meaning, on both sides of the border in question.

This paper uncovers the political meaning and the identity-making value of the episode in both areas, through literary, artistic and archaeological evidence, primarily in the Peloponnese, but also following in its wake as far as Magna Graecia, chasing after the trails of Peloponnesian settlers in the area.

Balmer, Josephine (poet/translator)  Panel: Beyond the Author/Body/Text*

Introduction to Panel

Since the publication of her Sappho translation in 1984 Balmer’s work has covered a range of translations of and creative responses (what she terms ‘transgressions’) to classical authors, including Catullus and Ovid, as well as a collection of translations of ancient women authors (Classical Women Poets, 1996).

To introduce the panel, Balmer will reflect on her own practice as an author and translator, with specific reference to her two most recent publications. Letting Go (2017) is a collection of sonnets in which classical sources play a major part in articulating her grief and eventual coming to terms with the sudden death of her mother. The Paths of Survival (2017) explores the story of the surviving fragments of Aeschylus’s Myrmidons. Balmer’s work is particularly illuminating on the role of classical poetry in the expression of the private and the personal, and the sonnets in Letting Go, from which she will read, are particularly successful examples of this turn to the personal voice, and of the difference this makes to the reception of classical literature today.

Bargagna, Agnese (Macerata/Paris-Sorbonne IV)  Panel: Renaissance Receptions

‘Collateral Information’: some considerations about the marginalia in manuscripts C, H, T and N of Ammianus Marcellinus

From the first look at the four manuscripts of Ammianus Marcellinus—C, H, T, and N (all from the XV century)—
conserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, what strikes one’s eye the most is the abundance and the quality of the annotations written on their margins. Though, as CHTN have been usually defined as ‘bad witnesses’ of Ammianus’ text, the tradition of the studies has also often unjustly overlooked them as physical objects with a history and—apart from Rita Cappelletto—showed the same indifference to their marginalia.

In this paper I will point out the importance of the information obtained from the analysis of the marginalia in these manuscripts, first of all by illustrating and classifying them. Specific attention will then be given to how the different annotators behave in front of passages that concern Christian religion, war, digressions and the Emperor Julian. Finally, the results will be discussed and completed with some considerations on the physical characteristics and the history of codices CHTN.

Thus, it will be showed that this perspective makes it possible not only to find which kind of interests the Humanists had in Ammianus’ work, but also to know better the personalities who studied those texts, as well as their knowledge of Latin culture and Latin authors. Some important temporal references related to the fabrication and the circulation of these codices through the ages, as well as to Ammianus’ tradition can also be inferred.

Bartninkas, Vilius (Cambridge) Panel: Plato’s Characters

Ouranos in Plato’s Timaeus

This paper will approach Plato’s Timaeus as a theogony of the old heavenly god Ouranos, which deliberately engages with traditional theogonies and philosophical cosmologies. On the one hand, the dialogue follows the tradition in so far as it makes the origins of the world inaugurated with the birth of Ouranos. However, the Greek theogony is refashioned in such a way as not to include any subversive story concerning the disposal of Ouranos, but also as to conform with the theological rules of speaking about the gods. Timaeus’ account of theogony is devoid of antagonistic political relations, such as mutilation, imprisonment, or elimination of hostile gods. He preserves only a few elements of the conventional religious language, such as the plurality of gods and their births from Ouranos and Gaia.

On the other hand, the dialogue expands the imagery of Ouranos by attaching to him some novel cosmological concepts and explaining his place within the broader Platonic metaphysical framework. Timaeus presents Ouranos as primarily a cosmic being, remarkable for his orderly, beautiful body and rational soul. His origins are now based on the creative work of the Demiurge and his nature is anchored in the Good. All in all, the double nature of Ouranos makes him the main cosmic and traditional god. With respect to the heavenly gods, Ouranos ensures the cosmic stability and goodness, and gives the paradigm to the younger gods. With respect to the traditional gods, Ouranos and Gaia remain the senior divine parents, which allows of speaking about the integration of the traditional discourse into the general cosmology. I will show that Ouranos, along with Gaia, becomes the centrepiece, which thematically and dramatically joins together the philosophical and traditional ideas in Plato’s cosmology.

Barton, William (Innsbruck) Panel: Latin between the Private & Public Spheres*

Public performance of knowledge: the reception and representation of Early Modern science in contemporary university dissertations

The practice of disputation belonged to the most common academic events at the early modern university. It consisted principally of a formalised debate in which students acting as opponens or respondens respectively attacked or defended a number of theses provided by a Professor acting as praeses. Disputations took place regularly as part of the training of students, as well as on special occasions in order to obtain a degree or a position at the university. The disputations were often recorded and published as dissertationes, which could range in detail from simple lists of the theses to be discussed to book-length treatises including the questions and responses from the participating students.

In contrast to its modern-day descendant, the author of the early modern dissertation was often the praeses himself, but just as today thesis disputations were frequently public events open not only to other members of the university but to a wider public as well. As such, disputations—and the dissertations that preserve their proceedings for modern readers of Latin—serve as important evidence for the reception of the ideas circulating in the universities at any given time, as well as for the versions of these ideas that made their way to a public audience at the disputation itself.

This paper will look at the reception of new scientific ideas in early modern dissertations. By means of exemplary case studies, it will consider the role of this understudied, yet extremely abundant genre of publication in processing and representing cutting-edge scientific discoveries for audiences both inside and outside the university context.

Bassino, Paola (Winchester) Panel: Greek Rhetoric

Palamedes, the sophistc hero

This paper investigates the relationships between the Sophists and the epic tradition—the two driving forces that shaped the intellectual discourse in fifth- and fourth-century...
The combination of evidence from the zooarchaeological record and mosaics suggests that the ‘wild’ was conceptualised in at least two ways. One of them, indicated by the cluster of exotic animal bones in Rome, is connected to imperialism and the belief in the superiority of humans over animals. The second conception is a more gentle and appreciative approach to the ‘wild’ most evident in the keeping of Barbary macaques as companion animals.

Beamer, Jennifer (Leicester)  Panel: Pulling the Threads Together*

Experimenting with loom-weights

Textile production is the technical process by which humans convert animal fur and plant cellulose into a variety of textiles, from clothing to bedspreads, from rugs to bags. They are mundane requirements of our modern world, and they were daily necessities of our past. However, as integral to our lifestyle as they are, scholarship surrounding their production remains sparse, particularly in Britain. Prehistory suffers the greatest in these academic considerations since there is no iconography or textual accounts to bolster the sparse archaeological record. Therefore, other methods must be employed to obtain a greater understanding of textile production in prehistoric societies.

Based on the archaeology and engaged by a specialist, experimental archaeology and the chaîne opératoire allows us to immerse ourselves in the tasks-scape of textile production, thereby enriching our understanding of the process. Experimental archaeology is a useful methodology for conceiving of ways the technical process of making textiles might impact established social constructs within a past society, regardless of that society’s prehistoric or historic status. With this methodology, the authority to debunk previous myths and assumptions about the chaîne opératoire of textile production provides a powerful base on which to develop new knowledge about Iron Age Britain. In this paper, a presentation about an experiment examining triangular loomweights, and alternate usages other than those traditionally known in academia, is described. This is inspired by previous scholarship about ancient Greek crescent-shaped loomweights and the creation of twill fabric on a warp-weighted loom. Preliminary results will be demonstrated.

Bearzot, Cinzia (U. Cattolica del Sacro Cuore)  Panel: Social Mobility*

Qualified migrants in Classical Greece

The paper aims to consider the condition of intellectuals (rhetoricians, logographers, philosophers, educators) who moved within the Greek world to offer their skills in...
contexts in which they could be most appreciated (e.g. in the fifth and fourth centuries, in Athens). The main focus is on the expectations of these people: simply looking for a market for their skills, or an opportunity for social promotion, or even integration into a society different from their own, which perhaps they had to abandon forcibly? For some personalities, such as Lysias, we have the opportunity to evaluate some of these aspects and to shed light on the motivations of these particular ‘migrants’.

Beer, Mike (Exeter College) Panel: Roman Political Identities

_Crocodilum habet Nilus, quadripes malum et terra pariter ac flumine infestum: perceptions of the crocodile and crocodile worship in Graeco-Roman culture_

Thus did the elder Pliny characterise the crocodile. Yet, in the British Museum can be found a crocodile-skin suit of armour (likely ceremonial). Dating from the third century AD and discovered in Manfalut in Egypt, it comprises a helmet and cuirass and likely belonged to Roman troops stationed in the region, and was connected with the cult rituals of the indigenous crocodile god, Sobek (Greek: Souchos; Roman: Suchus), whose cult centre was at Crocodilopolis (later Arsinoe). The cult of Sobek originated in the Old Kingdom and flourished in the Ptolemaic and Roman eras. Herodotus, Diodorus and Strabo document the zoological nature of this creature, although its focus as an object of veneration seems to have been another way of vilifying Egyptian culture as degenerate and barbaric. First exhibited at Rome by Marcus Aemilius Scaurus in 58 BC, it would enter the pantheon of creatures that featured in the _damnatio ad bestias_ of the arena.

This paper will explore Graeco-Roman attitudes to the crocodile and its place in religious worship, to see how this creature, uncomfortably primeval and alien, could inspire both loathing and reverence, and how this ties into questions of ethnic identity and fears of impending political and cultural fragmentation.

Bellis, Lauren (Leicester) Panel: Ecology, Environment & Empire*

_The canine diaspora: discrepant identity and dogs in Britannia_

Thus far, research has established the link between identity under Roman imperialism and a rather eclectic range of material culture, ranging from pottery to altars and curse tablets. Human diet has had some consideration in relation to this theme, particularly the ‘big three’ domesticates: cattle, sheep and pigs. Yet the living animals themselves have had little consideration. This is a key question that requires serious attention, given that Roman occupation of provinces led to the introduction of a variety of new species and variety of animal: including but not limited to larger cattle, new dog morphotypes, fallow deer and potentially even rabbits. Daily life and the wider landscape would have been affected by these fauna, and the responses of the inhabitants would have formed a crucial piece of their own identity under imperialism.

Dogs comprise the ideal case study for such a question: they lived in close contact with humans and their remains are some of the most commonplace on many Roman sites, as they are often buried or deposited whole. In many provinces, Roman occupation is associated with greater diversity in dog types, particularly very small dogs that were almost certainly new genetic stock. New social and cultural attitudes may have accompanied these canines, which natives may have discrepant responses to. This paper will investigate the link between animal and identity, using the province of Britannia as a case study. Both faunal evidence, including biographies of individual dogs, and textual evidence will be used.

Bevan, Andrew (UCL) Panel: Current Research on the Greek City*

_Urban settlement on Kythera and Antikythera_

Please see Broodbank, Cyprian.

Bexley, Erica (Durham) Panel: Seneca on Law & Sovereignty*

_Nero’s replacement? Autocracy and/as autonomy in Seneca_

This paper takes its inspiration from two remarkable claims about Seneca. The first is Juvenal Sat. 8.211–12: Roman citizens, if able to vote, would surely choose Seneca over Nero. The second is Tacitus’ assertion, at _Ann._ 15.65, that some members of the Pisonian conspiracy planned to make Seneca emperor. Granted Seneca occupied a powerful position for most of Nero’s reign, but could a man of such minor aristocratic lineage and no military might really be a potential _princeps_? What was it about Seneca that made him seem a viable candidate for ruling Rome?

The short answer is: philosophy. I contend that Seneca presents self-sufficiency (_autarkeia_) and self-possession as direct equivalents to autocratic power; those who achieve autonomy by philosophical means resemble monarchs. _Epistle_ 9.18–21, for example, praises _autarkeia_ as enabling the philosopher Stilbo both to endure the destruction of his city, and to triumph morally over its destroyer, Demetrius Poliorcetes. Unaffected by material loss, Stilbo ‘conquers his conqueror’ (_Ep._ 9.19); his moral autonomy places him outside Demetrius’ grasp, and endows him with the sovereign power to establish his
own hierarchies. Similarly, the sapiens’ self-contentment enables him to possess everything regio more (Ben. 7.6), while Seneca’s favoured phrase, se habere (e.g. Ep. 42.10), evokes a simultaneously autonomous and autocratic state of being (Thévenaz 1944: 19–20).

Contra Roller (2001: 64–126), I do not regard such philosophical autonomy as the apolitical consolation prize of a disenfranchised Roman elite. The personal is political in Seneca. By claiming autonomy, the sapiens, like the sovereign, establishes the law’s validity by placing himself beyond it (Schmitt 1932; Agamben 1998: 15–29). In Seneca’s work, seeking autarkeia and seeking imperial power are analogous activities, which goes a long way to explaining why people could imagine Seneca himself as princeps.

Blanco, Chiara (Cambridge) | Panel: Materiality & Gender, 2*  
**Women feminising the womaniser: the case of Deianira in Sophocles’ Women of Trachis**

Soaked in love philtre (Nessus’ blood), Deianira’s pepulum triggers in her husband a series of excruciating torments. The garment holds Heracles in a mortal embrace, first targeting his skin with an unbearable itch (765–71). The vóοος then affects Heracles’ inner organs and mental status, culminating in his own admission of having become a θηλύς (1075), and eventually leading to his death. This paper sets out to explore how Deianira feminises Heracles with her pepulum—devised against his sexual incontinence, it turns him into a ‘womanish creature’. All the symptoms experienced by the hero (among which are difficulty breathing, talking nonsensical words, repeated spasms, and suicidal behaviour) closely recall cases of women affected by ‘hysteria’, or those of young unmarried virgins in need of sexual intercourse as discussed in Hippocratic literature.

By investigating Hippocratic treatises and magic erotic papyri, this paper discusses how Heracles’ symptomatology in the *Women of Trachis* can be considered as the first case of ‘hysteria’ experienced by a man in Greek literature. Triggered by a woman, the vóοος first manifests itself in the typical form of magic erotic induction, and then feminises the hero by causing him hysterical symptoms.

Bonaventura, Marc (Cambridge) | Panel: Women & War I  
**The portrayal of women in the De excidia Troiae historia attributed to Dares Phrygius**

Attributed to Dares Phrygius, but composed by an anonymous fifth-century ce author, the De excidia Troiae historia presents a prose historiographical account of the entire Trojan War. The action of the text is understandably dominated by men, as they comprise the vast majority of the leaders and soldiers. However, this paper will explore the role that women play in the narrative and how they are portrayed throughout the text, an issue largely neglected in recent scholarship. For instance, the lead up to the war involves both the abduction of Hesione (3) and Helen deliberately seeking out Paris at Cythera and willingly travelling with him to Troy (10). During the war, Andromache successfully persuades Priam to restrain Hector from battle against his wishes (24), and Achilles refuses to fight after falling in love with Polyxena (27). When Achilles finally returns to battle, it is no Trojan warrior who defeats him, but rather Hecuba, who devises a plot to lure him into an ambush (34). Drawing on these and other examples, this paper will argue that the female characters, far from being powerless spectators in the war, are endowed with greater potency than their Homeric counterparts, and often through their own initiative drive the narrative of the text at key points.

Bourke, Graeme (U. of New England, Australia) | Panel: Greek Myth & Politics  
**Pelops at Olympia: the archaeology of a myth**

This paper considers the question of when and under what circumstances the hero Pelops, eponym of the Peloponnesse, first became associated with the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. While scholars have often believed that the cult of Pelops at the site of the prehistoric tumulus in the Altis went back to the Mycenaean period, its appearance there is now more commonly dated c.600 bc or later, and cultic activity at the site may not have been associated with this particular hero until quite late in the Archaic period. Pindar placed the mythical chariot race in which Pelops won the hand of Hippodameia, the daughter of king Oinomaois, in the vicinity of Olympia, and this event was later depicted on the east pediment of the temple of Zeus Olympia. Certain other accounts, however, seem to suggest that it was originally located elsewhere in Greece. In order to explore the lines of development of the relevant mythology, this paper employs the ‘archaeological’ method advocated by Gehrke (2005, 23–4), in which various layers of myth are ‘excavated’ from the relevant ancient texts and correlated, where possible, with political events. These
texts include, aside from the more detailed accounts in Pindar, Pseudo-Apollodorus, Diodorus and Pausanias, works by a wide selection of Greek poets, dramatists, historians, philosophers and sophists. The paper will contribute to our understanding of the historical importance of the cult of Pelops in the sanctuary at Olympia, but also exemplify the use of the ‘archaeological’ method to suggest how and for what purposes myths may have been constructed and transformed.

Bowie, Angus (Oxford)  Panel: Early Greek Poetry

Divine authority in Greece and the Near East

The search for possible influences on Greek culture from the Near East was the natural result of the discovery of the similarities between the various cultures. As time has gone on, the problems with such Quellenforschung have become highlighted, as the difficulty in distinguishing between obvious borrowings, ‘polygenesis’, independent borrowing from a third source and chance similarities has become clearer. This paper takes a different line and considers the two questions of the operation of fate and divine authority in a comparative way, to see how such a comparison can illuminate the way these ideas operate in Greece and the Near East. In a comparison of the Iliad and the Mesopotamian epic Anzu, it contrasts the way that in NE literature the ‘Tablet of Destinies’ or the creation of fates play a much more important role in the exercise of divine authority than in Homer: possession of the Tablet is essential to the exercise of cosmic power and fates are requested at crucial moments. In Homer however, fate is much less visible: how it operates and its relation to Zeus are left uncertain; fated things happen, but not necessarily because they are fated. The Fates themselves are virtually invisible, and no one ascribes things to them in any but a rather generalised way. A comparison with Atrahasis and the behaviour of Eill towards those who oppose him then makes plain the wisdom of Zeus’ diplomatic negotiation of the demands of his fellow gods and of fate, which can also be contrasted with the behaviour of the human actors in the Iliad.

Bozia, Eleni (Florida)  Panel: Roman Colonization & Migration

Civis Romanus est: marginalized foreigners or Romanized citizens in the Roman empire?

The period of the 2nd century CE is the par excellence historical era through the prism of which we should examine an issue that is civic, political, individual yet societal, and that is always current, namely movement. There are several words to describe geographical relocation of individuals, each perceptive of what that change encompasses—migration, immigration, displacement. The people who go through this process bear the tag of ‘alien’, ‘foreigner’, ‘migrant’, and ‘newcomer’ among others. Frequently these people find themselves in the doleful position to, in most cases reluctantly, disown their native language as well as lifestyle and customs and adjust to the new reality. The period of the High Empire, though, shines a different light on ‘immigration’ and gives a fresh perspective to ‘displacement’ for a twofold reason: foremost is the fact that people willingly relocate to different parts of the Empire. Second this relocation does not necessarily involve and is not necessitated by actual geographical movement. Instead it is embedded within people’s adoption of a new language and culture.

In this paper I explore the Roman equivalents of ‘immigration,’ which is acculturation and enculturation. I argue that 2nd-century CE authors indicate a voluntary displacement and a volitional adaptation to Greek language and culture and Roman citizenship that is not concomitant with marginalization and lack of political status. More specifically, I discuss Favorinus of Arelate, a Roman sophist and philosopher, who was of Gaulish ancestry and wrote in Greek, Lucian of Samosata, the (As)Syrian orator who acquired Roman citizenship and wrote in Greek, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus who claimed that Greekness is acquirable and not simply a matter of ethnic provenance. Against this multicultural backdrop I argue that ethnic hybridity and acquirable sociopolitical agenda are the premier denominators of that era. Hence, people assume different identities and thrive within new socio-political contexts.

Brambilla, Alessandro (Roma Tor Vergata)  Panel: Social Mobility*

Spatial mobility and military career: a sociological perspective

Modern scholars often inadequately considered the relationship between spatial mobility and social promotion through military career in Classical Greece, focusing almost exclusively on mercenary service. However, ancient sources provide many examples of individuals or groups of migrants that, though not fighting as mercenaries, were able to exploit their military experience to obtain social recognition in a new civic context.

Indeed, mercenary service represents an essential point of interest for any study on this topic. However, this was not the only option available for those leaving their country with a baggage of military skills at their disposal. These men abandoned their homeland on free will, induced by temporary circumstances, or were forced to do so by their own state. Such spatial movements were often the consequence of episodes of war or internal
strife that directly involved these migrants and caused a worsening in their social recognition.

Through the analysis of the vicissitudes of some ancient migrants preserved by the sources, this paper aims to understand if those who left their native land trying to make a living out of their own experience of war were always perceived as a potential threat, or could be also considered a useful resource. Many of these refugees were in possessions of military skills going well beyond the ability of fighting properly, such as the knowledge of a territory or the capability of commanding a specific kind of troops, that could be of great interest for anyone willing to give them protection, a livelihood or even civil rights. The examples provided will also allow to emphasise how the host states were often ready to exploit these competences for various war-related purposes, thus binding the grant of social recognition to public utility.

Brännstedt, Lovisa (Lund/Durham) Panel: Roman Women in Space

Gendering the Forum Romanum: female defendants before the Roman Senate

In 66 CE, Marcia Servilia (PIR² S 606) was summoned before the Senate to answer the accusation that she had paid magicians to conduct rites on her father's behalf (Tac. Ann. 16.30–3; Dio Cass. 62.26.3; Marshall 1990, 363, case no. 24; Pollard 2014). Servilia and her father, who was accused of maiestas, made pleas before the Senate on each other's behalf and in Tacitus' narrative her illegal actions pale in comparison to those of the despotic Nero.

Servilia is one of many Roman women whose actions brought her into the courtroom and before the Senate. In his foundational study of women on trial, Anthony Marshall (1990) counted 39 trials from the first century CE in which women were prosecuted. Despite this previous scholarship, the active participation of women in their role as defendants has frequently been left unexamined. In this paper, I explore the evidence for female defendants in legal proceedings with special emphasis on the spaces used for their trials. The paper challenges the view that the early imperial Forum Romanum was a gendered space from which women were ideologically excluded. By examining women on trial, I contest that women were regularly present on the Forum Romanum, including highly political spaces such as the Comitum and the Curia. The paper focuses on female defendants who resisted imperial power, as their presence in front of the Senate opens up the enticing possibility that the Curia, and other meeting places of the Senate, also could be sites of female resistance. I conclude that women's presence on the Forum Romanum and speaking roles before the Senatorial court gestures towards their co-implication in Roman political culture and should be recognized as part of their public persona.

Brémond, Mathilde (Paris–Sorbonne) Panel: Aristotle & Quotation Culture

A new testimony on Democritus and the salinity of the sea

Critics usually rely on the fragment of Theophrastus in the Hibeh Papyrus to investigate Democritus's theory of the salinity of the sea. Three statements have been deduced from this text: that salinity is explained by the law of attraction of similar things, that it has to do with putrefaction, and finally that Democritus would have considered that the water obtains its salty taste when filtered through the earth.

My paper has two aims. First, to show that we should abandon those three statements. For they rest mostly on the dubious reconstruction by Diels of missing parts of the papyrus. Concerning the last claim, two considerations show us that it cannot be attributed to Democritus: first, Alexander of Aphrodisias identifies its authors as Anaxagoras and Metrodorus. Secondly, it would contradict a well-established Democritean claim, i.e. that the atoms of salt are big, and would therefore be stuck inside a filter, not dragged by water into the sea.

My second claim is that we can find another testimony about the salinity of the sea in Aristotle's Meteorology II.3. Aristotle refers there to a theory where salt is not dragged by water when filtered through the earth, but dissolved by erosion. I will show that this opinion can be attributed to Democritus for two reasons. First, the doxography's structure corresponds to the one in the Hibeh Papyrus, with three possible opinions for the origin of salinity, one of which is Democritus's. Secondly, Aristotle uses when describing this erosion and mixture of water and salt the verb ἐξίγυμνύσθαι, which only appears in one other place in the Aristotelian corpus: when describing alteration according to Democritus in On Coming-to-be and Passing-away 1.2, 315b9–15.

Brindley, Guy (Oxford) Panel: A Magnificent Seven*

Family, politics and family politics: Oedipus’ curse upon his sons

When discussing the Theban myths, we usually focus upon the actions and experiences of key individuals from the city's royal family: Oedipus, Antigone, Eteocles and Polyneices etc. But what of the wider population of that ill-starred city? In the countless iterations of the myths the Thebans themselves seem forever fated to suffering, either as the backdrop for or as a consequence of the actions of the ruling dynasty; they are menaced by the Sphinx, devastated by the plague, or compelled to fight off foreign invasion. A useful case-study for exploring the
unhappy intermeshing of the affairs of Thebes’ first family and the city as a whole is a comparison of the various ancient depictions of Oedipus’ curse upon his sons. In the Epic Cycle, Aeschylus, and Euripides, the misdeeds which prompt this curse are explicitly private, but the wording nonetheless forebodes political strife, granting the breakdown of family relationships devastating consequences in the public sphere. Stadius takes this trend still further. His Oedipus imbues his curse with political language, but it nonetheless represents a father’s anger at his sons’ private conduct; the Theban citizen body itself complains bitterly of this intrusion of fractious family relations into their governance and political life. Sophocles’ Oedipus at Colonus takes a very different line; the timeline and circumstances of the curse are altered so that, in an inversion of the usual state of affairs, Oedipus can complain of the role of the Theban citizenry in his own unhappy fate! By exploring the permutations in accounts of this key mythical event, we can develop a sense of the complexity of the relationship between public and private in these myths, and acknowledge the important role of the Theban people in the ‘Theban Cycle’.

Briscoe, John (Manchester) Panel: The ‘Making’ of Fragments*

Nonius Marcellus and the fragments of Sisenna

L. Cornelius Sisenna, praetor in 78 BC, wrote a history of the Social and Civil Wars, perhaps continuing until the death of Sulla (Fragments of the Roman Historians no. 26), in at least 13, perhaps as many as 23 books. Of the 143 certain fragments (more than of any other lost Roman historian), no fewer than 117 are cited, all by Nonius Marcellus, as coming from books 3 and 4. All are very short and verbatim, cited for their linguistic interest, so that their historical context is frequently obscure. Nonius, who probably lived in the fourth century BC, was concerned with linguistic auctoritas, which he believed was to be found in authors whom he called ueteres, mostly Republican writers (Virgil is the principal exception). Either he had a text of only books 3 and 4, or, for some reason, chose only to use those books (though it is conceivable that he was using a list of passages compiled by a predecessor). The fragments enable us to see, as Nonius must have realised, that Sisenna is a writer of great linguistic interest, both an archaizer and an innovator. W. M. Lindsay established (the so-called ‘Lindsay’s Law’) that Nonius’ quotations from extant works (e.g. Plautus, Sallust), within each of the non-alphabetized books of his work (all but books 2–4 out of a total of 20, of very uneven length) and in the individual letter sections of the alphabetized books, follow the order of the original, and one may assume that the same applies to lost works: the paper will touch on the application of this to the fragments of Sisenna.

Broodbank, Cyprian (Cambridge) Panel: Current Research on the Greek City*

Kiriatsi, Evangelia (British School at Athens) Bevan, Andrew (UCL)

Petrocheilos, Ioannis (Ioannina)

Urban settlement on Kythera and Antikythera

The Kythera Island Project conducted a diachronic intensive field survey over ca. 100 km² of central-southern Kythera between 1998 and 2001 but at that time was unable to survey the main ancient urban centre, around what is today known as the Palaiokastro. An opportunity to survey Palaiokastro in 2017 arose and a single season survey was undertaken supported by drone-based photogrammetry, geophysical research and geoarchaeological mapping.

The results of this survey of a site occupied from the late Geometric until the early Roman empire make a major contribution to our understanding of the role of urban settlements in an island context, and particularly in contrast to Antikythera Kastro, a small, smartly fortified, one period site, marked by abundant evidence of exchange, in the form of amphorae, but little sign of substantial buildings (no tiles were recovered, for example). As a result of this year’s survey we now understand much better the shifting relationship between town and countryside, and can offer some explanations for the changes in population distribution that mean that at some periods there is heavy concentration in the town and at others widespread dispersal across the countryside. A particularly interesting relationship emerges with the site of Kastri near the port of Skandia.

By contrast to urban sites on the mainland or on Crete, the nucleated settlements of Kythera and Antikythera have to be understood not simply in relation to other local settlements but in relation to the wider geo-political and economic contexts. For all that this is a landscape whose basic features and natural resources have not changed (as pollen cores have helped to demonstrate), it is and has long also been a landscape that is extremely sensitive to changing human choice and preference. Few if any archaeologically familiar landscapes show comparable dynamism.

Brouma, Vasiliki (Greek Archaeological Committee UK) Panel: Commemoration

Commemorating the dead in Hellenistic Rhodes: tombs with funerary klinai

The standardised image of a person reclining on a couch has survived an enduring iconographical legacy in the Mediterranean from the archaic period to late antiquity. Images of banqueters on funerary stelai, reliefs and tomb
wall-paintings attest to a rich tradition of Anatolian descent with various interpretative approaches such as expressions of the identity and status of the deceased or representations of a real or idealized afterlife symposion among others. However, the archaeological manifestations of these images, namely stone klinai or klinoeid constructions for the deposition of the deceased in tombs, have only recently attracted scholarly attention.

This paper will focus on a group of Hellenistic tombs with stone beds (3rd–1st c. BC) from the necropoleis of Rhodes in the south-eastern Aegean. In contrast to some of their contemporary parallels from mainland Greece and Egypt, the appropriation of Rhodian funerary beds to funerary ritual is somewhat different. Setting aside stylistic and morphological features, we shall examine the dialectic relationship between the artefacts and funerary and post-funerary ritual and commemoration, more specifically the creation of a distinct ‘burial language’: what was the function of the klinai in the Rhodian tombs and what can they tell us about the relationship between the living and the deceased? By adapting a contextual approach in terms of the available archaeological material, we aim to reconstruct the main characteristics of these rites with an emphasis on post-funerary commemoration.

Bruno, Nicoletta (Bari/Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften)  Panel: Lucretius

The internal conflict: Lucretian lexicon and imagery of ambition, envy and guilt

This paper is concerned with the analysis of the lexicon and imagery of the emotional effects and the psychosomatic reactions to ambition, envy and guilt in Lucretius’ De rerum natura. These indomitable and deep passions can also lead men to serious distress, grief and psychological disorders, as it can be read in DRN 3. 41–93, 463–525; 4. 1115–19; 5. 1120–35, 1145–60. Throughout the DRN, Lucretius explores the soul in its atomic and sensorial nature, strongly related to the body (3. 323–416), so he investigates the internal conflict in all its psychosomatic effects.

Envy is able to produce overwhelming emotions, and it is the main consequence of the degenerative urge of ambition and the thirst of power. Ambition and envy in political life generate corruption and violence (5. 1120–44) among men. However, at the same time, the consequent rise of laws and the unavoidable role of punishment to ban the murders and the vengeances intensify the fear, contaminate the rewards of life (cf. 5. 1151) and create irrational symptoms of anxiety (5. 1145–60). Suffice to remember how men can be scared by the guilt and the fear of being punished: they can suffer a sort of delirium, revealing their violent crimes speaking or screaming during sleep (for the ‘somniloquy’ see 4. 1115–19 and 5. 1156–60). Typically, envy provokes the same self-destructive symptoms of jealousy in love, well described in 4. 1141–91. Detachment is the necessary answer to understand the authentic and rational reality.

Through a close and an accurate analysis of some significant Lucretian lines and words, this study seeks to explore how the psychological reactions are described in DRN also through rhetorical and didactic strategies, such as allegory, imagery, analogy and repetition, as well as Lucretius’ use of myth.

Buckland, Carl (Nottingham)  Panel: Position & Power

The wicked and the divine in Wonder Woman

With the success of the 2017 film about her, it is now fairly well known that Wonder Woman is an Amazonian princess and has connections to the ancient world. It is the aim of this paper to re-evaluate the role Greek mythology has had in the comic book version of the superhero, in particular in the work of Greg Rucka in his two comic book runs on Wonder Woman in 2003–6 and 2016–17.

Rucka’s first run on Wonder Woman saw an increase in the use of mythological villainesses like Medusa and Circe, semi-divine figures used to act as foils to Diana of Themiscyra’s own god-like qualities. He also re-wrote Greek myth to make Athena overthrow her father Zeus and take control of Olympus with Diana’s help. This extension to Hesiod’s cycle of gods is interesting in that the modern adaptation of this cycle has the father finally being replaced by his daughter—a daughter somewhat androgynous not only in ancient depictions but also here in the modern comic book setting too. This paper will seek to question the relevance of the supposed ‘masculinity’ of both Athena and Diana, and consider how the modern representation of ancient women continues the tradition of a ‘masculine’ woman seeking to destabilise the power of men.

In the Greek world, the Amazons frequently represented this threat to the male elite by being powerful independent women. Wonder Woman was used in Greg Rucka’s writing to a similar purpose—she both enticed and frightened the American authorities; she is both a threat and a saviour. This paper will aim to look not only at this reinvigoration of Wonder Woman as an ancient Greek hero, but also point out that the comic can be used to present ancient Greek theories of masculinity, gender, politics and propaganda in a new and interesting fashion.
Burgess, Paul (Edinburgh)  Panel: The Rule of Law in Rome*

Respondent
As respondent in the panel (details in section 1), Paul Burgess will draw together theoretical aspects of the three panel papers and consider some implications for ‘rule of law studies’ more broadly.

Callegari, Roberta (Salento/Vienna)  Panel: Educating the Ancient World
The farewell speech of Menander of Laodicea
This paper is intended to deal with the rhetorical and linguistic aspects of the farewell speech, as it is theorized by the ancient rhetorical treatises. The starting point is the definition of συντακτικός λόγος, the farewell speech, theorized for the first time in the treatise Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν by Menander of Laodicea, or Menander Rhetor, a sophist of the second half of the third century AD. The leave-taking speech is a form of oration belonging to the epideictic genre and represents the 15th chapter in the treatise Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν of Menander. It is the speech of a person who leaves a city for another destination. The situations can be two: one can leave from a foreign city to return to one’s homeland or one can leave from a hometown to go to another city. The reference model for this type of speech is Odysseus who takes leave from king Alcinous, queen Arete and Phaeaces to return to Ithaca (Od. XIII 38–41 and 59–62).

The treatise of Menander is the best source to describe the evolution of the epideictic genre in imperial times. In previous centuries, the Rhetorica ad Alexandrum and the work of Aristotle provided a general theory of the epideictic rhetoric but did not theorize precise rules that students could use to compose speeches. From this point of view, Menander was the only Greek rhetorician to provide precise rules for the composition of sixteen different types of epideictic speech (and among these there is the farewell speech). Also new is the fact that, unlike previous centuries, with Menander there came into practice even laudatory private events and not only public ones.

Canfora, Carmine (Siena/Pisa/Florence)  Panel: Latin Poetry
Cursing poetry: the tabellae defixionum as literary production
The tabellae defixionum are one of the most interesting remains of the ancient world. In particular, the Latin ones let us observe Roman society from an original and unexpected point of view. However, until now the defixiones have been studied mainly by two disciplines: archaeology, as precious remains of material culture, and linguistics, as a testimony of a popular linguistic use. The objective of my research is to explore a third possibility of studying the Latin curse tablets, in order to understand the rhetorical and syntactic patterns of the texts transmitted by them.

Starting from the studies of Robert Lowth (Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews) and Roman Jakobson (Poésie de la grammaire et grammaire de la poésie) about the parallelism as the essential constituent of ancient and modern poetry, I have analysed the longest and less fragmentary tablets, to understand the way these texts have been structured. I focused on their phonetic, syntactic and lexical aspects.

The results I have obtained point to a strong resemblance between some defixiones and the most ancient Roman literary production. It has been possible to spot high affinity with the rhetorical devices used, for example, by Cato in his medical and religious prectiones as well as in the devotio formulas cited by Macrobius and Livy. Finally, surprising relationships can be shown with Plautus’ plays. All these texts, indeed, seem to be built on phonetic analogies as well as repetitions of the same syllables and words. Even if there is still more to research, from the data I have been able to collect I can affirm that curse tablets’ texts appear to be in a strict relationship with archaic Roman literature. This could lead us to consider them as a proper kind of Roman poetry.

Caraway, Kate (Liverpool)  Panel: Archaic Communities*
The Peisistratids and Athens: narratives of community spatial development
Peisistratos and his sons have been attributed with major roles in the physical and cultural development of the Athenian polis during the sixth century. For some scholars (e.g. Camp 2001; 1986, Shear 1994; 1978) the development of civic spaces, such as the Athenian Agora, are implicitly reflections of the ideologies that paved the way and facilitated the advent of Athenian democracy at the end of the sixth century BC. However, this paradigm approaches community development from a purely political perspective, teleologically, and assumes agency without full analysis of motivations and the wider context.

Revisiting the archaeological evidence from public and religious spaces in Attika (e.g. the Athenian Agora, the Telesterion at Eleusis, and Temple of Olympian Zeus), highlights how narratives concerning the instrumental role of the Peisistratidai in shaping of the physical and political landscape have both influenced our interpretation of the social and political development of Athens, and obscured our understanding of the spatial landscape of the Athenian community. This top-down view of
processes impacting the physical landscape of the polis overlooks the complex interplay of social factors and the spatial environment: at these sites individuals came together in a variety of ways, interacting with each other and with the concept of Athenian community. By exploding these narratives we are able to explore ‘the local’ and ‘the polis’ through the spaces that helped define the community by bringing elements of it together socially, religiously and physically.

In this talk I conduct a critical assessment of the evidence, contextualised against a social and spatial background, arguing there must be a paradigm shift in how we visualise Peisistratid involvement in Attika. My approach paves the way for bringing the social into the foreground for examining community, and its cohesion, in sixth-century Athens.

Centlivres Challet, Claude-Emmanuelle (Lausanne) Panel: Rape Narratives

Real rape in Rome: why nobody would talk about it

This paper aims at investigating the potential causes of the dearth of mentions of rape in Latin literature. Mentions or descriptions of rape, understood here as non-consensual sexual contact, mostly narrate divine, mythical, or legendary rapes—such as the stories of Proserpina and Europa, the Sabines, or Lucretia and Virginia—pertain to the lore of imperial debauchery, or are set within a satirical or comical context. However, rape is under-represented as an event of everyday life and barely described as a real occurrence. Both Terence and Augustine address the event of a rape as a form of violence causing suffering, but in between authors treat the issue with a twist that removes rape from any historical, realistic context.

This paper will examine why Romans of the imperial era would not write about rape, and why the cultural and legal contexts of the period would have been obstacles to talking about it publicly. It will explore the potentiality of occurrences of hidden cases of rape in such situations as arranged marriages, relationships between two partners of different generations, between a free person and a slave, and between an adult and a child. Last, taking into account the possibility that occurrences of adultery mentioned in the texts might be in fact cases of rape, this paper will address the issues raised by the context of a male-dominated culture, by the historical advent of the Augustan laws on adultery, and with the help of comparative anthropology, evolutionary biology, and affective neuroscience it will propose reasons why neither men nor women had any advantage in making a real occurrence of rape known.

Charami, Roumpini-Ioanna (Nottingham) Panel: Identity In & Beyond the Polis*

Localism in transition: from the perioikic poleis to the koinon of the Lakedaimonians

The perioikoi or ‘dwellers-around’ were the inhabitants of the settlements and communities of Lakonike during the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic period until the beginning of the 2nd c. BCE, when the ‘koinon (league) of the Lakedaimonians’ was founded by twenty-four perioikic communities. The history of the perioikoi is inextricably associated with the history of Sparta since they are predominantly regarded to be subject population despite being free men. Nevertheless, they were organised in poleis, they were conducting their own trade, and developed relations with poleis outside Lakonike as indicated by proxeny decrees.

This paper aims to examine how the perioikic populations were affected and responded to the changes that occurred during the turbulent Hellenistic period in the Peloponnese. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence will be presented in an attempt to highlight the ways the perioikic poleis internalised and advocated the Lakedaimonian identity during the early Hellenistic period. Following the foundation of the koinon, elements of localism resulting from a common cultural heritage and a shared territorial reality remained strong among the perioikoi. The sanctuaries of Apollo Hyperteletas on the Malea peninsula and of Poseidon at Cape Tainaron maintain their regional character and continue to serve as the religious central loci for all the perioikoi throughout the Hellenistic period and in Roman times. On the other hand, evidence such as the decree with the territorial dispute between two neighbouring perioikic poleis (IG V.1 931; 2nd c. BCE) testifies to the social and political changes that took place within their communities in the aftermath of the formation of the koinon. In short, on the basis of archaeological and textual evidence, I intend to discuss how during the Hellenistic period, and even after the foundation of the League of the Lakedaimonians, aspects of localism persevere among the perioikic communities which embrace the local Lakedaimonian identity and transform it into a contemporary reality.

Chavarria, Sophie (Kent) Panel: Women in Roman Religion

Secespita and female sacrificial competence in ancient Rome

Sacrifice was a fundamental religious ritual in the ancient world as it was a favoured mean of communication between humans and gods. The theory of so-called ‘female sacrificial incapacity’ that dominated debates about Roman religious practices for decades has now given way to scholars who widely agree women were fully entitled to perform sacrifices independently.
Following the ground-breaking work of Meghan J. DiLuzio (A Place at the Altar: Priestesses in Republican Rome, 2016), this paper aims to shed new lights on the implications of female participation during ceremonials involving blood sacrifices. One of the very rare literary mentions of the sacrificial knife (Serv. ad Aen. 4.262) reveals how this consecrated object was employed in archaic cults conducted by the most prestigious officiants, both male and female. Overlooked inscriptions also illustrate the case of female priestesses in the Roman world using this knife (see e.g. CIL X 5073 and marble altar, Copenhagen Museum Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. no. 858). This paper argues that the secespita granted prestige to the religious figures handling it, with no regard to their gender but based on their sacred prerogatives, while the scarcity of evidence for women carrying out animal sacrifice is due to their restricted access to priesthood and not to a 'secondary role' in Roman religion.

Chesi, Giulia Maria  
Panel: Modes of Engagement with Textile Technology*  
(Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Penelope’s loom in the Odyssey and her privileged access to technology

This paper focuses on Penelope’s technological extension in the Odyssey (the loom) and argues that her technological skills differ consistently from Odysseus’ technological proficiency. First of all, unlike Odysseus, but like gods and monsters, Penelope does not make a violent use of technology. For Penelope, through technology, it is metis, not strength, which is put to the test. This is not the case for Odysseus. The hero uses his metis to arrange the fights against his enemies (Trojan or Cyclopean), but gets violent in turning to technology to implement his plans (see the Trojan Horse, and the spear with which he blinds Polyphemus). Furthermore, in the Odyssey, Penelope’s loom is the only technological extension capable of re-producing reality, acting stricte sensu as a tool of representation on a meta-level. We should not overlook this ultimate difference between Penelope’s and Odysseus’ interaction with technology. Penelope seems to have a privileged access to technology, and this is perhaps not surprising. The nymphs taught Hephaestus metallurgy (ll. 18. 398–403); the very existence of Pandora is due to Hephaestus’ ability to create life; Gaia liberates herself from the suffocating embrace of Ouranos by fabricating a sickle out of iron (the harpe: Th. 161–2).

Chesterton, Barnaby (Texas Tech)  
Panel: Classical Reception I

Greco-Roman visual culture in video games: repurposing digital spolia

In this paper, I examine two recent video games—The Talos Principle (Croteam: 2014) and Apotheon (Alientrapp: 2015)—which innovatively repurpose Greco-Roman visual culture as components of both narrative and mechanical design. Through my analysis, I explore the presence of Greco-Roman visual culture as a form of spolia within these games, assessing how said material maintains a connection to the past, yet how it further acquires new meaning as part of a contemporary, digital construct.

In The Talos Principle, photorealistic graphics are employed to conjure semi-ruined cityscapes, recreating ancient sites (such as Pompeii, and Ostia Antica) through distinctive visual elements. However, I demonstrate that the game sabotages the veracity of that recreation, hinting that the player’s engagement with the game-world is engagement with an artificial environment—and purposefully destabilising the simulacrum it constructs—through the introduction of anachronistic visual features alongside ancient remnants. Apotheon employs a different approach, transforming elements of black figure vase-painting into components of game design, reimagining the static surface of a Greek vase as a window into a living world. I argue that this remarkable intersection of ancient and modern visual culture is comparable to that observed in The Talos Principle: both games capitalise upon audience recognition of the historicity of ancient visual culture, while equally engendering surprise through their altered situation. Drawing together analyses of both games, I conclude by considering the emergent trends in the reception of Greco-Roman visual culture within the medium, and the developing role of Greek and Roman art and architecture as a form of digital spolia.

Chong, Caroline (Melbourne)  
Panel: Rape Narratives

Marriage to a slave and rape in Seneca the Elder’s Controversia 7.6C

In Seneca the Elder’s Controversia 7.6, a fantastical situation is outlined, where a tyrant allows the raping of freeborn women by their slaves. One slave, who preserves his master’s daughter’s status as a virgo during the tyranny, is manumitted after the tyrant was overthrown, and given the daughter in marriage. This marriage, had it occurred, would have been viewed negatively in the early Empire, and such ideology underlies much of the controversia.

Building upon scholarship which looks at relationships between slaves and/or manumitted slaves, and women of higher social status, as well as that on rape in antiquity,
this paper will discuss the representations of sexual intercourse and rape in Seneca’s *Controversia* 7.6. An examination of statements, such as that which implies the union is equivalent to violation, *quia dominam non violavit, violat quantum volet* (Sen. *Contr. 7.6.8*), and another which favourably compares the raped women to the daughter, *felicissimae videbuntur quibus contingat raptus tyrannicus* (7.6.9), will enable an analysis of the ideological implications underlying the extremely negative representation of marriage and/or sex with a slave. This ideology will then be juxtaposed with that contained in the rape declamations, where *a rapta* can legally choose to marry her (freeborn, Roman) rapist, and is often encouraged to do so. Such a discussion will add to the wider scholarship on sexual intercourse in antiquity, and how perceptions differ depending on the social status of those involved.

Christie, Andrew (Streatham & Clapham High School)  
*Panel: Teaching the Classics*  
*Promoting Classics through independent–state school partnerships*

This paper will explore how independent and state schools can collaborate to provide better access to classical subjects for all young people, regardless of background. ISSPs have been a successful initiative with a positive impact on the educational experience in partner schools. The mutual benefits are evident through the sharing of expertise, curriculum, teaching approaches, facilities and extra-curricular opportunities. While state schools benefit from access to subjects that they might not be in a position to deliver, independent schools are provided with opportunities for their staff to work with a wider range of pupils and for their pupils to develop a variety of skills and experiences. Most importantly, for Classics so often perceived as an elitist subject, ISSPs can help to break down the misunderstandings and prejudice about those on the other side of the cross-sector divide. Based on case studies, including a recent primary Latin project and a cross-sector school partnership to deliver GCSE Classical Civilisation in South London, the practicalities of establishing and maintaining successful partnerships will be discussed as well as new directions for Classics ISSPs.

Christoforou, Panayiotis (Oxford)  
*Panel: Praising Roman Leaders*  
*Μήνυμα τρόπων ὄντως αὐτοκρατορικῶν: comparing and contrasting an emperor’s conduct in Philo’s Legatio ad Gaium*

Philo’s *Legatio ad Gaium* is a wide-ranging treatise that nominally provides an account of the Alexandrian Jewish delegation to the Emperor Gaius, but can be seen as an invective against the actions of that Emperor, particularly with respect to the Jewish people. It is a lengthy and unusual mix of invective, historical and diplomatic account, philosophical treatise, and *speculum principis*. Accordingly, it is an invaluable historical document that can provide a window into the perceptions of the Roman emperor, his power, and his duties during the early imperial period.

This paper proposes to study the various representations of the emperor as described by Philo throughout the treatise, particularly with respect to his proper and improper conduct. In particular, sections 137–61 will be discussed, which outline the conduct of both Augustus and Tiberius with respect to the Empire more generally, and also the Jewish community more specifically.

It will be argued that by providing examples of proper conduct through the descriptions of Augustus and Tiberius, and also that of improper conduct through Caligula, Philo provides an early understanding of what an emperor should be and how he should act. The *Legatio* is a document that gives us a critical view of the autocratic position of the emperor in the Roman world. While being an invective against Caligula, it is not a treatise against autocratic government, but rather explores how it can succeed or fail. Accordingly, Philo provides a window into a thought-world that shows the reception of the emperor as contested space, revealing different perceptions of the position, both positive and negative.

Chrysafis, Charalampos (Athens)  
*Panel: Identity In & Beyond the Polis*  
*Pro-Macedonian statesmen and patriotism: aspects of localism in the pro-Macedonian poleis and koina*

The Greek *poleis* underwent major changes with the coming of the Hellenistic Age and the Macedonian predominance. Many cities or lesser *koina* became through various ways members of different successive Greek Leagues sponsored by the Macedonians (338, 336, 302, and 224 BCE) and they were often obliged to concede part of their sovereignty to the latter. Alternatively, *poleis* could join a confederacy (Aetolian or Achaean) or very rarely retain a ’souverainist’ approach, like Athens and Rhodes.

Already since the time of Demosthenes the stereotypical image of the Macedonian king, whose only intention was to enslave the free-minded Greek *poleis* by using the garrisons as fetters, had become a literary *topos*. According to this view, local politicians, who had endorsed the cooperation with the king, could only be vicious men employed by the latter to function as tyrants and not honourable, patriotic citizens. While this notion proved rhetorically and artistically successful, it was also misleading. A detailed re-evaluation of the evidence shows that the traditional view on the rule of the
Macedonian kings over Greece relies heavily on the anti-Macedonian political discourses of the era. As a result, it neglected and misinterpreted other aspects and details which could offer a different viewpoint.

This paper will investigate the motives of those local statesmen; explore their relationship with the Macedonian kings as well as their homeland; and determine the basic aims that a local pro-Macedonian faction wished to achieve primarily for their state by collaborating with the king (for example, the safety of the polis of Eretria under Menedemos; the integrity and preservation of their leagues for the Akarnanians and the Phokians against the Aetolians). Furthermore, I will try to investigate the compatibility of a pro-Macedonian tendency with the notion of an autonomous and democratic polis.

Clarke, Henry (Leeds)  Panel: Commemoration

Commemorating life in funerary contexts in the ancient Durius valley: a re-examination

Grave assemblages are often thought to reflect local funerary ritual practices and the identities of the deceased individuals they commemorate. Funerary goods are likewise considered to evidence beliefs about the afterlife. Burying individuals with ritually symbolic, valuable and/or routine objects suggests a desire to preserve individual identity after death. Objects buried with the deceased might therefore reveal those used by the individual during their lifetime to negotiate their complex identity and diverse lived experiences. However, by over-relying on such momentary, constructed snapshots of identity and ritual practice, we risk reconstructing idealised historical individuals.

In this paper, I re-examine funerary contexts in the Ancient Durius Valley (the modern Duero/Douro in the Iberian peninsula), deploying structuration and identity theories to bring to light new perspectives on what commemorations of the deceased can reveal about local lived experiences. Osteological analysis, grave goods and remains of funeral feasts can collectively provide clues regarding individual identity. But, the assemblage may be more reflective of what others were able to procure for the grave, be they connected to the individual or not. Equally, an assemblage may reveal more about another person/persons’ perception of the identity of the deceased, rather than a true reflection of the identity that individual negotiated in life. If certain ceramics were only produced for holding remains of the funeral feast and cremation, how can we be sure they signified anything about the fluid, multi-valent identity of the deceased? I will therefore explore who the agents behind funerary assemblages may have been, and how that affects the inferences we can draw concerning individual identities and wider social patterns of behaviour.

Ultimately, I consider how expressions of identity in funerary contexts may have evolved in the context of the major cultural shift represented by the establishment of Roman power in the region.

Coles, William (Royal Holloway)  Panel: Paradigmata & Persuasion

Emotions and appeals to precedent in Hellenistic interstate relations

While the rhetorical strategies of envoys in the Classical Period have already received some attention by scholars (Piccirilli 2002; Chaniotis 2009; Rubinstein 2016), the same field in the Hellenistic Period has yet to receive systematic study. This paper will explore appeals to precedent in ambassadorial speeches in Polybios’ Histories and Hellenistic inscriptions, the latter of which preserve summaries of oral performances by Greek envoys.

Appeals to precedent played a pivotal role in the outcome of diplomatic negotiations. The shared past history of Greek poleis provided a wealth of examples that could be exploited for rhetorical purposes, often with a view to calling on a community to replicate their previous deeds (Worthington 1994). Polybios, for example, records a speech by a Rhodian envoy who calls on the Romans to continue their policy of liberating the Greeks during a territorial dispute in Asia Minor, despite Philip V no longer being the relevant power (Polyb. 21.22–3). Often, appeals to precedent called not only on previous deeds, but also on particular ideals which a community had previously championed, such as appeals to freedom (eleutheria) when a new hegemonic power threatened them. This is exactly the sort of emotional appeal to historical precedent by which a group of Spartan envoys persuaded the Athenians to join a coalition of states to rebel against Antigonus Gonatas, on the grounds that both states had stood together against hegemony on previous occasions (IG II² 687).

This paper will explore the emotional value of appeals to precedent in Hellenistic diplomacy. Focusing on a handful of literary and epigraphic case studies, this paper will demonstrate that despite Polybios’ attack on ‘tragic’ or ‘rhetorical’ history, appeals to precedent through the audience’s emotions were in fact a common component of Hellenistic diplomacy.

Costa, Vergilio (Rome Tor Vergata)  Panel: The ‘Making’ of Fragments

Greek fragmentary historiography in the Imperial age

With a few exceptions (notably Arrian, Plutarch or some historians who wrote in Greek on Roman history), our knowledge of Greek historiography in the imperial age relies on isolated fragments, often limited to a few lines
of text, and on the incoherent information provided by Byzantine scholarship (Photius, *Suda*). As far as we can see, post-Hellenistic Greek historians were little interested in contemporary events and dealt almost exclusively with the glorious past of Greece; by the end of the first century AD, however, several ‘special’ branches of classical or Hellenistic historiography, like Aththidography, were already lost or had been already epitomized. By means of some case studies this paper will explore what the nature of the surviving fragments tells us about the processes of transmission for imperial Greek historiography.

Costantini, Leonardo (Leeds)  Panel: Women in Roman Religion

*Beware the witch: witchcraft and its representations in Roman literature and reality*

It is the purpose of this paper to throw more light on the marginalised figures of the ‘witches’—magae, maleficae, sages, strigae, striges, veneficae—in the Roman world, and on the way in which their literary characterisations and the popular beliefs concerning their actual existence influenced each other.

In order to do so, I shall focus on two exemplary cases: the first showing how literature could be inspired by the contemporary reality of witchcraft; the second case offering evidence for the impact of the literary depictions of witches on the Romans’ ideas about witchcraft. First, attention will be paid to the literary figure of Canidia—Horace’s *bête noire*, who features prominently in the *Sermones* (1.8) and *Epodes* (5 and 17)—and I shall argue for the possibility that Canidia was inspired by a real woman named Gratidia, as attested in Porphyrio’s commentary. Second, I will focus on the figure of the metamorphic witch (*strix*, *striga*). I shall discuss evidence from Festus’ epitome of the *De verborum significatu* and from the *De lapidibus* attributed to the magician Damigeron and the Arabian king Evax, showing how ideas about the metamorphic witch inherited from Greek literature had a substantial influence on the collective imagination of the Romans, to the extent that they Latinised and transformed the Greek word *strix* into *striga*, and actually believed in the existence of these fearsome witches. By examining literary and non-literary sources, this paper will, therefore, make it possible to get a better understanding of the witches and their marginalisation in Roman reality and literature.

Cowan, Eleanor (Sydney)  Panel: The Rule of Law in Rome*

*The rule of law in Augustan Rome*

This paper examines the implications for law during Rome’s transition from Republic to Empire, and perceptions of the law during the Augustan period. From the declaration that leges and iura had been restored down to the posthumous publication of the *Res Gestae*, Augustan Rome publically proclaimed an interest in rule by law. This paper looks at contemporary responses to these ideas, and the implications of this for our understanding of the rule of law in Rome. References to law in Horace, Virgil, and Livy, as well as in Augustus’ own writings and pronouncements all demonstrate an awareness of the key role that law would play in the *novus status*. More than this, however, writers in this period were acutely aware of the potential for there to be a ‘rule of law’ at Rome.

Cox, Fiona (Exeter)  Panel: Beyond the Author/Body/Text*

Theodorakopoulos, Elena (Birmingham)

*Respondents*

Cox and Theodorakopoulos will conclude the panel (details in section 1) with their responses to the individual papers (they will have read draft versions of the papers in advance). Drawing from their own work on women authors, and from interviews they have themselves conducted with a number of the authors discussed in the panel (Oswald, Lewis, Cook), they will be drawing general and methodological conclusions on the themes of female authorship and creativity, and its relationship with Greek and Latin poetry.

Crielaard, Jan Paul (VU Amsterdam)  Panel: Was the Archaic Period in Ionia a ‘Golden Age’?*

*Respondent*

Please see panel abstract in section 1.

Crooks, James (St Andrews)  Panel: Roman Political Identities

*Rulers and the ruled: identity and political change in Archaic Rome*

According to the traditional narrative, 510/509 BC marked an important turning point at Rome. These years saw the expulsion of the tyrannical *rex*, Tarquinius Superbus, and the birth of a new form of government, the Republic. Despite this major systemic change, the ancient sources are remarkable in the unanimity of their portrayal of continuity through this period. There is not a single suggestion of any kind of upheaval within the city during or after the revolution or even opposition faced by the revolutionaries outside of the royal family themselves. Rather Rome is characterized as being ‘ready’ for this change (Livy, 2.1.).
The accuracy of the traditional accounts of the history of early Rome has long been recognised as questionable at best. Nevertheless, aside from questioning the date of the expulsion of the monarchy, modern historians have upheld the idea that the transition to the Republic was smooth and a large degree continuity was maintained between the late sixth and early fifth centuries at Rome. There is some reason for this position; the archaeological record does seem to suggest that there was continuity in the construction and form of public buildings through the first quarter of the fifth century. However, none of these accounts thus far considers the larger-scale socio-political impact of the change from monarchy to republic.

In this paper, I will discuss the potential impacts of this systemic change and the replacement of this single, lifelong office with yearly magistracies on the relationship between the people of Rome and the Roman ‘state’. In particular, I will consider the personal nature of power in regal Rome and the failure of this model during the early years of the republic.

Culik-Baird, Hannah (Boston)  Panel: A Magnificent Seven*  

**Thebes in Republican Rome**

We know that the tragedies of the Roman Republic staged episodes from the Theban saga: to Livius Andronicus we hesitatingly attribute an *Antiope* (Boyle 2006: 29); Ennius’ *Alcmeo* and possibly the *Nemea* developed Theban themes; Pacuvius had an *Antiope* and a *Pentheus*; Accius wrote several plays related to the Theban saga: *Amphitroura*, *Alcmeo*, *Antigona*, *Bacchae*, *Chrysippus*, *Epigoni*, *Eriphyla*, *Diomedes*, *Melanippus*, *Phoenissae*, and *Thebais*. In these plays, the Latin playwrights retold the tales of an ancient city removed from their own time, describing the lineages, transgressions, honour, revenge, and internecine strife associated with the Theban saga. Although the works of these playwrights now exist in a fragmentary state, we are still in a position to track their significance within, influence upon, and reception within Roman culture because several dozen verses were excerpted by later writers.

Although the majority of these excerpts are the product of grammatical comment, several significant passages are known to us because late Republican writers embedded them in their own works. After a brief overview of what the Latin fragments can tell us about how the playwrights of the 2nd century BCE approached tragic Thebes, I discuss the reception of these ideas in late Republican sources, principally Cicero and Varro. I examine Cicero’s use of Amphio and Zethus from Pacuvius’ *Antiope* to explore the relationship between music and emotions (*Inv. 1.94, Ac. 2.20; cf. ad Her. 2.43, Marius Victorinus ap. G.L. 7.77.2*), the nature of language (*Div. 2.133*), as well as Varro’s use of the same play to explore Roman theories of science (*LL 6.6*). The aim of this paper is to show that the image of Thebes was present in the Roman Republican mind; to give a sense of how this image was displayed on the Roman stage; and to show how it was received by late Republican intellectuals.

D’Agostini, Monica (U. Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan)  Panel: Military Rhetoric & Reality*  

**Philip V and the Politics of the Military**

The *basileia* of Philip V of Macedonia was one of the longest-lasting Hellenistic leaderships. Still a teenager, Philip V rose to the throne in 221 and became immediately involved in home and foreign military expeditions. During the following four years the young king learnt how to rule on and from the battlefield: he waged war against the Dardanians, the Aitolians, the Spartans, and the Eleians, moving with his army across all of the Balkan peninsula and mainland Greece. His military zeal attracted the attention of the ancient literary sources starting from Polybios (books 2 – 7), who thoroughly described the battles and war enterprises of the king. Yet, Philip V is also the Antigonid king best attested epigraphically, in particular in terms of his management of the army, as already noted by Miltiades Hatzopoulos.

Building on these fortunate as well as rare circumstances, the paper explores the late Macedonian *basileia* from a Hellenistic perspective—as much as the extant sources allow. Looking at case studies from the pre-Roman phase of the king’s rule, the study argues the direct connection between the military field experience of Philip, and the political and social organization of the Macedonian monarchy. The work thus conveys an understanding of Philip’s early kingship (and of the late Antigonid kingdom) rooted in the impact of the military events of the 220s to 210s on Hellenistic political and rhetorical dialogue.

Dale, Alexander (Concordia)  Panel: Was the Archaic Period in Ionia a ‘Golden Age’?*  

**Against the motion.**

Please see panel abstract.

Dalton, Helen (Manchester)  Panel: A Magnificent Seven*  

**In mum-oriam: remembering intertextual and metapoetic violence of the house of Oedipus in Statius’ Thebaid**

Analeptic and proleptic notations of the *nefas* of Thebes suffuse Statius’ epic poem of fratricide, a work replete with the relentlessness and circularity characteristic of the fate of the Boeotian city. Whilst the ‘real-time’ violence of the *Thebaid* and its literary practitioners has been subject to considerable scholarly investigation, the
dissemination of memorialising references to the various bloodinesses associated with the tale of the House of Oedipus has not been comprehensively analysed. In this paper, I will examine the textual commemoration of this particular cluster of Theban brutality, as the violent acts performed by previous literary incarnations of the Labdacids are encoded into the corpus of Statius’ poem through a series of physical and semantic aide-mémoires that serve both as metapoetic traces denoting memories of previous literary brutality and also intertextual markers designed to facilitate generic interaction within the ostensibly monolithic enterprise of epic.

In adopting this familial grouping as my own Statian limes carminis, I will thus demonstrate that the Thebaid is not only populated by individuals irredeemably scarred by the thematic and symbolic recollections of the criminality of Thebes but that the textualised spatiality in which they operate is filled with physical and semantic markers of the literary violence preceding the epic’s inception and that these self-consciously reflective poetic remains have important ramifications for Statius’ conceptualisation of his own work. Indeed, these metapoetic vestigia operate in conjunction with the Thebaic strand of antimemorialisation in order to enact the battle between commemoration and oblivion at the heart of nefas, one which is enshrined within the narratorial voice of the poet who sings of civil strife and one which seemingly threatens the very perpetuation of the Thebaid itself.

**Damigos, Stelios (Münster) Panel: Identity In & Beyond the Polis*  
Emic and etic responses to local myth: seeking the boundaries of Aitolian ethnic identity in the Classical period**

According to their first geographical definition in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (Hom. Il. 2.638–43), the Aitolians ‘dwell’ in five poleis on the coastal plains, north of the Corinthian Gulf, Kalydon, Pleuron, Chalkis, Pyllene and Olenos. The Homeric and Hesiodic epic poetry incorporated Aitolian mythical traditions as part of their narratives. Among the most important themes were the Kalydonian Boar Hunt, and the participation of Tydeas in the campaign of the Seven against Thebes. This mythical background was further reproduced outside the region, in Archaic and Classical lyric poetry and 5th-century Attic drama, revolving around the heroes of the Aitolian past, and projecting a mythical landscape with Kalydon at its centre.

Thermos, the mountainous Aitolian central sanctuary, located in the inland regions that became in the starting point of their gradual expansion as a political entity from the 4th century onward, is notably absent from this scenery. Meanwhile, the far-sung coastal region of Homeric Aitolia seems to be outside of their control by the 5th century, according to contemporaneous historiographical sources. In effect, two different perceptions of Aitolia appear in the classical period, one describing a coastal area in the mythical context, the other a historically attested mountainous inland area.

The aim of this paper is to trace the use of myth in defining the imagined boundaries of what constituted Aitolia during the expansion of the ethnos to the Corinthian Gulf. The distinction between the emic and etic perceptions of Aitolian identity will reveal internal perceptions of co-belonging, as well as define the exact nature of the shared connections in play. In the same direction, the effort of locating the core elements of their collective identity will be put into analysing local myths and ritual as represented in textual and material culture remains.

**Davies, Philip (Munich) Panel: Locating Plutarch*  
‘As we have seen’: first-hand experience in Plutarch’s accounts of Sparta**

In his presentation of Sparta, Spartans, and Spartan society, Plutarch draws upon a wealth of preceding authors, of diverse genres, periods and interests. At the same time, however, statements within his works make clear that he had visited Sparta on at least one, and more likely multiple occasions: consulting archives (Ages. 19.6), observing contests (Lyc. 18.1), and taking in the sights (Ages. 19.6). In this paper, I will explore how this first-hand experience of contemporary Sparta contributed to Plutarch’s conception of Spartan society and his representation of it within his writings. How and how often may we detect personal experience behind his statements, beyond the rare instances in which he explicitly acknowledges it? To what extent does Plutarch give priority to the textual over the experiential in constructing his understanding of Sparta? And how does he respond when they are not in agreement?

These questions are rendered all the more challenging when we integrate the complicating factor of time. The ‘past’ Sparta which appears within Plutarch’s works stretches from the mists of the age of Lycurgus, through some 600 years of changing fortunes, empowering victories and humiliating defeats, down to the threshold of Plutarch’s own age. Furthermore, the Sparta which Plutarch was able to physically experience was not merely the end-product of that long, mixed history. It was a provincial Greek city within the Roman Empire which actively played to and profited from the interest in its glorious past of visiting Greeks and Romans. My paper will also seek to address the fundamental question of the extent to which Plutarch was conscious of the profound impact which time had made upon Sparta, and the gulf which separated Sparta’s past and present.
De Bakker, Mathieu (U. of Amsterdam)  Panel: Military Rhetoric & Reality*

Supremacy by democracy: a myth with serious consequences?

In chapter 5.78 of the Histories, Herodotus marvels at the effects of ‘equality of speech’ (isêgoriê), pointing out that the Athenians were not able to achieve much when they were ruled by tyrants, but once they were freed managed to become the first city in Greece, as ‘each citizen desired to achieve success on his own behalf.’ Thucydides makes his Pericles elaborate upon this in his funeral oration, in which he praises the commitment of the Athenians to defend their city, a communal possession to all of them (Th. 2.39). In contrast to Herodotus, however, Thucydides’ narrative at times hints at a darker reality behind Athenian supremacy, for instance in the polis’ reliance upon non-Greek forces to defend its interests in disputed parts of the Hellenic world. In the 4th century we find a continuation of the ‘Periclean’ sentiments in the extant funeral orations, but at the same time we read Demosthenes’ urgent, repeated appeals to the Athenians to stop relying upon mercenaries in their war against Philip of Macedon, and send more troops of themselves. Clearly the fabric of the Athenian armies has changed in the course of the century, but is Demosthenes’ proposed solution justified or is he blinded by certain traditional ideals? This paper will look at historiographical and oratorical sources of (late) 5th- and 4th-century Athens and explore the discrepancies between Athenian military ideals and realities as perceived in these sources. My aim in this is to evaluate the suggestion that Athens owed its supremacy in Greece and beyond to its constitutional uniqueness and concomitant citizen virtues. Does this idea make sense from a historical perspective or should we instead consider it a stock theme in Athenian political oratory that encourages the demos by its specific, mythic appeal?

De Martinis, Livia (Sacro Cuore, Milan)  Panel: Social Mobility*

From slaves to liturgists: the power of money

In the aftermath of the defeat in the Peloponnesian War, Athens—traditionally jealous in granting citizenship—progressively became more willing towards certain social groups. Among them, a very interesting instance is represented by the bankers (τραπεζίται). The available sources—mainly Athenian forensic speeches and inscriptions—allow us to reconstruct a real path of social promotion that involved two families reciprocally tied, that of Pasion and that of Phormio. Thanks to the investment of assets they hoarded through their banking activity for the benefit of the city, the members of these families managed to advance form slaves, to freedmen, up to δημοποιητος, i.e. recipients of citizenship decrees ratified by the Athenian demos, thus also joining the circle of the wealthiest Athenian citizens able to perform liturgies. Moreover, in the 5th and especially 4th centuries bc the sources preserve the vicissitudes of several other individuals following an analogous path of social promotion, being integrated in the Athenian civic body as the city was most interested in exploiting their wealth: they were normally freedmen and, for some of them, a prosopographical analysis allows to retrace a foreign origin. Besides, a reference in Demosthenes’ For Phormio (§30) may suggest the existence of similar cases outside Athens (Aegina).

Through the analysis of this particular type of recipients of citizenship, this paper aims to reflect on such a specific way of integration in Classical Athens, trying also to better understand the role played by private wealth in the Athenian economy. In the process of social promotion of these individuals, χρηματίζεσθαι is the key for manumission and/or naturalization: consequently, it was important not only to collect assets, but also to preserve and to employ them to build up a public image influential enough to justify the grant of citizenship to these men and to their heirs.

Earley, Ben (Freie U., Berlin)  Panel: Classical Reception I

The Thucydidean turn: interpreting Thucydides’ political thought before, during, and after the Great War

The Thucydidean turn refers to the process by which classics scholars and social scientists began to interpret and appropriate Thucydides’ thought for its contemporary political value. In Britain, this turn occurred before, during, and after the Great War. In this paper, I propose to explore how and why Thucydides entered the canon as a political thinker and theorist at this time. I will argue that Thucydides’ insights were crucial to British ideas of how to end the Great War and, after 1918, how to avoid future conflicts. The Great War represents an important moment in the reception of Thucydides’ thought, which provides the intellectual underpinnings for his current prominent place in political debates. However, the nature, course, and implications of the Thucydidean turn has been astonishingly neglected by modern scholars. This paper will make good this deficiency through an exploration of the emergence of the idea of Thucydides’ value as a political thinker among prominent classical scholars such as T. Glover, G. Murray, and G. B. Grundy, journalists such as G. Abbott, and classically educated international relations scholars such as A. Zimmerm and A. Toynbee. It will also discuss an unpublished paper (originally given at the CA conference in 1934) on the significance of Thucydides in the Great War by E. Powell. These writers debated how the Peloponnesian war began and how it ended, its significance in Greek and world history, and the
importance of Thucydides in the contemporary world. In pursuing this goal, they offered interpretations of Thucydides which still lie at the heart of ancient historical and international relations approaches to the text today.

Ersoy, Yaşar (Hitit University Çorum, Turkey)   Panel: Archaic East Aegean
Please entry for Vaessen, Rik.

Evans, Richard J. G. (Leicester)   Panel: Women & War II
Neither civilian nor soldier: placing women into the legal framework of Greek inter-state conflict
A mere glance at any of the extant literary sources starkly confirms how much danger war presented for women in ancient Greece; unlike civilians who are supposed to be provided with non-combatant status within modern conflicts, Greek women had no legal protections during times of war. The consequences could be catastrophic: rape, enslavement or slaughter could await those who were besieged by enemy forces, without any legal structure to potentially curb these actions.

While it would be tempting to argue that non-combatancy did not exist in antiquity, inviolable statuses did exist during Greek warfare, albeit for a small, limited selection of people: heralds, envoys, priests, priestesses and prisoners of war all, in varying ways, were afforded some form of non-combatant status during periods of conflict.

Considering that women were not active participants in the battlefield, a masculine sphere, and only fought in times of desperation when their polis was under siege, a serious problem is evident concerning how we place women within the combatant/non-combatant dichotomy. What this paper argues is that they were neither; rather, women, incapacitated and older men, and children were all part of an uncertain, tenuous category of people that do not exist within our modern international legal framework. This sets a requirement for us to understand Greek social and legal concepts as the unique system that they were, different from ours, thus forcing us to come up with a new way of studying, and identifying, these people who were neither civilians nor soldiers.

Fanfani, Giovanni (Deutsches Museum, Munich)   Panel: Modes of Engagement with Textile Technology*
The (textile) root of it all: weaving imagery and technology in Archaic Greek literature
Investigation into ancient textile technology and its respective terminology can enhance literary interpretation by providing more reliable reconstructions of the material reality on which references to particular crafts (weaving, spinning, plaiting), techniques, or tools are grounded. As it has been observed, in the archaic Greek thought the pattern discovered and brought to light by the craftsman is conceived of as reflecting cosmic order: there is no pronounced divide between nature (physis) and craft or technology (technē), nor is there a strong divide in the ways literature and early philosophy reflect on the nature of kosmos—they both use the medium and language of poetic verse, and kosmos is the poem as well as the universe, both being ordered structures. The woven pattern, in particular, emerges not as a design superimposed on the fabric, but as a structure made of two systems of threads, and thus as a potential paradigma for complex ways of composing. This paper is concerned with instances of the thought patterns that weaving technology generates in the early Greek mind, and that emerge in and as literature. Conceptualizing a choral song (and choral dancing itself) in terms of weaving or plaiting may advertise its compositional and performative modes in ways that, besides being genre-related, may have to do with the specificity of the technology exploited. Images of cosmic weaving and terminological interactions between weaving and the technical language of instrumental musical are also brought into the wider picture: it results that the conceptual import of a given analogy or metaphor is not simply illustrated, but generated by the particular principles of weaving technology at the root of the ‘literal’ element in the figure. In the case of ancient weaving, that is, literary imagery seems best accessed through technology.

Fear, Trevor (Open U.)   Panel: Latin Poetry
The elegiac poet and the fight to remain ‘embedded’
The erotic context of literary exchange in Roman Elegy between the narrator/poet and the domina/patron’ make Roman Elegy a form of literary production that is especially suited to function as an ironic allegory of the general relations between literary producers and literary sponsors. The metaphoric anxieties of patronised poets, as they are expressed in other forms of writing, take on a particularly sexual hue in Roman Elegy, as a professedly pauperous, but amorous poet, attempts to offer literary fame as an exchange mechanism to the object of his desires. The attempt to barter poetry for sexual access,
and the constructed venality of the *domina* (and the shadowy *lena* who is portrayed as the driving force behind the *domina*’s hard-edged bargaining practices), turn Roman Elegy into a battleground of manipulating exchange practices. This, in turn results in a literary discourse, that on one level, can be read as a humourous parody of literary patronage but also a form of poetry that more seriously expresses a meditation on some very real social anxieties.

In Roman Elegy the challenge for the poet/narrator is to make the exchange of *fama* function in the microcosm of a specifically literary erotic economy, rather than in the wider macrocosm of an aristocratic culture that encompasses it. A case has to be made for the utility and superiority of poetry as an exchange mechanism embedded in the social practices of Roman society, as opposed to forms of disembedded exchange (e.g. money and items of value). This competition between embedded and disembedded economics is played out in an erotic drama that grants or denies the narrator access to the ‘actual’ bed of the object of his desires.

**Fonseca, Joana (Coimbra)  Panel: (Un)Adorned Bodies**

*The eye as a scale: female jewellery and male power in Petronius’ Satyricon*

Petronius was Nero’s *arbiter elegantiae*. In *Satyricon*, Trimalchio thinks himself a fashion influencer, as a wealthy freed slave. The way Trimalchio climbs the social ladder is described, and self-admitted, as impossible without his wife’s material values. After getting their *manumissio*, Fortunata sold her dresses to sustain both.

In parallel, when they are in a comfortable social position, Trimalchio shows attention to Fortunata’s jewellery, weighing them himself in front of their guests, as one more valid way to prove his wealth.

This background claims two kinds of approach. Firstly a material one related to jewellery as a way to show financial power, focusing on the Roman jewellery of the first centuries and how its craftsmanship symbolizes these topics. The second approach is about female backstage power, how the woman is a way (medium) to get, and then show and perceive wealth. To close the thread, it is important to rethink what female material exposure (self or external) has become in a digital, socially mediated society. What does it maintain from this classical patriarchal root and what kind of enhancement do these media give to the main message?

**Fotheringham, Lynn (Nottingham)  Panel: Position & Power**

*Doing justice to the past: the representation of violence in a historical comic*

The ancient Greek city-state of Sparta is inseparably associated with violence due to its military prowess and to the ‘Spartan mirage’ which explains that prowess as and paints a picture of a society involving many kinds of violence: the violence inflicted on Spartan adolescents in the course of a punishing training regime, on Sparta’s Greek neighbours in a campaign of invasive conquest, and subsequently on the conquered helot-class who are compelled to ‘slave’ for their Spartan masters in order that the latter might be free to perfect their military skills; the metaphorical violence done to family units and to society in general by the enforced separation of husbands and wives, parents and children, in a state-mandated social engineering programme.

This paper will examine the historical consultancy process involved during the creation of Kieron Gillen’s *Three* (2013–14), a graphic novel set in fourth-century BCE Sparta. The academic work of historical consultant Stephen Hodkinson challenges the standard analysis of Spartan society, dominated as it is by the fascinatingly aberrant aspects of Spartan listed above. Gillen’s starting-point was the desire to write a heroic myth for the helot-class, but he also wanted to avoid demonisation of the Spartans. The historical consultancy process involved a continuous balancing of the most challenging recent academic reinterpretations against the expectations of the audience who, having learned about Sparta from pop-culture representations, might reject this new picture as false because too unfamiliar. This paper will explore the balancing act in relation to varying aspects of the representation of historical violence, from the details of armour and weaponry to the social behaviour of individual characters who both inflict and suffer violence.

**Fowler, Rowena (independent scholar)  Panel: A Magnificent Seven**

*I never sailed with Cadmus*: Modernism’s Thebes

Scenes and tropes from the Theban cycle are at the heart of Modernist literature in English. Seven writers who invoked Theban myths and characters for their own purposes include Virginia Woolf (Antigone), D. H. Lawrence (Oedipus), W. B. Yeats and E. M. Forster (Oedipus at Colonus). James Joyce worked the double-edged Cadmean legacy of dragon’s teeth and alphabetic script into the verbal texture of *Finnegans Wake*. T. S. Eliot re-invented the role of Tiresias as an all-knowing transhistorical consciousness helplessly trapped within the processes of history.

Ezra Pound, who identified Eliot with Tiresias, discovered quite different and distinctive personae for himself within
to tell the individual in the style of other dramatists, especially the better-preserved ones of the fourth century.

Gerolemou, Maria (U. of Cyprus) Panel: Materiality & Gender, 2*

Material agents: Hesiod’s Pandora and posthuman feminism

This paper takes issue with interpretations of Hesiod’s Pandora story, drawing on accounts which reveal the origin of Greek misogynist ideas (cf. M. Arthur, Origins of the Western Attitude toward Women). More specifically, my purpose is to show that such interpretations are not sufficient in proving that Pandora is actually the product of Hephaestus’ manufacturing skills (with the assent of Zeus, Th. 613, WD 105), hence, an artificial woman, beyond or outside gender categories because of her inorganic status.

By positioning my analysis within the theoretical framework of posthuman feminism (see among others Haraway, Cyborg Manifesto; Braidotti, The Posthuman) and material agency theories (cf. e.g. Knappett, ‘Animacy, Agency, and Personhood’, 2005), this paper proposes an alternative reading of Pandora as a posthuman figure, i.e. a material body without history, gender or sexuality (a reading that opposes the view that women are the others of men). Such interpretation not only goes beyond binary oppositions (woman–man, human–animal) and challenges the long-standing association of female with nature (Ortner, ‘Is female to male as nature is to culture?’), 1974), but it also amalgamates, for the first time in Classics, technology studies and feminist theories.

Furthermore, as an artefact Pandora enjoys certain agency; i.e. though she begins as lifeless material, once her creation is complete she is referred to as a woman, a gyné (Hes. Erg. 80 and Th. 513), accentuating the stereotypical, mechanical (designed, known, and preprogrammed) gendering of artificial bodies.

Geue, Tom (St Andrews) Panel: Beyond Author/Body/Text*

Leaking a wake: Alice Oswald’s dissolving poets

Alice Oswald’s Falling Awake is a collection that leaks. Water is its patron element, cycling through states from endless flow to part containment. Her internal poets, symbols of authorship drained from the classical canon, are equally leaky. Her Orpheus is nothing more/less than the decapitated head floating downstream, the post-poet talking to himself: he has the voice of water, the form of a colander, and the memory of a sieve (‘already forgetting who I am’). Tithonus, her other great decomposing singer, wakes every day before dawn, right at the withered end of his tether, but never able to end. He too
is a vessel of forgetfulness, doomed to go on babbling to himself; a poet approximating to the asymptote of full dementia, whom things must always pass through, ‘endless lost to my lethargy like a / dripping tap’.

This paper will focus on these two classical figures of the poet, and show them central to Oswald’s ‘aqueous’ poetics of flow and porosity; a poetics that itself redeems the classically female-gendered qualities of wetness and leak. I shall take cues from Tithonus in Sappho (fr. 58 Voigt) and the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (τούδ’ ἔτοι φωνή ἴστε ἀστέτος ‘his voice still flows, beyond speech’ 237) and Orpheus in Virgil Georgics 4 (Eurydican vox ipsa et frigida lingua, / a miseram Eurydiken anima fugiente vocabat; ‘his detached voice and stiff tongue kept calling Eurydice—poor Eurydice—as his breath fled’, 525–6) to chart how Oswald perforates the myths, and makes the swollen poets burst their bounds. For Oswald, authorship becomes as much about dissolution as retention; as much about the gaps, the holes, the leaks, the let-through, the forgotten, as it is about the sediment left at the bottom.

Giannella, Nicole (Utah)  Panel: Seneca on Law & Sovereignty*

License of a freedman: slavery and freedom in book 3 of Seneca’s Letters

Seneca uses the language of slavery and freedom to examine the philosophical topic of mental enslavement and its counterpart, mental autonomy. Seneca argues that mental enslavement derives from one’s external desires and mental autonomy from the removal of these desires through the acceptance of one’s situation. However, Seneca also discusses legal slavery and anecdotes about slaves, freedmen, and freemen. So, how should Seneca’s Roman audience, citizens of a slave society, understand philosophical slavery? As a metaphorical form for the legal slavery they are so familiar with?

Rather than viewing one as a metaphor for the other (Edwards 2009 and Pierini 2014), I use Book 3 of the Letters to argue that Seneca has in mind an overarching understanding of slavery and freedom that links the legal and philosophical forms. We see this, for example, in the tension between mental autonomy and legal status that arises in Letter 27. Seneca cautions us that our autonomy is restricted if we become dependent on the knowledge of others. He tells a story involving a freedman who ordered his slaves to memorize poetry to recite to his dinner guests in order to appear more learned. Although ownership was considered absolute under Roman law (Birks 1985), the freedman fails to understand the difference between the internal possession of knowledge and the external possession of slaves. But Seneca’s use of a freedman here is not innocent: the status of a freedman shows how imperfect freedom and slavery often were because freedmen were liminal figures in Roman society, being both former slaves and free citizens though under severe legal and social restrictions (Mouritsen 2011). Seneca links legal status and mental autonomy in order to develop an idea of freedom and slavery that was not absolute for an empire in which citizens were not masters of themselves.

Giannotti, Andrea (Durham)  Panel: Honour & Dishonour

‘In the assembly, and nowhere else’: reassessing the socio-political value of the Athenian proclamations of honours

The dispute between Aeschines and Demosthenes on the crown is a fundamental source for Athenian historians: it describes and assesses the social value of the ceremony of the crowning in the theatre. This practice aroused substantial interest in a political interpretation of the pre-play ceremonies of the Great Dionysia: Goldhill, for example, is convinced that the proclamation of honours for people who benefited Athens ‘stresses the moral and social imperative of doing good for the city as a key way of defining behaviour in the democratic polis’ (1987, 63). However, little attention has been paid to the words of the two orators, especially those of the accuser, Aeschines, in 3.32 and 3.33. In the first passage, we see that there is a delegitimisation of the theatre as a place where proclamations of honours could be celebrated. In the second passage, consequently, we face a ‘downgrade’ of the proclamations’ value. This raises a concern for Goldhill’s theory concerning the democratic ideology of the proclamation of honours in the theatre: how can it hold true, if Aeschines considered the practice illegal?

I aim to show, then, that the information the dispute provides indicates that the ceremony should be linked more to general polis-activity than to any specific democratic ideology and, from an analysis of this evidence and evidence related to it (mainly, contemporary inscriptions: 119 inscriptions before Aeschines attest honours in the assembly, not in the theatre), it will emerge that the theatre was not considered the usual place for the proclamation of crowns. The link between theatre and democracy looks less tight than it has been assumed to be. Hence, a new interpretation of the pre-play ceremony emerges from my analysis: it would appear that proclamations in the theatre in the 5th century were more exception than practice.
Groux, Chandra (McGill)  
**Panel: Locating Plutarch**

*Home sweet home: the importance of Chaeronea to Plutarch*

What kind of wine did Plutarch drink? Did he grace his table with wine from his hometown of Chaeronea and its surrounding region of Boeotia, or did he prefer to drink imported products that were available to him from the global market of the Roman Empire? These are seemingly humble, or to some point folkloristic, questions, yet their prospective answers could contain a plethora of information about Plutarch and his view of his world. This paper proposes to explore Plutarch’s most immediate context: his local environment of his hometown of Chaeronea. It seeks to answer both how Plutarch refers to his hometown, and his interest in speaking about his local world.

Plutarch was familiar with the networks, trade, and political power of the Roman empire, but he was also cognisant of the importance of looking inward to the local. Plutarch spent most of his life in his hometown of Chaeronea in Boeotia, maintaining political positions in the city, keeping his home there, and staying active in the community, even with his growing fame in the empire. Plutarch remains there, ‘lest it become any smaller’ (Demosthenes 2.2). Despite Plutarch’s interest in his local world, Plutarchan scholarship has yet to follow suit. No one has looked at Plutarch’s oeuvre to understand his everyday lived experience. My project aims to begin this conversation by enabling Plutarchan scholarship to engage with the dialogue of the local in the ancient world. This will help us look beyond Plutarch’s works as solely a literary piece, or something to be used to fill in gaps in the historical narrative. Instead, this paper endeavours to add new nuances to our understanding of Plutarch’s contexts, specifically to how Plutarch viewed his local world and its importance to his literary masterpiece.

Giuseppetti, Massimo (Roma Tre)  
**Panel: Tibullus beyond Elegy**

*Tibullus and Greek love elegy of the Hellenistic age*

The title of F. Cairns’s 1979 seminal study on Tibullus defined him as a ‘Hellenistic poet at Rome.’ The label is, in many respects, appropriate. It would be perhaps less pertinent to label Tibullus an ‘Alexandrian poet in Rome.’ Admittedly, much that is usually at home in Callimachean elegy, for instance (learned allusions to earlier poets, obscure mythological references, vast antiquarian interests) is apparently foreign to Tibullus’s taste and style. Recent trends in scholarship, however, are challenging general assumptions about what is specifically ‘Alexandrian’ in Hellenistic poetry. The role played by the Ptolemaic capital in the development of Greek literary culture in the postclassical age can hardly be overestimated, but there were several other intellectual milieux where poets lived and literary interests flourished. My paper aims to place Tibullus within the wider spectrum of Hellenistic love elegy. Was Tibullus reacting against a specific tradition of learned poetry? Tibullus adapts the genre of erotic elegy in a distinctively Roman fashion, but how significant for his poetic experiment is the part played by Hellenistic Greek elegy? These questions are not easy to answer, but they are crucial for our understanding of the literary history of the postclassical age, both in terms of vitality and reception of Hellenistic poetry and in terms of the inventive re-creation of literary genres brought about by Roman poets like Tibullus.

Gloyn, Liz (Royal Holloway)  
**Panel: Roman Women in Space**

*A fish without a bicycle: gendered stage space in Plautus and Seneca*

Stage space is a conceptual, artificial construct, where social dynamics are changed by who is occupying what sort of space with whom. This paper’s argument is twofold: that Plautus explicitly uses all-women space for particular dramatic purposes; and that Seneca alludes to Plautine conventions surrounding gendered stage space, but transforms them for tragic purposes. This approach allows Seneca to heighten the tragedy of the *Troades* by drawing on Roman stage conventions but without invoking inappropriate comedic intertexts at a crucial moment in the plot.

Two short sections from Plautus’ *Cistellaria* and *Asinaria* provide helpful comparisons to a similar scene in Seneca’s *Troades*. *Cistellaria* opens with a conversation between a meretrix (sex-labourer), her mother the *lena*, and Selenium, a soon-to-be *meretrix* (lines 1–148). The three women set up a dilemma over whether Selenium will marry her lover or become a sex-labourer. In *Asinaria* 504–44, a *lena*-mother ironically criticises her *meretrix* daughter Philaenium for shamefully wanting to have only one lover. Plautus presents his *meretrices* as economically and socially independent of their clients and humanises them by depicting their inner emotional lives.

Seneca reverses this model in *Troades* 861–1008, where Helen fetches Polyxena for her ‘marriage’, which will be death at Achilles’ tomb rather than marriage to Pyrrhus; she also tells Andromache and Hecuba their allotted masters after Andromache has abused her for perverting marriage. The all-women stage space mirrors that created by Plautus, and the three characters echo the *Cistellaria* trio (a mother-daughter pair and another woman the daughter’s age). However, instead of prostitutes, Seneca presents noble women who have lost their status and must face the consequences of capture. By adapting the use of Plautine stage space, Seneca...
reinforces the sexual exploitation of the Trojan women, and emphasises that they have no freedom over their actions.

Goh, Ian (Swanse) Panel: Tibullus beyond Elegy*

*Respondent
Please see panel abstract in section 1.

Goldberg, Sander (UCLA) Panel: The ‘Making’ of Fragments*

How do fragments happen?
Though some paths to oblivion may be more intriguing than others, one thing is quite clear concerning writers of Latin verse: they found many different paths to that end. Why Fortune was so cruel to Gallus but granted Catullus a last-minute reprieve may well puzzle us, but Gallus’ fate was actually much closer to the norm. Of the thirty-one poets included in Quintilian’s famous canon (Inst. 10.1.85–100), only a dozen are known through complete texts. The rest survive only in fragments, and at least forty-four more poets mentioned in ancient sources survive only as names. Given those odds, the real source of wonder in the case of fragmentary authors is why they survive at all. Where do fragments come from? What are the processes by which poems unable to keep the full attention of readers yet endured through echoes and quotations, and what can the process of their survival tell us about how Romans of successive generations employed their literary heritage?

While tracing the mechanisms of fragmentation and survival over the centuries, this paper will distinguish literary, largely content-based motives for quotation from the more form-based interests of the grammatical and exegetical traditions, query the evolving relationship between those two strands of interest over time, and consider what that record says about the ways Romans put their literature to work.

Gouldesbrough, Sarah (Oxford) Panel: ‘Wandering from Clime to Clime’*

Cosmic Odysseys: receptions of Odysseus in three SF comics

Why do we care about Odysseus? He is the morally outdated hero of an epic poem composed in a dead language, a hero who murders and pillages as often as he is unfaithful to his famously faithful wife—yet Odysseus and the Odyssey are staples of classical reception, particularly in science fiction. Why? Do we want to fix him? Apologise for him? Or change him entirely?

This paper examines the figure of Odysseus in three SF comic book adaptations of the Odyssey, Matt Fraction and Christian Ward’s ODY-C (2014–present), Valérie Mangin and Thierry Démarez’s Le Dernier Troyen (2004–8), and Gerry Duggan and Phil Noto’s The Infinite Horizon (2007–12). These Odysseuses are separated by language, gender, and space-time, but each in his (or her) own way provides an opportunity to critique and in fact rewrite some of the problems encountered by modern adapters of the Odyssey. Dealing with gender inequality, homophobia, excessive violence, sexual assault, and post-traumatic stress disorder, these comics take full advantage of the flexibility afforded by the tropes and customs of science fiction to address contentious, complex issues that (still) plague the world millennia after Odysseus’ wanderings around the Mediterranean Basin.

Greet, Ben (Reading) Panel: Position & Power*

Hippolyta: modernising the queen of the Amazons

The aim of this paper is to compare the presentation of the character of Hippolyta within the Greek texts to her portrayal in DC comics’ Wonder Woman titles from 2011–16. First, I will examine how the ‘Queen of the Amazons’ is represented by Greek and Roman authors, concentrating on her presentation by Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Ps.-Apollodorus. Throughout these portrayals, Hippolyta is defined as ‘other’ by displaying masculine traits, such as prowess in war. But, most importantly, her main functions in these stories is to present an obstacle for the male hero to overcome.

Secondly, I will examine Hippolyta’s quite different portrayal in the central Wonder Woman comics from 2011–16 (written by Brian Azzarello, Meredith Finch, and Greg Rucka); and the graphic novels: Wonder Woman: Earth One (2016) by Grant Morrison; Wonder Woman: The True Amazon (2016) by Jill Thompson; and The Legend of Wonder Woman (2016) by Renae de Liz. These titles, in particular, provide an excellent sample to define how the character of Hippolyta is represented for a modern comic audience. In contrast to the ancient sources, this modern Hippolyta’s ‘masculine’ qualities are treated positively, but are also less important than her role as Wonder Woman’s mother.

Interestingly, although Hippolyta retains her martial prowess and authority in these modern portrayals, the ‘masculine’ qualities are less central to her character than the more traditional ‘feminine’ role as mother of Diana. Additionally, although these modern portrayals soften her ‘otherness’, she is often still defined by her relationship with a male hero (e.g. Hercules, Zeus, etc.) that creates Diana. Thus, despite the inclusion of new elements, much of the defining features of her character seen in the ancient sources are still central to the modern DC comics’ Hippolyta.
During the Archaic period, religious interactions between separate polis communities at several key Boiotian sanctuaries (those of Apollo Ptoios near Akraiphia, Apollo Ismenios at Thebes, Poseidon on Onchestos, and Athena Itonia and Alalkomeneis near Koroneia) played an important role in the complex development of a unified Boiotian ethnos and later political koinon (see Ganter 2013; Beck and Ganter 2015).

The placement of many of these sanctuaries at the boundaries of the khorai (local territories) of the Boiotian poleis fostered their use as hubs of interaction between the separate communities, in contrast to that function of liminal sanctuaries highlighted by De Polignac (1994; 1995), where rituals more often enforced the separation of neighbouring communities and demarcation of boundaries. In this paper, I will discuss the communal interactions at the Boiotian sanctuaries as evidenced primarily through the dedicatory epigraphy of the sixth century BC, and of elite interaction at these same sanctuaries of the type later witnessed, for example, in the hymns of Pindar. I will discuss how these elite-driven interactions, with their frequent agonistic content, more closely correspond to the type of relations fostered at the Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi than that of De Polignac’s liminal sanctuaries (from whose original role in territorial demarcation they may, of course, have evolved). This Pan-Hellenic feel may be further demonstrated by the presence of dedications at several of these sanctuaries from communities outside Boiotia, most famously the sixth-century dedications by prominent Athenians at the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios near Akraiphia. That this shrine (arguably alongside Delphi) housed the first known dedications of the collective Boiotai in the latter half of the sixth century BC, reinforces the central argument of this paper: that shared ritual spaces were integral to the development of a unified Boiotian community and identity, a unification in part modelled along Pan-Hellenic lines.

Guast, William (Bristol) Panel: Past & Present* 
**Respondent**
Please see panel abstract in section 1.

Hahn, Robert (Southern Illinois) Panel: Was the Archaic Period in Ionia a ‘Golden Age’?*

For the motion.
Please see panel abstract in section 1.

Hahn, Robert (Southern Illinois) Panel: Aristotle & Quotation Culture

**Anaximenes, monism, and pileis: how the felting of wool solves a philosophical problem in early Greek philosophy**

Aristotle in the *Metaphysics* attributes a doctrine of material monism to Milesian Thales and Anaximenes. While Thales identified the underlying unity of all things—substance monism—with ‘water’ and Anaximenes with ‘air’, Aristotle says these philosophers posited a fundamental underlying unity from which all things come to be, and back into which they return upon dissolution. There is no real change, only alteration. But in a recent book, Daniel Graham has argued that Aristotle had it wrong, as he has with other themes in early Greek philosophy. Instead, Graham claims that Thales and Anaximenes were not substance monists, which he denies to archaic Greek thinking, but rather propounded a doctrine that he calls ‘Generating Substance Theory.’ Graham’s thesis amounts to the claim that Thales and Anaximenes were ‘source monists’—there was a beginning from which all appearances arise, water or air—but not ‘substance monists.’ When water, or air, gives rise to successor states, the original perished in the process, and there was no ultimate return to the original source beginning. However, Anaximenes illuminates the process of cosmic transformation—from one appearance to another, how air becomes fire when it is less compressed, and becomes wind, cloud, rain, river and streams, earth, and stone when it is more compressed, by the technical analogy of pileis—the felting of wool. If we could recreate the simple process of felting, might we be able to decide whether Aristotle or Graham has these Milesians right? I located a father and son team still practicing the traditional technique of felting wool on the west coast of Turkey, not far from ancient Miletus, and photographed the process. After viewing the PowerPoint presentation of ‘felting,’ we can see why Aristotle, and not Graham, had it right.

Haley, Maria (Leeds) Panel: Greek Tragic Fragments

**Keeping it in the family: contextualising Euripides’ Thyestes fragments using the extant plays**

The fragmentary nature of the Attic Thyestes tragedies has, understandably, often banished them to the footnotes of broader studies thus far, scholars dealing with the fragmentary material impose more complete narratives from Hyginus and Seneca’s *Thyestes* onto the Thyestes fragments of Euripides, Sophocles and even republican fragments of Ennius and Accius. But this method at best homogenises fragmentary narratives, and at worst favours the extant work as a paradigm.

Therefore, taking Euripides’ *Thyestes* (fr. 391–397b) as a case study, I consider the possible contexts of the
fragment in the mythic episode and cross-reference lines that are similar in tone, metre, vocabulary and content. This allows me to consider: which character is speaking, what the context of the fragment is and at what point in the action of Thyestes it may have occurred. Euripides provides a useful case study, given that four of his eighteen surviving tragedies deal with Thyestes’ descendants: Electra, Orestes, Iphigenia at Aulis and Iphigenia in Tauris; thus we have a sample of complete plays based on this family saga.

As a result, we can contextualise Euripides’ Thyestes fragments not only by using thematic and linguistic parallels, but also by considering the mythical variants Euripides exploited in his other Tantalid plays, rather than imposing Seneca’s treatment of the myth back onto Euripides’ fragments. My reconstruction of Euripides’ Thyestes will consider: the possibility of the Old Man as a stock character, the role the gods play in Atreus’ revenge feast and the ‘Euripidariostopathising’ of Euripides’ Thyestes in Aristophanes’ Proaon fragments.

Ultimately, rather than imposing Roman Thyestes narratives, this paper will posit an Euripidean reconstruction of Euripides’ Thyestes and propose a methodology for reconstructing tragic fragments that is more representative of their original author.

Hanigan, Daniel (Sydney) | Panel: Religion in the Later Roman Empire

Nomina Sacra? Etymology and ‘negative theology’ in Clement of Alexandria’s Protrepticus

Clement of Alexandria’s Protrepticus has recently been described as remaining a ‘fertile field for the analysis of apologetic strategies’ (Herrero de Jáuregui, 2010). One such strategy is etymology. Although scholars have long been aware of Clement’s frequent use of etymology, almost no effort has been made to study this practice in the context of his Christian theology. Only two dedicated studies of Clement’s etymologies have been conducted—Treu (1961) and Van Den Hoek (2004). The stated objective of both, however, is to utilize Clement as a conduit through which to speculate on the details of the relationship between etymology and allegory in Early Christian thought. Neither makes any effort to consider the relationship between Clement’s etymologies and his Christian theology.

This paper aims to begin the process of rectifying this omission. It takes as its focus one particular sub-group of Clement’s etymologies—namely, those of the names of Greek divinities—and argues that they function as an apologetic tool specifically intended to convert his former compatriots in Greece to his newly embraced Christianity. It contends that such a conclusion is reachable only by studying the etymologies as a product of Clement’s Christian theology—namely, Christian Apophaticism (colloquially termed ‘negative theology’). By analyzing key passages from across the entirety of Clement’s extant corpus, it demonstrates that Clement understood God to be entirely transcendent of mortal men. As a result, he regarded human language as incapable of positively expressing anything about the nature or character of the divine—God, for Clement, is ineffable (ἐπεισελθός). Thus, by analyzing the etymologies of the names of Greek divinities in the Protrepticus in the context of this theological position, this paper demonstrates that they function as a rhetorical tool to refute the divine status of the Greek Pantheon by demonstrating their effability.

Hanson, Nicholas (New College School) | Panel: Greek Myth & Politics

Mantic memorials: the role of myth in the commemoration of Greek seers

The Iamid seer Thrasybulus was, according to Pausanias (6.2.4–5), honoured at Olympia with a statue featuring two striking adornments: a dog cut in two at his feet and a lizard crawling towards his right shoulder. The former was attributed by Pausanias to a novel technique of divination using dogs’ livers; the latter has been explained more recently as a claim that the seer understood the ‘language’ of animals (Flower/Parke). This interpretation of the lizard implies that Thrasybulus promoted himself as a living Melampus, a seer who understood talking woodworms and birds. But there is a problem, because Melampus is the product of myth, and in particular, the poetry of pseudo-Hesiod. Greek myth often enhances the talents of seers—pseudo-Hesiod perhaps more so than other poets. The explanation for Thrasybulus’ lizard may lie elsewhere: in a pun on the name of the Galeotai (a clan of seers), a specialism in the movement of lizards, or a desire to invite comparison with Melampus (without implying a literal sharing of his skills). Whatever the truth, the puzzle of Thrasybulus’ statue raises the question of how real seers were represented in Greece, particularly in relation to their mythical analogues. What aspects of myth could seers use in their self-promotion? Were there differences between the way seers were commemorated in life and in death—and in different media? These are questions I will endeavour to answer in this paper, with particular attention to a claim made by Michael Flower (the scholar who has written most extensively about Greek manteis) that real seers modelled themselves upon the seers of myth: how far was this feasible?

Harlizius-Klück, Ellen | Panel: Modes of Engagement with Textile Technology* (Research Institute for the History of Technology and Science, Deutsches Museum)
The geometry of (depicted) textiles

In art history, the discussion about the origin of art has been shaped around the so-called geometric style in vase painting and the progress towards naturalism that begins with depicting figures and narrative scenes. This discussion includes some references to textiles as possible origin for geometric style. In that discussion, the textile argument is perceived as a technological one: while the geometry of pottery painting is the result of a deliberate decoration by the artist, the geometry of textile decoration is the result of the technical constraints of weaving. The geometry of textiles, of threads and fabric structure, is not discussed.

In the above-mentioned discussion, geometry is a buzzword for schemes of universal nature mostly identified with the geometry of Euclid. But this is, for the case of pottery painting, a misunderstanding. Euclidean geometry is plane geometry whereas vase shapes consist of parts that can be described as spherical segments, rounded cylinders, stretched and squeezed tubes. The corresponding geometry is a spherical one and—mathematically speaking—belongs to non-Euclidean geometry, which was established as a mathematical theory only in the 19th century. Still today, non-Euclidean geometry is often perceived as an invention rather than a discovery whereas Euclidean Geometry is thought to be a mind prerequisite, an a priori knowledge as Kant had stated.

But Kant never decorated a vase with geometrical motifs. He never had to depict a textile pattern on a sculptured leg. In this paper, textiles are presented as a means for the ancient painter to understand how geometric shapes distort on rounded surfaces and how distorted perspectives can be rendered on flat surfaces. Such an approach takes the geometry of textile patterns seriously into account and can also explain why Aristotle was able to include non-Euclidean hypotheses in his work.

Harrison, John (Open U.) Panel: ‘Wandering from Cline to Clime’*

And: Interpreting fragments—how the mind deals with incomplete information

Researchers in neuroscience and cognitive psychology have been much concerned with how the mind deals with fragmentary information. For example, a good deal of research has been focused on how partial cues can help retrieve memories. A key consideration has been an understanding of the rules governing how information reaches the threshold required to activate a memory. The issue of how much stimulation is required to initiate a response has also been a key issue in understanding the conscious recognition of events. An example of this is the disorder of hemispatial neglect. Research has shown that this disorder can be ameliorated with the use of additional stimulation, for example with caloric irrigation. The brain’s capacity to interpret incomplete (i.e. fragmentary) information has been of interest in understanding other brain disorders. Examples of this include so-called ‘near-death’ experiences, as well as conditions such as the Capgras delusion and Anton’s syndrome. Explanations of these disorders have referred to the ‘narrator’, a hypothetical brain module that seeks to provide an explanation of events, a module that can yield odd interpretations when data is fragmentary, or when through damage the brain treats data as fragmentary. In this presentation, I will provide a brief introduction to the issue of how the brain deals with fragmentary information, as well as how fragmented brains interpret sensory stimulation.

Harrisson, Juliette (Newman) Panel: ‘Wandering from Cline to Clime’*

The concept of nostos in Star Trek: Voyager and the reimaged Battlestar Galactica

Although the word ‘odyssey’ is frequently used in modern contexts to mean any very long journey, in its Homeric context the Odyssey is, of course, quite specifically a nostos, a homecoming. In both real life and science fiction contexts, it is often this aspect of the idea of an ‘odyssey’, a difficult homecoming, that is emphasised. NASA, of course, knew the mythological background when they named the command module for Apollo 13, in which the astronauts would return home, the Odyssey (though they could not have known just how meaningful that name would become), while in a 2006 episode of Stargate SG-1 the spaceship sent to retrieve the heroes and bring them home after a battle is called the Odyssey.

Neither Star Trek: Voyager (1995–2001) nor the reimagined Battlestar Galactica (2004–9) are overt enough to name the primary ship featured in their respective television series Odyssey, but both are built around the idea of a nostos. Star Trek: Voyager’s central premise is that of navigating a difficult journey home and the inevitable deaths of many crew on the way. The season six episode ‘Muse’ (2000), in which Voyager’s story is told in the form of pseudo-Greek theatre, brings Classical elements to the foreground. Battlestar Galactica includes more frequent clear Classical allusions, while offering a slightly different twist on the idea of nostos, for the ‘homecoming’ is not to the characters’ original home, but to a place where they can build a new home. The series’ constant refrain of ‘All this has happened before; all this will happen again’ emphasises the idea of the cyclical nature of history, pulling ancient mythology into an endless cycle of history and legend. This paper explores the echoes of Homer’s Odyssey found in both series, and the different ways each interprets the idea of nostos.
Erica Jong’s Sappho’s Leap: (re-)constructing authorship and gender through Sappho

In an interview at the end of the 2003 Norton edition of Sappho’s Leap, Erica Jong makes a striking observation: ‘I don’t think you can write a novel about a poet without telling at least some of the story in poetry.’ Starting from this observation, this paper will explore the deployment of translations and adaptations of Sapphic fragments throughout Sappho’s Leap, asking how Jong’s response to Sappho’s poetry relates to Jong’s own creation of a tradition of (female) authorship. I will focus in particular on the incorporation of translations of Sappho’s original poetry alongside (and interspersed with) Jong’s own poetry, arguing that the progression throughout the novel from near-exact translations to increasingly free creations, ending with a collection of nine original poems, demonstrates the process by which Jong subtly morphs Sappho’s voice into her own.

Sappho’s Leap begins with a performance of the only complete poem of Sappho to survive, the hymn to Aphrodite. Jong’s version of fr. 1 LP is close to the Sapphic original, almost a translation: Jong’s ‘rainbow-throned’ for Sappho’s ποικιλόθρον (fr. 1.1); ‘in a whirling of sparrow’s wings’ for ῥεῖνεσσα πτέρες στροφεῖς . . . / πῦκνα δίννεντες πτέρες’ (10–11). But this close adherence to Sappho’s text slips away as the novel progresses, to be replaced by Jong’s own compositions. Towards the novel’s close, Jong provides another rendition of fr. 1, but now combined in a collage with other Sapphic fragments (frs. 27, 81, 1, 5, 183), and culminating with four lines of Jong’s own creation, leading into the appendix of nine original poems. As Jong writes and as the poem/novel progresses, then, I suggest, she inscribes Sappho into herself and her female poetic identity, as well as projecting herself back upon Sappho—thus creating a model for a dialogic vision of classical reception and female authorship.

Children’s voice in Euripides’ tragedy: socialization in challenge

The present paper examines children’s literal expressions on stage in the dramatic plays of Euripides, the first playwright to develop the character type of immature individuals who were granted the ability to express themselves verbally.

Among nine of Euripides’ extent plays which cast one or more child characters only three productions feature children in speaking parts before the audience. These are restricted to short lyric passages, alternated or interrupted by adults: the monody of Alcestis’ son, Eumelus, in Alcestis (393–403, 406–15); the amoibaion between Molossus and Andromache (501–14, 523–9) ending with child’s supplication scene to Menelaus (530–43) in Andromache; and the kommos between two choruses, performed by the mothers and the children of the dead Argive warriors in the Supplices (1123–64). These literary expressions have yet to receive meaningful attention from either scholars of Greek drama or of the history of childhood.

The discourse will begin with scrutiny of children’s lyrics, with reference to particular dramatic settings, recurring topics and the emotions they articulate and arouse (beyond the compassion and pity). Next, utilizing comparative crossovers of distinctive characteristics of the childhood experience as manifested in the above-mentioned passages with representations of children in offstage contemporary discourses, the paper will pinpoint how children’s voices in Euripides’ tragedy serve as a determinant source for representing and comprehending societal expectations (familial and communal) regarding the socialization of minors. In conclusion I will attempt to answer the obvious question of why Euripides found it necessary to raise the voice of child’s characters in particular passages, a voice rare in tragedy in relation to the relatively common castings of children in his plays. Thus, the present study may broaden our understanding of childhood as a social issue that posed special challenges (predominantly orphanhood and illegitimacy) which continually plagued the civic community of ancient Athens.

Erica Jong makes a striking observation: ‘I don’t think you can write a novel about a poet without telling at least some of the story in poetry.’ Starting from this observation, this paper will explore the deployment of translations and adaptations of Sapphic fragments throughout Sappho’s Leap, asking how Jong’s response to Sappho’s poetry relates to Jong’s own creation of a tradition of (female) authorship. I will focus in particular on the incorporation of translations of Sappho’s original poetry alongside (and interspersed with) Jong’s own poetry, arguing that the progression throughout the novel from near-exact translations to increasingly free creations, ending with a collection of nine original poems, demonstrates the process by which Jong subtly morphs Sappho’s voice into her own.

Sappho’s Leap begins with a performance of the only complete poem of Sappho to survive, the hymn to Aphrodite. Jong’s version of fr. 1 LP is close to the Sapphic original, almost a translation: Jong’s ‘rainbow-throned’ for Sappho’s ποικιλόθρον (fr. 1.1); ‘in a whirling of sparrow’s wings’ for ῥεῖνεσσα πτέρες στροφεῖς . . . / πῦκνα δίννεντες πτέρες’ (10–11). But this close adherence to Sappho’s text slips away as the novel progresses, to be replaced by Jong’s own compositions. Towards the novel’s close, Jong provides another rendition of fr. 1, but now combined in a collage with other Sapphic fragments (frs. 27, 81, 1, 5, 183), and culminating with four lines of Jong’s own creation, leading into the appendix of nine original poems. As Jong writes and as the poem/novel progresses, then, I suggest, she inscribes Sappho into herself and her female poetic identity, as well as projecting herself back upon Sappho—thus creating a model for a dialogic vision of classical reception and female authorship.

Hayes, Sam (Exeter) Panel: A Magnificent Seven Respondent

Please see panel abstract in section 1.

Haywood, Jan (Open U./Leicester) Panel: Teaching Rhetoric

Teaching rhetoric in ancient Greek historiography

In a celebrated passage from Herodotus’ Histories, the so-called ‘father of history’ declares that his information thus far has been derived from autopsy, conjecture and oral traditions (2.99.1); however, later in the same work, the historian asserts that although he is compelled to report others’ stories, he is not required to believe them (7.152.3). How is Herodotus’ audience meant to square these narratorial glosses? To what extent does his awareness of the (un)verifiability of certain reported accounts limit his audience’s ability to place trust in the authority of his text? Similar issues abound in the History of his broad contemporary, Thucydides. Near the beginning of that work, Thucydides constructs a sophisticated methodological schema, which emphasises his incredulity, as well as his rigorous testing of multiple sources of information. And yet, in the same
excursus Thucydides famously acknowledges that many of his reported speeches are the fruits of inference, since his informants’ recollections of these utterances were markedly inconsistent. As is the case with Herodotus, then, Thucydides makes use of particular rhetorical techniques in order to account for potential discrepancies, and to forestall criticisms concerning his historiographical approach.

In this paper, I will explore further the presence of specific rhetorical strategies that historians in ancient Greece deployed to alert their audience’s attention to the difficulties in conducting historical inquiry, and to lend authority to their versions of the past. The analysis will take in various signal passages from Greek historiography that I have used for teaching as part of a number of undergraduate courses on ancient Greek history, literature and culture, including Herodotus’ biting critique of the logospolos (‘story-maker’) Hecataeus of Miletus, and Thucydides’ rejection of to mythodes (‘the mythical element’).

Henderson, Nicholas (independent scholar) 
Panel: Greek Gender & Identity

Divine desire: male homo-social relations and depictions of Zeus and Ganymede on Athenian painted pottery ca.560–420 BC

The aim of this paper is to explore how images depicting Ganymede on Athenian painted pottery (ca.550–420 BC) can contribute to our understanding of male homosocial relationships in Athens, and what these depictions of Ganymede meant to the Athenian audience creating and receiving these images.

It will argue that Athenian pederasty’s development is reflected in the sexualisation of the Ganymede myth in the late Archaic and early Classical period, becoming the mythic paradigm of a pederastic relationship, reinvented to reflect the complexity of Athenian sexual politics. It will do this through an exploration of Ganymede on Athenian painted pottery, considering their context, typology, and the iconography of these scenes, supplemented with contemporary Athenian literature. The material culture of Attic pottery has been chosen as a subject matter because of its ability to channel the pervasive mood of Athenian society. Athenian pottery responds to factors outside the creators’ control or awareness; Greek vases are not necessarily reflections of pre-existing belief systems, they are the medium through which artists can ‘wrestle with, coalesce and refine ideologies’ (Neer, 2002: 168).

The iconography of Ganymede is poly-scenic, and in a culture where pederasty was significant personally, politically, and as rite of passage, the Athenian consciousness used the figure of Ganymede as an expression of a multifaceted institution. Through Symposium, Funeral, and Gymnasium Ware, Ganymede can be the archetypal eromenos in scenes of divine revelry and pursuit, highlighting the sexualized nature of the gymnasium or as a symbol of victory, eroticism and death. Ganymede was to reflect, typify and justify one of the most significant male homosocial relationship of this period.

Heydon, Kendell (Nottingham) 
Panel: Greek Gender & Identity

The Spartan hippeis and hegemonic masculinity in Xenophon’s Spartan Constitution

Exploration of ancient Greek masculinity is always challenging, due to the generally accepted idea that the concept of ‘masculinity’ in the modern western understanding did not exist in antiquity. Scholars have argued that the gender-identities in antiquity can only be properly understood in the context of the intersection between a number of subjectivities including biological sex, age, sexual behaviour, and class. Furthermore, because the majority of literature available from the Classical is relatively Athenocentric in origin or focus, most detailed analyses of masculinity in Classical Greece have focused on Athenian mores. However, Spartan masculinity remains a relevant and vital point of reference for representations of manhood in Ancient Greece.

This paper seeks to examine a particular arena in which Spartan masculinities can be seen as constructed. Particularly, it will provide detailed analysis of the selection process of the elite unit of the 300 hippeis and the strife for manly virtue between young men which resulted from it, as described in Xenophon’s Spartan Constitution. This episode is particularly well suited for this type of analysis as masculine identities in antiquity have been seen as conspicuously enacted in the public sphere, with significant political and societal ramifications, making their constructions especially performative in nature.

The paper will employ a methodology informed by sociological gender theory to demonstrate that this selection process, as described by Xenophon in his Spartan Constitution, can be seen as, in essence, a performative display of hegemonic masculinity; a societal mechanism in which both the chosen and unchosen demonstrated their adherence to prominent Spartan masculine ideology via stylized public competition. In so doing, it will suggest that gender construction by means of performance was a significant purpose of this important Spartan institution.
Hughes, Phil (Leicester)  Panel: Rethinking the Boundaries*

New materialism, memory and Roman provincial art: Dobunnic genii stone sculpture from Roman Britain

Recent theoretical discourse promulgating ‘new materialist’ perspectives has transformed our understanding of archaeology as an investigation of the human past through material remains, envisaged through a prism of anthropocentrism, to one concerned with a broader conception of ‘things’, encompassing human made and natural objects and places, ecofacts as well as humans and non-humans (Witmore 2014). The privileging of the human world over the material in social and symbolic perspectives has led to a problematic dualism obscuring the relational, co-constitutive and symbiotic nature of the material and the social in past societies. Indeed, the emergence of ideas such as ‘the return to things’ (Olsen 2010) asserts that the material world must be fully integrated in a flat ontology where binaries such as subject and object and, crucially here, past and present are fluid.

This has implications for how we critically engage with ‘art’ in the Roman provinces, suggesting objects themselves can possess not only agency but are in a constant state of ‘becoming’. With this in mind, this paper will consider stone sculptural representations of genii, attested from the region of Britannia traditionally associated with the Dobunni tribe. Through the particular stylistic depiction of Romano-British genii, and the wider archaeological context of the region, this paper will argue that a community identity was fostered and maintained by shared symbolism which unite past and present through practice. It argues that the adoption and adaptation of ostensibly Roman material art forms were mediated through a web of social memories which allowed for the reconfiguration of both old and new traditions. The paper concludes by remarking that this approach can help overcome the problematic dichotomy of continuity and change pervading dialogue of Roman imperialism.

Humphries, Mark (Swansea)  Panel: Interactions in Late Antique Cities*

Seeing the emperor in the Late Antique city

The itinerant behaviour of the imperial court in the later Roman Empire meant that the emperor himself was visible to more of his subjects, across a wider area, and in quite different contexts than generally had been the case in the early Principate. At the same time, this was a period in which imperial deportment became increasingly bound by ceremonial performances of power, such as adventus. What impact did this have on the ways in which the emperor—either in person or as an image—was viewed by his subjects? This paper will investigate this question, drawing on a wide variety of sources, from panegyric, letters, and theological treatises to iconography. It examines, among other topics, the extent to which ways of seeing the emperor were controlled by the imperial court itself, and how the ruler’s subjects responded to such stimuli.

Hunt, Steven (Cambridge)  Panel: The Virtue of Variety*

Latin is alive!

Over the years, there have been a number of spurs to change the way in which Latin has been taught in UK schools. Among these are the removal of the Oxbridge matriculation requirement in 1962, the increase in the number of comprehensive schools, and the imposition of the National Curriculum (Forrest, 1996; Lister, 2007; Hunt, 2016). Several factors beyond the control of teachers are now combining to make the provision of classical subjects even more challenging in schools. These include the loss of short-course GCSEs, the near-abandonment of AS levels, the trend for schools to offer no more than three A levels, the removal of the Classics Suite A level qualification and the crisis in funding across schools and particularly in the sixth form, most of which can be attributed to the policies of Coalition Government (Hunt, 2018 forthcoming).

This paper posits that in this educational environment, the teaching and assessment of Latin at GCSE and A level needs to undergo radical change if it is to be sufficiently attractive to students for them to undertake the courses and so that schools remain willing to finance their teaching. I advocate the investigation of a number of possible solutions: the return to provision of different pathways to achieve the current qualifications, the development of more explicitly outward-looking qualifications which provide stronger arguments for their inclusion in the general curriculum and which make them a better fit with the university experience of classics more generally, and the adoption of different forms of assessment designed to suit the needs of learners rather than those of government. More specifically, this paper will briefly explore some of the rationale behind communicative approaches to the teaching of Latin, as drawn from examples in current US practice, and consider whether such approaches might help achieve some of the solutions.

Iftikhar, Rukhsana (U. of the Punjab, Lahore)  Panel: Hellenistic Culture

The cultural landscape of Gandharan art

Indian arts were primarily religious and were also developed to serve Buddhist faith in India. Gandhara had long-lasting impacts upon Indian culture. The great
Jolowicz, Daniel (Cambridge)  Panel: Past & Present* Memories of the Roman Republic in the ancient Greek novel: the case of Chariton’s Chaereas and Callirhoe This paper is concerned with how commemoration of the past is articulated in Chariton’s Chaereas and Callirhoe. Specifically, I argue that overt commemoration of the classical Greek past (via explicit allusions) is problematised by suppressed memories of (more recent) episodes from the Roman Republican period. In this novel, Rome’s conquest of Greece is a memory to be suppressed.

My claim is that Chariton, whose fiction—set in Sicily at the end of the fifth century bce—is deeply indebted to a range of Greek historical and historiographical models, has mobilised three episodes from the republican period that all involve Roman interventions in Sicily. I argue that the removal of Callirhoe from Syracuse recalls Verres’ notorious governorship of Sicily of 73–71 bce, and specifically his removal from Syracuse of Sappho’s statue; that the character of the pirate Theron recalls the ‘pirate’ Sextus Pompey and his conflict with Octavian; and that the Greek Chaereas’ triumphant return to Syracuse at the end of the novel, loaded with spoils from the Persian king, is modelled on a Roman triumph that symbolically reverses Marcellus’ sack of Syracuse and removal of spoils in 211 bce.

Each of these expresses varying meditations on the present’s relationship to the past and how Greeks chose to remember Rome’s journey to Mediterranean domination: Verres represents memories of a paradigmatic case of provincial mismanagement; Sextus represents memories of the Civil War that forced Greek cities to take one side or the other; and Marcellus represents the moment in history in which (at least according to the historiographical tradition) Rome began to aestheticise their conquest of Greece. One of the conclusions of Roman history buried beneath a carapace of Greek history is that memories of the Roman Republic should be expressed obliquely, displaced into other (Greek) terms.

Kahane, Ahuvia (Royal Holloway)  Panel: Early Greek Poetry The complexity of Greek epic diction This paper presents a framework for the interpretation of formal order in epic anchored in usage-based grammar and the study of complex adaptive systems in linguistics.

The paper, like several recent studies of formularity (Bakker 2005; Bakker 2013; Boas 2016; Bozzone 2014; Cánovas and Antović 2016; Currie 2016; Minchin 2016) focuses on the shift in perspective on language cognition and communication by usage-based linguists and especially on work since Givón 1984, including Tomasello 2003, Goldberg 2006, Bybee 2006, Hopper and Traugott 2013, which argues for the primacy of communicative function in language and the derivative nature of grammatical structure. The paper also invokes recent usage-based discussions of language as a complex adaptive system (Larsen-Freeman 1997, Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008, Beckner and Bybee 2009, Ellis and Larsen-Freeman 2006, Kramsch 2012) that emphasise the systematic interaction of order and unpredictable (non-linear) phenomena as a fundamental characteristic of language. Driving both pattern formation and innovation, the paper argues, is the process of analogy, a process discussed extensively both in contemporary linguistics and by Milman Parry (Parry 1971, following Meillet 1912; Blevins and Blevins 2009; etc.).

Integrating these approaches allows us to account for a) inherent flexibility within ordered hexameter diction, b) the capacity of epic formulaic patterns to signify (rather than to perform largely formal functions), c) systematic (rather than ad hoc) relations between ‘regular’ and ‘anomalous’ usage, d) ‘unique’, individualized diction, and e) the interaction between adjacent and imbricated linguistic and poetic patterns (for which see The Chicago Homer, Kahane, Mueller, Berry et al.) in epic whose uniform Gestalt cannot be reduced to strict mechanical or pre-determined form or function. The paper illustrates this argument with brief examples from Homer (Od. 12.69, 166, 322, etc.) and the Ilias Parua (PEG F. 21 Bernabé).

Keen, Tony (Roehampton)  Panel: ‘Wandering from Clime to Clime’* Homer beyond the stars: 2001 as a reception of the Odyssey Ever since Stanley Kubrick attached the subtitle A Space Odyssey to 2001, attempts have been made to draw close parallels between the 1968 movie and its eighth-century bce namesake. Though few would go as far as Leonard F. J3 Papers
Wheat in his *Kubrick’s 2001: A Triple Allegory* (2000), it is common for HAL’s single camera lens eye to be likened to the one eye of the Cyclops Polyphemus, or for the name of the astronaut David Bowman to be considered a reference to the prowess of the hero Odysseus with a bow.

This paper seeks to bring fully to bear on this topic the theoretical tools developed for Classical Reception studies by Lorna Hardwick, and those specifically created by Tony Keen and C. W. Marshall for the reception of Greece and Rome in science fiction and other fantastical texts. It will ask questions such as: In this context, what exactly do we mean by ‘Odyssey’ and ‘Homer?’ At what point is the story of Odysseus stripped of so much to make the parallel work that it is no longer the story of Odysseus? When do we decide that we are clutching at straws? Are we in danger, in this case, of an excess of historical positivism of the sort that Charles Martindale criticises? Or can we accept 2001 as an unproblematic thematic companion of Homer?

Kella, Vasiliki (U. of Cyprus)  
Panel: Roman Women in Space  
**Beyond the bricks: house imagery in Plautus**  
The study of space as well as the handling of actors’ bodies within its range are the key ingredients for the understanding of staging practices in any Roman comedy. There is always a main boundary dividing the public street where the action takes place and the private houses behind the σκηνή where offstage indoor scenes develop. The purpose of this paper is to deduce the way in which Plautus’ comedy used the allocation of space and the image of the house for the dramatic plot and the depiction of female characters. A lot has been written over the years about generic setting in drama, albeit mostly about the ancient stage and less in connection to Roman theatre. Hence, this paper seeks to provide useful insights into the messages enhanced by the role of the house. Firstly, the pattern of the unroofed house signifies an ‘open’ dramatic world and ‘unity of place’ in Plautus’ theatre. Secondly, female characters seem to be credited the power to recreate their stereotype, by energizing their action beyond brick walls. Menander’s plays had revolved around the mistaken status of lost and ‘hidden’ daughters (ταμπαί), who are confined in a house waiting to be discovered and properly married. In Plautus, however, women dare to remain vulnerable and at risk, unwilling to be restricted to their marginal space, the Greek θάλαμος, the inner bedchamber.

Kerschner, Michael  
Panel: Was the Archaic Period in Ionia a ‘Golden Age’?*  
(Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut)

*Kiriati, Evangelia (British School at Athens)  
Panel: Current Research on the Greek City*  
**Urban settlement on Kythera and AntiKythera**  
Please see entry for Broodbank, Cyprian.

Knibbs, Christopher (Birmingham)  
Panel: Praising Roman Leaders  
**An example to us all: Pliny’s rhetoric of praise and exemplarity**  
Is it often suggested that an important part of Pliny’s agenda in publishing his letters, was to provide a piecemeal catalogue of *exempla* for his reader’s edification. The letters are replete with portraits of exemplary individuals, including Pliny himself, and the ethical importance of ‘exemplary learning’ is reinforced throughout. However, there is a prominent social dimension to Pliny’s use of exemplarity, often overlooked in modern scholarship. In this paper I will show that Pliny employs exemplary terminology very frequently, to flatter his friends and family—that he uses terms like *exemplum* as a complimentary designation. Thus, Pliny’s engagement with the Roman practice of exemplarity has a very specific purpose in addition to the usual ethical and didactic uses we see elsewhere. For Pliny, setting someone up as an *exemplum* is an important aspect of social networking.

A prime example of this exists in letter 8.5 where Pliny reports the death of Macrinus’s wife to his friend Geminus, explicitly referring to the wife as an *exemplum*—yet leaving her unnamed. I will show that the purpose of Pliny’s praise cannot solely be to present Macrinus’s wife as an example for posterity. With its conspicuous focus on the husband, Pliny’s eulogy of their long and successful marriage must be read as a means of flattering his friend. He is praising Macrinus’s ability to fashion an exemplary wife and lead an exemplary life with her. Moreover, in expressing his concerns for Macrinus, Pliny reveals his care. He conveys his empathy for Macrinus’s loss to present himself as a caring and respectful friend. In fashioning this eulogy therefore, Pliny seemingly strives to reinforce the bonds of *amicitia* between the men involved. The nameless wife, whose loss is ostensibly being commemorated, is merely an instrument for Pliny to strengthen this social network.

Knight, Sarah (Leicester)  
Panel: Teaching Rhetoric  
**Teaching rhetoric for drama and poetry**  
My academic background is in Classics and English, a combination which has shaped my teaching career. I
teach classical and early modern literature to students taking degrees with English, and Latin poetry to students studying Ancient History and Archaeology, English and History. Much of my research focuses on how educational formation and rhetorical training within the Latin-speaking classroom shaped the literary works the authors I study went on to write, so I bring this interest wherever relevant into my own teaching. In this talk I will discuss some practical examples of how I introduce the study of rhetoric into various undergraduate modules, from a first-year Drama course to a final-year Latin seminar.

I will focus on how the study of rhetoric meaningfully informs the teaching of drama and poetry. I will consider how this teaching can change at different educational stages: I first discuss how to encourage first-year undergraduates—many of whom are still fresh from A-levels or the equivalent—to build on their existing knowledge and to understand why rhetoric is so pivotal for the works they are studying. I end by thinking about the different challenges of teaching advanced undergraduates who have chosen to specialise in classical and/or Renaissance poetry or drama. I teach three final-year options at Leicester—‘Classical and post-classical Latin’, on which I teach seminars on erotic and pastoral poetry in the original language; ‘Tragedy’, where students read the plays of Seneca and Sophocles in translation alongside Shakespeare’s major tragedies; and ‘Classical Worlds’, where students read classical poetry in translation and study its English adaptations from the sixteenth through to the twenty-first centuries. I will describe some teaching activities on rhetoric with which students have enthusiastically engaged over the years, and will invite further discussion of how we can make the subject more interesting to our students.

Konstantinou, Ariadne (Bar Ilan)  Panel: Greek Drama

Ares in Aeschylus’ Suppliants

While a number of figures do not appear on stage in Aeschylus’ Suppliants, they still play a central role in the play. Most prominent among them are of course Zeus and the heroine Io, the princess who was turned into a heifer and was eventually saved by the benevolent touch of Zeus. Io is invoked—primarily in the first part of the play—as the ancestral mother of the Danaids. She acts as the Danaids’ link to the city of Argos, where they are now requesting asylum in escape from their cousins the Egyptians. Indeed, it has been rightly argued that the play cannot be fully appreciated without taking into account Io’s myth and its role in the characterization of the Danaids.

However, additional figures are mentioned that do not appear on stage. This paper will focus on the god Ares. The references to ‘the most hateful of gods that hold Olympus’ (ll. 5. 890) are not abundant in the play, but seem to be rather important. Namely, I will argue the references to the god of war may also contribute to the characterization of the Danaids. While they try to build an image of themselves as powerless and hopeless victims, but by the end of the story—and probably the end of the Danaid trilogy, to which Suppliants belongs—they also become violent. The references to Ares may therefore serve as a means to foreshadow the violent murder that is to come, and may have featured as a recurring motif that was developed in the course of the trilogy.

Koparal, Elif (Hitit University Çorum)  Panel: Archaic East Aegean

The ‘emergence’ of the Ionian polis: the Archaic khorai of Klazomenai and Teos

Although the exploration of the khora—the territory of the polis—was a very popular research area in the past three decades in Aegean archaeology, Ionian rural landscapes remained terra incognita due to the lack of systematic field surveys. The region was the epicenter of many events that shaped ancient Greek culture, but somehow perceived as peripheral to Greece. Archaeological practice in Ionia also has established itself as an isolated study area mostly focused on historiography, excavation of big sanctuaries and object studies. Therefore the ‘emergence of the polis’ in Ionia remains an intriguing research subject. Following several extensive or one-man surveys recording large sites in the region during the 1990s, in 2006 the KLASP (Klazomenai Survey Project) was initiated to explore the khorai of Klazomenai, Teos and Lebedos following the methodologies of pioneering archaeological surveys conducted in Greece in the 1990s. Archaeological evidence from the territories of those Ionian poleis demonstrated that the organization of the rural territories took place as early as the 8th–7th centuries BC, and was contemporary with the urbanization process that took place at the settlement centers. Placement of new landscape features like tumuli around the khorai, as well as the continuity or reuse of the cult places and forts at the fringes of the territories, mostly designated with natural frontiers, provides a new discussion ground for the ‘emergence’ of the Ionian polis. Assessment of the survey evidence together with the excavation data, particularly from the Klazomenai excavations, is significant for redefining the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition in Ionia and for presenting an ‘Ionian polis’ model.

Kotini, Vassiliki (Zayed)  Panel: Classical Reception II

Clytemnestra’s net: a study of the Aeschylean myth in Berkoff’s Agamemnon

The proposed paper focuses on Berkoff’s Agamemnon and explores the classical myth as adapted and presented...
in the contemporary play. By juxtaposing the tragic heroine of the Aeschylean trilogy to Berkoff’s protagonist, the study follows Clytemnestra, along with Agamemnon and the other dramatic characters, as they become entangled in a nexus of conflict—both external wars and internal battles.

The paper offers a close study of the mythological characters and examines Berkoff’s use of the tragic play as well as the epic background of the myth of Agamemnon. Although the contemporary playwright follows closely Aeschylus’ play, his heroes do not share in the Aeschylean, almost divine-like, features; they are instead more Euripidean in their humanity, while they remain conspicuously aloof from each other, as if their only connection is provided by and secured through the classical myth.

The paper suggests that Berkoff’s adaptation of the Greek myth is not a play merely about the futility and inevitability of war but also a study on human pain. Performed in 1973 for the first time, in the shadow of the Cold War, his Clytemnestra embodies the crime and the punishment; she becomes the manifestation of immense agony and a living casus belli. In this setting, the characters’ suffering is not seen as the main expression of divine will but, primarily, as a tragic human choice.

Kozlovski, Alina (Cambridge)  Panel: Novelty & Commemoration*

*Commemoration and anachronism: Romulus and Pompey visit Augustan Rome*

In this paper, I examine the place that commemorative objects can have in creating deliberate anachronisms. My focus is on Roman elite funerals where imagines were used to bring ancestors into the city of the present. These events have been studied by those interested in their political implications (Flower, 1996), and by those who emphasised the importance of the funeral route within the topography of Rome (Favro & Johanson, 2010). Following on from such studies, I examine the practice of using imagines from the perspective of historical re-enactment, where material things legitimise the presence of the past in the contemporary world and new kinds of relationships become possible between the two. Though we know little about what the imagines specifically looked like, when we look at interactions with objects representing ancestors in Roman art, we can see these objects are given agency and a gaze of their own. In these situations, the past is not only seen by the present but also seen the present in its own right. With Cassius Dio’s claim that the imagines of Romulus and Pompey were present at Augustus’ funeral (Dio 56.34) as my case study, I examine the political and cultural repercussions of bringing these two characters to see Augustan Rome at this event and to be seen doing so.

Kremmydas, Christos (Royal Holloway)  Panel: Paradigmata & Persuasion*

*Respondent*

Please see panel abstract in section 1.

La Barbera, Sandro (Georgetown)  Panel: Tibullus beyond Elegy*

*The hope(s) of the poet(s): Spes in Tibullus 2.6 and her Greek lineage (Hesiod, Theognis, Theocritus)*

Pandora’s box was the beginning of much concern for men, not to mention Hesiod scholars. Released from the jar of Works and Days, a pandemic of evils spread, leaving us with one solace for the fate of eternal strife: Hope. Whereas this one (problematic) entity remained confined in Hesiod’s original jar, later authors, both Greek and Latin, sipped from it in ways that directly engage with that text-container and distill the substance of its contents. A powerful concentrate is offered in Tibullus 2.6, the last genuine poem in the Tibullan corpus, where the poet, beginning with Hesiod’s Ἐλπίς, engages with a series of previous Greek poets on the figure and concept of Hope and its pertinence to literature. I argue that, by positioning this literary conversation in his final elegy, Tibullus uses the figure of Spes to represent both the crowning achievement of his poetics and a reflection on the status of elegy in the history of Greco-Roman literature.

Through a close study of the intricate intertextual nature of 2.6, it will become apparent how Tibullus forced disparate literary models (Hesiod, Theognis, Theocritus) into one coherent array of forms and meanings that systematizes Greco-Roman literature and his own place within it. Further evidence of the importance of 2.6 for the interpretation of Tibullus’s (self-)placement in the canon of elegy is provided by Ovid (Am. 3.9), who gives a further twist to the metaliterary threads wound by Tibullus. Ovid’s reception of his favorite model confirms the centrality of 2.6 to an assessment of Tibullus’s poetry from practically the moment of its composition. This one understudied example demonstrates how the reception of Greek literature in Augustan elegy operates by merging and resemantizing a plurality of texts in order to achieve a new status within the system of genres.

Ladianou, Katerina (Athens/Crete)  Panel: Materiality & Gender, 2*

*Material girls in Sparta: language, performance and materiality in Alcman’s Partheneion*

Alcman’s Louvre Partheneion (3C) has provoked many readings in order to decipher the language of the female chorus. Although the dancers constantly refer to their
performance, both their voice and image is obfuscated by an intricate network of metaphors.

In this paper, I will discuss how the representation of the young girls as valuable objects, is calling attention not only to their defamiliarized voice but also to an abstract image, which blurs the subjectivity of the dancers.

I will then propose that the fragment can be read not only as a passage into the order of an androcentric society but also as a passage into the symbolic order of language. Performing a choral poem, the chorus seems to partake in this symbolic order. However, like signs, myths and commodities they are made to be exchanged and always refer back to men. Thus, represented as objects the young girls have no subjectivity, no voice, no desire, no language.

In conclusion, I will argue that composing songs for young women, Alcman chooses to represent feminine voice as different from human voice, stressing a matter inherent to feminine voice: its alterity and problematic representation.

Lagrou, Sarah (Lille)  Panel: A Magnificent Seven* From victim to seductress: the importance of Freudian appropriation of the Oedipus myth on modern depictions of Jocasta

The incest is one of the major features of the Oedipus myth. From Antiquity to modern times, playwrights, writers, artists or film makers have given their own version of the marriage between Oedipus and his mother. In their reuse of the myth, most of them take interest in the reasons that led Oedipus and his mother to commit incest.

Thanks to the analysis of examples taken from Greek and Roman plays (Sophocles, Euripides, Seneca), Medieval French literature (the Roman de Thèbes), and modern plays (Cocteau’s La Machine infernale), novels (Bauhau’s Édipe sur la route) and movies (Pasolini’s Edipo re and Wishnow’s Oedipus), I will argue that the Freudian appropriation of Oedipus is a turning point in the reception and the reuse of this mytheme. One of the most important element that was inflected by the psychoanalytical theory is the characterisation of Jocasta and her part in her meeting with Oedipus. In Sophocles’ Oedipus Rex and in Euripides’ Phoenician Women, she is presented as the victim of the gods and the circumstances: she marries Oedipus because her brother decided that the man who would get the city rid of the Sphinx would become king. She is thus depicted as devoid of any incestuious desire and even of any sexual desire. On the contrary, in Jason Wishnow’s 2004 short-film, Jocasta is pictured as a juicy tomato who sings in cabarets and appeals to men. The review of several examples among those listed above show that, after Freud, the meeting between mother and son tends to take a sensual and sexual turn which was not present in the Greek tragedies. This, I argue, is an effect of how Freud shaped his psychoanalytical interpretation of the Greek and Roman myth.

Lander, Harriet (Nottingham)  Panel: Position & Power* ‘Suffering Sappho! Something’s happened to the reception!’ Sappho, fan art and the (re)making of a Lesbian heroine

When we think of Sappho, we think of many things. Lyric poetry, Archaic Greece, love, sex, fragments—and often as a supplementary but pervasive thought—lesbianism. Sappho has many masks but the face underneath is of homoerotic desire, and this underpins much of the work that is made about her poetry, her life, and her reception.

In this paper I will argue that the visual presentation of Sappho in Wonder Woman and other examples from pop culture, is as a 20th-century heroine, with two distinct versions of lesbianism for the viewing audience. I will then discuss how these presentations are created as homages, or fan art, to late 19th-century neo-classical representations of Sappho.

Catherine Grant writes ‘to be a fan of something often indicates an over-attachment, an excessive engagement that goes beyond the intellectual’. Those who are interested in Sappho are often excessively engaged with her sexuality, as Ella Haselswerdt reminds us in her piece Re-queering Sappho. But Haselswerdt is not the only one to be excessively engaged with Sappho’s sexuality, as my examples from the 20th century will show—visual representations of Sappho as a lesbian seem to be ‘excessively engaged’ with the eroticism in 19th-century neo-classical paintings of her, and I will argue that they count not as fuzzy receptions, but as clear fan art. Finally, Jacky Abromitis, founder of lesfan.com, has said that ‘Those who create fan fiction, fan art, fan videos, etc. are the most dedicated fans. They are also the ones that keep fans focused on the show during hiatus. Those fan artists should be courted and thanked by networks and show creators for the service they provide—entertaining and creating dedicated fans.’ The fan artists of the 20th century, engaging in continued re-presentations and re-workings of Sapphic lesbianism, are keeping her visual representation alive for a new generation of Sappho fans.

Lee, Henry (Sir John Leman High School)  Panel: Association for Latin Teaching* Latin for what? The challenge of Latin for All

This paper will restate the case for Latin in all schools. It will consider also the barriers to progressing towards that aim. Teachers working in Classics departments across the
land are well versed in the art of persuasion to keep uptake of Latin healthy, yet it is not prudent to make the same case for two different students, let alone for students, parents and schools leadership. Meanwhile, among many adults, the study of Latin gives the impression of being elitist, yet the children who meet Latin for the first time are not necessarily aware of this. Indeed, the children’s concern is more likely to be the intricacies of mastering vocabulary and the table of endings. In the face of all this, how should Latin be advertised? Or do we as interested participants just say what comes to mind and hope for the best?

The paper will argue that there is a need for a more targeted message for the promotion of Latin in schools. Fundamentally, the targeted message needs to suit the recipient of the message—the students, the parents and the school leaders. This will be informed by experience in working in comprehensive, selective and private schools and speaking to different stakeholders. The aim is not to provide a definitive answer, but to aid the promotion of Latin, in particular in cases where Latin is not an established subject in schools.

Leigh, Matthew (Oxford)  Panel: Seneca on Law & Sovereignty*
Respondent
Please see panel abstract in section 1.

Letchford, Clive (Warwick)  Panel: The Virtue of Variety*
Teaching Latin using the target language
The teaching of Latin in United Kingdom schools and universities in recent years has tended to be polarised between users of a graded reading approach exemplified by the Cambridge Latin Course and others who use the more traditional ‘grammar-translation’ method. Drawing on extensive experience at both school and university level, and sensing that a more varied pedagogy inspired by modern languages would have benefits, the author of this paper decided to explore ways of incorporating more active use of Latin in a university context.

In the summer of 2017, the author therefore attended a four-week summer school at the Accademia Vivarium Novum in Rome, held entirely in Latin, and based on the text book Familia Romana by H. Ørberg. This course is inspired by the work of W. H. D. Rouse and the Direct Method developed for modern languages. It uses a carefully designed text book to ensure a thorough, consistent approach to vocabulary and grammar acquisition and provides a framework around which Latin can be taught communicatively through the medium of Latin. Some of the approaches of the summer school together with the text book have been incorporated into the first-year beginners’ course at the University of Warwick in the 2017/18 academic year. This paper sets out some of the key features to consider when incorporating a communicative approach based on this text as part of a time-pressured university course, and describes the successes and challenges of this initial period of implementation.

Lewis, Virginia (Florida State U.)  Panel: Early Greek Poetry
Psaumis between Camarina and Olympia in Pindar’s Olympian 5
Psaumis of Camarina commissioned two epinician odes, Olympians 4 and 5, to celebrate victories at Olympia in the 450s. Critics have often noted the abundance of local features that appear in Olympian 5, but analyses of the ode’s local aspects most often appear in critical discussions that question Pindar’s authorship (e.g. Barrett 2007). Setting aside the fraught issue of the ode’s authorship, this paper argues that in Olympian 5, the poet interweaves local and panhellenic elements in a carefully wrought network of seemingly disparate deities and physical locations.

I first suggest that the ode’s three triads assume distinct perspectives that position Psaumis as a central figure in his city and simultaneously elevate him on a panhellenic stage. The first triad combines a celebration of Psaumis’ panhellenic achievements with an invocation of the city’s eponymous nymph, Camarina. The second triad, by contrast, celebrates Psaumis’ civic benefactions. The poet invokes polioche Pallas (city-guarding Pallas) within the detailed and specific local cityscape of Camarina. The local landscape and public works are celebrated to honor the goddess who not only has local significance but is also an integral figure in larger Panhellenic narratives in a way that the local nymph Camarina cannot be. Finally, the third triad encompasses the largest scope of the three by turning to Olympia. Now the poet now prays to Zeus Söter, situated at the site of the games (line 17), to embellish the victor’s city. The spatial progression of the poem mirrors Psaumis’ journey from the games back to his home and aligns it with the benefactions that Zeus will provide to the citizens of Camarina on his behalf. The poet’s intertwining of local and panhellenic places and the deities with whom they are aligned furthermore emphasizes Psaumis’ prominence in both spheres.

Liapis, Vayos (Open U. of Cyprus)  Panel: Aristocracy & Monetization*
Money and aristocratic reciprocity in Pindar’s Olympian 10
Pindar’s Olympian 10 for Hagesidamos begins with an unusual conceit. The poet claims to have ‘forgotten’ that
he owed the recipient an epinician ode (3); as a result of the long delay, his debt to the recipient has accumulated inordinately (8). Nonetheless, he is now able to paying Hagesidamos back with interest (9 τόκος), i.e. by offering him the present ode.

This opening device is striking, among other things, in its use of the ‘language of business’, including ‘record-keeping, debts, interest, repayment’ (Race 1997: 163 n. 1). But rather than merely settling a longstanding debt, the ode achieves much more: for the ‘interest’ Pindar offers to pay (cf. 12 τείσομεν) is so magnificently high that it can be likened to a wave that ‘washes away’ a ψήφον (‘pebble’ but also ‘counter’ in an abacus used to calculate debt accrued). In fact, the repayment consists in nothing less than conferment of (poetic) immortality on the recipient, as is made clear in the final, climactic evocation of Ganymede, rescued from ‘ruthless death’ (105). If the ode begins with a concern over τόκος (‘offspring’, ‘monetary interest’), it ends with the evocation of a physical τόκος, as the poem is likened to the son born to an aging father and assuring the continuation of inherited wealth (88–90). Thus, the transitoriness of debt repayment (including monetary τόκος), which spells the dissolution of the relationship between creditor and debtor, gives way to the permanence of the gift of (poetic) immortality conferred by Pindar’s poetry.

The gift of immortality is impossible to reciprocate, which makes Pindar’s munificence unsurpassable. From a position of relative inferiority (as a debtor in arrears) Pindar rapidly moves on to one of unmatched, almost god-like superiority qua purveyor of immortality. In so doing, he is able subtly to convert the mundane reality of contractual monetary obligation (for which cf. I. 2.1–11 with Kurke 2003 [1991] 208–22) from a ‘disembedded’ activity (in Polanyi’s terminology, an activity not integrated in social relationships and not subject to social control) into an ‘embedded’ one, insofar as it embodies the aristocratic ethics of munificent rivalry.

Lima de Arruda, Maria Ozana (São Paulo)  Panel: Latin Poetry

The limits of nature in Propertius’ Recusationes

This paper has the purpose of reading poems of the main poets of Augustus’ period in which is very clear the recusatio, focusing on the justification of the poet to select a theme instead of other. We can see that the conception that if the poet writes about something else, he will be writing against his nature, is a recurrent justification in Propertius’ poetry (2.1 and 3.1, e.g.) and hardly ever, the same topic shows up in other poets’ works. The same notion is shown in other writers, as Horace in Ars poetica, for example, but it seems to acquire a specific function in Roman love elegy, working as a device to build the fides of the poet’s persona. By stating that he cannot write in different genres nor using themes besides love, because that is out of his nature, this poet brings in his discourse the question of the natural talent to write a certain type of poetry, the love elegy, against which he doesn’t have strength to fight back. This argument makes the discourse of recusatio even more credible, because its usage gives credit to elegiac poet. We must pay attention that the notion and argumentation don’t turn this text, necessarily, into a biographical text or an author’s observation, but it is a link between the elements that build the poetic persona who is present in the elegy.
The spice of life: on the pleasures and pitfalls of expanding pedagogy

Following on from doctoral research into the status quo in UK university Latin teaching and the benefits and challenges of using Latin as means of communication within and outside the classroom (Lloyd, 2016), this paper reports on the lived experience of attempting to put the implications of that work into practice in both a UK GCSE Latin teaching environment, and as part of a UK university ab initio Latin course. It highlights the contrasting constraints of each context and the implications for the successful introduction of a wider variety of teaching approaches, including those that incorporate communicative activities, into classroom settings. These experiences are illuminated through the consideration of theoretical perspectives on language learning. The paper demonstrates the desirability of a more eclectic approach to Latin teaching, while acknowledging the sometimes painful process of introducing change.

Loddo, Laura (Aix–Marseille/Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica)  Panel: Social Mobility*

Forced migrations and social mobility: some remarks about the ordinary life of refugees in Classical Athens

Immigration as a factor of social mobility in classical Athens is a topic that has hitherto been underestimated, both because of the nature of ancient sources, conveying very little information in this regard, and the prevailing view in modern studies that the Athenian society in the Classical age was characterized by a substantial immobility and by the very absence of relevant changes in its structure.

However, Athenian policies for the reception of exiles and political refugees encourage reconsidering this assumption. This paper aims to investigate the relation between spatial mobility and social mobility of those political refugees who chose Athens as a place of refuge. This probably represented the culmination of the social process through which an individual reached his full potential: from the condition of refugee who, obliged to leave his homeland, went to Athens as a suppliant in search for refuge and protection, to that of citizen of one of the most powerful city in the Mediterranean.

Therefore, it seems of most interest to study the vicissitudes of some groups of political refugees (Plataians, Thasians, Acarnanians) and, when possible, of individual refugees, for whom the sources provide us a picture of their social progress, i.e. an improvement of their economic conditions and social recognition. Political refugees were considered by the Athenians a ‘human capital’ of which they could take advantage both in the international relations and in the internal political debate: on the one hand, refugees who lost everything because of their support to Athens were publicly praised as benefactors of the Athenians in order to show gratitude towards loyal allies; on the other hand, the Athenian tendency to praise refugees’ contribution towards the community, in terms of competences, occupational skills and acts of generosity, contributed to facilitate the integration of newcomers in the Athenian social structure.

Loy, Michael (Cambridge)  Panel: Archaic East Aegean

Ionia and the Aegean: issues of sameness and distinctness

Throughout the 7th and 6th centuries BC, Ionia communicated variously with the Aegean. As new alliances, rivalries, and exchange networks were forged...
between and across these two areas, new types of material culture were created. In producing these new objects, various communities at various times chose to share styles and forms with their neighbours: a phenomenon which can help us understand the intensity, directionality, and chronology of contact between Ionia and the Aegean. Sameness and distinctness, in particular, were consciously crafted into the material record, and they signal to us how far regions chose to associate themselves with or distance themselves from one another.

In this paper, I will use formal network analysis and applied statistical methods on large cross-regional assemblages of the Archaic period. The aim is first to identify continuities and discontinuities in the material record; and then to think about how sameness and distinctness might be accounted for—how issues of identity, mobility, and political networking might variously be indicated. By looking for sameness and distinctness in this way, I will thus attempt to shed new light on the socio-cultural histories of both Ionia and the Aegean, and on the ways these regions conceptualised one another.

MacDonald, Ruth (Royal Holloway)  
Panel: Beyond the Author/Body/Text*

Metamorphosis and materialism: Classical reception and feminist theory in Gwyneth Lewis’s A Hospital Odyssey

The work of authors such as Jo Shapcott (Of Mutability, 2010) and Ali Smith (Girl Meets Boy, 2007) often delves concerns regarding the status and significance of the body in relation to twenty-first-century subjectivities. As such, it should come as no surprise that Ovid’s Metamorphoses, with its focus on corporeal transformations, has a particular affinity with women writers in our contemporary moment. This paper will explore the ways in which female authors’ engagements with Ovid intersect with contemporary feminist philosophies concerning materialism and embodiment. I will focus in particular on the ways in which the Ovidian transformative impulse pervades Gwyneth Lewis’s A Hospital Odyssey (2010), a modern epic best characterised as a creative exploration of cancer and cancer treatment which provocatively confronts the prospect of sickness and dying. Throughout her poem, Lewis can be seen to celebrate the body in all its manifestations: her characters mutate and metamorphose, their cells proliferate. In presenting the mutability of the body, even the sick body, as an almost miraculous phenomenon, Lewis can be seen to advocate for increasingly inclusive and nuanced modes of articulating contemporary subjectivities that are fluid, non-unitary and situated within an intersubjective and material world. In adopting an approach which is very much in line with the current materialist turn in feminist theory, Lewis provokes us to engage with both contemporary philosophies and ancient texts. I argue that reading women’s acts of classical reception and feminist philosophy together allows for a vital interchange of ideas, creating points of contact, exchange and tension. What is more, such considerations of the intersection between women’s writing and contemporary theories of embodiment make space for engagement with the political, ethical and artistic considerations of thinking about classics and classical reception today.

MacLachlan, Rosalind (Cambridge)  
Panel: Choosing Texts

Epitome and enchiridion: summarising bodies of thought

Augustine’s Enchiridion is a ‘handbook’ written c.420 CE for one Laurentius: ‘Your desire, as you wrote, to have from me a book, a sort of enchiridion, as it might be called—something to have ‘at hand’—that deals with your questions.’ The recipient requires easy-to-recall arguments to use in debate. The work’s rhetoric of brevity and convenience and its drive towards an easier-to-remember version place it consciously among works self-identifying as epitomes. References to where key subjects are discussed at length in Augustine’s other works attach it to Augustine’s wider output and contrast large original with short epitome. The Enchiridion offers an interesting example of the epitomator’s self-
presentation, especially since it is by a Christian writer in a work that at times contrasts its Christian subject with classical culture. The authorship by a well-known and preserved writer allows it to be set in the context of his other writings and general career and it forms a particularly useful comparison to other such epitomes of a writer’s own work.

The Enchiridion sets out Augustine’s ideas on ‘the proper way of serving God’ and forms a short treatise On Faith, Hope and Charity, as it is designated at the end of the work. It is thus not an epitome of a particular text but rather a summary of a body of thought. In this it is comparable to the summaries of his philosophy found in the three Letters of Epicurus, preserved in the work of Diogenes Laertius, which are amongst the earliest surviving works to describe themselves as epitomes. How these two movements, collecting together thought and dismembering text, can both exist in epitomes is a thorny issue in considering their ideology which this paper attempts to grasp from the distinctive standpoint of the Enchiridion.

Mac Sweeney, Naoise (Leicester) Panel: Thinking about Fragments*

Pieces: the fragments of Hecataeus as an archaeological assemblage

Archaeology is, amongst other things, a science of fragments. The idea of the assemblage—the gathering of many smaller fragments into a larger ‘whole’—is one that has proved vital for the study of ancient material culture. In this paper, I apply methods and approaches based on the archaeological analyses of assemblages to literary fragments, specifically to the 273 or so fragments which survive from the works of Hecataeus. Hecataeus, active in the mid-sixth century and based at Miletus in Asia Minor, is known for both geographic and mythographic writings, and in antiquity was recognised as being hugely influential, in particular for his role in the development of historiography and as a predecessor of Herodotus. Furthermore, Hecataeus was implicated in the philosophical and political movements of the time, and his fragments are some of the earliest works in Greek prose to survive in any quantity. Analysis of these fragments with traditional methods has led to important insights and discoveries, but in this paper I argue that yet more can be learned by adopting an assemblage approach.

Minerva: Translating Classics for a New Generation of Readers

See also ‘Poetry in Performance’ in section 5, ‘Workshops’.

Minerva, a newly founded online journal for Classical translation, was born out of a desire to close a perceived gap in the world of Classics. There is, it seems, a wide gulf between the Classics of popular culture, such as abridged tales for an amateur audience, and the heavily annotated academic texts one confronts when approaching the Classics in a more concerted way. However, it is these readable texts and renderings that serve as an initiation into the subject; on that account, Minerva seeks to strike a compromise between the academic and the approachable, and so to be of interest to a wider audience. For the same reason, Minerva is easily accessible online and will continue to be so. With that same spirit in mind, and eager to put the skills of our multilingual editorial team to use, we accept translations from and into a variety of languages. Our contributors, too, come from a wide array of fields, including seasoned academics, under- and postgraduate students as well as schoolteachers.

Minerva recognises that the role of the translator is a nebulous one, demanding long consideration of authenticity, faithfulness, style, and inherent bias. Translations may alternatively be viewed as mere mouthpieces or artworks in and of themselves, and our paper will illuminate how we sought to resolve these divergent standpoints. Minerva does not seek to provide a definitive answer, but rather to present varied approaches to this question. By presenting pieces on a shared theme, we also gain unique insight into the mind of the translator and prominent literary and cultural associations therein.

In summary, this paper will seek to delve into the dynamics of literary translation for a diverse twenty-first-century audience and to provide insight into our developing working methodology.

Maltagliati, Giulia (Royal Holloway) Panel: Paradoigmata & Persuasion*

Persuading by historical example: the functions of paradoigmata in public forensic speeches

Cognitive studies have proved that the usage of a historical example is useful in all the phases of decision-making: definition of the problem, assessment of options, but also legitimization of choices (Vertzberger 1986). Historical examples are thus frequently recalled by policymakers during crises in order to determine a viable strategy and persuade their citizens of the feasibility of their policy (Khong 1992). Meanwhile, analogical reasoning also underlies case-based legal reasoning
Maltby, Mark (Bournemouth) Panel: Ecology, Environment & Empire*
Respondent
Please see panel abstract in section 1.

Mancuso, Sabrina (Tübingen) Panel: Rape Narratives

Κερκίδος φωνή: Philomela and the use of the shuttle in Sophocles’ Tereus

In Sophocles’ Tereus, Philomela, after having undergone a rape and a glossectomy by Tereus, communicates this to Procris by weaving. According to Aristotle (Poet. 1454b36), the ‘voice of the shuttle’ (fr. 595 Radt), by which Philomela informs Procris of Tereus’ crime, contained a written message and was developed by Sophocles. The aim of this paper is to show how Philomela’s weaving, which serves as a recognition strategy, has a double function. On the one hand, it represents a tableau of horror. On the other hand, it can be considered as a message to be read; one which holds the contradiction between violence and pleasure of the text. The descent from language into weaving becomes a feminine ‘unveilling’, which transforms feminine helplessness into action. These elements aim to create a symbolic network, which allows the contrast between the Athenian women and the barbaric Tereus to be interpreted as a contrast between civilisation of writing and enemies of writing. The central tenet of the story is the contrast between the barbaric Tereus, who attacks Philomela through her tongue, and Philomela herself, who shows the truth by the only weapon—besides eloquence—with which Athenian women are endowed: that is, efficiency in weaving.

Manning, Laura (Kentucky) Panel: The Virtue of Variety*

Varium et mutabile: rethinking the Latin curriculum

Due to a number of factors, enrolments in Latin programs are dwindling. Responding to this problem, a small and committed group of teachers has started a grassroots movement in some American schools, with the stated goal of teaching Latin and vernacular languages via more active teaching methods. The implementation of these methods has seen varying degrees of success. This paper describes the state of the current movement in America, some of the methods that are being tried, and how these methods are received and perceived overall in American schools.

In this paper, I posit that change in teaching methods alone will not be sufficient to promote the sort of lasting transformation that will be necessary to sustain our discipline through the current crisis, let alone into the coming millennium and beyond. Education theorists from Dewey (1916) to Eisner (2005), have addressed the questions of what curriculum means—and whom it serves. Theoretical changes, however, are slow to make their way to the classroom. Meanwhile, some educators have begun to equate curriculum with textbook series, while others conflate curriculum with second language acquisition terminology. As a result, teachers are hard-pressed to explain just what curriculum means, and are often unprepared to design curriculum for their schools. In the current climate, our profession has both opportunity and obligation to redesign the Latin curriculum, both to appeal to students, and to promote the value of Classics for an educated citizenry.

Manuwald, Gesine (University College London) Panel: Teaching Rhetoric*

Teaching Roman oratory

This talk will illustrate ways of teaching selections of Cicero’s speeches to undergraduates and postgraduates on various types of Classics degrees. At this level, most students will have heard of Cicero and some will have studied some of his texts in the original language, though generally with an emphasis on language and linguistics. Therefore, looking at Cicero’s speeches as oratorical works in their own right, analysing the rhetorical features (Carpenter 2016). Ancient rhetoricians acknowledged this cognitive operation of paradeigma, describing the latter as past events, which, by virtue of their similarity to the current situation, can be used for making a point more evident (Arist. Rhet. 1430a6–12, Rhet. to Alex. 1429a22–8).

Scholars have paid attention to the usage of paradeigma in Attic Oratory (Grethlein 2010; Steinbock 2013), and have debated the presence of precedents in forensic speeches (Lanni 1999; Rubinstein 2007; Harris 2013). This paper will examine the functions of paradeigma in public forensic speeches, delivered for those cases which were felt to affect the interests of the whole society. I will argue that paradeigma work cognitively, appealing to the Athenians’ rationality (logos), emotions (pathos), and to their perceived national character (ethos). I shall use a prosecution and a defence speech (Aesch. 3, Dem. 18) in order to demonstrate how these logical, emotional, and ‘ethical’ components may promote the jurors’ acceptance of historical examples which are not necessarily relevant for the case at stake, but are nevertheless presented as such. I will also show that the orators often highlight the inappropriateness of the analogy proposed by their adversary. Finally, I will demonstrate that there are similarities in the ways in which paradeigma are deployed in public forensic speeches and in deliberative oratory.
and argumentative strategies in their historical and political context is often an eye-opener for students: they get interested in texts of a literary genre that they might not have regarded as particularly exciting previously, and they start making comparisons with statements of contemporary politicians and becoming more critical readers.

Drawing on the experience of actual classroom settings, this paper will consider potential challenges of introducing students to Roman oratory and ways to overcome those, address the principles of selection of material for a syllabus that is coherent and intriguing, discuss teaching techniques and a variety of approaches for reading Cicero’s speeches in the original or in translation as well as on undergraduate and on postgraduate level, reflect on links between the teacher’s own research and the content of the modules as well as demonstrate opportunities for a variety of assessment techniques. The presentation of this material will open up discussion of how reading Cicero’s speeches with students at all levels can form a meaningful part of their education and skills development.

Mari, Francesco (Freie U., Berlin)  Panel: Social & Spatial Mobility*

Singers on the move: the experience of poets and performers

This paper focuses on poetic mobility throughout the Greek world down to the middle of the fifth century BC. The aim of the enquiry is to ascertain the importance of a singer’s social promotion as a reason for traveling, and to account for the different forms that this social promotion could take. Under the term ‘singers’ I shall comprehend the two overlapping categories of the poets performing their own compositions and the rhapsodes interpreting pieces from the traditional repertory.

Although sparse, the evidence leaves few doubts about the internationalism of such figures who—since the Homeric epics (Od. 17.380–91)—are described as ‘craftsmen’ from abroad. To many extents, this description perfectly matches with our (unsure) information on the life of poets such as Thaletas of Gortyn and Terpander of Lesbos (whose poetic activity centered in Sparta), or Ibycus of Rhegium and Anacreon of Teos (both active at Polycrates’ court in Samos). As to Simonides of Ceos, he spent time at courts in both Greece and Sicily, like Pindar and Bacchylides are likely to have done as well. Through their technē, singers could secure the glory of a patron or contribute to shaping a community’s identity. In exchange, some would ask for payment (the pseudo-Herodotean Life, ch. 12, attributes such request to Homer himself), while most would seek fame for themselves. In fact, since most singers already were members of local elites, the pursuit of fame might have been a more powerful drive than commissions. Indeed, similar men would travel for several reasons (e.g. exile or desire for knowledge), not necessarily related to their activity as performers but providing them with occasions to perform in symposia, courts, and festivals. The renown they might draw from such activity had little to envy to a chariot-race victory, and certainly lasted for longer.

Martin, Paul (Exeter)  Panel: Lucian at Play*

Lucian’s fishy apology and the tradition of mocking philosophers

In this paper, I consider how Lucian’s use of the satirical tradition affects our understanding of The Fisherman. This text frames itself as a defence of one of Lucian’s earlier works, in which Zeus and Hermes sold off representatives of different philosophical schools to the highest bidder. In the Fisherman, therefore, many of the slandered philosophers return from the dead to bring a charge against him. Lucian’s defence, through the mouthpiece of Parrhesiades, hinges upon one important distinction, that between the founders of philosophical schools and their degenerate inheritors, ‘the philosophers nowadays’. Parrhesiades adamantly claims to be a benefactor of the former and a critic of the latter. This paper, then, considers the legitimacy of this distinction: are we supposed to believe Parrhesiades and accept that Plato and his ilk were unequivocally superior to their modern-day counterparts?

No. I argue that, by appreciating Lucian’s use of Athenian comedy in this work, Parrhesiades’ distinction between philosophers past and present collapses. Not only do we find in the Fisherman reminiscences of Eupolis’ Demes and Aristophanes’ Acharnians, but Philosophy, who acts as judge for the trial, reminds Plato that she never grew angry when Comedy mocked her during the festival of Dionysus. On the one hand, these evocations of comic satire invite us to situate the Fisherman within a tradition of philosophical satire. In particular, I shall outline how Lucian draws on already well-developed comic tropes in his portrayal of Imperial philosophers. On the other, instead of a clear division between good/old and bad/recent philosophers, it would in fact appear that Lucian’s contemporaries inherited more than just philosophical dogma from their schools’ foundational figures.

Massimo, Davide (Sapienza U. of Rome)  Panel: Plato’s Characters

Epitaph on a tyrant: the epigram for Dion’s death ascribed to Plato

The Greek Anthology transmits an epitaph for Dion, tyrant of Syracuse, in the form of a six-line epigram (AP 7.99) which is curiously ascribed to the philosopher Plato.
The poem, though very short due to the epigrammatic form, is extremely interesting in many aspects. The first striking feature is the ascription to Plato. There are about 20 epigrams ascribed to the philosopher, none of which is now believed to be authentic because of their content and style, which are clearly Hellenistic or at least post-classical. These epigrams seem to have been ascribed to Plato in different moments and for various reasons. In some cases, deliberate forgery cannot be excluded: that is the case with the mysterious Aristippus mentioned by Diogenes Laerterius, who is the source of some of the epigrams and could be responsible for some forgeries. In the case of Dion’s epitaph, however, things are complicated by Plato’s Epistle 7, which deals with the political history of the tyrant. The content and the style are likewise interesting. The poem mourns the tyrant’s broken dreams of glory, which were shattered by his premature death. While the mention of Hecuba and the Trojan women gives the epitaph a solemn Homeric colour, other features resemble some epitaphs for untimely deaths. It is hard to say to which period this epigram belongs. It may well date back to the period of Dion’s death (353 BCE), but it may as well be Hellenistic product with an epic style. The last line could be an interpolation: a pre-existing epitaph for Dion may have been changed in the last line in order to strengthen rumours of a love story between the tyrant and the philosopher. These features make the epitaph an intriguing text, which still has to be fully investigated.

In this paper I focus on two main examples: (1) The so-called ‘Livre d’écolier’ (Cairo, Egyptian Museum JdE 65445), a school handbook on papyrus containing exercises of different levels, including epigrams mentioning Arsinoe and Ptolemy; (2) O. Edfu III 326, a potsherd from the temple town of Edfu, in which a line from Euripides’ Phoenissae is combined with other verses to form what appears to be an invocation of the local god Horus.

Starting from a reconsideration of textual and contextual aspects of these two witnesses, I will explore a more general tendency of Greek education in Ptolemaic Egypt, namely the combination of ‘global’, ‘atemporal’ Greek elements with aspects more strictly rooted into that specific geographical setting. The identification of these aspects challenges the allegedly ‘frozen’ character of Greek education in the Hellenistic period, and shows that while there is no evidence of a ‘state education’ in Egypt, schooling practices were in line with the cultural and religious agendas of the Ptolemies.

Meisl, Ricarda (Cambridge)  Panel: Women & War II

The trials of homecoming? Soldiers and the end of war in 5th-century BCE Athens

When in 1995 Jonathan Shay published his revolutionary Achilles in Vietnam, comparing the experience of modern-day soldiers with Homer’s depiction of Achilles, it promoted a re-evaluation of the way violence and war were researched and conceptualised for the Ancient World. Shay’s second book, Odysseus in America, which focuses on soldiers after wars end and the ‘trials of homecoming’, however, was largely ignored by the scholarship. With the focus strongly on Trauma and PTSD, the social and cultural complex of the return home disappeared into the background.

This paper therefore seeks to investigate what homecoming meant and entailed in 5th-century BCE Athens and especially the treatment of this event within tragedy. Various accounts of modern-day soldiers illustrate the struggle faced when returning home, trying to reconcile the dissociation between warrior and civilian. The paper will argue that theatre played an important part in re-integrating soldiers into a community, in the same way various modern-day projects have shown that theatre is extremely beneficial veterans in processing their experience. Shay himself terms tragedy in his Odysseus in America as something written, performed and watched by veterans, which would allow us a unique glimpse into their experience of war. The paper will closely analyse instances within selected tragic plays to showcase how soldiers return home, the ways these homecomings are illustrated and what effect they would have had on an audience of veterans. Additionally, and with the help of recent theories on the perception of violence, the paper will analyse individual homecoming scenes to define more broadly what it meant to return to civilian life after war in 5th-century BCE Athens and how and if that homecoming differed from modern experiences.
Saturn’s identity crisis: Augustine, Saturn, and Romanisation in North Africa

During the Roman period, Saturn held a uniquely revered position in North African religion. Not only was Saturn the Roman successor to the Carthaginian supreme deity Ba’al Hammon, but in the extensive process of religious syncretism that took place in Roman Africa, Saturn came to be associated with a breadth of powers and divine identities, including those of Pluto, Neptune, and Jupiter. However, pluralism did not sit well with Augustine. His vision of Christian monotheism demanded unity of interpretation, and he applied this standard to paganism in the *City of God* and *De Consensus Evangelistarum*. Augustine’s understanding of Roman syncretism assumes that the complete assimilation of the identity of Ba’al Hammon and Saturn. Therefore, he frames the clash between Jupiter and Saturn in Roman myth as deeply problematic for Saturn’s identity as practiced in North Africa. I argue that Augustine’s demand for universal truth, his affinity for Roman culture, and his mastery of the Latin language marginalised the pluralism of African religion and denies African communities the agency to interpret divine identity.

Scholarship on the identity of Saturn in North Africa has focused predominantly on epigraphic evidence. There is little attention to exploring Augustine’s testimony with the intellectual framework created by O. Le Glay and others, apart from unnuanced efforts to use Augustine as empirical evidence. Augustine’s approach to Saturn and divine identity is novel but overtly hostile, making it difficult to draw firm conclusions about pagan practice. Yet Augustine’s reinterpretation of Saturn does offer a 5th-century perspective on how Christian monotheism changed thinking about divine authority, and the complex conflict between Roman and African religious identities.

Demosthenes’ nightingale: understanding Demosthenes’ use of the Procne and Philomela myth within the context of Athenian attitudes towards sexual assault

This paper will demonstrate that Demosthenes’ ability to present the myth of Procone and Philomela in a way that appears in contrast with its image elsewhere is influenced by attitudes present in the democratic Athenian ideology. The myth itself was popular amongst ancient writers working in multiple genres; it tells the story of two sisters who feed Procone’s son to his father Tereus as an act of revenge after Tereus rapes Philomela. In a unique interpretation of events, however, Demosthenes raises up these women as examples of courage in the face of *hybris* to which the Athenian soldiers should aspire (Dem.
Mitchell, Hannah (Oxford)  Panel: Novelty & Commemoration

Aristocratic memorialisation of victory in the Civil Wars: L. Cornificius and his elephant

Cassius Dio preserves an unusual anecdote about L. Cornificius, the friend of the young Caesar who fought for him in the Sicilian war against Sextus Pompeius in 36 BCE. Cornificius was apparently so proud of having saved his soldiers from capture in this war that he always thereafter had himself conveyed to dinner parties on the back of an elephant (Dio 49.7.6). Dio does not explain the reasoning behind the choice of the elephant, leading some scholars to infer that it was in fact related rather to Cornificius’ triumph ex Africa, celebrated in 33 BCE. Whichever event the elephant commemorated, it was an unusual honour. It perpetuated Cornificius’ military glory through the repeated performance of a spectacular procession through the city of Rome. This was not the only commemoration of Cornificius’ military successes; after his triumph he rebuilt the famous Temple of Diana on the Aventine.

The civil wars encouraged a growth in new forms of the commemoration of victory. These innovations were not only related to the Triumvirs or their chief opponents. After the Sicilian War, Agrippa received the unusual honour of a naval crown; after Actium he received a naval banner. Others too looked for ways in which to stand out from the crowd. T. Statilius Taurus built Rome’s first stone amphitheatre, while C. Asinius Pollio built Rome’s first public Greek and Latin libraries. All of these examples demonstrate a concern with public recognition of victory not just through the medium of the triumph and associated public building, but also through the adaptation of commemoration in novel ways. In the crowded and competitive field of civil war fighting, aristocrats went to extraordinary lengths to establish and perpetuate their fame.

Mitchell, Jill (independent scholar)  Panel: Religion in the Later Roman Empire

‘I die as I have lived’: pagan death and funeral practices in late fourth-century Rome

There has much been written about Christian death and burial in the Late Antiquity period, but much less about pagan death practices at this time. There were still, however, practising pagans in late fourth-century Rome and elsewhere whose funeral rites reflected the traditional ones of the Roman religious past. One of the most important of these individuals was Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, c.340–402 CE, aristocrat, orator, letter writer and politician. Although no written evidence has survived regarding Symmachus’ death and funeral rites, it is possible to analyse what these rituals might have been by looking both at the traditional components associated with the funerals of Rome’s polytheistic elite, and from other evidence contemporaneous with Symmachus.

This paper, then, sets out to examine and explore what the ceremonies relating to a pagan, elite death in Rome in 402 CE might have consisted of, utilising Symmachus as an example; and using a variety of original evidence, written, literary and iconographic to establish these. Where appropriate some of the aristocrat’s own letters are used. Symmachus was a dyed-in-the-wool pagan to the end of his life and his funeral rites would undoubtedly have reflected this, as the quotation in the title given for this proposed paper states. While it is important to examine Christian death and funeral practices at the end of the fourth century, it is equally important to demonstrate that there were still traditional Roman religious ceremonies being used to celebrate and commemorate the death of those who did not yet accept Christianity.

Mollea, Simone (Warwick)  Panel: Praising Roman Leaders

Building a new society in the spirit of humanitas: Pliny the Younger’s Panegyricus to Trajan

Existing studies of the semantics of humanitas in Pliny the Younger are usually concerned to distinguish instances where humanitas means paideia from those in which it suggests philanthropia (cf. Aulus Gellius’ discussion of humanitas at Noctes Atticae 13.17). As a result of this rather mechanical approach, scholars fail to appreciate the intricacies of the message that Pliny seeks to convey through this versatile concept. Indeed, it is my contention that Pliny mainly relied on humanitas to revive Rome’s glorious past after the sad years of Domitian’s reign. This emerges clearly from Pliny’s Panegyricus, which is—surprisingly—often neglected in favour of the Epistulae in scholars’ discussions of Plinian humanitas. Humanitas plays a key role right from the start of the Panegyricus, becoming an ethical, political, social and cultural concept in opposition, for instance, to divinitas and superbia, which are represented as prerogatives of Trajan’s predecessor Domitian. Pliny thus reinvests humanitas with its Ciceronian connotations of a kind of education and culture that is not to be taken as an end itself, but as a means to become a better man who is aware of his human condition and therefore behaves more gently towards other human beings. In this sense, paideia and philanthropia, far from operating straightforwardly in opposition to one another, become two sides of the same coin. But it is precisely in reviving humanitas as a Ciceronian—that is, Republican—ideal, and in attributing it to Trajan, that Pliny suggests ways in which the new emperor would, or better should, rule like a man among men, in striking contrast with his predecessor Domitian.
Monti, Giustina (Oxford)  Panel: Greek
Historiography

Polybius the philosopher of (universal) history

In his preamble to the Histories, Polybius draws a clear-cut demarcation line between different methods and approaches of doing and writing history with regard to the topic’s choice: there are histories dealing with only one topic, one war or one character, which he defines as histories κατὰ μέρος (‘by single topic’), and universal history, a kind of history that no one of his contemporaries has ever written.

In this paper, I shall examine an excerpt where Polybius reflects that historians who write what might be described as monographic history are extremely far from truth and similar to people who dream (1.4.7–10): Polybius nestles this statement in a crucial theoretical exposition on the importance of history at the beginning of his work, in a passage studded with philosophical terminology. Thus, focusing on the use of ὑπερφωνεῖν and ἀπολέιναι, I shall try to show that he might refer to the contrast between ‘awake’ and ‘asleep’ people which had been theorized by Heraclitus, whose work Polybius knew, as demonstrated by his reference to the philosopher in two points of the Histories we now have (4.40.3; 12.27.1), where the historian is reflecting upon historical methodologies and on what might be the most useful to the historical truth.

Moreover, I shall highlight that he adds a detail, missing in Heraclitus’ fragments, but present in another philosopher (Plato), which is the action of gaining consciousness of their status as ‘asleep’ people. Finally, I shall treat the verb ὑπερφωνεῖν as a joining link to demonstrate Polybius’ ability to engage with all preceding literature and research, both philosophical and historical, and I shall underline that as his philosophy of history is universal, so is the reader expected to be endowed with the same capability of an overall view.

Montoya, Rubén (Leicester)  Panel: Rethinking the Boundaries*

Glocalization, identities and provincial art: tessellated pavements and sculpted stones from Hispania Baetica

Over the period in which Rome increased its presence in the provinces, artistic local practices experienced substantial change: from the initial introduction of paintings, sculptures and mosaics—and their iconographies—to their global and generalized appearance indicated by the archaeological record. Such connected practices and visual koine, present all over the Empire across different media, social groups and geographies, have recently been rethought beyond the existence of conceptual and physical boundaries (Scott and Webster 2003; Alcock, Egri and Jackes 2017). Where evidence was previously interpreted under the paradigm of ‘Romanization’, there is increasing interest in how new forms of local identities emerged as a result of the different processes which took place in different parts of the Roman Empire (Gardner 2013: 7).

By focusing on the Hispano-Roman province of Baetica, this paper argues that the conceptual framework of glocalization can provide further insights in the role of individuals in the creation of new regional and local identities. Therefore, this study investigates the display of tessellated pavements and sculptural remains from urban and rural contexts. Instead of presenting a homogeneous top-down process, special attention is paid to the local elements of a globalized practice and visual koine, finally highlighting their heterogeneity in a provincial territory at the edge of the Empire (Van Alten 2017).

Morrell, Kit (Sydney)  Panel: The Rule of Law in Rome*

Cato and the rule of law

After his contemporary Cicero, the younger M. Porcius Cato provides perhaps the best Late Republican case study of an individual’s attitude to what we would call the ‘rule of law’. Indeed, the historical tradition ascribes to Cato a number of statements and attitudes which resemble tenets of the modern doctrine of the ‘rule of law’. These include opposition to retroactivity, deference to laws of which he personally disapproved, and the sentiment that ‘the laws should not take security from Pompey, but Pompey from the laws’ (Plut. Cat. Min. 47.1). In addition, Cato cultivated a reputation as a law-abiding citizen, and strove to use his personal exemplum in this regard to induce others to obey the laws. Yet Cato also showed himself willing to break the letter of the law when he felt the public interest demanded it, while in 54 BCE Cato’s personal arbitrium seems to have been reckoned a better guarantee of legal conduct than ‘all the laws and all the jurors’ (Cic. Q. fr. 2.15.4). This paper examines Cato’s attitude to law in order to ask how far he and his contemporaries subscribed to an ideal of the rule of law, however imperfectly realised in practice, and to what extent that ideal aligns with our own.

Mortimer, Lottie (Cobham Free School)  Panel: Association for Latin Teaching*

Utilizing cognitive science to improve vocabulary learning in Key Stage 3 Latin

Despite regular vocabulary homework and testing at the end of every stage of the Cambridge Latin Course (CLC), my key stage 3 Latin assessments revealed that overall my students’ Latin vocabulary knowledge was very poor. In my school, a third of Year 9 students have decided to continue Latin for GCSE, the majority of them being lower to middle ability students with a third of the class being...
on the Special Educational Needs register for varying needs. Their lack of understanding of Latin vocabulary was impacting other areas of Latin learning and my students were spending too much time looking up vocabulary that they did not feel confident about. After attempting a variety of ‘quick-fix’ ways to improve their vocabulary knowledge I realized that I needed to overhaul the way my students learnt vocabulary, embedding it into my schemes of work from Year 7. Around this time I read Willingham’s Why Don’t Students Like School? (2009) which introduced me cognitive science. As I read, I learnt the science behind why my students were struggling. The CLC was developed in the 1970s using linguistic theory from cognitive scientist Noam Chomsky. However, over the last couple of decades, our understanding of how learning and the brain works has significantly improved but the UK edition of the CLC has remained the same since 1998. After reading more research about the theories surrounding working memory, cognitive load and retrieval practice, I decided to apply these basic principles to my schemes of work. This paper explores the changes that I made and the impact that they had on my students.

Mossman, Judith (Coventry) Panel: Locating Plutarch*

*Respondent

Please see panel abstract in section 1.

Mossman, Judith (Coventry) Panel: Lucian at Play with Genre & Tradition*

Lucian’s letters

The authenticity of the short work Sigma versus Tau has both been doubted in the past and, more recently, defended. This paper accepts the work’s authenticity and places it in the context of another playful discussion of the alphabet, upon which it argues Lucian may have drawn, namely Plutarch’s Table Talk 9. 2. Plutarch’s influence on Lucian has been shown elsewhere (e.g. similarities between Gryllus and Gallus); here too Plutarch may have provided some inspiration. Certainly, both works illustrate the lively attitude of writers of Greek under the Roman empire to the science of grammar. Both make good use of personification: Lucian’s in its satire of Atticism, and Plutarch’s in its attempt to ground the alphabet in linguistic naturalism. Both also manipulate literary forms to create humour in their different ways. Whether one should speak of influence or of a literary culture, it is intriguing to see two very different authors at play with the alphabet.

Muir, John (KCL) Panel: Renaissance Receptions

From Suleiman the Magnificent to Henry VIII: a journey through Renaissance Europe in ‘Classical’ Greek

In 1545 Andronikos, a Greek copyist working for the Spanish ambassador in Venice, joined a diplomatic mission sent by the Holy Roman Emperor to Suleiman the Magnificent in Constantinople. The negotiations were unsuccessful and the mission then reported to the Emperor in the Netherlands; he immediately sent the same personnel on another errand to the court of Henry VIII in London.

Andronikos went too and has left an account of his experiences. He travelled through Europe at a fascinating time: he saw some of the Italian Renaissance cities at their zenith, he was entertained in Trento by Catholic bishops starting to prepare the Council which would launch the Counter-Reformation, in Germany he experienced the fierce anti-Catholic zeal of newly developing Lutheranism, and he came to England in the last full year of Henry VIII’s reign. There he was mightily impressed by London, picked up many stories about the wicked monks and monasteries, and was curious about British beer-drinking—but he also seized a new opportunity. One of his countrymen, Thomas of Argos, had arrived in England with a Greek mercenary troop hired by the King for a raid on Scotland. Andronikos decided to join them and took part in a minor expedition. He stayed with the mercenaries then for a short campaign in France before making his way back to Italy.

The account of his travels that Andronikos wrote in three books under the pen-name of Nikander gives a vivid glimpse of parts of Europe and Britain in the sixteenth century through two very curious, lively and adventurous eyes. A real oddity is that Andronikos felt he should write, not in the Greek that he ordinarily spoke, but in his own version of ‘classical’ Greek—it makes for intriguing reading.

Neel, Jaclyn (Temple) Panel: Women & War I

Tarpeia and the ‘girl’s tragedy’

Tarpeia has long posed a puzzle to researchers, who have debated her status as a Vestal Virgin, the role of her exemplum in works of history and poetry, and even her periodization. Most scholarship is agreed that there were two co-existing myths: one in which Tarpeia attempted (but failed) to save Rome by double-crossing the Sabines, and another in which she attempted (but failed) to betray the city to the Sabine enemy (for a detailed examination of the various accounts, see Welch 2015). In this paper, I argue for a third tradition that disappeared over the course of the late Republic: a tradition in which Tarpeia was a warrior maiden with an erotic connection to Jupiter.

§3 Papers
Many literary accounts dating to the triumviral period indicate associations between Tarpeia and either Jupiter or military activity. In addition to the traditional account in which Tarpeia is the sole woman guarding the Capitoline citadel (Livy 1.11, Plut. Rom. 18), a Tarpeia appears among the companions of Camilla (Aen. 11.656–63, despite the doubts of Horsfall ad loc.), and she was considered a heroine by Piso (ap. Dion. Hal. 2.38–40); there are also substantial associations between Tarpeia and Jupiter (Aen. 8.652, Tarpeiae . . . arcis; Dion. Hal. 3.69.3; Prop. 4.4.29–30, uicina . . . loui). By comparing these allusions to broader themes in Roman mythology, specifically the ‘mother’s tragedy’ (Bremmer 1987; cf. Burkert 1979), I reconstruct the outlines of this lost tradition. My reconstruction unifies seemingly disparate elements within Tarpeia’s narrative.

Nethercut, Jason (South Florida) Panel: Tibullus beyond Elegy*

The Lucretian cosmos in Tibullus

Although some recent scholarship has focused on Lucretius’s influence on Roman elegy (e.g. O’Rourke, esp. 210–15), the topic remains understudied. This paper addresses this sizeable gap in the scholarly literature by arguing that thematic allusion to the De Rerum Natura features prominently in the elegies of Tibullus. More than mere ‘background noise,’ such allusion to Lucretius often functions to provide a philosophical orientation to Tibullan elegy.

After first detailing a typology of Tibullus’s allusion to Lucretius, I then focus on the two major ways that Tibullus engages the De Rerum Natura. First, Tibullus regularly alludes to Lucretian descriptions of nature and the universe in order to develop a cosmic setting for the amatory events of his poetry. Second, Tibullus engages with Lucretius’s harangue on the effects of love at the end of DRN 4. This type of allusion functions as oppositio in imitando, as Tibullus regularly calls Lucretius’s negative presentation to comment favorably on his own situation as amator.

My argument that Tibullus regularly alludes to Lucretius in order to provide a cosmic setting for the actions of the elegiac amator mirrors what scholars have seen in other Augustan poets’ reception of Lucretius, especially Vergil (Hardie 1986; Farrell; Gale), Horace (Harrison, 79–85; Hardie 2008) and Ovid (Due, 29–33; Hardie 1995). At the same time, Tibullus’s modulation of the Lucretian tirade against sex aligns closely with the strand of Lucretian reception that has been called ‘remythologization’ (Hardie 1986). Just as Vergil alludes to Lucretius in order to reassert the mythological worldview that Lucretius had deconstructed, so does Tibullus allude to Lucretius in order to reaffirm the value of the amatory life that Lucretius had derided. My analysis of Tibullus’s elegiac appropriation of Lucretius, therefore, corroborates and extends the status opinionis regarding the dynamics of Lucretius’s influence on subsequent Latin literature.

Newbold, Allison (Bishop Challoner School) Panel: Association for Latin Teaching*

Speaking and listening in the Classical languages classroom

This paper will evaluate the use made of a range of approaches in the classical language classroom with a particular focus on speaking and listening activities. As the sole Classics teacher, inheriting the department from a distinguished predecessor who used a high proportion of spoken and sung Latin, an opportunity was identified to make use of these existing approaches to language acquisition. Working with Modern Foreign Language (MFL) colleagues and drawing on experience of leading French clubs for primary schools and home education groups, resources have been developed to explore and support language acquisition and retention.

This work particularly addresses teaching for younger age groups, looking at the suitability of resources for the development of language in middle school with 9–13 year olds. The paper looks at this in context, considering questions such as ‘What is the purpose of developing this in the light of an exam system where written “English to Latin” skills are not required and there are no speaking or listening requirements?’ and ‘How can we make the most of a range of inputs to support the fluency, understanding and interest of our students?’

The methodology has involved supplementing rather than replacing the existing textbooks. Use has been made of Brando Brown Canem Vult (Brando Brown wants a dog) and Forum in increasing students’ exposure to spoken language, expecting some level of response in Latin together with other ways of showing understanding. There have also been opportunities to draw together strands across the range of languages taught in the school, connecting topics such as ‘weathor’ or ‘famly structure.’ In identifying key factors and points of interest through storytelling, games and illustration exercises through an increasing use of Latin in the classroom, it has been possible to set out approaches for consideration when using speaking and listening as part of the teaching of classical languages.

Newport, Lawrence (Royal Holloway) Paradeigmata & Persuasion*

Religious, legal and classical examples in Lord President Bradshaw’s summary at the trial of Charles I

After two long, bloody, civil wars, amid negotiations with Parliament, in 1648 King Charles I was seized by officials of the New Model Army. Following incarceration and the
purgung of all pro-monarchy MPs from the House of Commons, in January 1649 he was placed on trial on charges of treason (and tyranny) by a newly invented High Court of Justice, on the orders of the purged ‘Rump’ Parliament.

The trial itself never really began. All four days were concerned with urging Charles I to plead ‘Guilty’ or ‘Not Guilty’. He chose, instead, to attack the legitimacy of the court itself. The architects and advocates of the trial were therefore made aware that to persuade the greater English population they had to argue for its own legal legitimacy. After finding Charles guilty pro confesso (guilty in lieu of entering any plea) Lord President of the Court John Bradshaw addressed this challenge in the final, and most detailed, speech of the trial.

In this paper, I examine Bradshaw’s use of precedent. I argue that Bradshaw’s combination of Old Testament references, legal precedents and examples from classical historiographers follow a series of analogical proofs popular from the political works of early Protestant reformers and revolutionaries to the political works of James I (e.g. in his The Trew Law of Free Monarchies). I maintain that this range and combination of source material (from Tacitus to the Geneva Bible) is used to simultaneously cast Charles I as 1) a tyrant; 2) a tyrant and therefore a treasner/traitor; and 3) to establish that Kings can be judged by other magistrates. Finally, I argue that the rhetoric of Bradshaw’s speech can be appreciated better if seen as a combination of the forensic and deliberative genres. This is highlighted especially in his eclectic mix of religious, legal, and classical sources in his arguments from precedent.

Niccolai, Lea (Cambridge) Panel: Rhetoric & Education in Late Antiquity*

A very traditional syllabus? The classicising education of Julian’s pagan priest

The Letter to Theodorus (Ep. 89 Bidez–Cumont) represents a fundamental testimony of Emperor Julian’s struggle in organising his religious reform of the Roman Empire. Composed in Antioch towards the end of his rule, the Letter casts light on a series of pivotal questions related to Julian’s religious ideology, such as his perspective on theurgy and on the cult of images. In this context, the process of selection of the pagan clergy stands out as extremely pressing and challenging. Illustrating rights and duties of the priests, Julian takes the distance from previous attempts of reform and identifies his key strategy in the education of the pagan priest.

In my paper I will read the Letter’s proposals on the education of the clergy against the background of the contemporary education of the Christian priest. My aim is to show that some of the ambiguities emerging from Julian’s handling of the theme can be effectively read in the light of his contraposition to Christianity. In particular, the (bizarre) literary canon presented in the Letter as the most suitable for the education of priests reveals meaningful points of contact with Julian’s famous Rescript against the Christian Teachers, thus raising the question: did Julian conceive the rhetorical and formal approach to the ‘pillars’ of Greco-Roman culture as still compatible with the transformed exigencies of a widely Christianised empire? And, in particular, did Homer’s requalification as ‘pagan Scripture’ undermine, in his eyes, the value of traditional readings of his poems? Or was it rather the case that these traditional readings, serving as the starting point of a process of acquisition of intellectual autonomy, remained to him as a necessary prerequisite for the understanding of the ‘flaws’ of Christian reasoning? In this light, the relationship between rhetorical and religious education in Julian’s reform comes to be redefined also and especially as a question about context and function: although Julian certainly regarded himself as the main advocate of traditional paideia, the programme outlined in the Letter allows us to appreciate that he was also able to ‘covertly’ adapt tradition in order to preserve it.

Nicolosi, Serafina (Liverpool) Panel: Archaic Communities*

The role of women in the definition of identity in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural contexts according to Herodotus

In the wide and diverse spectrum of ethnographical digressions offered throughout his Histories, Herodotus bestows upon nomos the crucial function of defining identities and tracing cultural and ethnic boundaries between people. The importance Herodotus attaches to women’s role in this process is evident in the stories he tells. They hold a prominent position as educators within their households, preserving inherited customs, knowledge and behaviours. By passing them on to future generations, they significantly contribute to the creation and delineation of the character of a social group, transmitted on the level of the individual.

This process, and Herodotus’ view regarding it, is especially clear and revealing in contexts where different populations met and merged into communities that blended beliefs and habits of different origins. At Miletos, notably a place of encounter between Greeks and Carians, a singular custom observed by women is claimed by the historian as proof of the mixed Greek-Carian roots of Milesians. This is not an isolated case and several other Herodotean stories in colonial and non-colonial settings reflect the historian’s ideas regarding the female role in integrating individuals into communities of mixed heritage.

§3 Papers
This paper uses the Herodotean depiction of female influence in the shaping of identities in multi-cultural and multi-ethnic communities to elucidate both the actual conditions and the coeval perceptions of these communities. Taking as its main focus the city of Miletus, it makes comparisons with scenarios from Herodotus and other literary contemporary sources and archaeological evidence. It analyses the historian’s approach, with the purpose of assessing whether he applies a specific and coherent scheme of judgment. The results provide greater evidence for the definition of the complex ethnic and cultural identity of Miletus in the archaic period.

Nobbs, Alanna, & Elizabeth Stockdale (Macquarie)
Panel: Teaching the Classics
Teaching Latin online in an Open University framework
Macquarie University in Sydney is a member of a consortium of Australian universities offering online degrees to students worldwide. We were pleased to have the opportunity to offer Beginners’ Latin in this mode, but in doing so were presented with a few challenges which the paper will outline. In any online setting, the first problem is ensuring who actually does the work as it appears on the screen. Macquarie University currently uses ilearn, based on Moodle. Students receive pre-recorded lectures, customised for the course, and can (indeed must) share with the staff and fellow students on open forums. They can also participate via personal (and private) dialogue with staff.

At the outset, students are asked to identify themselves and say why they want to learn Latin, and what is their language background. This enables the lecturers to pinpoint the students’ probable strong and weak points. A particular sticking point occurs with the exam process, if, as we do, we do not wish to use ‘open book’ exams. This paper will outline our solutions to the problem, and will welcome discussion.

We believe this is a very valuable exercise as the Open University framework additionally enables students in distant parts of our large continent, people with or caring for those with disabilities, and those who travel frequently for work, to have an opportunity to learn Beginners Latin which would otherwise be unavailable.

Occhipinti, Egidia (independent scholar)  Panel: Greek Historiography
Herodotus and Thucydides: what awareness of contemporary events?
This proposal intends to explore the issue of awareness of contemporary events, especially of internal conflicts (staseis), through Herodotus’ and Thucydides’ Histories. It has been rightly noticed that Thucydides shows great interest in Greek conflicts (Gehrke 1985). Thucydides’ narrative offers to the reader an extraordinary set of staseis and prodosiai, happening in concomitance with external attacks, in which local interests are closely interwoven with those of the two hegemonic powers, Athens and Sparta. But in very few cases Thucydides deals with social-economic grounds of local revolutions (Thuc. 8.21; 5.4.2–4; 4.84.1–2 and 88.1–2; cf. Fisher 2000), and staseis are mostly seen as moments of conflict between demos/plethos and dynatoi/oligoi, whose social contexts are generally omitted or treated in a simplified way. Scholars explained this as a result of Thucydides’ political ‘ideology’ that would lead him to represent internal conflicts as seditions caused and fomented by contrasts of ideological nature. In coherence with his historiographical project and dealing with the biggest conflict ever—the Peloponnesian war—Thucydides is mainly concerned with finding oscillations between Athens and Sparta among their allies, and with clarifying the allies’ aligning with the one side or the other (Moggi 1999).

Conflicts in Herodotus are frequent, even though they are not portrayed in that crystallised form found in Thucydides, that is as conflicts between polloi and oligoi, the former being supporters of Athens and the latter of Sparta.

This paper will discuss events which both Herodotus and Thucydides report, or passages which seem to contain allusions to a shared set of historical memories.

Herodotus might be influenced by early happenings of the Peloponnesian war, and might know of the events that Thucydides went on to describe, seeing them in similar ways. Nevertheless, while speaking of stasis he is also thinking of the Thucydidean narrative as well? Does he know Thucydides’ own early versions, perhaps oral ones, of what would eventually become the Histories? (Cf. Hornblower 2010.)

Öhrman, Magdalena (Copenhagen)  Panel: Modes of Engagement with Textile Technology*
Better tech than the spiders: weaving metaphors in Christian Latin authors
This paper explores the appeal of textile metaphors for Christian authors in Late Antiquity, offering examples of frequently used metaphors of weaving in Christian Latin texts. Textile metaphors in Christian texts are connected to OT and NT passages, Christian rhetorical practice, and to the Roman ideal of the wool-working matrona.

Potamius of Lisbon describes the indivisible nature of the Trinity as just as tightly intertwined as the warp and weft of a weave. Potamius’ advanced technical knowledge of weaving is crucial for the stylistic and rhetorical
development of his theological argument. However, by explaining his weaving metaphors as a method of ensuring that his argument appeals to the women of the teitrinae, he places such knowledge in the context of professional, female expertise, ostensibly adhering to the demands for Christian discourse to resonate with audiences with varying degrees of education. Similarly, weaving appears as a per se morally neutral female professional activity in Cassiodorus Varus and Venantius Fortunatus.

Conversely, Christian development of the Roman ideal of wool-work as epitomising uxorial virtue marks weaving primarily as an optional but morally desirable activity for elite women. Famously, Jerome’s instructions to the noblewoman Laeta on her daughter’s education in textile work blend the Roman ideal of the wool-working woman with those of Christian asceticism, generating similarities not only in the activities deemed suitable but also in the modes of their display.

However, the moralistic connotations of weaving also have non-gender-specific scriptural foundations. Based on commentary in (and on) OT passages from Job and Isaiah, Latin references to the flimsy weaving of spiders for the life not underpinned by Christian faith become prominent from Ambrose and Jerome onward. Added to the productive metaphor complex centred on Christ as ‘the lamb of God’, this makes weaving metaphors particularly attractive in a wide range of Christian texts.

Oki, Takashi (Kyoto) Panel: Aristotle & Quotation Culture

Aristotle’s uses of ἐνεκά τοῦ and ὀὐ ἐνεκά

It is well known that teleological notions play important roles in Aristotle’s physics as well as in his ethics. In this paper, I consider how Aristotle employs ἐνεκά τοῦ and ὀὐ ἐνεκά in passages on chance from the Physics, and in passages on ignorance in action from the Nicomachean Ethics and the Eudemian Ethics. In doing so, I seek to clarify that Aristotle’s uses of the two terms in the Physics and in the Ethics are in harmony with each other, but not in the way previously thought.

I argue that ἐνεκά τοῦ in the texts should be taken to mean, as usual, ‘for the sake of something’, while criticizing Ross (1936), who takes ἐνεκά τοῦ in Aristotle’s discussion on chance in Physics B to mean ‘actually attaining something’, and ὀὐ ἐνεκά to mean a ‘result’ rather than a ‘goal’. I also criticize Lorenz’s (2015) view that ‘killing’ as a ‘goal’ of action is at issue in the ‘ignorance’ passages.

I explain that these scholars’ misinterpretations of ἐνεκά τοῦ and ὀὐ ἐνεκά are partly caused by their failure to see precisely that, in the ‘ignorance’ passages from the two Ethics, the ὀὐ ἐνεκά corresponds to ‘saving’ rather than to ‘killing’ (EN III.1 1111a5, EE II.9 1225b3–4), and to ‘grazing’ rather than to ‘wounding’ (EN V.8 1135b15–16). Ross is wrong in thinking (i) that the ὀὐ ἐνεκα in the texts corresponds to ‘killing’ and to ‘wounding’, and (ii) that the ὀὐ ἐνεκα in the texts should be taken to mean a ‘result’ rather than a ‘goal’. Criticizing Ross, Lorenz properly argues that (ii) is implausible. But Lorenz misleadingly accepts (i) when he claims that agents are considered to be ignorant that their actions are for ‘killing’ (or ‘wounding’) in the texts.

Ozbek, Leyla (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa) Panel: Greek Myth & Politics

Masterpieces in fragments: Aeschylus’ and Sophocles’ Niobe. Two extraordinary (and extraordinarily different) tragedies for the same myth

Recent research focuses on the importance of comparative studies of the staging of the same myth by different dramatists. As regards Niobe, scholars continue to focus on single tragedies without systematically comparing the different theatrical developments of the myth. The aim of this paper is to compare the radically different representations of this myth in the two fragmentary plays by Aeschylus and Sophocles, in order to shed light on authorial choices and audience expectations regarding it. In representing this myth, Aeschylus and Sophocles make very different (and radical) choices of plotting and staging, obtaining two extraordinary—both etymologically and metaphorically—theatrical results.

To enlighten these features, different media will be considered: textual fragments and testimonia; references by contemporary dramatists; visual evidence of the myth. Specific theatrical features or plotting skills will be examined in the light of recent theatrical and literary approaches to ancient drama (employed until now mainly on complete extant tragedies). These include the psychological characterisation of the dramatis personae, their levels of politeness, and the use of significant stage objects or props (e.g. the tomb and the veil in Aeschylus’ Niobe). Particular attention will be given to theatrical space, used very differently: the ‘scenic scantiness’ of Aeschylus’ Niobe (according to some scholars performed without skênê) is opposed, in Sophocles’ play, to the continue connection between different levels of the skênê, and between scenic and extrascenic space (for the killing of the sons, but especially for the killing of the daughters, both also reconsidered according to a new dispositio fragmentorum). The analysis of the artistic representations of the myth of Niobe (subject of a lively debate among scholars) will also be a fundamental part of this paper, in order to understand how the myth was conceptualised and developed, and how different authors have followed or modified it.
Padilla, Mark William (Christopher Newport U.)
Panel: Classical Reception I

Hannay polutropos: Homer’s Odyssey as source for Hitchcock’s The 39 Steps

In 1935, Alfred Hitchcock directed The 39 Steps, a breakout film, using a script written by Charles Bennett. This paper suggests, through internal evidence, that the filmmakers drew upon Homer’s Odyssey to develop many sequences and characters. The application of Homer’s epic to the film rests on echoes of Odysseus’ adventures, primarily those narrated to the Phaeacians, in the travels of Richard Hannay (Robert Donat), the wrong man protagonist from Canada who travels from London to Scotland and back again to London. The Homeric inspiration for the tale is found already in the adapted novel of John Buchan (1915), The Thirty-Nine [sic] Steps, an early spy yarn set in England. Buchan was an accomplished philologist trained in Glasgow and Oxford, and memorably visited Greece in 1910. One of his tutors remained his lifelong friend: Gilbert Murray (1866–1957), a Cambridge Ritualist. Hitchcock’s ‘wrong man’ pattern, where evil foreign intelligence agents seek to undermine British assets, resonates with Murray’s valorizing of an Olympian world order that nullifies the chaotic energies of the Chthonic sphere. Though Buchan’s novel lacks a romantic subplot, an element important for a successful feature film, Hitchcock and Bennett drew from the same Homeric well to develop the film’s female characters. For example, the spy, Anabella Smith, possess the traits of an Athena who sets the Hannay-as-Odysseus on his northern quest; the crofter episode weaves together elements from Odysseus’ encounter of Nausikaa and the Cattle of the Sun; and Hannay’s intrusion on Professor Jordan combines motifs from the hero’s adventures with Polyphemus and the Laestrygones, the latter with its monstrous women. Many other verbal and visual cues in the film also invite Homer more generally.

Pagkalos, Manolis E. (Leicester)
Panel: Identity In & Beyond the Polis*

From local to regional: approaching the ideological topoi of the Achaian koinon

Polybios, in the second book of the Histories, describes the formation of the Achaian League and its history which has a pivotal role both in his narrative and his aims. To establish the identity of the League, the Achaian historian portrays an ideal ‘first’ Achaian Koinon, the glorious precursor of the reborn Hellenistic Achaian Confederacy. For Polybios the reformed and expanded League was an ethnike sympoliteia (2.44.5) or, even more so, a single great polis (2.37.11); thus, moving from a local identity (Achaioi) to encompass a regional one (Achaian). In turn, this shared identity, due to its supposedly solid nature, is depicted again with a very specific locality, that of a polis. Polybios’ account presents a unified league with a shared identity. The League, in fact a political union of several Peloponnesian poleis, quickly became a very active player on the interstate level and managed to control the majority of Peloponnesos. Although a high degree of integration is quite visible in the 2nd century, its projection to earlier times conceals the fact that the League incorporated many non-Achaian poleis, Along these lines, the narration about a common democratic polity contrasts the fact that the leading officials—initially two strategoi, but from 255 only one—came from a handful of poleis, most of which had non-Achaian origins. The question then arises: is Polybios’ Achaian League a reality? Furthermore, if it is not, can we explore the reasons behind such an account of the League? In sum, this paper aims to assess the level of unification under a single, Achaian identity and the reasons behind Polybios beautified image, and to provide plausible answers to complex questions. Was this tampered image the result of an unintentional projection of Polybios’ contemporary reality? Alternatively, was it a conscious and deeply political act?

Palmer, Morgan E. (Tulane)
Panel: Women in Roman Religion

Time and eternity on inscriptions commemorating the Vestal Virgins

The Vestal Virgins ensured that the fire of Vesta burned eternally, and their lives were marked by time. Taken from their parents as children, they spent ten years learning their duties, ten performing them, and ten training the new priestesses. Afterwards, they could marry, but stories of desolate former Vestals deterred them from doing so, and most chose to remain virgins for the rest of their lives (Plut. Vit. Num. 10.1–2). This paper examines references to time and eternity on inscriptions commemorating the Vestal Virgins, which reflect the ways in which the strictures of time and the expectation of continuing service shaped their lives and legacies. One inscription, dedicated by the priests of the sacred city, reports that a Vestal stood guard at the ‘eternal flames’ (aeternos ignes, CIL 6.32416) day and night. The parents of a Vestal Virgin, writing about their daughter, remark that they ‘perceived the goodness of much time … around them in a short time’ (multi temporis bonitatem … circa se in brevi senserunt, CIL 6.2135). They also express a wish that through her monument she might ‘persist in the future’ (in futuro perseveret, CIL 6.2135). A Vestal’s client wishes her ten more years of service with the expression ‘as the twentieth year, so the thirtieth year happily’ (sic XX sic XXX feliciter, CIL 6.32420). Octavia Honorata, the protegée of the Vestal Coelia Claudiana, reports that the senate recognized her mentor’s service with ‘eternal praise’ (aeterna laude, CIL 6.2138). Another
inscription alludes to a Vestal’s eternal legacy with the phrase ‘through all ages’ (per tot(a) saecula, CIL 6.2139). These inscriptions, dedicated by relatives and associates of the priestesses, illustrate the ways in which time and eternity shaped the collective identity of the priesthood while impacting the personal lives of individual Vestals.

Park, Jisoo (independent scholar) Panel: Latin Poetry
A feminist critique of the female voice in Catullus
While many scholars contend that Catullus’ use of the female voice confirms his defiance of the Roman gender roles of his time, suggesting a flexibility of gender identification and voice, this paper argues that because Catullus clearly identifies uses of female voice in moments unbecoming of proper masculinity and distinct from ‘masculine’ voice, his writing is not an authentic transgression of gender norms. Thus, rather than elevating women by giving them voice, Catullus further crystallizes distinctions between acceptable behavior for men and women. By emphasizing his impersonation of the female voice and agency in poems 5, 11, 16, 51, 63 and 64, Catullus reiterates the gender binary and polices its bounds, while staking claim to the male prerogative to speak for and through women. Ultimately, even beyond confirming stereotypes, Catullus perpetuates an appropriation of women’s voices that attempts to compensate for his otherwise ineffectual love affair with Lesbia. The translation of an actual woman’s voice through intertextual engagement with Sapphic fragments enhances his expression of the gendered expression of affect in poetic tradition. Considering his instrumentalization of women’s voices allows for a feminist critique of Catullus less invested in the flexibility of his gender expression than in identifying the female absence he creates through literary exploitation. By denying women agency or actual voice, Catullus reduces women to figments of his imagination utilized to the importance of the edict increased as traditional avenues for solving political and social problems, such as the assemblies, strained in the face of obstruction, violence, and declining levels of consensus. The response of the Roman jurists—the production of ever larger and more detailed dialectical commentaries on edicta—should in turn be interpreted as an attempt to regulate the use of the edict and so ensure that law remained relevant but not arbitrary.

Philbrick, Rachel (Georgetown) Panel: Tibullus beyond Elegy*
Introduction to ‘Tibullus beyond Elegy’ Panel

Philbrick, Rachel (Georgetown) Panel: Tibullus beyond Elegy*
Tibullus, Ovid, and invective elegy
This paper re-evaluates Tibullus’s influence on Ovid, specifically in reference to the Ibis. Ovid’s invective poem, which combines iambic subject matter with elegiac meter, has posed an interpretive problem for scholars. In recent years, more attention has been given to this historically overlooked poem, especially to the question of what is iambic about the Ibis (e.g. Schiesaro 2001; Hawkins 2014; Krasne 2016). Less explored is the issue of what is elegiac about it. This paper offers an answer to the question by showing that Ovid in the Ibis uses in a non-erotic context the themes and language of curses and prophecy developed in Tibullus’s elegies.

The Ibis’s unusual form—invective poem in elegiac meter—has an important precedent in the elegies of Tibullus. The intertwined themes of love, hate, and magic are present in the poems of all three major Latin elegists, but their particular deployment by Tibullus, especially in book 1 where they are connected to curses and the poet’s pose as prophet, provides a key model for Ovid. The central poem 1.5, for example, opens with an account of Delia’s illness and the magic the poet used to insure her recovery (9–16). Delia’s Illness (apparently a fever) mimics the symptoms of lovesickness (3–8), from
which the poet suffers. These lines anticipate the later description of the lena, who has cursed the poet and whom the poet curses in retribution (48–56). Tibullus’s exploitation of the polyvalence of key words (e.g. *carmen, uterere, devovere*) has the effect of making indissoluble the nexus of elegy, suffering, and cursing. Ovid exploits this Tibullan nexus in the *Ibis*, turning the elegiac curse against a non-female and non-erotic subject. The thematic continuity between Tibullus’s elegies and the *Ibis* is underscored by pointed verbal echoes, the most marked of which involve the language of prophecy.


The Aphrodite of Cnidus (*Knidia*) dates from the mid-fourth century BC. A work of the famous sculptor Praxiteles, it is the first over-life-size female nude in western art. Praxiteles’s original no longer survives, destroyed by fire in the fifth century AD; its memory is extant through modified replicas such as the *Medici Venus*, now in the Uffizi Gallery. Reception of the *Knidia* occurs immediately after its creation, and unlike many ancient works, throughout and post antiquity, in both literature and art. However not everything is set in stone: the sculpture’s prominence diminishes, particularly during the start of the nineteenth century, when usurped by the *Aphrodite of Melos*, discovered on this Cycladic isle in 1820. It was ‘excavated’ by a peasant instructed by Olivier Voutier, a French naval officer stationed on the island, to undertake what was at this point still the relatively unknown ‘science’ of archaeology. The Melian sculpture also appeared in a period of British and German acquistion of the ‘Elgin Marbles’ and sculptures from the Temple of Aphaea at Aegina, respectively. It was therefore promoted as a fantastic ‘Greek original’, a title the *Medici Venus* could not hold. Equally problematic was the lack of ability to attribute a well-known sculptor to the Melian Aphrodite on discovery. Today the latter draws large crowds, unlike the *Medici Venus*, who often stands relatively unobserved. Little scholarship currently considers aspects of the *Knidia*’s reception, instead examining its impact on the ancient sculptural tradition, or the post-Renaissance representation of the goddess more generally. By neglecting its later interpreters and their varying motivations, much of its value in an art historical context and the reasons behind its changing fortunes are lost. This paper considers the changing modes of the *Knidia*’s reception, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in response to the discovery of more securely provenanced examples.

Pietschmann, Constantin (Oxford) Panel: Commemoration Memorable familias sordidissimam partem: epigraphic evidence of individuality in the Columbarium Statiliorum

*Columbaria*—the large communal tombs which emerged in Rome and some of Italy’s port cities during the transition from Republic to Empire—have been argued to be representative of group consciousness among servile members of larger urban households, and recent scholarship has described *columbaria* as the ‘reverse’ of Republican funerary customs, which sought, to emphasize the individuality of the deceased (Borbonus, 2014). Scholars have argued that slaves, *liberti*, and freeborn individuals interred in *columbaria* likely found greater value in the collective environment of the monument, where individual identity was often maintained, but subordinated to the group cohesion of the communal tomb and its occupants (Hasegawa, 2005). This focus on the collective, however, risks underplaying social dynamics at work in the *familia*, in which friendships, family, and (relative) wealth all played their part in constructing identities these individuals sought to project in the context of their closed community. Upon closer examination of the epigraphic material, a more complex picture emerges, shedding light upon a group whose internal dynamics constitute a vital feature in our understanding of the lived experiences of the lowest strata of Rome’s elite households.

This paper explores how the layout and structure of the *columbarium* and the inscriptions occupying its *loculi* could have stressed, and possibly even encouraged, individualistic displays of status and identity among certain members of the household which went beyond the formulaic inscription of a mere name and profession on epitaphic *tabulae*. By reviewing several case-studies focusing on individuals and professions represented in the Columbarium Statiliorum, this paper will argue that individual identity remained an important aspect in the commemoration practices of members of the *familia urbana*, and that the comparative study of the epigraphic material can shed light on the complex and under-discussed dynamics that existed between the servile members of an urban household.

Place, Amy (Leicester) Panel: Pulling the Threads Together* Clothing women in Roman North Africa: making and breaking the rules

The importance of clothing as a mechanism of social control is a well-established phenomenon in the Roman world. Dress was understood as an outward display of many facets of identity including status, gender, and age. Individuals manipulated, negotiated, and expressed their identities through their physical appearance, but these
clothing behaviours occurred within the bounds of cultural constructs and social norms. As performative actions, dressing practices were dictated by the life-course and experience of the individual: their image was considered to reflect their social position. In this way, particular garments and dressing activities were cultural expectations.

Since care for the body and its display was generally regarded as a female activity, it is not surprising that Roman sources that discuss the relationship between age and dress do so with reference to female dress. This is especially the case for Christian authors, whose focus on clothing practices represented a continuation of earlier classical tropes. During childhood, gender-ambiguous clothing did not offer a differentiation between the sexes. Engendered dressing practices, thus, only commenced after puberty, after which clothing functioned to denote both gender and status. For Christian authors, therefore, concerns over female clothing were more a product of male concern about regulating female behaviour and morality than the actual clothing itself: self-conscious display was regarded as a direct expression of sexual self-awareness. Rhetoric discussing clothing was a mechanism with which to problematise female behaviour through the thin veil of discussions of female clothing habits.

Plastow, Christine (Nottingham) Panel: Greek Rhetoric

Those in the city and we in Piraeus: political mapping and movement in Lysias Against Agoratus

After the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants and the restoration of the democracy, there was a flurry of litigation in Athens, as the democratic Athenians attempted to restore their control of the city and punish those who had been complicit in the oligarchy. One such case provided Lysias’ speech 13, a prosecution speech against Agoratus for committing homicide by informing on various democrats, leading to their execution. Despite being a legal speech, Lysias’ rhetoric is heavily political, and aims to emphasise the damage that Agoratus’ crimes did to the fabric of the democracy.

In this paper, I explore how verbally mapping the spaces, places, and landscape of Athens, and the movement of Agoratus through that map, is employed in the speech to emphasise the seriousness of his political offences. Space was a key factor in the political situation surrounding the Thirty, as aspects of the city were changed physically (e.g. the destruction of the Long Walls) and democrats were exiled from the space of the city itself. Firstly, I discuss the procedure, apagoge, which was designed to punish the offender for being in certain public (and thus intrinsically political) spaces as a known killer. Secondly, I examine Agoratus’ projected defence that he is protected by the treaty that was made between the men in Piraeus and the men in the city, and explore this dichotomy of political affiliation and physical location. Thirdly, I discuss another potential defence of Agoratus, that he was present on the Athenian side at Phyle, and that this indicates his innocence of oligarchic crimes. By analysing the ideologies of these various locations, I demonstrate that space and movement within it could be highly politicised, even in speech; indeed, this ‘imagined’ or ‘visualised’ aspect of the spaces in question proves to be rhetorically crucial.

Plain, Anne (Oxford) Panel: Classical Reception II

‘you might not know who she is / that’s okay’: Anne Carson’s Eurydike and the stakes of translation

Sophocles’ Antigone is one of the most well-discussed and enduring of antiquity’s extant plays. Enlisted by seemingly everyone in the 20th and 21st centuries for a number of political and theoretical projects, the Antigone and its reception nonetheless glosses over the play’s quasi-silent—yet forcefully present—queen, Eurydice. Those few who mention her seem to only comment on her death (off-stage), her silence (‘heavy’—Loraux 1991), and her likely role in the play (collateral damage, pace Griffith 2009). Literary context informs us she was specifically invented by Sophocles for this play (ibid.), yet she enters late, speaks only nine lines, and immediately exits to die out of sight. It is a paradox, and one which has been ignored by the Antigone’s long history of reception.

This paper redresses this critical lack of attention. Taking Anne Carson’s Antigonick (2012) as point of departure, I address the following question: who is Eurydice, and why is she so unknown to us? Contrasting original and translation, I argue—with Carson—that sustained attention to the text reveals Eurydice as the constitutive heart of the dramatic plot, and a paradigm for questions of epistemic justice. This focus requires a shift in method: taking into account the ‘subliterary’ (Morales), carrying a ‘move or shock or darkening’ (Carson) from the ‘original’ across to a ‘new’ text. Based on an analysis of Antigonick’s intertextual ties to Virginia Woolf, this paper also proposes the Derridean archive as a methodological resource to address questions of gender and presence in the Antigone, as well as our ethical implication in the project of reading. Like many aspects of ancient material, absence is not a homogenous category: Carson’s Eurydike is proof that there is more to do than let it speak for itself.

Poliquin, Emilie-Jade (Columbia/Laval) Panel: Educating the Ancient World

Vitruvius’s didactic project

To better understand and define Vitruvius’ project, recent scholarship on De architectura has mostly focused on the
prefaces (McEwen 2003; Novara 2005, amongst others), unfortunately setting aside most of the treatise itself.

Indeed, the work, with its very technical vocabulary and mostly impersonal mode, may seem less significant than the prefaces. Nevertheless, many additional passages throughout De architectura could have been useful for these same studies, but have been often disregarded because they were considered too formulaic: at the end of every preface, at the end of every book, and very frequently in internal transitions, Vitruvius speaks in the first person (singular or plural), enunciating what has been done and/or what will be done, in order to keep his readers aware of his plan. With the 144 excerpts I compiled, the author spins a web of metadiscursive statements throughout the treatise.

These passages are not empty rhetoric. If we look closer, we can appreciate the richness of the vocabulary involved. The end of the third preface is a perfect example: The accumulation of terms, especially verbs, is no mere uvaratio. Every one of them has its precise meaning and role, which I will expound in my presentation.

The aim of this paper is therefore to show that Vitruvius in these metadiscursive statements by the use of a precise and meaningful vocabulary gives the reader information not only about the content of De architectura, as we might expect, but also about the nature of his project. Specifically, I will demonstrate that Vitruvius stresses four important aspects of his project: in De architectura, he wants to ‘exhibit’ architecture (exponere), to put architecture into words (scribere), to pass on his knowledge both as a compiler (conscribere/ comparare) and as a teacher (docere), and to create understanding (explicare).

Possingham, Karen (Australian National U.)  Panel: Classical Reception II
A Modernist marriage: James Joyce’s reversal of a Homeric tale

At first glance, James Joyce’s portrayal of an unfaithful wife in his novel Ulysses is the complete opposite of Homer’s famously faithful wife Penelope in the Odyssey. But a closer examination of the words and actions of Penelope actually demonstrates that the depiction of her fidelity is contested in the poem and certainly has been questioned by scholars more recently. Joyce, who was influenced by the ideas of Freud among others, was determined to expose as myth the idea of the monogamous marriage. Molly Bloom, in particular, has attracted a lot of criticism from (predominantly male) scholars for her frank disclosures of her sexual desires and infidelity. Yet neither the liaisons of Leopold Bloom nor those of Odysseus have attracted the same criticism. Despite this, however, Molly and Leopold Bloom share a similar like-mindedness with their ancient counterparts Penelope and Odysseus. In this paper, I examine the similarities and the differences between the Homeric and the Joycean ideal marriage, as they also reveal conventions of gender and sexuality prevalent at the time of their composition. It is one of the tenets of Reception Theory that modern receptions can also reflect back on ancient texts and ask new questions about a text or re-examine previous interpretations; I argue that it is possible to see, through Joyce, that Homer too explored issues of gender that allowed for a new kind of heroism not limited by sexual identity.

Prodi, Enrico Emanuele (Ca’ Foscari)  Panel: Greek Literary Scholarship*
Exegesis, lexicography, and transmission: the case of Archaic iambos

Like the other canonical poets of archaic Greece, Archilochus and Hipponax were the object of scholarly inquiry throughout the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. Aristotle had written three books of Ἀπορήματα Ἀρχιλόχου Εὐρυπιδίου Χοιρίλου, and the text of both authors was commented on in detail in later centuries (we have fragments of one papyrus commentary each, plus marginalia in several others). A key aspect of this scholarship was lexicography: understanding the sense, implications, and usage of the often strange words the iambographers used. Lexical explanation of specific passages was not only part and parcel of the exegesis found in commentaries ad loc. Hesychius’ citations of Archilochus and Hipponax by name are few, but a comparison between entries in the lexicon and forms found in the extant fragments shows that the two poets account for several dozen entries each.

The present paper examines the role of lexicography in ancient exegeses of Archilochus and Hipponax and the way in which passage-specific lexicographical lore was transmitted across different texts and different scholarly genres (commentaries, lexica). It focuses on three test cases: (1) Hipponax fr. 3a West, which has been recognised (though not yet to the fullest extent) as the locus classicus for several entries in Hesychius; (2) Archilochus fr. 196a West, where a relatively long stretch of text allows us to assess the frequency of Hesychian entries that refer to it and their coverage; (3) Hipponax fr. 118 West, where Hesychius’ interpretations of several points in the text can be set alongside those given by the papyrus commentary P.Oxy. 2176 and by the marginalia that were added to it. In doing so, this paper shines a light on both the mechanisms put in place by scholars to elucidate the meaning of words and the way their interpretations were reused and transmitted in novel ways.
Prouatt, Caitlin (Reading)  

In dialogue with tradition: Plutarch’s use and adaptation of a literary genre

Plutarch is an author known more for his contributions to the genre of biography than to the genre of philosophical dialogue. Yet many works in the Moralia are dialogic in form. In the past, scholars tended to dismiss Plutarch’s dialogues as mere imitations of or tributes to Plato, his sole predecessor and the undisputed master of the genre. I argue, however, that in his dialogues, the relationship that Plutarch has with Plato is one of exemplarity. Through their carefully specified characters, with no ‘Socrates’ in sight, Plutarch’s Pythian dialogues offer readers a guide for practising philosophy that fits their own needs, rather than those of Plato’s fourth-century readers.

Plutarch’s audience, like the dialogues’ interlocutors, is cosmopolitan. It consists of those who occupy positions in the Roman government, and travel across the empire. By taking Plato as an exemplar, and Delphi as a backdrop—the omphalos not only of Greece, but of the entire oikoumene—Plutarch’s Pythian works offer a wry commentary on Greece’s ‘unchanged’ role as a cultural nexus.

Ranger, Holly (Institute of Classical Studies)  

Beyond the Author/Body/Text*

Han Kang’s Greek Lessons

In her fictionalized autobiographical work Greek Lessons (2011; 2017), South Korean writer Han Kang positions ancient Greek as the vehicle by which a mute woman constructs and regains her artistic voice. Han’s work stands out from her Korean contemporaries both for its repurposing of classical texts—Han is unusual for having received Greco-Roman classical training in school—and for its insistence on the importance of (feminist) empathetic reading strategies. This paper will consider both how works such as Han’s problematize formulations of the western classical tradition and its protagonists, and how Han’s work may fit into a tradition of women’s engagements with classical texts which have been overlooked by reception scholarship in favour of ‘impersonal’, high-modernist responses.

The narrator of Greek Lessons tells the reader that the woman had ‘chosen to learn ancient Greek . . . because she want[ed] to find her way back to language through her own volition. She is almost entirely uninterested in the literature of Homer, Plato, and Herodotus . . .’. As the reader joins in with the class recitations, a lesson on the grammatical middle voice stimulates a meditation on literary self-reflexivity, the gendered voice, and the loss of speech—after trauma, and in the face of the patriarchal canon. The protagonist’s nonchalance at taking up the study of ancient Greek, however, is belied by her knowledge and by her hesitant experimentation later in the novel with creative Greek composition; while Han seems to suggest that ancient texts themselves are of no interest to contemporary women, their constituent parts can be repurposed and, used with emotive intent, may provide one means to negotiate the violence of the present.
Raudnitz, Sophie (Open U.)  Panel: Women & War I  How Hecuba fought the Greeks and won: end-of-war narratives and the Trojan Women

The Trojan Women has often been considered as a play through which Euripides criticises the brutal Greek practice of ending wars by killing the men and enslaving the women and children—a process enacted by the Athenians in Melos—the year before the play was performed. This view has been criticised on the grounds not only that those events happened too recently for them to have informed Euripides’ writing but also that this falsely attributes modern sensibilities with regard to war and violence to ancient societies. This paper suggests that the Trojan Women does not directly criticise current events or practices but, rather, it reveals the ways in which end of war narratives are constructed and take hold, continuing to inform narratives and behaviours for generations to come. Our perception of how wars end and, relatedly, how the ends of wars are conducted by the victors and the victims, is inseparable from the stories told about them.

This paper will focus on the way in which Hecuba spins just such a narrative of the end of the Trojan War. This is a narrative of exclusion and blame which emphasises Greek duplicity and cowardliness and eschews all culpability on her own part and on the part of Troy as a whole, instead casting blame on to Helen. By using memory and trauma theory to examine the memory testimonies which make up Hecuba’s narrative, this paper will analyse the ways in which the play authorises her version of events. This analysis will include an examination of the ways in which she exhibits and harnesses tropes of traumatic behaviour in order to orchestrate a ‘community of feeling’ in the theatre. It will also include a consideration of the ways in which the audience’s cultural memory might help to deconstruct her narrative.

Reeve, Anna (Leeds)  Panel: Speaking Objects*  Finding a voice when provenance is lost: interpreting ancient Cypriot material culture

Objects which survive from the classical world sit at the intersection between archaeology and art history, both disciplines which place considerable emphasis on an artefact’s origins and context. An object’s archaeological significance depends on precise knowledge of its findspot, while it gains increased value and status in the art market if it possesses a secure record of its itinerary between places and owners over time, especially if these include distinguished collections. However, ancient Cypriot material culture includes many objects which carry with them only limited information about their itinerary from ancient Cyprus to present-day museum and gallery collections. Their meanings and values are thus open to construction by the excavators, collectors and curators who have interpreted them from the moment of their rediscovery, and are fluid and subject to change. This paper examines these issues in relation to ancient Cypriot objects from the Kent Collection at the Mercer Art Gallery, Harrogate, examining the scope to engage audiences through reconstructed object biographies which reflect the changing relationships between people and things. In particular, it explores the circumstances under which these objects have shifted from archaeological ‘artefact’ to ‘art’ and back again, and the consequences for their interpretation.

Reijnierse-Salisbury, Hanneke (Cambridge)  Panel: (Un)Adorned Bodies  The commemorative impact of adorned bodies on Romano-British funerary reliefs

The varying appearances of figural reliefs on tombstones from Roman Britain have been subject to changing attitudes towards the art of this province and other Roman provinces. First studied as the often less than satisfactory results of cultural contact, then as evidence for how we might model this contact (as Romanisation? Creolisation? Something else?), their connection to their commemorative purpose has often been sidelined. Previous approaches to their study tend to focus on their style and its relationship to Classical naturalism, creating a false dichotomy between such naturalism and the abstraction frequently seen in these images and others like them. Working with over eighty diverse reliefs from across Roman Britain I aim to get closer to how these images effectively performed their commemorative roles. In order to do this, we must take them seriously and put aside considerations of the skill and quality of their production, and instead focus on their visual effects. In particular here I will examine how the form and adornment of the bodies represented both obfuscate them and transform them into ornament, and what commemorative effect this process could have. The importance of dress and other adornment in expressing identity is well established, but images that lack precise detail, are considered of poor quality, or stray from the naturalism associated with Classical art are often neglected. My approach encourages their inclusion as crucial evidence for how the interaction of bodily form and adornment created meaning in a commemorative context. As well as helping us to get more information and meaning from these often under-examined images, this approach offers a more inclusive way of thinking about the art of Roman Britain.
Rochford, Harrison (Sydney)   Panel: Greek Rhetoric

Mything the point? Oracles and rhetoric in Lycurgus’ Against Leocrates

This paper argues that the emergence of oracular narratives in Athenian oratory of the late fourth century is part of a purposeful reengagement with Delphi by Athens. Oracles and the stories surrounding them have been shown to be a fundamental way in which Greek authors organised, developed and communicated ideas concerning the relationship between humans and gods (Kindt 2016). The function of this type of religious storytelling in the speeches of Athenian orators has yet to be examined for its literary effect and cultural meaning.

Lycurgus’ Against Leocrates provides an excellent opportunity to explore existing approaches to the history of Delphi to further develop our understanding of the role of oracular narratives in the Greek imagination. Recent scholarship on Lycurgan Athens (338–325/4 BC) has shown that the city was in the process of rethinking and reasserting a wide range of political, cultural and religious institutions after the battle of Chaeronea (Hanink 2014). It will be shown that Lycurgus’ use of oracles reflects these changes, as Athens attempted to strengthen its relationship with the sanctuary at Delphi in competition with Macedon.

Rather than highlighting the ‘enigmatic mode’ of oracular communication common in other examples of religious storytelling, Lycurgus’ stories de-emphasise the ambiguity of Apollo’s responses. This paper will explore how Lycurgus’ use of a clear oracular voice extends his rhetorical persona as the defender of Athenian values by emphasising the goodwill between Athens and Delphi in the legendary and recent past. This strategy not only builds on Lycurgus’ own legislative and dedicatory connections with Delphi but is also contingent on distinctive changes in mythological accounts of Apollo as a patron deity of Athens and the growth of the cult of Apollo Patroos during the fourth century.

Röger, Teresa (Cambridge)   Panel: Rhetoric & Education in Late Antiquity *

Augustine’s De doctrina Christiana: a fresh start for rhetoric and education in Late Antiquity?

Augustine’s treatise De doctrina Christiana is about how rhetoric and education inform the interpretation of the Bible. The question of the value of formal education was pressing at Augustine’s time. On the one hand, a classically formal education was thriving. On the other hand, ascetic Christian groups rejected formal education in favour of charismatic experiences (this is reflected in the preface to De doctrina Christiana).

In De doctrina Christiana, Augustine carefully negotiates a compromise between these two positions. It is clear that for Augustine rhetoric can no longer offer an education in values. These have to be extracted from the Bible now. But the problem of having to deal with obscure language in the Bible leads to a reappraisal of rhetoric as a τέχνη. The reader of the Bible needs to know rhetorical tropes and figures in order to make sense of the text, even more so, if he wants to preach on it. However, the idea of divine grace looms large throughout De doctrina Christiana and more than once seems to question the legitimacy and the necessity of the project. Nevertheless, Augustine completed De doctrina Christiana, albeit 30 years after he had started writing.

In my paper, I will explore the tensions that run through De doctrina Christiana. These tensions have been straightened in favour of harmonising readings, but I suggest that they lay open the difficulties Augustine encountered in negotiating a new balance between rhetoric and education. Thus, they provide a window into Augustine’s virtual workshop and, as they are still part of the text, they continuously invite the reader to negotiate the question afresh. Under these circumstances, did Augustine succeed in creating a new coherent account of the relation between rhetoric and education, an account convincing in his own time and beyond?

Rozier, Catherine (Swansea)   Panel: Women & War I

Tradition and character: the Homeric Helen

Helen stands at the centre of the story of the Trojan war and has been fought over not just by the armies of Greece and Troy, but by millennia of scholars. Her actions, motivations, and feelings have been interpreted and presented through a range of literary genres, from epic and lyric through tragedy, rhetoric and the earliest forms of historical writing. In this paper I argue that the Homeric Helen is distinct from later versions of her character because she reflects the traditional role of Helen as an instrument in the end of the heroes.

Using extant evidence from the Hesiodic poems and the epic cycle, I first demonstrate the presence of a traditional narrative of history, which is shared across different poems of the hexameter tradition. I argue that the Iliad consciously situates itself within this traditional timeline, and the story of Troy can only be fully understood in this epic historical context. This reading of the hexameter tradition demonstrates the true importance of Helen, born for the sole purpose of destroying the race of heroes.

With this traditional context in mind, we are able to reach a clearer and more consistent understanding of Helen as she is presented in the Iliad. In this paper I focus in on three key traits: isolation, detachment and self-hatred. These traits allow us to see that not only is the characterisation of Helen sophisticated and compelling, but it is consistent with her role in the wider epic tradition.
From her traditional role in the plan of Zeus and the unfolding of cosmic history, the poet of the Iliad creates a subtle, complex, and memorable character. In turn, this demonstrates how the wider tradition can have relevance to our interpretation of an individual figure.

Rushton, Emily  Panel: Teaching the Classics
Millennials and millennia: an exploration into teaching Classics to a new generation
As a young teacher embarking on their first year of teacher training, I spent many hours trying to think of innovate activities to set students, in the hope that they would get as excited about their Latin lessons as they would be to discuss how many likes they had on Instagram. Before taking up teacher training at the University of Cambridge, I co-ordinated a project with Classics for All in which volunteers ran talks and workshops at various state schools in order to promote the classical world. Throughout this project, I was able to visit a number of state schools in which my eyes were opened to the seemingly simplistic ways in which students were able to link their own thinking to ideas, which I’d previously overlooked. Through conversations with pupils linking Snapchat filters to damnatio memoriae, and assimilating Petronius’ Satyricon with Geordie Shore, it became apparent that the key to engaging a new generation of classicists was to engage with the subject through their point of view and interest.

Throughout my first year of training, I found that incorporating activities into my lessons—inspired by their own words and their contemporary culture—produced the most effective output in terms of both students’ understanding, and more importantly, enjoyment. I went on to explore the various ways that drama projects have been used to enhance the accessibility of the ancient world, and focused my own teacher research project around how music and drama could be used to further this accessibility to students of all backgrounds and abilities. This paper calls to discuss ways in which we can engage a millennial audience with the classical world through their lens, and successful—and unsuccessful—examples of activities using apps, television, music and drama undertaken by pupils in my first year of training, explore further ways in which the classical world can be brought to not just a modern, but a millennial audience.

Ryan, Cressida (Oxford)  Panel: Renaissance Receptions
Sophocles and Early Modern lexica
Responding to the work of Johannes Crastonus, whose Greek-Latin lexicon shaped 15th-century Greek scholarship, 16th-century scholarship ushered in new texts, and new materials to support them. This paper considers how and why these volumes, particularly lexica, were created, and their effect on contemporary scholarship. I explore their intended and actual usage, and their relationship with developments in the interrelated fields of European education, politics and religion. I consider whether a distinct Reformation vocabulary can be discerned, for example, in order to express variations on the emerging potentially Christian readings of Greek tragedy.

Greek tragedy is a useful genre with which to work on such a topic. Its vocabulary is rich but repetitive; there is a relatively discreet canonical textual corpus; the plays are published, translated, and taught widely throughout C16; they offer what are viewed as ‘universal’ messages which become culturally appropriated, quickly becoming important vehicles for exploring cultural change, through staged adaptation, or in commentary and discussion. Key topics include moral and political terminology.

The editio princeps of Sophocles was published in 1502 by Aldus Manutius. Manutius, a prolific publisher, also prepared a lexicon. Nigel Wilson’s work on Manutius has begun to give us a richer understanding of the processes through which our modern understanding of Ancient Greek has been formed. Stephanus also produced both an edition of Sophocles and a Lexicon Graecolatinum. His multi-volume lexicon challenges our conception of what a dictionary should be, with almost a whole volume dedicated to essays on language and culture.

Bringing together not only the commentaries, texts and translations of C16, but also the lexica and pedagogical frameworks underpinning their production and dissemination, yields a fuller understanding of Early Modern scholarship. In a time of great educational upheaval, they may even offer us ways to manage our own pedagogical and cultural aims.

Sanai, Sana (Oxford)  Paper in ‘Poetry in Performance’ workshop
Minerva: Translating Classics for a New Generation of Readers
Please see entry for Madeła, Alexandra (in this section).
See also ‘Poetry in Performance’ in section 5, ‘Workshops’.

Savani, Giacomo (Leicester)  Panel: Rethinking the Boundaries*
Decorating the baths: socio-cultural implications of private baths in Roman Britain
According to a funeral inscription from Rome dating to the Julio-Claudian period (CIL 6.15258), baths, together with wine and sex, are among the pleasures that vitam faciunt—‘make life worth living’. This brief text, together
with many other epigraphic and literary sources from all over the Roman world (Dunbabin 1989; Fagan 1999, 75–84, 319–21, 327–8), demonstrate the genuine appreciation of baths and bathing shared by people with the most diverse cultural and social backgrounds. While no similar texts are known from Roman Britain, the popularity of bath-houses is testified there by the large number of facilities excavated both in urban and rural contexts.

While the significance of public and military baths in the process of cultural change promoted by Rome in this province has been highlighted by Romanists (e.g. Mattingly 2006, 284; Gardner 2013, 12–14), the role played by private establishments certainly deserves greater scholarly attention. This paper will engage with a specific aspect of these buildings, i.e. their decoration, including mosaics, wall paintings, sculptures, and other decorative elements such as marble lining and stucco. In particular, I will discuss some significant patterns in the development and distribution of bath mosaics and wall paintings, stressing influences from Gaul and identifying specifically Romano-British motifs and regional ‘schools’. Questions of personal taste, emulation and ostentation will also be addressed. This will allow for a more nuanced understanding of the socio-cultural implications connected to the décor of these facilities and of the sensory impact they had on their users, especially in the aftermath of the conquest in the second half of the 1st century CE.

Scarpato, Andrea (Leicester) Panel: Identity In & Beyond the Polis*

Nabis and the Hellenistic world

Spartan interstate interactions during the reign of Nabis is an issue that has been tangentially addressed by the most influential studies. These have explored Nabis’ identity, the nature of his royalty (Cartledge, 2002; Couvenhes, 2016), and the social reforms introduced by him in Sparta (Oliva, 1971; Shimron, 1972; Texier, 1975; Cartledge, 2002). However, the extent of Spartan engagement with the wider world and the aspect of continuity or change in the way in which these interactions occurred during Nabis’ reign are issues which require further addressing. A reassessment of the sources reveals that the king could engage with major superpowers of the end of the third century, such as Rome and Macedonia, and could exert his influence in locales which shared historical and mythical links with Sparta, namely some Cretan poleis and Delos. How the ruler could perform such foreign political plans, and why Sparta maintained a prominent position on the international stage dominated by larger superpowers such as Rome and Macedonia represent unanswered questions. The presence of Nabis in significant alliances (Rome–Sparta, Sparta–Macedonia, Sparta–Argos) of the third century and in the continued struggle for power, which characterised the political scene of this period, points to his outstanding authority and Sparta’s broad interaction with the Hellenistic world.

Through a combination of literary and epigraphic evidence from various Mediterranean locales—Crete, Delos, the Peloponnese—this paper seeks to investigate the extent and the nature of Spartan interactions during the reign of Nabis, along with his role on the international stage. The evidence reinforces his strong engagement with the wider world and his leadership ability in military and foreign issues of the utmost importance; a reassessment shows that the king followed a previous strategic foreign policy which aimed to maintain and consolidate Spartan presence in locales situated inside and outside the Peloponnese.

Scheffler, Sarah (Leicester) Panel: Roman Colonization & Migration

If nothing fits the bill: an archaeological landscape beyond imperialism and colonialism

For more than a quarter of a century ‘Romanisation’ has been a terminus non gratus. In 1994, the University of Leicester hosted the symposium ‘Roman Imperialism: Postcolonial Perspectives’, which resulted in the observation that the ‘study of the provinces of the Roman Empire is properly the study not of imperialism, but colonialism’ (J. Webster 1996). But, what if an archaeological landscape appears to not fit into concepts of imperialism or colonialism?

The Lomellina (PV) of north-west Italy is such a case. Subjugated in the course of the general conquest of north-west Italy, the area would have officially been Roman since the defeat of the Insubs at Casteggio-Clastidium (PV) in 222 BC—long before the Roman empire became the Roman Empire and imperialistic approaches might dominate the incorporation of new territories. In establishing two colonies at Cremona and Piacenza-Piacentia (219/218 BC), Rome secured her new boundaries and resumed the Etruscan attempt to dominate the central Po valley. Aspects of colonialism might, therefore, have had more impact on the Lomellina, bordered by the two main trade routes of the period—the rivers Ticino and Po. The archaeological analysis of mortuary assemblages between the 3rd century BC and AD 100, however, indicates that neither these first colonies nor subsequent foundations such as Milan-Mediolanum nor Pavia-Ticinum appear to have had a profound impact on the cultural change, the adoption and adaptation of new (im-)material culture. On the contrary, the investigated data suggests that other theoretical concepts are better suited to explain the transformation—e.g. globalisation theory and probably a new understanding of ‘Romanisation’?!
Schofield, Aimee (Leicester GS/U. of Leicester)
Panel: Women & War II
Throwing like a girl: women and violence in Classical Greek siege warfare

When we think about warfare in the ancient world, we envisage a male-dominated battlefield with soldiers fighting hand to hand in gleaming armour. Our sources direct our view to the generals, the hoplites, the cavalry; occasionally the ancient authors make an appearance themselves. However, this does not present a holistic view of ancient warfare. Many decisive engagements take place not on the open battlefield, but on and around the walls and streets of individual cities. When war comes to the city, the rules change.

A siege creates a sense of ambiguity and liminality for those caught in it. Domestic and military life overlap—the safety of home is compromised as the enemy is literally at the doors. Suddenly, the home and the battlefield are one and the same, and the strict line dividing the genders in the ancient Greek city-state becomes blurred. Here our sources begin to give us a view of women’s lives in wartime. Women continued to support their families domestically; they supported military logistics during the fighting, joined in the active fighting once a city wall was breached, and climbed onto rooftops to hurl projectiles at the invading enemy. They may even have dressed up as soldiers to make the city’s forces appear greater.

This paper will argue that while women are generally invisible elsewhere in ancient military history, siege warfare brings the women of the ancient Greek world into sight. Sieges brought about unusual circumstances and women had the chance to participate actively in the fighting without being judged transgressive by the male authors of our sources. This paper will also argue that this behaviour became more likely (and less criticised) as the siege progressed and the danger became greater.

Schrader, Antonia Marie (Cambridge)
Panel: (Un)Adorned Bodies
Odysseus raw and real? On the problem of naked truth in the Homeric Odyssey

‘It’s raw and real.’ Thus Amy Paffrath, host of the American dating show Dating Naked, describes the appeal of having the show’s participants date in the nude. As such, the show follows a recent trend in reality television that makes nakedness a central focus of its entertainment programme. Unlike the television format, however, the underlying idea of a privileged relationship between nakedness and the real is, of course, by no means a novel phenomenon. In fact, already in one of the earliest texts of Greek literature we have, the Homeric Odyssey, the notion of a quite literally naked truth plays a significant role: Odysseus’ bare thighs famously signal his true being beneath his beggar’s rags (Od. 18), a scar on the hero’s bare foot betrays his identity to the nurse Eurycleia (Od. 19) and γυμνός, at the very beginning of book 22, initiates Odysseus’ final self-revelation in the poem. And yet, rather than providing a degree-zero identity free from the deceptive powers of dress and disguise so well attested in Odyssean scholarship (Block 1985, Murnaghan 1987, Bassi 2003), Odysseus’ nakedness in these scenes soon becomes apparent as considerably more complex: as my paper aspires to show, the hero’s true shape, even when it is explicitly marked as γυμνός, is usually still, at least partially, hidden from sight by yet another layer of physical cover, divine disguise or beautification. Odysseus’ nakedness, I will argue, is not a solution, but a contested site in the poem’s intense preoccupation with the problem of how truth may be reached and recognized. As such, the slipperiness of the naked hero can be fruitfully linked to the deeply relational and socially constructed nature of all nakedness, ancient and modern: undress is never ‘raw and real’—not in Homer’s Odyssey and arguably even less so in modern-day reality TV.

Scott, Sarah (Leicester) Panel: Rethinking the Boundaries*
Respondent
Please see panel abstract in section 1.

Seaford, Richard (Exeter) Panel: Aristocracy & Monetization*
Aristocracy and money: Platonic and Pindaric accommodations

The organised acquisition of political power by capital in the modern era (originally against aristocratic privilege) must not seduce us into imagining anything similar in the classical polis. For the wealthy aristocrat Plato the qualification to rule his ideal state is not birth but intellect. True, birth is reinstated in the form of the metallic origin of the three classes (gold, silver, base metal), but this is in a ‘fiction’ (Republic 414b) that unites birth, money, and intellect. The guardians are to be told that they have divine gold and silver money in their souls, but are to be secluded from the polluting coin of the multitude (416e). The crucial distinction is not between birth and money, but rather between the two essences of money, on the one hand abstract value-substance imagined as self-sufficient (separate from circulation) and on the other hand vulgar circulation. The sublimation of separated abstract value-substance, which is at the heart of Platonic metaphysics, had earlier taken a more uncompromising form in the metaphysics of the wealthy aristocrat Parmenides. Given the wide accessibility of aristocratic culture (Węcowski), the new metaphysics provided for its adherents a more clearly and narrowly
defined criterion of worth. By contrast, it is the use of money by even wealthier men (for Panhellenic games and commissioning songs) that must be praised by Pindar (Stergiou). Keeping wealth hidden inside is—so far from being a model for the soul, as in Plato—reversed as being in fact unwitting payment of the soul, to Hades without glory (Isthmian 1.68–70), i.e. without the immortality that comes through action and expenditure (not intellect, as in Plato). Similarly, but positively, the potentially introverted self-generation of money as interest (tokos, birth) is paid in the form of immortal glory conferred by song like wealth transmitted through natural tokos (Olympian 10, Liapis). From the opposite, relatively democratic perspective of tragedy, the Oedipus Tyrannus naturalises the disastrous introversion of monetary tokos.

### Sekunda, Nicholas (Gdańsk) Panel: Military Rhetoric & Reality

**Rhetoric, translation, and the Antigonid agêma**

The starting point of this presentation is the description of the deployment of this regiment, the élite infantry regiment of the Antigonid army, at the battle of Pydna in 168 BC in Plutarch’s *Life of Aemilius Paulus* (18.3). The 1918 Loeb translation by Bernadotte Perrin, who was an American based in New Haven, Connecticut, is influenced by contemporary military rhetoric. He renders the word *phoinix*, which should be translated as crimson, as ‘scarlet’: seemingly influenced by historical rhetoric concerning the British Army, with their scarlet coats. Perrin is not alone, and it seems almost standard practice to render crimson as scarlet in translations describing ancient Greek military dress. The Greek phrase οἱ λογιάδες, αὐτῶν Μακεδόνων ἥλκια τὸ καθαρύτατον is rendered as ‘picked men, the flower of the Macedonians themselves for youthful strength and valour’. This is another example of the translation being influenced by historical rhetoric. In fact, the Antigonid agêma was recruited from veteran soldiers. In describing the review of the Macedonian army at Citium on the eve of the third Macedonian War, Livy (42.51.4–5) describes the agêma as being recruited from all of the peltastai ‘for their strength and the enduring energy of their age’, which presumably means they are veterans. This is confirmed by the discovery of the so-called ‘Conscription diagramma’ which extends the maximum age for service in the agêma from 45 to 50, while that for service in the peltastai remained at 35 years. Both these formations, in turn, were recruited from the ranks of the chalcaspides, the normal infantry of the line.

### Šenková, Michaela (Leicester) Panel: Identity In & Beyond the Polis*

**Interstate identity in the Greek colonies: was ‘Greek’ healing practised at Metaponto?**

Considering material and literary evidence from Metaponto, southern Italy, this paper addresses the conception of cultural identity within Greek colonies, mainly in the Greek Classical period of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. The Greeks colonised much of the Mediterranean from as early as the eighth century BC, and it is understood that the colonists gradually assimilated into the indigenous populations, adapting, and adopting, local traditions. The result was that, invariably, all colonies eventually became separate, independent city-states in their own right. However, did the fusion of Greek and indigenous cultural elements mean a complete alienation from the cultural identity of the mother city? The evidence from Metaponto suggests that close links were always maintained, especially in the case of religious healing. The colony was established in the seventh century BC, but fifth- and fourth-century BC archaeological material from Pantanello, a rural sanctuary to an unknown deity in the Metaponto area, bears close similarities to contemporary Artemis sanctuaries elsewhere in the Greek world, notably at Brauron and Sparta, all of which were positively identified as having a healing function. Similarly, Bacchylides’ *Epinician* 11, composed to celebrate the victory of a certain Alexidamus of Metaponto in a wrestling competition in the Pythian Games, emphasises Artemis as a healing deity by recounting the legend behind the adoption of her cult into Alexidamus’ home town. The material excavated at Pantalnello and the Bacchylides poem thus provides an important insight into the conception of cultural identity at Metaponto. In particular, the paper argues that Artemis was still considered an important deity for the colony as late as two centuries after its foundation, and that Pantanello was probably a healing sanctuary, maintaining cultural elements typical for the Greek homeland.

### Shaw, Edwin (Bristol) Panel: Choosing Texts

**History, rhetoric and the epitomator: Florus’ Roman history**

Florus’ historical work, conventionally known as the *Epitome of Titus Livy*, is in fact less restricted than that title suggests: rather (as scholarship including Jal’s edition has suggested) Florus’ sources are more wide-ranging, and his historical account is not confined to summarising a single source. With this paper, I will consider Florus’ own contribution to the historical narrative set out in his brief work: allowing that Florus’ role was more significant than condensing a single source suggests further consideration of his editorial and narrative choices, and Florus’ work, I suggest, should rather be seen as a
worked-up rhetorical piece, calculated towards specific ends.

Florus’ work is structured as a series of the Romans’ wars, external and internal. Florus’ accounts of these episodes often do draw on Livy’s monumental version, but (where comparison is possible) sometimes present variants, and regularly demonstrate divergences of stress (for example, the account of the proscriptions of the 80s BC, which apparently differs from that preserved in the Periochae).

The structure of the work itself also bears consideration: the construction of Roman history as a series of disparate and sometimes unedifying struggles (such as the tumulus Lepidi or the Sertorian War) conflicts both with Florus’ introduction to the work as an illustration of Roman greatness, and with established narratological ways of thinking about Republican history. In each case, the specifics of Florus’ treatment suggest a definite historical understanding of his own. While Florus’ work draws its factual data from other sources, the way that Florus collates these historical episodes suggests historical analysis of his own.

With this paper, then, I will consider what Florus’ historiography might tell us about his vision of Republican history, about contemporary ways of interpreting the Republican past, and about wider questions around the activity of epitomisation in the period.

Sheard, Sarah (independent scholar) Panel: Materiality & Gender, 1*

**Gendering the Projecta casket**

The fourth-century AD Projecta casket from the Esquiline Hoard, now in the British Museum, is inscribed to Secundus and Projecta and decorated with their portraits on its lid and images of Venus and mortal women adorning themselves on its sides. Yet the casket, likely used for female adornment, has primarily been analysed from a male perspective, centred on Secundus’ expectations and conceptions of his wife’s body as a fertile source of heirs. This paper realigns such disproportionate emphasis on Secundus by prioritising Projecta’s lived experience of using the casket to illuminate the role of adornment in constructing her identity and sexuality. Careful iconographic analysis of her portrait, and an imaginative recreation of using the casket itself, reveals Projecta’s strongly individual persona as a docta puella. By opening the casket lid, throwing her husband’s image out of sight and out of mind, Projecta enters a fantasy world and directly parallels herself with Venus. Female adornment, the very function of the casket, is presented as a means of potential empowerment, as symbolized by Venus’ commandeering Mars’ shield to use as a mirror. Such analysis exploits this exceptional, female-centric object to understand a gendered experience of material culture in the ancient world.

Slater, Niall W. (Emory) Panel: Greek Tragic Fragments

**Beta-testing Medea**

The publication of P.Oxy. 5093 has reopened the discussion of the existence of an Ur-Medea, whether by a previous tragedian or Euripides himself. The unknown author of this rhetorical eidetics claims that in the face of negative reaction Euripides ‘crossed out’ (διαγράψας) two newly attested iambic lines of a previous version in which Medea addressed one of the children while on the verge of killing him, yet nonetheless lost the competition with the putatively less shocking revised version. While possibly anachronistic, the verb indicates that the anonymous author did not imagine Euripides was rewriting Neopron or another previous tragedian but was rather revising his own text. At the same time, unlike the evidence for the two versions of Hippolytus, clearly no didascalic record of an earlier performance reached Alexandrian scholars. While the possibility cannot be completely discounted that these thoroughly Euripidean-sounding lines originated from another playwright’s script and were later misattributed to Euripides, another possible explanation for lines that ‘some remember’ should be explored.

It is highly unlikely that any playwright’s script remained thoroughly unaltered from the moment of composition through to festival premiere, as any experience of practical performance shows. As evidence from comedy argues, revision during rehearsal was possible, and a late anecdote of Euripides rehearsing his chorus shows how performers themselves might react to the playwright’s original lines. The anonymous rhetor’s account is consistent with the possibility that the situation and the two lines, which survived in anecdotal memory, provoked a negative reaction during the rehearsal process, and Euripides modified the course of the action and revised his text before the first performance of our surviving Medea script. These lines and two other possible fragments should be considered within the dynamics of a months-long rehearsal process leading to the final text of Medea’s first performance.

Slawisch, Anja (Cambridge) Panel: Was the Archaic Period in Ionia a ‘Golden Age’?*

**Against the motion.**
Articulating assassination: Julius Caesar and Nepos’ Life of Dion

In the closing chapters of his Life of Dion, Cornelius Nepos relates the assassination of the eponymous general at the hands of supposedly loyal allies. Dion, who had curbed the cruelty of one tyrant and forcibly removed another from his native Sicily, is slain on account of becoming a despotic hero by the populace he had cruelly oppressed. Why would Nepos portray the assassination of Dion in this manner?

My proposed solution to this question rests on an examination of the parallels between the final two chapters of Life of Dion and the assassination of Julius Caesar. While the similarity between Nepos’ treatment of Dion and contemporary responses to Caesar’s death has been noted (Sanders, 2008), the significance of such a resemblance has not yet been explored. In this paper, I contend that the divisive assassination of Caesar compelled Nepos to write Dion’s murder not as a clear-cut tyrannicide but as a murky, morally ambiguous deed. Specifically, I will focus on the shifting definition of Dion in the eyes of the populace, as well as Nepos’ unwillingness to personally endorse their claims. I will demonstrate that the manner in which Nepos both utilises and problematises depictions of Caesar’s death in Life of Dion represents an endeavour to question the viability of assassination when its target can be considered both a hero and a tyrant.

The people’s voice in late antique cities

This paper focuses on late antique cities and the way in which different types of crowds appeared, both in daily life as well as during special occasions such as (religious) festivals, processions and visits of imperial officials. When and why did crowds emerge? How were crowds controlled? What role did individuals play within crowds? Often our modern analyses distinguish crudely between crowds that praise and those that criticize and riot. This contribution tries to show that communication and actions by crowds encompassed a much broader spectrum of messages that were part of a larger web of interaction that also included local elites, the imperial government as well as Christian leadership. Based on a variety of different types of late antique sources and a broad range of different cities, this paper offers fresh insights into late antique crowd leadership, organized and spontaneous crowd behaviour, individual’s behaviour within crowds and crowd topography. These insights will help us to improve our understanding of city life in late antiquity, particularly in connection with social structures and power relations at local, regional and imperial level.

Mediating between old and new worlds: receptions of Herakles ancient and modern

At the 2015 CA (Bristol) my paper ‘Herakles the New Zealand pioneer’ introduced a series of prints, The Labours of Herakles, by the contemporary New Zealand artist Marian Maguire. These take a figure of Herakles inspired by Attic black-figure vase-painting and place him in scenes from nineteenth-century New Zealand, making witty comment on European colonisation. Not only is the protagonist ‘borrowed’, but various Attic vase shapes are referenced as well as some specific images, and there is the further conceptual borrowing of the idea of Herakles as archetypal coloniser. Since then, this series of prints has been exhibited at five venues on an international European tour, each one displaying the prints alongside items from its own collection. At Leeds City Museum (Jan.–Mar. 2015) the prints were on the walls of a dedicated exhibition space, surrounding other items in cases, including Maori items as well as antiquities, such as coins featuring Herakles and some Greek vases of appropriate shape. At the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology (Apr.–Aug. 2015) the prints were placed on walls interspersed with the regular collection, grouped thematically with particular casts of classical sculpture. At Munich’s Antikensammlung (Sept.–Dec. 2015) and Würzburg’s Martin von Wagner Museum (Jan.–May 2016) the prints were juxtaposed to particularly fine collections of Greek vase-painting, including one or two of those specifically referenced in the series. At Belgium’s Musée Royal de Mariemont (Sept.–Nov. 2016), the prints were displayed in and around the classical antiquities room, some careful juxtapositions with a wide variety of media drawing attention to different aspects of the modern images. This paper will compare and contrast the five exhibitions, exploring the dynamics of the prints’ interaction with the very different local collections. How have the diverse display contexts affected the viewing experience of the contemporary artworks? And what, in turn, have the prints brought to the public reception of the local collections?
connected to that of the Curse, the daemonic entity—often represented as an Erinys—that plagues the Labdacid house and its members, generation after generation; this implies a daemonic perception of metallic weapons as opposed to their understanding as tools that humans use in battle.

In this play, the Erinys is an unseen entity and Eteocles is presented as a strong leader, determined to save his city. Once he begins to don his armour at 677, however, he becomes subject to a sudden change of mind which turns him into a fatalistic soldier, surrendered to the power of the paternal Curse. The cause of this change has been provoking intense debate among scholars for years: in this paper, I argue that the answer lies in the materiality of the scene. Through the medium of weapons, the audience is led to realise a link between external and internal enemy: in the first episode, when souls of the women of the Chorus are filled with terror caused by the sound of the enemy’s weapons, Eteocles states that the city is destroyed from the inside (192–4). Similarly, when Eteocles begins to don his armour, the Chorus see his sudden change of heart as the result of him being invaded by some external wild desire (687–8, 693–4, 698). The synchronised arming of Eteocles onstage and his sudden change of mind point towards a strong link between the weapons and the daemonic force that operates in this tragedy. The invasion of the external and the internal enemy paradoxically become one, and the vehicle is metal.

Stenger, Jan R. (Glasgow)  Panel: Educating the Ancient World

Macrobius’ Saturnalia and the formation of the educated subject

Macrobius’ Saturnalia has attracted interest mainly for its religious implications, its wealth of information on Roman literature and culture, and its presentation of the discipline of grammar. What has rarely been appreciated is that the miscellaneous knowledge compilation with its exaltation of Vergil was intended by its author as an educational programme. If scholars have studied Macrobius’ notion of education, they have emphasised the traditionalist ideology and the aim of providing the young student with role models of behaviour appropriate to a Roman citizen. A close reading of the Saturnalia’s programmatic preface, however, demonstrates the highly original contribution Macrobius made to ancient educational philosophy. This paper argues that Macrobius proposes a programme that (1) surpassing the acquisition of knowledge and skills in the schools, crucially aims at the formation of the subject or knowledge of the self; (2) achieves this aim through bringing the subject into dialogue, and consonance, with the objective world in its totality; and (3) builds this dialogic relationship on reading practices designed to facilitate an appropriation of the classical past. Drawing on the hermeneutic principle of ‘fusion of horizons’ (H.-G. Gadamer, H. R. Jauss), I hypothesise that the formation of the subject is envisaged by the Saturnalia as a constructive and dynamic engagement resulting in the convergence of subject and object, a process without which true understanding cannot take place. It is this appropriative reading habit, the negotiation of otherness and likeness, that enables the learning subject to engage meaningfully with the ancient texts which provide unique access to wide-ranging knowledge about the world. To substantiate this hypothesis, the paper finally demonstrates that Macrobius’ adaptation of the literary symposium with its insistence on cultured dialogue and consensus is congenial to his pedagogic vision.

Stergiou, Gianna (Hellenic Open U.)  Panel: Aristocracy & Monetization*

The Aiginetan phya in the Pindaric odes

In Pindar, the all-important notion of phya refers to the inborn excellences inherited from one’s ancestors, often from the founding heroes of one’s homeland. In Pindar’s Aeginetan Odes, a theme of central importance is the Aiginetans’ natural excellence (phya) as well as their respect for strangers (xenia). The prominence of the Aeacids in the mythic section of almost all of the Aeginetan Odes might lead one to assume that the Aeacids were the legendary progenitors of the Aeginetans. This, however, was not the case: their ancestor was Heracles, the common ancestor of the Dorian peoples, and a hero with whom the Aeacids had relationships of xenia. Pindar will have surely been aware that the ‘real’ ancestry of the Aeginetans from Heracles, albeit distinguished in itself, was also shared by a large number of Doric populations throughout the Greek world. Moreover, the power of Aegina’s elites was based not so much on inherited land-wealth as on wealth acquired mainly through long-distance trade, and possibly through disreputable activities such as piracy and/or the slave trade.

The following questions arise: Why does Pindar praise the Aeginetans for their phya and xenia? What was the connection between phya and xenia? What was the connection between the economy of the island and the institution of xenia? What was the influence of money in the Pindaric use of the term phya? Does the term have a consistent meaning throughout the Pindaric odes?

Stewart, Daniel (Leicester)  Panel: Current Research on the Greek City*

Anchoring the Roman past at Knossos

The British School at Athens has been investigating Knossos intensively for well over a century, with a
primary focus on the Bronze Age Minoan remains. While major excavations and publications have also documented components of the long post-prehistoric occupation, notably the cemeteries, significantly less attention has been given to the not inconceivable remains of Roman Knossos: *Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnossus*.

Much of our current understanding of Roman Knossos is built upon incompletely published excavations at the Villa Dionysus and Unexplored Mansion and on rescue excavations which have provided further insight as if through keyholes into the urban fabric of the Roman-era site (Sweetman and Grigoropoulous 2010). As a result local ceramic sequences and specific structures are well known, while the broader topography of the inhabited landscapes has remained out of sight, along with the relationship(s) among public, private and religious spaces, the nature of occupation within the valley as a whole, and the place of Knossos within the wider Roman province.

This paper presents the results of three seasons of geophysical survey at Knossos, undertaken under the auspices of the BSA. By providing a topographic anchor for the existing (and largely unstudied) archival material relating to Roman habitation, the project is giving a new voice to old evidence, while also uncovering significant new evidence. We reveal both how this is being done in theory and how it is working out in practice, explaining what we now understand of the history and topography of the Roman city. Research at Knossos offers a catalyst to the revelation of other neglected urban landscapes of the Greek East.

Stewart, Edmund (Nottingham) Panel: Hellenistic Culture

**Ezekiel’s *Exagoge*: fragments of a typical Hellenistic tragedy?**

Ezekiel’s *Exagoge* is a dramatic work written in Greek, perhaps in second-century BC Alexandria, the plot of which covers the events narrated in Exodus 1–15. Around a quarter of the play was preserved third-hand by Eusebius. Was this play a Greek tragedy and what was its relationship to those of the Attic tragedians? While acknowledging Ezekiel’s debt to Euripides, most scholars have sought to stress the differences between the *Exagoge* and its antecedents. Commentators routinely note that Ezekiel fails to conform to the conventions of tragic drama known and propounded by Aristotle. As such, his play is thought to be typical of the changes that are supposed to have occurred in Hellenistic theatre. We have thus tended to view this play as an early ancestor of the ‘Lesedrama’ of Seneca.

In this paper, I wish to challenge these prevailing and longstanding assumptions. They are founded, I argue, on a misconceived notion of the nature of classical tragedy. I suggest that the common reconstruction of the missing scenes (which are believed to take place in Egypt) is both unparalleled in ancient literature (including post-classical and Roman drama) and unsupported by the evidence of the text. This paper proposes an alternative reconstruction which would remove many of the supposed oddities of the play. I conclude that the *Exagoge* was very much a Greek tragedy, despite its Biblical subject matter, and could have been understood as such by Greek audience members. Though a Jew, Ezekiel shows both a detailed knowledge of classical tragedy and an awareness of the theatrical conventions known from the fifth and fourth centuries. This should prompt us to question whether the *Exagoge* can be used as evidence for major changes in dramatic performance in the Hellenistic period.

Stockdale, Elizabeth (Macquarie) Panel: Teaching the Classics

**Teaching Latin online in an Open University Framework**

Please see entry for Nobbs, Alanna.

Stoker, Polly (Birmingham) Panel: Beyond the Author/Body/Text

‘Nothing ever becomes real ‘till it is experienced’: reading for affect in Elizabeth Cook’s *Achilles*’

Elizabeth Cook’s novella *Achilles* (2001) presents the life, death, and afterlife of its eponymous hero in panorama, with a narrative that ranges from conception to literary reception. Though little time is spent recounting his battlefield fame, the interdependencies of warriors who fight and die in the pursuit of *kleos* spills over to mark Achilles out as someone whose identity is made and remade through contact—often quite literally—with others. Of all Achilles’ encounters, the least obviously fleshy is arguably the most compelling, as the final chapter of *Achilles* maps points of contact between the Homeric hero and the Romantic poet John Keats, who famously imagined himself ‘with Achilles shouting in the Trenches’.

This paper will address the significance of a Keatsian aesthetic to Cook’s classical reception, where Keats’s bodily response to the epic hero becomes a way to think through the creation and consumption of literature—its reading, writing, and rewriting—as affective practices. In this way, there is pleasing correspondence between the novella’s themes and the wider turn to affect and emotion in literary criticism, while a focus on embodiment provides a novel inflection to the longstanding practice of eroticizing Classics in reception.

The narrative of *Achilles* presents the body as both subject and object of literary enquiry and at the fault line of one of art’s great dilemmas: the fissure between theory and practice, where experience and its
embodiment exceeds and/or eludes representation. A close reading of Peleus and Thetis’ initial encounter in Achilles will call attention to what is at stake in Cook’s reception practice and the consequence of affective reading for feminist literary criticism, where an account of voyeurism, violence, and rape becomes, over the course of several transformations, something else entirely.

**Strazdins, Estelle (Australian Arch. Inst. at Athens/ Centre for the Study of Greek & Roman Antiquity, Oxford) Panel: Past & Present* Arrian, cultural memory, and literary self-commemoration**

One neglected result of Greek imperial authors’ fascination with the classical past is a concomitant appreciation of their own literature’s potential to speak to the future. If the writings of Thucydides and the speeches of Demosthenes, for instance, were well known in one’s own day, could not one’s own work also be admired in centuries to come? This paper examines how the interface of a landscape steeped in cultural memory and marked by contemporary, if inadequate, Roman imperial authority is manipulated by Arrian in his *Circumnavigation of the Black Sea (Periplous)* to create an illustrious context for his personal literary, commemorative efforts.

Arrian’s posturing as ‘the new Xenophon’ is well known, but the complexity of his engagement with Xenophon’s *Anabasis* in relation to the physical site of Trapezous in its Hadriamic manifestation has not been adequately explored. Arrian’s text collapses time and space to bring the past into the present and distant historically significant locales to Trapezous. In particular, he populates this Greek city on the Black Sea explicitly with Xenophon, Hadrian, and himself, and allusively with Trajan and Alexander the Great as well. He renovates the physical monuments of Trapezous and integrates a landscape already monumentalised in text into his own literary work to create a new and definitive vision of the commemorative topography of Trapezous that depends entirely on his personal interventions in that landscape and his authoritative interpretations of cultural memory. Trapezous is, Arrian claims, ‘absolutely made for an everlasting memorial’ (ἐπτπεδεύσατον ἐς μνήμην σιώπιν, 1.4), which he creates and textualizes through his engagement with the numinosity of that famous spot.

**Swift, Laura (Open U.) Panel: Thinking about Fragments* Bits: tragic fragments as performed art**

This paper will take as its starting point an ongoing collaboration to create a modern piece of theatre out of the concept of fragmentation, inspired by fragments of Euripides. While traditionally the study of tragic fragments has aimed at reconstruction, the paper will explore a different approach to a lost drama, which seeks instead to celebrate its fragmented form, and to highlight uncertainties in the text. I will discuss the collaborative process, and the creative language that we developed to express fragmentation (including visual and auditory techniques). The paper will consider what academic and practitioner-led approaches to fragmented texts can teach each other, as well as the challenges involved in this type of collaboration. The collaboration also involved looking at approaches to how the human brain deals with fragmented information (as outlined in John Harrison’s paper), and I will discuss the overlaps we found between textual and psychological approaches to fragmentation.

**Sykes, Naomi (Nottingham) Panel: Ecology, Environment & Empire* Animals of empire: the trade, management and cultural meaning of fallow deer**

The European fallow deer (*Dama dama dama*) is native to the eastern Mediterranean but, today, has a global distribution. The spread of the species is, in no small part, due to the Roman Empire. This paper brings together zooarchaeological, genetic, isotopic, iconographic and historical research to highlight how the spread of fallow deer during the Roman period can be viewed as a proxy for ideological change—their trade and management representing new attitudes to landscape and the natural world in general.

**Tagliapietra, Livia (Cambridge) Panel: Hellenistic Culture Why did a koinai not develop in South Italy? Investigating the socio-political context of Hellenistic Doric koinai**

When the Attic-based *koine* began to spread across the Greek-speaking world in the early Hellenistic period, contact between this new supra-regional variety of Greek and Doric dialects gave rise to Doric-based *koinai* in a number of Doric-speaking areas. These regional Doric *koinai*, which presented a majority of Doric features alongside *koinai* forms, seem to have functioned as temporary rivals to the increasingly prestigious *koinai*, especially in administrative contexts. Specifically, Doric *koinai* developed in association with the Aetolian League (in Northwest Greece) and with the Achaean League (in Peloponnesian Achaia), in Sicily and in Rhodes. It has generally been assumed that a Doric *koina* developed among the Doric colonies in South Italy as well; however, such a hypothesis has been based on very superficial surveys of the evidence available, and more accurate analyses of the data reveal that, instead, individual
communities in this area tended to preserve their traditional dialects before yielding to the koine. The fact that a regional koine did not develop in South Italy raises questions about the nature and development of Doric koina in this period: why did a koine not develop in South Italy as in neighbouring Sicily? What were the socio-historical and political conditions for the development of koina in other areas? With the aim of answering these questions, in this paper I will investigate the strict interconnection between socio-historical context and linguistic phenomena attested in these areas in this period (dialect levelling, abandonment, conservatism, koineisation), and between dialect identity promoted by the ruling classes in administrative contexts and the contemporary political scenario. On the basis of such an investigation, I shall not only explain why a koine did not develop in South Italy, but also cast important new light on the nature and development of Doric koina in other areas.

Taylor, Claire (Wisconsin–Madison)  Panel: Social Mobility*
Respondent
Please see panel abstract in section 1.

Theodorakopoulos, Elena (Birmingham)  Panel: Beyond the Author/Body/Text*
Respondent
Please see Cox, Fiona, in this section; and panel abstract in section 1.

Tougher, Shaun (Cardiff)  Panel: Interactions in Late Antique Cities*

Anatolius in Athens: the case of the praetorian prefect and the sophists
This paper focuses on the remarkable visitation of a praetorian prefect to Greece in the 340s to engage with the sophists there. Anatolius was both an intellectual and a top-rank administrator in the age of the sons of Constantine, and pursued his intellectual concerns in a formal visit to Greece. The narrative of this visit is found in Eunapius’ Lives of the Sophists, in the midst of his account of the life and career of the Christian sophist Prohaeresius, who taught in Athens. The paper will explore both the nature of the account and how typical such interactions between government and intellectual performers were. It will also consider the wider evidence in Eunapius for the continued visitations of sophists to cities of the empire, such as Prohaeresius’ own performance at the court of Constans in Gaul and then in Rome. The paper will reflect on the nature of intellectual life in the cities of the empire; how urban intellectuals interacted with emperors and their administrators; and what this reveals about the character of late antique cities and their society.

Tuci, Paolo A. (Milan)  Panel: Social Mobility*

Spatial mobility and social promotion in the world of trade
The aim of this paper is to ascertain both if non-citizens involved in any form of trade working in Athens could achieve economic and social promotion and what were the feelings of Athenian citizens towards them. Thus, the privileged research field is that of metics, who, after deserting their homeland voluntarily or being compelled to do so for any reason, resided in the city for a period; accordingly, they might be interested in improving their social conditions in the new country in which they lived.

Obviously, the main sources are forensic speeches (for example, Isocrates’ Trapezitzicus, Lysias’ Against the Grain-dealers and commercial suits in the Demosthenic corpus), in which a vivid picture of the Athenian economic world is preserved, but also epigraphic evidence.

This kind of source in the last decades has been widely scrutinized, also in order to confirm or disprove the traditional view according to which in ancient Athens there was a sharp division between poor, non-citizen traders and wealthy citizens not involved in trade: the paper will not go back specifically to this issue, but aims to cast new light on the social condition of metics involved in trade.

At least two kinds of difficulties could arise. On the one hand, metics mentioned in orations are usually known from that single source: this makes it difficult to trace an evolution in the personal backstory of these men, starting from the reasons for which they left their homeland and then following the evolution of their social conditions during their stay in Athens. On the other hand, it is often hard to determine the precise status of men named in orations, whether they are metics or simply xenoi. Despite these problems, the paper will try to verify if trade was a way of social improvement for non-citizens in ancient Athens.

Unruh, Daniel (Cambridge)  Panel: Honour & Dishonour

In the hands of the barbarian: Sophocles’ Tereus and the erotics of diplomacy
The story of Tereus, Procris, and Philomela, with its incidents of rape, imprisonment, mutilation, infanticide, and supernatural transformation, has been an arresting narrative since antiquity. In this talk, I will consider how this story was used in one of its most influential tellings,
van den Eersten, Aniek (University of Amsterdam)  
Panel: Greek Historiography  

test as a spectator sport: Herodotus’ characterization of Xerxes at Thermopylae and Salamis

This paper shows how Herodotus exploits the close association between sports and war in ancient Greece in his metaphorical characterization of Xerxes as a sports spectator rather than a military commander. I focus on two episodes in particular: the battles of Thermopylae and Salamis. At Thermopylae, a stark contrast is played out between the self-sacrificing Spartan king Leonidas and the passively spectating Xerxes. This spectator’s perspective, I argue, is accentuated at the word level as Herodotus metaphorically describes the battle with sports-related words. At the battle of Salamis, Xerxes’ position as a spectator is developed further. I show how Artemisia, both in her actions on the battlefield and in her advice to the king after the battle, capitalises on Xerxes’ conception of the war as a sports game. The analysis of Artemisia’s metaphor use, mirroring that of Herodotus, offers new insight into the rhetorical strategy that she employs in her speech to Xerxes.

With this case study, I aim to revive the study of Herodotus’ use of metaphor, taking into account the rhetorical function of his metaphor use and its possible contribution to Herodotus’ techniques of characterization, which have received increasing attention in recent years (Baragwanath, 2015; De Bakker, forthcoming). The characterization of Xerxes, in particular, is a central issue in the interpretation of the last three books of Herodotus’ Histories. Of all the Persian kings, Xerxes seems the most preoccupied with the inspection—and admiration—of his army; he seems motivated more by passion than reason and has trouble understanding reality (Immerwahr, 1966: 176–83; Lateiner, 1977: 179; Konstan, 1987). Herodotus ingeniously combines and implicitly reflects upon all these aspects of the king’s character in his description of him as a spectator of war, using, among other techniques, metaphor to paint the picture of his character in full color.

Vaessen, Rik (RAAP Consultancy, Netherlands)  
Panel: Archaic East Aegean  

Ersoy, Yaşar (Hitit University Çorum, Turkey)  

The Ionian Migration: myth or reality? The archaeological evidence from Klazomenai

The literary tradition of the Ionian Migration has long dominated our understanding of the transition from Late Bronze to Early Iron Age in coastal western Anatolia. Over the last decade or so, the literary traditions have come under close scrutiny and it is now increasingly accepted that the traditions are more revealing about the time in which they were written than about the time they are supposed to reflect. The critical reappraisals of the literary sources have, however, not yet led to a thorough re-evaluation of the archaeological evidence. The main reason for this is that most of the relevant material consists of pottery from unstratified or poorly stratified (settlement) deposits. To fill in at least some of the gap the Klazomenai Early Iron Age Project (KEIAP) was commenced by the authors in 2014 as part of the Klazomenai Excavations Project. This project aimed to both analyse the results from old excavations at the site and carry out new excavations. This has now resulted in a well-stratified and detailed sequence of settlement deposits spanning the very end of the Late Bronze Age and the whole of the Early Iron Age (ca. 1100–700 BCE). This allows us for the first time to examine in detail the transition from Bronze to Iron Age. In this paper we intend to present the archaeological evidence related to the earliest phases of the Early Iron Age settlement and discuss the implications for the historicity of the Ionian Migration and the future of research in Ionia.

van der Velden, Bram (Leiden)  
Panel: Rhetoric & Education in Late Antiquity  

The two faces of Cicero in the Christian commentary tradition

It has long been known that many interpretative principles behind the Christian commentary tradition are indebted to those behind the pagan commentary tradition. At the same time, however, Christian commentators often felt the need to distance themselves from that tradition. Jerome, for instance, in his commentary on Daniel 5:7, remarks: *rem quidem facio ridiculam ut in expositione prophetarum de uerborum
generibus quasi grammaticus disputem (‘I am doing something ridiculous by discussing the gender of nouns, as a grammarian would do, in a commentary on the Prophets’). The implication is that the methods of the grammaticus, so important in a typical pagan rhetorical education, are inadequate when dealing with the Bible, a divinely inspired purveyor of moral truths.

In this paper I would like to explore this fundamental ambivalence in the Christian commentary tradition by means of a concrete case study: its use of Cicero, whose works constituted an integral part of the traditional pagan rhetorical education. It comes as no surprise that the pagan commentary tradition features many Ciceronian quotations, primarily to educate the reader about what constitutes good Latinity.

The Christian reception of Cicero, as is well known, has two sides. On the one hand, his works and ideas serve as useful models for Christian authors. Ambrose’s work on the duties of the clergy (De officiis ministrorum), for example, is closely modeled after Cicero’s De officiis. On the other hand, Cicero also acts as a symbol for the kind of life a true Christian needs to relinquish, an idea most pointedly encapsulated in Jerome’s Ciceronianus es, non Christianus (Letters 22.30).

One could, I would argue, almost speak of two different Cicero’s in the Christian commentary tradition. One is Cicero the rhetorician, whose ostentatiousness is often ridiculed. Cicero the philosopher, on the other hand, is portrayed in a different light: passages from his philosophical works are often quoted when they are in agreement with moral teachings from the Bible. I will elaborate on the last two points with concrete examples, and embed my findings in a more general overview of the Late Antique reception of Cicero as a rhetorician and a philosopher.

van Wees, Hans (UCL)  Panel: Military Rhetoric & Reality*

Respondent

Please see panel abstract in section 1.

Vassiliou-Abson, Anastasia (Leicester Grammar School)  Panel: Lucretius

Mars reclining on the lap of Venus (Lucretius, De rerum natura 1.31–40): From artefact to text or text to artefact?

Lucretius’ didactic poem on Epicurean cosmology and way of life starts with a tableau which could easily qualify as a notional, if not traditional epic, ecphrasis: the god of war, reclining on Venus’ lap, gazes at her whilst she bends over him, close enough to catch his breath on her lips and in turn to whisper—at the poet’s bidding—sweet words of peace. In M. Nussbaum’s words, this image-type ‘is so familiar, it is almost a cliché’. And yet, a search for an actual artefact inspiring or inspired by this vivid description proves very difficult, as Lowell Edmunds has shown. To complicate things further, as already noted by Donncha O’Rourke, but dealt with largely within a political scope, Lucretius’ description illustrates remarkable ‘intertextual traction’ between Epicureanism and Homeric or, more evidently perhaps, Hellenistic and early Roman elegiac imagery and verse. Looking ahead of its time, it can be legitimately projected onto celebrated instances of Vergilian and Ovidian ecphrasis and their own nexuses of allusion or (image) transference.

My own interest lies on the tableau’s deviation from its apparent or potential artistic sources or representations, ancient or modern (from gems, molten glass cameos, wall-painting vignettes, statues and Roman sarcophagi to modern engravings or paintings). I seek to explore Lucretius’ own points of focalisation (or perspective) in the tableau, which can be borne out by principles supporting the totality of his cosmological object and by his poetic language that seeks to describe it. My aim is not so much to reconstruct the gaze of the Epicurean philosopher/poet, or that of his first reader/viewer of the tableau in question, but to show the potential of this particular Mars and Venus’ love schema in engaging a contemporary audience, who can in turn respond textually or artistically to the ultimate questions raised by the riddle of its interpretation.

Venables, Lisa A. (Leicester)  Panel: Pulling the Threads Together*

The textiles and textile production of Roman-period Britain

The current assessment of the nature of Romano-British textile manufacture remains largely descriptive and we continue to hypothesise its contribution to the ‘Roman economy’ without any systematic or scientific analysis of those archaeologically recovered artefacts identified as ‘textile tools’. It has been argued that to map finds of such implements would reveal little about who was engaged in elements of textile production; who, for example, wove and in what circumstance (Wild, 2002: 12). Arguably, a close analysis of both the morphology of textile tools and their contexts might yield more information about who was producing what and where, which may (or may not) substantiate rather descriptive assessments of the Romano-British textile industry. On the basis of the nature of those textile tools recorded and the results of experimental archaeological experimentation, what can be hypothesised in terms of the nature of textiles produced in the province during the Roman period? Is there any discernable change or adaptation in the tool technologies? If so, how might this be explained? Can we discern loci of production? What might that add
to an understanding of the locus of production across the province?

To illustrate the potential of a material-typological, functional-experimental and contextualised approach, I will examine the material recovered during the excavations of the late Iron Age and Roman settlements at the Wattal Syke, West Yorkshire. Its archaeology suggests an expansion during the early Roman period towards an economy geared towards arable farming. Its location, at the fringe of Eboracum’s territorium legionis, suggests a relationship with a villa by nearby Dalton Parlers, and its unenclosed late Roman incarnation features sunken-floor buildings.

Vergados, Athanassios (Newcastle upon Tyne)  Panel: Greek Literary Scholarship*

**Lucian’s dialogue with Hesiod between philology, philosophy, and satire**

Lucian’s short dialogue with Hesiod is a humorous attempt to solve an interpretive difficulty by consulting the poet himself. The narrator’s (Lycinus’) question (ἀπορία, §3) centres on Th. 32: although Hesiod had claimed that the Muses inspired him to sing τά τ’ ἔσοδόμενα πρό τ’ ἐόντα, his works contain no prophecies. Indeed, ancient scholarship grappled with this question: for Σ Hes. Th. 32 Hesiod intended that poetry is somehow similar to divination, adding that singing τά τ’ ἔσοδόμενα is properly used of a μάντις.

Hesiod’s λόγοι takes the form of an ἀπολογία that resembles the composite nature of several scholia. The poet begins with an allusion to the Platonic Ion (§4 ‘I could claim that all that which I sang belonged to the Muses rather to myself . . .’) which Lycinus picks up at §9 in ring-composition. The core of Hesiod’s ἀπολογία strings together three arguments: (i) ‘hair-splitting’ has no place when discussing poetry (cf. Σ Ariston. II. 8.475–6; Σ Arg. Eur. Or.); (ii) poets often compose verses for the sake of εὐφωνία rather than focusing on meaning (cf. Crates’ theory of euphony); (iii) poets possess τὴν ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν ἔξουσια (poetic licence). Interestingly, both poetic licence and ‘straw-splitting’ (σκινδαλάμους, §5) have their origins in Comedy’s linguistic and literary discourse (Diph. fr. 29 K.–A.; Ar. Nub. 129–30, Ran. 819), before being integrated in mainstream literary criticism. Finally, the question-and-answer format is typical of the way difficulties detected in a text are addressed (cf. works with ἄπορήματα/Ζητήματα in their title; cf. λείψεως . . . τάς ἀπορίας, §3), and is used by Lucian also at Verae Historiae 2.20. There, the narrator interrogates Homer on famous ζητήματα which the poet resolves for him, with the result that ψυχρολογία is imputed to Ζενοδότος and Aristarchus, who denied Homer the authorship of certain verses (cf. Dialogue §5).

All in all, Lucian creates a gem whereby he deftly puts literary criticism to use in the satire against philologists, thus echoing similar attacks found in scoptic epigram (e.g. AP 11.20, 140, 321, 322, 347, 354).

Waite, Sally (Newcastle upon Tyne)  Panel: Speaking Objects*

**Re-contextualising Greek pottery: vases from the collection of Thomas Hope in Newcastle**

The re-development of the Great North Museum: Hancock, Newcastle upon Tyne in 2009 reunited four Greek vases once in the collection of Thomas Hope (1769–1831) a designer, novelist and arbiter of style in Regency England. Hope was an avid collector, initially displaying his collection of vases across four themed rooms in his home in Duchess Street, London, which he opened for public viewings in the early nineteenth century. All four Hope vases in Newcastle are red-figure kraters ranging in date from 450 to 370 BC; two were manufactured in Athens and two were made by Greek craftsmen in southern Italy. Their iconography is diverse: the first, a volute krater, depicts an image of Dionysos and his retinue, the remaining three are bell kraters and portray a scene of hunting; Nike with a fillet and a mistress and maid type. This paper explores issues of interpretation linked to their iconography, use and past and present display. In recent years Greek pottery studies have seen increasing emphasis placed on the history of collections based in part on an understanding that the post-excaation history of an object is an important part of its biography; the biography of an object, including the more recent history of collection and display, offers one possibility for the re-contextualisation of pottery. This paper will examine the four Newcastle kraters, focusing on the context of viewing and their shifting meanings mediated by social action over time.

Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew (Cambridge)  Panel: Current Research on the Greek City*

**Respondent**

Please see panel abstract in section 1.

Walser, Isabella (Innsbruck)  Panel: Teaching Rhetoric*

**Teaching rhetoric at secondary schools in Austria**

After having studied Classics and Neo-Latin, and having been on the compulsory teaching traineeship for teachers of Latin and Greek, I have eventually settled as a scholar in the field of neo-Latin studies. Despite what is often perceived as a gap and potential distance between secondary and higher education, I would like to offer some insights into the teaching of Latin rhetoric at
Austrian secondary schools: firstly, from the perspective of a former pupil educated within that system; secondly, as a former (though short-term) teacher at an Austrian secondary school; and thirdly, as a university teacher now training undergraduate students who have recently passed their A-Levels (or Reifeprüfung, as it is called in Austria).

At the start of my paper I will give a brief overview of the curriculum of secondary Latin education in Austria, and explain some of its peculiarities and features. Among these is, for example, the modular approach: the modules encompass thematically arranged teaching sequences of varying length, based on reading examples of different genres and authors from classical antiquity to the early modern period. The order of the modules is completely optional, as are the texts and authors read within a specific module. Another characteristic of Latin education at Austrian secondary schools is that pupils can choose to be trained in Latin for either four or six years, which means that the modules can slightly vary depending on the option the students pick. Next, I will describe the respective modules which focus on rhetoric in both the four-year model (where the relevant module is entitled ‘Politics and Rhetoric’) and in the six-year model (the module is entitled ‘Rhetoric, Propaganda, and Manipulation’) and I will provide some examples of their classroom applications.

Walser, Isabella (Innsbruck) Panel: Latin between the Private & Public Spheres*

A window to the world: the inaugural oration as an intermediary between university and society

The early modern inaugural oration (known as oratio inauguralis, oratio auspicious, or oratio aditialis), given in Latin by a professor in order to be officially admitted to his office at the University, makes for an interesting topic of study in many different respects. First of all, it is a genre which has received only little scholarly attention so far, especially compared with other genres situated in the academic context. In fact, it is rarely distinguished from the orations held at the beginning of an academic year, from lectures, or from disputations. Secondly, inaugural orations are interesting as they look towards two different audiences and thus take on two different forms. The primary audience, consisting of the faculty members and university dignitaries, heard the oration delivered orally by the professor; after the speech had been given, it was usually made accessible by print to the secondary audience, made up by anyone who was able to read Latin. As one can imagine, the language and the rhetoric used in the oration could vary greatly depending on the audience. This is why, thirdly, the inaugural oration is also intriguing from a rhetorical point of view. Last but not least, the inaugural oration demonstrates that university-level teaching and learning was actually embedded in contemporary political, confessional, scientific, and related affairs. In its programmatic design it provides us with significant insights into the relationship between learned culture and society in general since, as representatives of learned culture, professors frequently reflected upon and responded to various societal trends of the early modern period (such as humanism, the Reformation, the scientific revolution, the Enlightenment, or nationalism).

In the light of these observations, the paper will offer an overview of the inaugural oration as a genre and present illustrative examples from early modern Germany.

Webb, Lewis (Gothenburg) Panel: Materiality & Gender, 1*

Gendering the Roman imago: clarae imagines from filia to funus

This paper provides a fresh gender perspective on the Roman imago, male ancestor mask, by examining the ways in which imagines were a vital part of elite female lives in the Republic and Empire. While the relationships between imagines and elite male lives have been well established, little has been said about their roles in the life-cycles of elite women. I argue they were deeply entangled in an elite woman’s life. When she was a filia, imagines were a vivid didactic presence in the atrium of her natal home. When she was a nuota and uxor, copies of her patrilineal and matrilineal imagines were transferred from her natal home to her marital home. When she was a matrona and mater, her marital home would accrue imagines when her male relatives attained the aedilship. Moreover, she could use them didactically with her children. When an elite woman died, a pompa imaginum could be part of her funus. Finally, a female maior and her patrilineal and matrilineal imagines constituted and signified elite identities. I propose the imagines and accompanying tituli were a deposit of symbolic capital for an elite woman, embodying and materialising her social position and status: her own commendatio maiorum.

Węcowski, Marek (Warsaw) Panel: Aristocracy & Monetization*

Towards a definition of the Greek aristocratic culture of the archaic period

What is meant by aristocratic culture here goes far beyond the traditional scholarly focus on aristocratic artistic patronage and aristocratic lifestyle in all its main manifestations. Instead, it is related to a more general notion of the archaic and early classical Greek culture that I will try to substantiate in this essay. I will argue that some of the fundamental, and historically most influential, aspects of this culture were due to the fact

---

**Papers**
that its various manifestations were in fact conceived in order to be ‘consumed’ at the same time by the representatives of social elites and, to a lesser extent, by the ‘commoners’ in their respective social circles. This was not simply due to the natural appeal of ‘higher’ cultural models, but also anchored in the mechanisms of social advancement in the Greek communities of the time. Cultural knowledge and cultural skills were central to securing elevated social position, since the economic threshold for aspiring to such a position was usually relatively low. By aristocratic culture, then, I mean the overall ‘cultural capital’ indispensable to seal one’s elite status or to promote one’s social advancement to achieve this status. The symposion and its concomitant cultural activities were but one, albeit perhaps the most conspicuous, case in point. The ultimate goal of this study is to offer a more general theory of Greek aristocratic culture and suggest that one of the most important riddles of early Greek history, i.e. the essential cultural uniformity of archaic and early classical Greek civilization achieved and maintained despite the fundamental (geographic and political) fragmentation of the Hellenic world, can perhaps be accounted for. Namely, that the unity in question was primarily due to the aristocratic culture that provided a common denominator for the universally valid modes of social recognition, both for individual aristocrats striving to secure their position among their peers and for the commoners at large, striving to find their way into the ranks of their local elites. As a result, cultural novelties travelled extremely fast into every corner of the Greek world, since those ready to ‘praise that song the most which comes the newest to their ears’, as Homer puts it, were to be found both among the aristocrats and among the commoners across the Mediterranean and the Black Sea region. In a word, both the social and the geographical mobility of the Hellenic world were closely linked to the aristocratic culture studied in this essay.

Welch, Kathryn (Sydney)  Panel: Novelty & Commemoration*
Memorable women and women in memory
Tales from the proscriptions of 42 BCE, evocative texts such as the Laudatio Turiae, and the sensational narratives of Fulvia, Livia, Octavia and Hortensia (among others) all point to the growing prominence of women in the forties, thirties, and twenties BCE. In addition, there are many evocative examples of female funerary portraits which commemorate women not only from the leading households of Rome, but also from across the social spectrum and including several libertine families. This was also an age when women appeared on the coinage of many provincial cities and eventually of Rome itself.

Commemoration of women in this era is too prevalent not to have a basis in changing social conditions. Moreover, the fact that it continued throughout the Julio-Claudian period and across a broad geographical area suggests that women were not, as scholars assume, ‘put back in their box’ when civil order was re-established in the 20s BCE.

This paper brings together a range of evidence for the economic and social situations of women and asks how much influence they were able to exert, both as individuals and in groups. Rather than assuming that men always determined the outcomes for women in ancient Rome, it asks what outcomes their command of wealth enabled, good and bad, in the civil war period and beyond. The loyalty of wives, in particular, was highly valued precisely because it could be requested but not commanded in an age of civil war. The new forms of public commemoration were not only a means of saying thank you to significant individuals: they acknowledged a new social and economic reality.

Wheeler, Graham John (independent scholar)  Panel: Renaissance Receptions
Towards a reception history of the Chaldaean Oracles
The Chaldaean Oracles are among the most fascinating and enigmatic texts that have come down to us from classical antiquity. Fragmentary in their surviving form and obscure in their content, the full history of their reception among scholars and interested amateurs has yet to be written.

The Oracles are mystical texts which deal with the metaphysical structure of the universe. The surviving fragments admit of several theories in respect of their origin. It is clear that they come from the strange corner of Hellenic culture in which Platonic philosophy intersected with Near Eastern religion and practical magic—the so-called ‘Platonic underworld’ (J. M. Dillon) which also produced the Gnostic and Hermetic movements.

This paper seeks to interrogate aspects of the ancient and modern reception history of the Oracles. In antiquity, the Oracles were taken up as a kind of sacred text by the philosophers of the Neoplatonic school; and they continued to be read by later Platonists in Byzantium. In Western Europe, they were rediscovered at the Renaissance and republished repeatedly in the succeeding centuries. Yet there was a notable shift in their readership, away from academic philosophers and towards amateur occultists. In Britain, for example, editions were produced by the Platonist autodidact Thomas Taylor and the occultist W. W. Westcott. The Oracles ended up being absorbed into the scriptures and rituals of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn and Aleister Crowley’s theosophical system. No satisfactory
Wilshere, Nicholas (Nottingham)  Panel: Lucian at Play with Genre & Tradition*

**Missing Romans and broken promises in Lucian’s Makrobioi**

The *Makrobioi* (*Long-lived Persons*) attributed to Lucian comprises a list of more than 70 notable men who died at ages ranging from 80 to 150 years. On the grounds that a tedious ‘documentary’ list is markedly different in style from anything else produced by Lucian, the scholarly consensus has long been that the work is unlikely to have come from his satirical pen. But this paper argues that such a view takes insufficient account of several discursive sections of the text where a narratorial voice is more prominent, especially the narrator’s unfulfilled metatextual promises—first, that Romans will have their own special section in the list, then that their inclusion will prove the Italian climate’s beneficial qualities, and finally that, because of a last-minute change of plan, Romans will actually be kept in reserve for an entirely separate catalogue, to be written ‘if the gods wish it’. These not only resemble the mendacious promise of a ‘Book Three’ at the end of Lucian’s *True Histories*, but also have the effect of drawing special attention to places in the list where Roman emperors receive merely incidental mention, as pupils of their longer-lived Greek teachers. The narrator thus uses the dry content of the list to set up a mischievous joke at the expense of his readers, especially Roman such as the work’s dedicatee, Quintillus. When read in this way, the apparently sober and factual *Makrobioi* reveals features that strongly recall the love of lying, hoaxing and parody so characteristic of Lucian.

Worley, Andrew (Exeter)  Panel: A Magnificent Seven*

**Left hanging: using Jocasta in antiquity**

The literary (re-)juse of Oedipus and his grisly myth stretches from Homer onward. For audiences ancient and modern, Tom Lehrer once sang it succinctly: ‘There once lived a man named Oedipus Rex, | You may have heard about his odd complex.’ But what of the usage of his wider family? Rarely do they appear as characters in their own right; rather, they are subordinate to Oedipus, ancillary details to the plot. A point observed in antiquity: Antiphanes (fr. 189) notes that the mere mention of Oedipus has an audience instantly recall all of his other family. Whilst undoubtedly Classical Greek drama helped to push Oedipus (and to a certain extent Antigone) centre-stage, Jocasta, Laius, Eteocles and Polynices never quite make the spotlight to the same degree.

The paper considers the presentation of Jocasta as a self-contained character in the extant classical literature. As an unwitting female pawn of fate, a prototype figure for maternal incest, and a wife and mother witnessing the extirpation of a royal line, Jocasta surely should have been suitable for considerable reuse throughout antiquity. Instead, her appearances are few and far between. Her potential multiple-choice fates (as attested in the *Thebaid*, for example) offer those who employ her a chance to go beyond Sophocles; of particular interest here is Herodan’s recollection of an Alexandrian jest against Antoninus Caracalla wherein his mother, Julia Domna, is labelled as *Jocasta*. Where Jocasta appears, and how she is used, is critical to answering the question of why she is so infrequent in her appearances in the literature. Through analysis of her intermittent appearances and references, the figure of Jocasta emerges as a complicated character, and one of both greater depth and literary utility than has been previously recognized.

Wood, David (Cork)  Panel: (Un)Adorned Bodies

**Caligula dresses up**

Philo, Suetonius and Dio agree that the emperor Caligula used to disguise himself as a variety of divinities, both male and female. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the significance of their claims. Unfortunately, these sources provide very little context in the case of most of their allegations, so that there is a tendency to seek just one or two explanations for all or most of them (e.g. an obsession with acting, a love of cross-dressing). My main argument is that one explanation cannot explain all of the various allegations, and that while some may have a factual basis, and that Caligula did indeed disguise himself as a divinity in these cases, other claims may represent hostile misinterpretations of older traditions. Aurelius Victor preserves an unusual degree of context when he reports that Caligula disguised himself as Venus while with his troops on the sea-shore at the English Channel in early AD 40. Particular attention will be paid to this claim. It will be argued that the latter allegation may result from a misunderstanding of the ovation, or ‘triumph of Venus’, which Caligula celebrated at Rome for his alleged victory at the Channel, where the fact that he wore a crown of myrtle dedicated to Venus may have encouraged the belief that he had dressed as Venus at the Channel itself also.

academic edition of the *Oracles* existed in English until 1978, although in recent years there has been something of a revival of interest in them among scholars.

It is suggested that the very obscurity of the *Oracles’* origins and meaning, as fragmentary mystical texts, has made them apt for a diversity of uses and interpretations.

Worley, Andrew (Exeter)  Panel: A Magnificent Seven*

**Left hanging: using Jocasta in antiquity**

The literary (re-)juse of Oedipus and his grisly myth stretches from Homer onward. For audiences ancient and modern, Tom Lehrer once sang it succinctly: ‘There once lived a man named Oedipus Rex, | You may have heard about his odd complex.’ But what of the usage of his wider family? Rarely do they appear as characters in their own right; rather, they are subordinate to Oedipus, ancillary details to the plot. A point observed in antiquity: Antiphanes (fr. 189) notes that the mere mention of Oedipus has an audience instantly recall all of his other family. Whilst undoubtedly Classical Greek drama helped to push Oedipus (and to a certain extent Antigone) centre-stage, Jocasta, Laius, Eteocles and Polynices never quite make the spotlight to the same degree.

The paper considers the presentation of Jocasta as a self-contained character in the extant classical literature. As an unwitting female pawn of fate, a prototype figure for maternal incest, and a wife and mother witnessing the extirpation of a royal line, Jocasta surely should have been suitable for considerable reuse throughout antiquity. Instead, her appearances are few and far between. Her potential multiple-choice fates (as attested in the *Thebaid*, for example) offer those who employ her a chance to go beyond Sophocles; of particular interest here is Herodan’s recollection of an Alexandrian jest against Antoninus Caracalla wherein his mother, Julia Domna, is labelled as *Jocasta*. Where Jocasta appears, and how she is used, is critical to answering the question of why she is so infrequent in her appearances in the literature. Through analysis of her intermittent appearances and references, the figure of Jocasta emerges as a complicated character, and one of both greater depth and literary utility than has been previously recognized.
When the Romans talk about the people, it’s all just p.R.: reconsidering the literary ‘Roman people’

Roman literature is littered with repeated mention of the ‘Roman people’: they participate in elections; ratify decisions; and voice their displeasure. Yet, who are the Roman people? Are they a definable all-encompassing whole—as suggested by the SPQR of Latin monumental epigraphy—or are they a fluid concept, a selection of the wider population? Is the populus Romanus of Livy the same as that of Cicero, or Tacitus? Is such a term even fixed within a single author? In short—is populus Romanus an agreed terminology by ancients and moderns, or a clichéd tag-line?

Whilst the extent of the people’s involvement in Republican politics is debated, the concept of ‘the people’ as treated in Roman late-republican and imperial literature has escaped widespread consideration. This paper aims to reconsider the populus Romanus with a focus on close reading of passages in which they play a critical part. Close reading can not only reveal how ancient authors themselves conceived the ‘Roman people’, but also what may be their motivation in including such mentions in the first place. The concept of a literary ‘Roman people’ will be shown to be as much a tool as its political construct within the republican contio and comitia.

Swear not at all or ‘fulfil your oath to the Lord’:
Christianity and Late Antique swearing

Oaths featured in a wide variety of contexts in Roman society. Originally formulated within a pagan framework where traditional deities were invoked through cultic rituals, the increasing pervasiveness of Christianity in Late Antiquity gradually saw the invocation of the Christian God until it became a thoroughly Christian ritual by the end of the sixth century. Despite their importance throughout antiquity, the role of oaths in Late Antiquity has received much less attention than earlier periods. This paper focuses on Christian attitudes to oath-taking and its individual elements in Roman society.

Jesus himself supposedly prohibited all oaths in his Sermon on the Mount, which led to a variety of interpretations. Some took an absolutist view and thought swearing was an unnecessary evil, the Devil’s trap meant to lead those of strong religious conviction astray. Others only took issue with pagan elements, and argued against swearing by idols and to some extent the emperor, but accepted the practice following its religious reorientation after Christian adaptation. A third category of opinions appear to have had no problem swearing in any form, and frequently did so in various contexts, including in Church matters.

These three differing reactions raise several questions regarding Christian perceptions of oath-taking and their place in Late Antique society. What specifically about swearing gave rise to these attitudes, and how did the introduction of the Christian God into its terminology address issues? How did Christians react to invocation of the emperor, and were there attempts to circumvent unacceptable elements? For what reasons was swearing, both in traditional and Christian forms, accepted by some who followed Christian doctrine? Through the analysis of oaths used by Christian adherents and their arguments both for and against sworn promises, I aim to assess the relationship between Late Antique swearing and Christian interactions with wider society.

Narrating gender: autochthony as social myth of sexual order

The aim of this paper is to make a contribution to gender study and the study of Athenian autochthony by proposing a different reading from the well-established theory by French scholars, especially Nicole Loraux since the 1980s. For Loraux the success of autochthony was due to the myth’s exclusion of women from the reproductive cycle: a straightforward reflection of the historical exclusion of the female from the male-only political sphere. This δημοκρατικ reading is a dense account of autochthony but it strays too far away from the mythic narrative of autochthony itself and has thereby missed out on some of its essence.

In a departure, then, from the previous reading, this paper proposes to go back to the narrative of the myths per se. It will argue that the myths of autochthony are not political myths of origin but are social myths of gender order, which shows not an exclusion but a suppression of women within the sexual system. Three examples will suffice. First, a discussion of the divine Eris between Athena and Poseidon can show that the central point of the myth is the establishment of social order through the wholesale suppression of the female. Second, a reading of the earth-born procreation of Erichthonius can show that the essence of autochthony is to remove dangerous powers of the female in sexual relationship. Third, an interpretation of the figure of Praxithea can show that autochthony requires not only the suppression but also the self-willed subordination of the female to the male in society. These three myths altogether show that in the order of autochthony both men and women are assigned to clearly defined roles and that this order, through its intimate relation to the divine world, justifies itself and thereby forms a powerful social discourse for Athenian society.
Yu, Kenneth (Chicago/Leuven)  Panel: Aristotle & Quotation Culture

**Pausanias and the Aristotelian scientific tradition**

Recent scholarship has shown Pausanias to be a careful and sophisticated observer of ancient Greek religious life, by drawing attention to his emulation of the Herodotean model as well as to his place in the Second Sophistic milieu. Overlooked in these studies, however, is the Aristotelian analytical impulse that seems to guide much of the descriptions in *Description of Greece*. This paper argues that certain methodological aspects of the Peripatetic research program—especially manifest in technical genres like *problematata* and paradoxography—deeply inform Pausanias’ procedure of consulting local informants and textual sources and of adjudicating between conflicting opinions.

I focus on three aspects in Pausanias that reveal his indebtedness to Peripatetic research ideals: his critical, albeit often charitable, treatment of local opinions and stories about marvels (e.g. 1.4.1–5; 3.11.1; 6.26.2); his use of comparisons, parallels, and analogies in analyzing ethnographic and natural anomalies (e.g. 1.13.8–9; 5.13.2–3; 7.24.11); and his application of epistemic criteria like plausibility, rather than truth and falsity, to evaluate the reliability of sources related to unusual cult rituals and recondite local lore (e.g. 2.19.8; 8.2.4; 9.18.3–4). I argue that these elements in Pausanias’ inquiry evince important points of contiguity with Aristotelian dialectic and the Peripatetic use of *endoxia* to examine phenomena in the human sciences (e.g. *Top.* 100a18–21; 104a5–7; *EN* 1145b2–6). Recognizing Pausanias’ engagement with Aristotelian methods in the human sciences—more precisely, his fluctuation between Herodotean and Aristotelian styles of explanation—raises further questions about the compatibility of historiographical and philosophical modes of explanation in Hellenistic and Imperial Greek intellectual culture.

Zadorojnyi, Alexei (Liverpool)  Panel: Locating Plutarch*

**Sin City: Syracuse in Plutarch’s Lives**

The paper is going to look at the ethico-political evaluation of Classical and Hellenistic Syracuse that crystallises from four Plutarchan Lives (*Nicias, Dion, Timoleon, Marcellus*). Even though Plutarch’s first-hand experience of the city is hard to prove, Syracuse has an important place on his map of ‘global history’ (after C. Pelling) as a *polis* comparable in terms of its size and resources with Athens and Carthage (*Nicias* 17.2; *Marcellus* 19.7) and, crucially, as the arena of major conflicts between the Greeks (cf. *Nicias* 27.9), Carthage, and Rome. At the same time, Plutarch is using the dramatic Syracusan past (especially but not exclusively in the *Life of Dion*) to flesh out the Platonic caveats about the emotionally unstable citizen masses in need of responsible and balanced leadership. The overall diachronic profile of *hoi Syrakosioi* in Plutarch is not particularly positive. The ending of *Timoleon* projects a more favourable picture yet also conveys the sense of finiteness and extinction of Syracuse’s polity (*Timoleon* 39).

Zampieri, Eleonora (Leicester)  Panel: Roman Political Identities

**Was it all about them? Political workings in Rome behind/beyond the great leaders at the end of the Republic**

The first century BC is undoubtedly one of the most studied periods of Roman history. Dominated by great personalities such as Gaius Marius, Cornelius Sulla, Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar, it saw the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of a very different form of government, where political power became concentrated in the hands of a single individual. It was a period of violent and frantic events, opposing factions, and civil wars involving these actors, and research has usually focused on their actions and personalities as spurring these happenings. But was the Late Republic all about these ‘great men’?

This paper intends to promote a discussion on the ‘less famous’ actors of Late Republican Roman politics. In fact, members of prominent Roman families, such as the Aemili or the Aureli, were heavily engaged in public life—involved in building activities, and securing the highest offices in that period. Were they just offering their support to the ‘great men’, or acting on their behalf; or were they fighting to emerge as independent actors in their own right? How were they competing for those offices? What were their projects? Some initial reflections will be offered, aiming to present an interdisciplinary perspective on narratives that have the potential to give further insights on the complexity of the politics of the Late Roman Republic.

Ziogas, Ioannis (Durham)  Panel: Seneca on Law & Sovereignty*

**Nero’s clementia as a state of exception**

Due to its hierarchical nature, *clementia* had become the despotic virtue *par excellence* by the time of Nero. Seneca’s *De clementia* revolves around issues of legality and autocracy: is the prince above the law or under its rule? Seneca’s *clementia* is paradoxical because it appears predominantly in contexts of imperial adjudication, but is an extra-judicial action. As an extralegal and thus absolutist concept, *clementia* becomes the origin of both totalitarianism and justice.
My presentation focuses on this fundamental nature of clementia, a power to ignore the law in the name of justice. Drawing on Agamben (2005), I argue that clementia is ‘a state of exception’, the suspension of the juridical order that becomes its negative, yet indispensable, foundation. By exercising clementia, the prince makes an exception that annuls the law (cf. Clem. 1.5.4). He simultaneously breaks and makes the law, and, what is more, he becomes the embodiment of the law. As a living law, the sovereign is not bound by it and thus in him the life of the law coincides with total anomie. And yet, since he is identified with the law, he is posited as the anomic foundation of the juridical order (cf. Agamben 2005: 69).

Seneca’s clementia is the fulfilment of the law by means of its transgression. By contrast, law enforcement is responsible for the proliferation of crime (De clem. 1.23.1). Ultimately, clementia does not establish a contrast between unfair legalism and justice (contra Tuori 2016: 130–42), but points to an originary indistinction between law and crime. This indistinction is a state of exception that becomes the absolute norm. It is also a return to a prejuridical condition, to a lawless and thus just Golden Age that is the key to understanding the dark source and irresistible charm of Nero’s totalitarian regime.
Brain, Carla (Leicester)

The significance of representations of deities in Roman houses

Religion influenced every sphere of life in the Roman world. Public temples and cults have received an abundance of scholarly attention, yet we know comparatively little about the role of the main pantheon of deities within the home.

In this poster, I aim to investigate the significance of representations of deities and their spatial context in Roman houses. I assess the textual evidence for the visible presence of deities in the home, for instance as statuettes in lararia, and representations of the gods in artworks. I then contrast this with archaeological evidence from Pompeii, using a sample of three houses of different sizes. I identify which deities are depicted in these houses and investigate whether artworks featuring deities were usually located in certain types of room or in areas pertaining to their spheres of influence, and whether certain deities appeared more prominently or received greater attention than others. I also consider the purpose of artworks featuring deities; for instance, whether they had a religious, ritual, or protective function, and whether they were represented as part of schemes of decoration or to aid ekphrasis.

This poster demonstrates that archaeological evidence is needed to supplement textual sources. Although ancient authors such as Cicero and Pliny describe the decoration of their homes, the evidence in Pompeii covers a variety of social backgrounds, enabling conclusions to be made over a broader spectrum of society.

Diepenbroek, Martine (Bristol)

Caesar’s cryptography in the Enigma machine

The principal aim of this poster will be to analyse key aspects and examples of the use of the Caesar cipher in the Enigma machine used in World War II.

To secure his private communication in antiquity, Julius Caesar used a method which is nowadays known as the Caesar Cipher. The Caesar Cipher is an example of a cryptographic method. Nowadays, cryptography is part of the studies of mathematics and computer science, and scholars working in these fields have written numerous works in which the Caesar cipher is referred to (e.g. Bishop, 2003, 111; Churchhouse, 2002, 13; Kahate, 2013, 36; Young, 2003, 28). Yet none of these works focus on the earliest history of the cipher; nor does any historical study. Many people do not fully appreciate the link between the earliest history of the cipher and modern communication security. The aim of the current study is to show the relevance of understanding the ancient history of the Caesar cipher; and placing this into a modern context, namely, the use of the cipher in the Enigma machine.

Using the remarks of Suetonius and Aulus Gellius on the Caesar cipher as a starting point, in this poster I will first explore Caesar’s own use of the Caesar cipher, and then its use in the Enigma machine. I will argue that it is highly likely that Caesar himself used the cipher very often, since he mentions many situations in his own works in which he sent or received confidential information. I will also explore the strength and reliability of the Caesar Cipher as a cryptologic method, informing its use in the Enigma Machine used by the Germans in the Second World War.

Fox, Andrew (Nottingham)

Fidissimae Punicae: the challenge posed by Carthaginian women to the Punic stereotype

Racial stereotypes dominate cultures past and present, from la perfide Albion to the perfumed Persian. It was no different for the Romans, who tarnished the Carthaginians with the phrase Punica fides. This term is not the compliment it appears to be, and demonstrates an element of sarcasm in the Roman racial stereotyping—the ‘Carthaginian faith’ was faith’s very antithesis. However, when the fides of a Carthaginian woman is tested, Punica fides is challenged. These challenges will be presented in relation to the actions of three key Carthaginian women: Dido, Imilce, and Hasdrubal’s wife. Through addressing these three case studies of Carthaginian women, this poster aims to subvert the expectation of a Carthaginian as being faithless, and instead highlight that this stereotype is only applied in specific instances by Roman authors.

Frampton, Claire (Ashmolean Museum)

Museums as unique sites of performance and interpretations of ancient texts and stories

This poster is about theatres as unique sites of performance and interpretations of ancient texts and stories. I wanted to explore the idea of movement of
audiences around the galleries as well as performers’ relationship to objects and audience, the differences to performing in an auditorium. How do the museum objects add an extra dimension of interpretation to ancient stories?

Limits to performance—in museums an audience will often not see the performance of a whole play, they may witness an adapted version especially if part of a late night event, so visitors may just see fragments, for example the presentation of scenes from Dido and Aeneas performed previously at the British Museum. This poster presents a future idea for the Ashmolean: a performance of The Trackers of Oxyrhynchus. This would explore the relationship of the script to the ancient world collections and would exploit the unique framing in the script of the storyline of Oxford papyrologists coming across fragments of Ancient Greek text at a site in Egypt, 1907.

As part of my certificate Associateship of the Museums Association I am examining current projects and academia, proposing, running and evaluating projects in museums as well as undertaking a professional research portfolio with the working title ‘Exploring the potential of creative drama as a learning tool in museums and heritage.’

Gattavari, Paolo (UCL)

The Renaissance rediscovery of parrhesia between satire and rhetoric

During the Renaissance, satirical writings had an immense popularity. Authors increasingly pursued models of knowledge critical of cultural and religious institutions, distancing themselves from the notion of authority, embedded in the main philosophical and scientific systems of the Middle Ages. By rediscovering Lucian of Samosata’s corpus, Renaissance writers acquired literary techniques and theoretical instruments innovative for their age, devising satire of a different kind from its medieval counterpart. Italian humanists became acquainted with Lucian’s works thanks to the Byzantine scholar Manuel Chrysoloras, who used them as textbooks in the Greek seminar he taught in Florence. My poster will argue that, among the diverse features shaping Lucian’s dialogues, humanists found particularly attractive the notion of parrhesia, a key concept in the Greek world, whose meaning gradually shifted from identifying an essential right of the citizens to define the courage that one needs to speak freely and openly. My poster will focus on how humanists borrowed and reshaped this idea, paying special attention to three texts: Leon Battista Alberti’s Momus, a long Latin satire replete with Menippean traits, Maffeo Vegio’s Disputatio inter solem, terram et aurum, an oratorical contest including a mock encomium reminiscent of classical themes, and Pandolfo Collenuccio’s Filotimo, a satirical dialogue on nobility representing one of the first examples of Lucianic literature in vernacular. By analysing the different role that parrhesia played in these works, my poster will suggest that Lucian’s influence during the Renaissance went beyond the purely literary sphere, paving the way for the new political and philosophical theories developed by sixteenth-century intellectuals such as Niccolò Machiavelli and Erasmus.

Jeremy, Kate (Queensland)

Trade and taxation: the economics of Hadrian’s Wall

Hadrian’s Wall represented not only a military frontier but also an economic one. It was the point at which Roman-colonised Britannia, and with it the northernmost limit of the empire, ceased. This barrier of empire brought with it economic controls. Tax was levied on goods crossing the frontier, while travellers likely paid a toll to pass through its gates. This poster will examine these economic functions of Hadrian’s Wall to argue that they were imposed in response to no particular problem, and that the structure of the Wall itself severely limited any coordinated implementation of these controls. These economic functions should thus be viewed as something of an afterthought in the construction of the frontier works, in which the physical structure of a militarily and ideologically constructed wall served as a convenient place to attempt to centralise the process of taxing people and goods crossing the British frontier. The poster will demonstrate through epigraphic material and account lists from Vindolanda the presence of a well-functioning local economy comprising both civilian and military trade. Further, it will use a comparative study with material from Egypt to create a model for how Hadrian’s Wall might have functioned in an economic context. It is the variability and inconsistency of this function, as well as the apparent lack of any economic problem facing the British frontier in the early second century, that demonstrates the limited capacity of the Wall to have maintained a coordinated economic system.

Malapani, Athina (Athens/Sorbonne–Paris IV)

Health and sports in antiquity

Health had a complex meaning in antiquity. It is examined and understood from the study of the ancient Greek and Latin texts and passages found in inscriptions, even in papyri that are not well saved and well codified. Generally talking, health was better understood from the opposite meanings of pain, expressed in many Greek words (πάθος, ὀδύνη, πόνος); however, being healthy meant that someone felt well, was strong enough to face up to his/her difficulties and necessities in his/her everyday life. Hence, health concerned not only the human body, but also the psychology, the human mood

Posters
and the feelings. In any case, the health of the body was considered to be important too, so medicine was developed even from early antiquity (at first, as traditional cure practices, connected with magical practices and the interpretation of dreams and, with the passage of time, as a science). Sport was an important part of being and staying healthy in antiquity.

Thus, the aim of this poster is to examine health in antiquity and its connection with sports. So, the possible definition(s) of health will be provided and a part of the poster will be the presentation of the most important and common natural substances (e.g. olive oil or other types of oil, wine, grains etc.) and their role in ancient pharmacology in order to contribute to people’s treatment and health. The second part of the poster will be the examination of sports in the ancient world and how being engaged in a sport (as a member of a team or individually) would be contributive for anyone’s health. Hence, some new clues may be presented as far as health in ancient times is concerned; without any doubt, food for thought will be given to any researcher who has the ambition to examine and find out more about ancient medicine and pharmacology and the role of sports in the ancient Greco-Roman world.

Okyere Asante, Michael (Stellenbosch) and Stephen Oppong (U. of Ghana)

Teaching Classical languages in pre-tertiary schools in Ghana

Ghana’s literacy rate stands at 76.6% but this does not reflect examination results. West Africa Senior Secondary Certificate Examination (WASSCE) pass rates for 2016 in English Language were 53.2%, in mathematics 32.8%, and in science 48.5%, due respectively to poor proficiency in grammar and the language of science and mathematics. It has been shown that the study of Classical languages can boost literacy levels by very high percentages, and improve pupils’ analytical and communicative skills. For example, the UK and Australia reintroduced Classical Greek and Latin at primary and secondary levels as part of efforts to address illiteracy, and the results have been positive (UK Department for Education 2016, 2012; Australia Department of Education 2011). But the idea of introducing Classical languages to school pupils is un receptive in Ghana. Nevertheless, two pre-tertiary institutions, employing the Ghana Education Service (GES) and the IB/IGCSE curricula respectively, have introduced Greek and/or Latin study to school pupils. What end does the introduction of these languages to school pupils in Ghana serve? Through qualitative analysis of primary data collected from direct participant observation, examination questions, and interviews with students, teachers and academic deans, the study looks at the motivation for introducing Greek and/or Latin to pupils in the two schools, and examines the benefits of and challenges facing Classical language teaching in these schools. The study shows that the motivation for introducing Classical languages informs the differences in their curricular form and the approach to teaching them. The study also reveals that while some of the challenges of Classical language study in the UK and Australia are common to Ghana, the motivation for their study is not as entrenched in Ghana, and that this is due primarily to the curriculum focus of Ghana’s educational system.

Park, Emma (North London Collegiate School)

Teaching Plato’s Laches in the Sixth Form

Plato’s Laches is on the Pre-U Greek syllabus for examination in 2019-2020. While other Platonic dialogues are regularly set at Pre-U and A-level, this will be the first opportunity for many teachers to choose the Laches. Given its infrequency on the syllabus, there are few specifically targeted resources available for teaching at this level. This poster will evaluate approaches to teaching the Laches. It will consider how students might be guided through the dialogue’s key themes, as well as which resources, including other dialogues and secondary literature, might best enrich their contextual understanding. The aim is to share ideas and resources with colleagues, and to stimulate a wider discussion on teaching Plato in the sixth form. This investigation, it is hoped, will provide the basis for an essay on the Laches that will introduce its central themes in an accessible way for sixth-formers.

A key question raised by any Platonic dialogue is how the literary and philosophical elements work together. In the Laches, I argue, this question is particularly urgent, because of the influence of the interlocutors’ personalities on the course of the argument. Laches’ and Nicias’ attempts to define ἄνδρεία must be seen in the light of Lysimachus’ search for a teacher for his son. The enquiry into ἄνδρεία thus becomes a test of the two generals’ suitability for the role of teacher, and raises the broader question of what makes a good teacher of ἄρετη. Students can be challenged to reflect on this, and on whether Plato, as writer of the Laches and the historical Socrates’ student, is more successful in teaching the reader about ἄρετη than the fictional Socrates is with his interlocutors. A consequent benefit of studying the Laches is to enable students to reflect on their own methods of learning.

Scharth, Elizabeth-Anne (Exeter)

Battle trauma and ancient Roman cognitive therapy

Evidence from ancient physicians, historians, jurists, and philosophers would suggest that the Romans were aware of the mental toll military life took on soldiers. In fact, it was so much so that some soldiers were driven to
attempting suicide and to self-mutilation in order to cope. The Roman jurists, aware of this situation, even laid down specific laws concerning mentally ill soldiers. In this poster, I will look at some of the written testimony illustrating the Romans’ awareness of the existence of battle trauma to ascertain what, if any, methods were used for its prevention and treatment. To do so, I shall examine the psychotherapeutic procedures, prescribed by the physicians and philosophers, that were meant to ‘order’ the minds of sufferers of mental impairment. By considering recent scholarship on 4E cognition—especially that the mind is spread across body, brain, and world—it is my intention to show how the ancient Romans believed the mind, memory, body, and environment connected in this context; how they were an important part of the management strategies of mental illness in ancient Rome; and how they have become applicable in the contemporary world.

Smith, Caitlan (St Andrews)

Philogymnasia: looking at the ‘real’ ancient athlete

The integration and importance of sport and exercise in the ancient Greek culture is undeniable—one finds it in their cities (i.e. in gymnasia), festivals, and at the very backbone of myths, heroes, and (aristocratic) identity. Athletics was a way to achieve virtue (aretē) and the noble ideal of beautiful goodness (kalokagathia) and was mentioned by many philosophers in some fashion. Thus, it is unsurprising how athletics finds its way into scholarship on the philosophy, sociology, politics, art, etc. of the ancient world. However, what fails to be studied is the actual athlete—the regimen, logistics, and biomechanics of what it took and meant to be an athlete in ancient times. Notable exceptions include monographs by Michael Poliakoff (1987) and Stephen Miller (2004).

This poster examines the ancient athlete through the lens of modern sports science as a means to understand the actual athleticism in ancient sport. Ancient critics of athletics attack the overall way of life of athletes, their sleepy nature, diet, an excess of health, and strict training regimen. However, what will be discovered in this poster is that the basis of athletic regimen followed all the necessary requirements for physical training and success that modern athletes follow, particularly regarding biochemical processes in training and diet. But herein lies the conundrum of ancient athlete: to be a successful or ‘dedicated’ athlete (i.e. those who strove for victory) went against what was thought to be the ideal athlete by ancient medicinal and ethical standards. This highlights the importance of examining the athlete from an empirical standpoint that is lacking in modern scholarship to date.

This innovative methodology aims to identify a specific group of people and understand their qualities and characteristics against ancient literature and modern biological knowledge, as a means to discover what a ‘real’ ancient athlete was.

Szaedzinski, Theodore (KCL)

Coming (back) to the third line: a study into the identity of the triarii in the manipular legions of Rome

The development of the manipular system over the course of the fifth through second centuries BC played a pivotal role in Rome’s rise from central Italian regional power to Mediterranean superpower. While tremendous work has been done in the recent decades regarding the army of the Middle Republic, there are elements of the legion that have yet to be looked at in greater detail. One such element is the triarii.

Two recent definitions are: (1) ‘Triarius: A soldier or centurion in the third line of battle’ (in Bohec 2015, 1032). (2) ‘Triarii: The oldest and most experienced soldiers who formed a third and final line of maniples in the mid-Republican Roman battle order, originally armed with thrusting-spears’ (in Sabin et al. 2007, 543). These two definitions, while factually accurate, are exemplary of how modernity has come to (relatively) marginalize the triarii. Their identity is still largely defined by generalizations and assumptions (some less correct than others). The aim of this poster is to construct a more robust picture, through extant ancient literary evidence in conjunction with modern scholarship, to provide a more comprehensive answer to the question: ‘Who were the triarii?’

I will analyse various aspects of the triarii: the potential origins of the sub-class’s tradition, their role on the battlefield, their other duties outside of the context of battle, their social identity both in the legion and Roman society, and their eventual disappearance. Producing a more comprehensive view of the triarii can not only serve to better our understanding of the manipular legions of Rome but also help to provide further insights into Roman society during the Middle Republic.
5 WORKSHOPS

Arranged by title. Workshops are open to those who have booked in advance.

Enlivening Latin Pedagogy in Practice (Council of University Classical Departments & Classical Association Teaching Board)  Su. 9
Mair Lloyd (Open U.), Steven Hunt (U. of Cambridge)
This workshop will provide participants with the opportunity to experience a number of teaching techniques, games and activities inspired by communicative approaches to Latin pedagogy. The session will be led by teachers and students with varying degrees of experience in introducing these approaches into their schools and universities. These will include presenters from the ‘Virtues of Variety’ panel (see section 1 of this booklet). The workshop will conclude with an open discussion on the benefits and challenges of enlivening Latin pedagogy.

Inhabiting Greek Tragedy: Channelling your Inner Medea (or Jason)  Su. 9
Laura Martin-Simpson (Blazon Theatre)
Following the success of last year’s Blazon drama workshop ‘Giving Life to the Amazons’, Blazon are returning with a practical drama workshop focusing on Greek Tragedy. Using a translation of Euripides’ Medea as the text, this workshop will explore how bringing the text to life through performance can allow for another angle of insight into Euripides’ tragedy—whilst also having a lot of fun!

As a group, we will delve into chorus work, the fluidity and dynamics of character status, and how vocalising emotional expressions can bring us closer to the heart of both the ancient text and soundscape of the classical world. This workshop is suitable for anyone interested in exploring Medea and Greek Tragedy from the perspective of a performer. Participants will experience practical exercises that can be used in the classroom with students of the GCSE and ‘A’ level Classical Civilisations set texts.

Minerva: Translating Classics, see next entry

Poetry in Performance  Sa. 2
Dan Simpson
With readings from Minerva translation journal.

Please see also the paper abstract for Madeła, Boland, and Sanai in section 2.

The Speeches of Cicero: Bringing Research into Teaching Su. 2
Lynn Fotheringham (U. of Nottingham)
Lynn Fotheringham’s 2013 book, Persuasive Language in Cicero’s Pro Milone, included a detailed syntactic analysis of every sentence in the speech. With the cooperation of the ICS as publisher, in the hope that this material would be useful to teachers as well as to Ciceronian researchers, extracts from the book relating to the current AS- and A2-level OCR Latin syllabus were made available free on-line last summer, in advance of the full book being published in the Humanities Digital Library. A substantial number of downloads followed the appearance of both the extracts and the full book. Lynn hopes by April to have posted new documents providing the kind of analysis of the OCR prescription texts that she presents in the book for the speech as a whole (e.g. frequent vocabulary-lists, statistics for the occurrence of particular grammatical structures).

In this session Lynn will talk about her research goals in carrying out this kind of analysis and how she uses the results in her own teaching; Lynn also welcomes feedback from teachers who have used or might use the resources made available on-line and ideas about what to produce from her research that will be useful to teachers in relation to future prescriptions.

Teaching Classical Languages  Su. 11.30
John S. Taylor (U. of Manchester)
Chair: Graham Shipley
This session will offer some reflections on classical language teaching at school and university level, and in adult education. Topics covered will include: how we got here and why it matters; the ever-sinking ship that stays afloat; exam boards and statistics; fitting in Greek; inspiration and provocation in writing textbooks; confronting difficulty; future prospects. There will be plenty of opportunity for discussion.

Teaching Classics through Comics  Su. 11.30
Laura Jenkinson (Greek Myth Comix)
Laura Jenkinson, a.k.a. Jenks of Greek Myth Comix, teacher at Churcher’s College in Hampshire, will give a presentation about her work, how it came about, its relevance to the ancient world, and how it has been used in classes and tutorials worldwide to help students
Engage with and learn more about the literature and mythology of the Ancient and Classical world. Following this there will be a hands-on workshop where attendees will get to draw their own Classics comic characters and panels from reference images and texts. The workshop will be of particular interest to classroom teachers but may also appeal to those in higher education. Ability to draw is absolutely unnecessary!

**Vase Animation in Outreach: A Practitioner Workshop**  
*Sa. 11.30*  
*Nevin, Sonya (U. of Roehampton; Panoply Vase Animation Project)*

This 90-minute workshop provides an opportunity to learn practical tips for improving outreach through the use of vase animations and related craft activities. The workshop will be led by Sonya Nevin from the Panoply Vase Animation Project, an initiative that makes animations from the scenes on real ancient Greek vases and which is currently creating vase animations within the ERC-funded *Our Mythical Childhood* project. Drawing on years of outreach experience with adults and secondary, primary, and pre-school-age children, the workshop will include: a presentation on the vase animations; strategies for incorporating them into discussions of almost any areas of ancient Greek culture; opportunities to try related creative activities, including vase design, storyboarding, and designs on clay; a chance to prepare resources of your own.