CA 2022 FRIDAY & SATURDAY
CONTENTS

Friday 8 April 2

Saturday 9 April

Session 1 5

Session 2 21

Session 3 36

Session 4 55

Friday 8 April

13:30 Object-Centred Learning in Museums: Perspectives and Lessons from COVID

Sponsored by OLCAP (Object- and Landscape-Centred Approaches to the Past) Research Group, Swansea University

Organiser and Chair: Ersin Hussein (Swansea University)

The pedagogical and wellbeing benefits of object centred learning, whether engaging students, researchers, or the wider public, have long been recognised. The COVID-19 pandemic saw the necessary closure of museums across the country and museums adapting their practices so that their collections and research activities were accessible online to students and visitors. This panel aims to draw on experiences from the COVID-19 pandemic to reflect upon: the challenges that museums faced, the practices put in place to overcome these, the impact of continued engagement with artefacts and collections on students and the wider public, and new approaches to object centred learning in museums that emerged from this crisis.

Claudina Romero Mayorga (Ure Museum, University of Reading)
The wow factor—real or virtual objects?

The educational programme offered by the Ure Museum has heavily relied on object-based teaching methodologies, which can be framed under experiential learning, in which the artefact—or our collection in general—can be interrogated from a multiplicity of viewpoints. This is especially evident in one of our activities, object handling, which favours a direct interaction between our visitors and the object: they can see, touch, smell, weigh—even hear the sound of their fingers on the surface of the artefact. By using almost all their senses they establish a direct relationship with the object and the people who created, used it, and discarded it.

By March 2020, the pandemic forced us to either cancel our school visits or turn them into virtual ones. KS2 schoolteachers were struggling—especially those who would usually book their sessions with us; they had already included the Ure Museum as a key resource in their own school syllabus and leaving us out of it would have deeply impacted on their own teaching, especially when covering the Ancient Egyptians and the Ancient Greeks.

Fortunately, many of our artefacts were already digitised and available on www.sketchfab.com, which allowed us to host 'online handling of objects' via Teams and Zoom. This meant we were accessible not only to local schools, but to any educational centre in the world. We also added music and animations based on out pots to compensate the mono-sensorial approach. When possible, live videos from the museum were streamed and objects were handled by the education officer through the camera. Surprisingly, the 'wow factor' was still there: that was the reaction of children—and teachers—when interacting with 'virtual' and 'real' objects.

Jen Thum and Rebecca Brown (Harvard Art Museums and the Derek Bok Center for Teaching and Learning, Harvard University)

The Museum is Your (Online) Classroom

When the Harvard Art Museums physically closed its doors in March 2020, staff were tasked with keeping the momentum of teaching with the museums' collections alive for instructors across Harvard University. To encourage and amplify this momentum, the authors of this paper collaborated to design online workshops and short seminars for instructors across disciplines to experience new, virtual modes of object-based learning that they could share with their students. These sessions were modelled on previous in-person workshops led jointly by the Harvard Art Museums and the Derek Bok Center for Teaching and Learning, but were adapted to take advantage of working in the online space, such as by modelling strategies for slow looking with works that were not on view and incorporating additional materials to supplement participants' observations. Beyond showing instructors how to teach with objects online, the workshops had a secondary goal of building instructors' confidence in their remote teaching abilities as we entered this New Normal together.

These collaborations between the Harvard Art Museums and the Bok Center were strengthened by our scholarly backgrounds in the ancient world and material culture. Teaching with and about artefacts and ancient texts has predisposed us to think more materially about the objects we encounter, whether in a textbook, at a museum, or online. This enabled us to engage creatively with interdisciplinary audiences, integrate a diversity of objects from beyond the Classical world into our workshops, and apply object-based learning strategies from archaeology to works from across the museums' collections. A tertiary, yet equally consequential goal of our interdisciplinary approach has been to empower instructors to discover new and unexpected objects, broadening the impact of the museums' collections and enlivening student learning, despite the distance.

Justyna Ladosz and Alice Hoyle (Museum of Classical Archaeology, University of Cambridge)

Museum of Classical Archaeology: Love Yourself: Every Body is a Classical Body

Love Yourself: Every Body is a Classical Body will use objects in the Museum of Classical Archaeology collection to tackle body image issues with teen audiences. The project is a collaboration between MoCA, ACE (Advancing Classical Education) and Sex and History, funded by the AHRC. The collection of plaster casts features a large number of nude statues, both male and female, which will be used to challenge today's ideal body shapes. The team at MoCA is working with a sex education expert, Alice Hoyle, to design a workshop and accompanying learning/teaching resources for schools. We will focus on discussing the bodily attributes and poses of our statues, as a way of understanding body image in the ancient world, and reflecting on our own modern ways of seeing bodies. We hope that centring the discussion on objects will allow students to speak freely and without fear. We originally planned to run trial sessions with teenagers from local schools and youth groups in the museum. We have had to redesign the trial sessions and the workshops as we can no longer easily host groups in the museum. Sharing statues has become more difficult, as the impact of standing in front of a life size statue cannot be easily replicated online. We are

working on a range of digital solutions that will allow students to view details and understand the scale of the statues. Having to move online also impacted on the dynamics and character of the workshops, and we have had to re-structure our original ideas accordingly.

Ken Griffin (The Egypt Centre, Swansea University)
Object-Based Learning in the Age of COVID: A Case Study of the Egypt Centre, Swansea

The past eighteenth months have been challenging for most museums and heritage sites as the COVID-19 pandemic has forced many to close their doors. As a result, many have been scrambling to find new and creative ways of engaging remotely with their audiences. During this time, the Egypt Centre has been able to run a series of successful online courses for adult learners, which have helped to bring in new audiences and increase awareness of the collection internationally. Yet the museum has always been a strong advocate of object-centred learning as a way of engaging with the collection. This method is memorable because it is tactile in nature and encourages critical thinking about material culture in creative ways. By examining physical objects and their records, the students, volunteers, researchers, and wider public are able to interpret and communicate information in multiple ways. However, this 'hands on' approach is more difficult to transfer to an online format.

This paper will present some of the methods used by the Egypt Centre to engage our online audiences using objects. Courses commonly focus specifically on the Egypt Centre collection (e.g., *A History of Ancient Egypt through the Egypt Centre Collection*) using high-quality images, virtual handling sessions, and online trails to allow audiences to interact with the objects. 3D photogrammetry of the objects is also planned, which will facilitate greater engagement. Hybrid learning, combining both in-person handling and virtual sessions will likely become the norm in the post-COVID world, yet this poses additional challenges that must be negotiated.

Saturday 9 April

Session 1: 9:00–11:00

Session 1, Panel 1: **British School at Athens Panel (Faraday B)**

Convenor/Correspondent: Michael Loy (British School at Athens)

The British School at Athens (BSA) is a UK-registered charity whose mission is to conduct, facilitate and promote research on all aspects of the Hellenic world. The BSA carries out this mission from a main research centre in Athens, with a remote research base at Knossos on Crete and a set of offices in London. With over 135 years of research since its foundation, the BSA has contributed much important work to the discovery of archaeological evidence and the development of scholarly paradigms in British and Greek academia.

This panel—designed as part of the BSA's regional lectures outreach series—aims to showcase recent work and current projects of the British School at Athens. The panel will begin with a discussion on the contribution of Welsh scholars to the history of the BSA and to the discipline of Greek archaeology. Thereafter, papers will focus on current archaeological science and digital humanities projects being conducted at the BSA, before closing with an overview of regional archaeology conducted at the BSA Knossos Research Centre.

James Whitley (Cardiff University)
Foxes not Hedgehogs: Classical Studies viewed from the Margins

Classics has always given the impression of being a metropolitan subject. This impression recently been reinforced by two persons; an Eton-and Oxford-educated prime minister who likes to tease journalists with quotes (in Greek) from the Odyssey (*Telegraph* metropolitanism); and by the ubiquity of Mary Beard (*Guardian*/BBC metropolitanism). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was the Classics departments of Oxford and Cambridge that determined what Classics was; a similar role in Classical Archaeology was held by the British Museum. A metropolitan view of the subject emphasises Great Literature and Great Art – exemplary texts and exemplary objects. When the BSA was founded in 1886 (with the support of Charles Newton from the British Museum and Richard Jebb from Cambridge) it initially very much followed this metropolitan template. The failure of the School to secure a great Greek sanctuary of Classical city to excavate led many British scholars to areas – Eastern Crete, Thessaly, the islands of the Eastern Aegean – we might consider marginal, and to look at periods not central to Classical civilisation. In this endeavour the School was very much helped by those who did not share a 'metropolitan' perspective. R.S. Conway's polyglot Welshness, R.M. Dawkins' links to North Wales, R.C. Bosanquet's connexions both to Northumberland and Monmouthshire and Duncan Mackenzie's view from the Scottish Highlands formed an effective counter-weight to

metropolitanism. It was the sum of these regional perspectives that allowed British scholars to grasp the central fact of regionalism in many periods of Greek history and prehistory and to develop a general perspective at odds with the then-dominance of German *Altertumswissenschaft.*

Carlotta Gardner, Evangelia Kiriatzi, Noémi S. Müller, and Bela Dimova (BSA Fitch Laboratory)

Revisiting Ancient Corinth as a craft and trade centre: past, current, and future studies at the Fitch Laboratory

Corinth is renowned across the Mediterranean, and further afield, for the production and distribution of pottery, particularly in the Archaic and Classical periods. The study of Corinth's pottery repertoire has been extensive, and it has received considerable science-based attention. The Fitch laboratory and science-based studies of Corinthian pottery are intrinsically linked. Since its foundation in the early 1970s the Fitch Laboratory has worked on a range of ceramic products from Corinth, from transport amphorae to cooking pots and terracotta figurines. Much of this work led to the development of the laboratories technological approach to archaeological ceramics, using the results of scientific analysis to understand where and how an object was made, and how this information reflects social, cultural, and economic factors.

This paper will present a brief history of research in the area and how it links with new research by the Fitch and collaborators at Corinth and the wider area of the northern Peloponnese. Using results from the scientific analysis of Archaic and Classical mortaria and loom weights we will explore the wider implications of our research, focusing on the production and trade of every-day utilitarian objects and also on cross-craft interaction.

Hallvard Indgjerd (University College London / BSA) and Anastasia Vassiliou (Harokopio University / BSA)

Documenting 135 years of British archaeological research in Greece: creating the 'collection events' database in collaboration with AriadnePlus

Over the past year the British school at Athens in collaboration with the Athena Research Institute has participated in the Horizon Europe funded project AriadnePlus, appointing a data manager to help align BSA digital data to international standards. In accordance with the AriadnePlus's goal to enable access to archeological datasets, the BSA has prepared a database of' Collection events 'that provides information on all fieldwork projects conducted in Greece associated by the BSA, both historical and ongoing.

The process of aligning data to universal standards provides new possibilities for open research as the data becomes publicly available on the BSA's website and shared in the Ariadne Plus portal. A custom platform has also been built to allow users to search the database in both space and time.

For the BSA, "Collection Events" is a model database for following good practices of data quality, cleaning, structuring and linking to the other internal and external databases. And once the database has been completed and brought up to the present day, the goal is to ensure sustainability, providing templates and systems for the BSA to continue curating future information in the same way, following the same best practices for years to come.

Kostis Christakis (BSA Knossos Research Centre)
The Emergence of a Metropolis: the Excavations of the British School at Athens in the Valley of Knossos, Crete

In 1900, Arthur Evans revealed at Knossos one of the most imposing complexes of the ancient world and a hitherto unknown civilisation, that of the Minoans. Evans's excavations and the events associated with his summer residence, the Villa Ariadne, are the basic tesserae making up the grand mosaic of the Knossian saga, inextricably linked with the history of world archaeology.

Over the following decades, Knossos and its wider environs were to form the main focus of investigation of the British School at Knossos, a name indelibly associated with one of the most important archaeological sites in Greece, continuously inhabited from 7000 BCE down to the present day.

The present contribution provides a brief overview of the research by the British School at Athens in the Knossian valley and the School's contribution to the development of the science of archaeology in Greece, as well as the future aims of the Knossos Research Centre for the study and promotion of Cretan and Mediterranean history as it has been shaped down the ages.

Session 1, Panel 2: **Ancient Regionalism within a larger context: Regions within leagues, kingdoms and empires (§1) (Faraday C)**

Convenor/Chair: Maria Pretzler (Swansea University)

This panel aims to discuss relationships between ancient regions and larger supraregional entities. The primary motivation for the organizers was an interest in ancient federal states, but we would like to extend the discussion to other forms of ancient regionalism. How do regions with a distinct identity and regional organizations interact with larger entities, such as multi-state alliances, kingdoms or empires? What impact does already existing regionalism have on these larger supraregional entities? Do they help or hinder collaboration beyond ethnic boundaries?

In the past, regional organization in Greece or Italy has often been considered as being in opposition to states attempting to assert supraregional power. However, one theme that emerges from our papers is that it is time to re-evaluate such a one-dimensional approach. Regional organization offers opportunities as well as problems to hegemonic powers. At the

same time, regional organization in one area may have an effect on how neighbouring regions behave, both in terms of regional collaboration and in their relations with larger powers.

These dynamics need further investigation, and this panel is designed to kickstart a discussion about the complexities of regionalism among its neighbours and supraregional rulers.

Maria Pretzler (Swansea University)
Sparta and Peloponnesian regionalism in the Classical period

Regionalism in the Peloponnese, as a factor in the dissolution of the Peloponnesian League, is the subject of a crucial conference volume published in 2009 (P. Funke & N. Luraghi, eds., *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League*). But regionalism was not just an instrument or consequence of resistance to Sparta's hegemony. In fact, Sparta's interaction between regional entities in the Peloponnese was complex, and sometimes worked in its favour. In this paper I am revisiting Sparta's relationship with various regional entities in the Peloponnese, with a particular focus on potential advantages. My paper investigates how, and under which circumstances, Sparta was able to exploit regional organisation within its league, and in what ways it exploited and even fostered regional entities to serve its own ends.

Roy van Wijk (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)
Take me to the River: Religious Communications in the Asopos-corridor in Boiotia (800-300 B.C.E.)

In 1948 Guillon mentioned that Boiotia is divided into 'les deux Béoties' geographically. These were centred around the massifs dividing the region, with one area anchored around Orchomenos, and the other around the Teneric plain. Lake Kopais effectively formed the barrier alongside which these two 'Boiotias' existed. The neat separation resulted in a 'religious corridor' that negotiated these two halves, with the Poseidon-sanctuary at Onchestos as the main hub. Depending on the prism one uses to look at the region, there are many more Boiotias to be uncovered.

In this paper, I will investigate whether we can trace a similar religious corridor along the river Asopos in Southern Boiotia. The river Asopos hosted many Boiotian poleis along its shores, such as Oropos, Tanagra and further removed, Plataia and Thespiai. Mythologically, these towns were connected by grace of their parentage, namely the river god Asopos. But how did the inhabitants of these towns view themselves? Did they arguably see their lives through the lens of Boiotianness, or were there sub-regions that with other poleis in the region that went beyond the local horizon, but did not employ a regional scope? Can we detect a religious corridor as well that was meant to reconcile and negotiate between these various poleis? What this investigation will show is how the lives of the inhabitants around the river Asopos in Boiotia were shaped by an engagement with the local environment and influenced by their cultural, economic and political interactions. What emerges is an analysis of a 'sub-

region' centred around the river Asopos without ever losing touch of its roots in Boiotia. Guillon's description of Boiotia, while apt, will therefore be expanded to include the many 'Boiotias' hiding underneath the surface of one of the most fascinating regions of ancient Greece.

Alex McAuley (Cardiff University)

Boiotia's Northern Frontier: Regionalism in a Hellenistic Federation

While Boiotia in the Hellenistic Period is usually analysed via the internal dynamics of its famous *koinon*, this paper will shift our perspective away from the traditional Boiotian heartland of the Kopais Basin and towards the norther frontier of the Boiotian federation. In many ways a community such as Hyettos had much more immediately in common with its Locrian and Phocian neighbours than it did with its fellow Boiotian communities to the South. How did communities in this region interact with each other across a federal border? And how did this interaction play out in the local world of religious, social, and economic interaction in the third centuries?

Thomas Husøy (Swansea University)

Ethnicity and Federalism in Ancient Greece: introducing the concept of ethnofederalism

The concepts of ethnicity and federalism are now well established within the study of the ancient world. Yet, as scholars have struggled to define both modern concepts, it is necessary to keep studying both and their relevance to the ancient world. We generally divide federalism into two key concepts, simple federalism and ethnofederalism. The fundamental difference between these two concepts is that ethnofederal districts have their basis in ethnic identity, whilst simple federalism does not. This paper will apply Liam Anderson's concept of an ethnofederal system to two ancient Greek federations; the First Boeotian Federation and the Hellenistic Aetolian Federation. Anderson suggests there are three types of ethnofederal states:

- Full Ethnofederation – all members are based around an ethnic level.
- Partial Ethnofederation – one or members are based around an ethnic level.
- Federacy – is a political system in which an otherwise unitary state endows one or more ethnic groups with territorial autonomy.

As Kostas Vlassopoulos argues, ethnicity can be read on many levels, including the *polis.* Therefore, I will first investigate whether the Boeotian districts, as listed by the Oxyrhynchus Historian, allow us to think about the First Boeotian Federation as a form of ethnofederalism. Second, I will examine the limited evidence for the federal districts of the Aetolian Federation in the third century, with the same aim. The paper's overall purpose is to look at regions with federal regions and states and determine the role of ethnicity in these larger states.

Session 1, Panel 3: **Reception (Faraday D)**

Paul T. M. Jackson (Université Côte d'Azur)
Dumas and the Classics

The Count of Monte Cristo and *The Three Musketeers* are known the world over, spawning adaptations on the small and big screens, with Gérard Depardieu starring in a critically acclaimed mini-series and *The Musketeers* appearing on the BBC. And yet there is much, much more to Alexandre Dumas, whose published works account for 650 books and 100,000 pages. He was prolific in various genres too, not only writing novels of high adventure but also books on history, travel, and cuisine as well as articles on politics and culture. This vast corpus includes a number of works set in or about the classical world, works that have gone virtually unnoticed. Starting out as a playwright, Dumas penned the plays *Antony* and *Caligula*, before turning his hand to novels and writing *Acté*, a tale about Nero that would inspire *Quo Vadis* by Nobel Prize laureate Henryk Sienkiewicz, the movie version of which became a box-office hit, was nominated for eight Academy Awards, and reputedly rescued MGM from bankruptcy. The biographies *Caesar* and *Octavius Augustus* and the Gravesesque *Memoires of Horace* followed, in addition to the history *Gaul and France*, not to forget what Dumas considered his *magnum opus*, *Isaac Laquedem*, an epic he spent two decades on, drawing from an unusually large pool of sources like Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, Herodotus' *Histories*, Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, and Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, with Odyssean voyages and Virgilian descents to the Underworld thrown in.

This paper hopes to reveal a neglected side of the great *feuilletoniste* and his reception of the classical world as well as introducing the Classical Dumas Series I am working on with the American publishing house Noumena Press, the first in which is the 150th anniversary edition *Isaac Laquedem: A Tale of the Wandering Jew*.

Angharad Derbyshire (University of Cambridge)
'*Et in* Manafon *ego*': R.S. Thomas, Virgil, and the Creation of an 'anti-pastoral'

This paper argues that a recognition of R.S. Thomas' early poetry (1946-1955) as a response to the Nature poets[1] is not enough, and that, instead, in his early work Thomas (a classicist by training), creates an 'anti-pastoral' through his considerable reliance on and retaliation against the Virgilian pastoral. Thomas' (who was a priest in Manafon, North Powys, from 1942-54) construction of rural life and rural space is in direct opposition to Virgil's presentation of the landscape as a place of romantic and artificially constructed 'vespertinal sadness'[2], with a community whose voice the poet can adopt. Instead, although they are farmers, the Manafon farmers of Thomas are isolated in an isolating landscape, often unreachable for even the poet himself. By superficially imitating the tropes of the Virgilian pastoral, and then undermining them, Thomas implicitly criticises the Classical pastoral, and questions how elite modes of poetry can faithfully depict rural space and its inhabitants.

[1] McCartney Ewing 1970; Perry 2013.
[2] Panofsky 1936.

Indeed, situating his own Welsh poetic voice against the Classically-derived pastoral aesthetic is a polemical decision, and should be read as an expression of Thomas' growing nationalist sentiment. The use of an 'anti-pastoral' is a manifestation of Thomas' (later, explicit) criticism of external voices commenting on Wales (including, to a certain extent, his own). These elements in Thomas' Manafon poetry, written in the place where he began to learn Welsh, are key to understanding and analysing Thomas' development into a formidable Welsh Nationalist voice in 'Anglo-Welsh poetry'.

This paper begins with a short comparison of *The Airy Tomb* (1946) to Virgil's *Eclogues*, before broadening out to discuss and compare themes of man in the landscape across Thomas and Virgil's poetry, to show that the 'anti-pastoral' is a widespread poetically and politically significant theme in Thomas' rural poetry.

Bibliography

McCartney Ewing, J. 1970. *Prytherch and Pastoral: Rural Reality in the Poetry of R.S. Thomas*. Master's Thesis, Rice University.

Panofsky, E. 1936. '*Et in arcadia ego*: On the Conception of Transience in Poussin and Watteau', in *Philosophy and History, Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*. Oxford.

Perry, S.J. 2013. *Chameleon Poet: R.S. Thomas and the Literary Tradition*. Oxford.

Nicoletta Bruno (Università degli Studi di Bari)

The Mystery of Roman Identity in Sebastiano Vassalli's Novel *Un infinito numero. Virgilio e Mecenate nella terra dei Rasna*

Sebastiano Vassalli in his historical fantasy novel *Un infinito numero* (1999) offers a new interpretation of the *Vita Donatiana*: Virgil wants to destroy the *Aeneid* not because it is incomplete and imperfect, but because it was too integrated in the Augustan regime's propaganda. This fanciful revisionist interpretation of Vassalli was certainly influenced by the 'pessimistic' reading of the *Aeneid* [(the Harvard school, see Parry (1963), Clausen (1964) and Putnam (1965)]. According to his Virgil, the *Aeneid* tells a lie about the origins and identity of Rome, discovered during a journey to Etruria. Maecenas, Virgil and the Greek slave Timodemo (the narrator) find out the secret of the origins of the Roman lineage, what the Etruscans did not want to write: the Lydians, the progenitors of the Etruscans, led by Aeneas, were violent invaders. Virgil is ultimately desperate: he wrote a fake story in the *Aeneid*.

Starting from this necessary premise on the novel, my paper will focus on the narratological and stylistic analysis of Chapter 5, 'i Rasna', and in particular on the narrative techniques used to tell the *archaiología* of Rome. Vassalli inserts an arcane and mysterious dimension in the story of the origins, intertwining the Trojan legend with the mysterious Etruscan people, who have left no written literature. *Un infinito numero* is above all a reflection on history as 'an eternal return' (the Ouroboros in Nietzsche's *Thus spoke Zarathustra*), on the value of memory and on the identity of writing and death. This consideration on memory and writing is not too dissimilar from Plato's tale in *Tim*. 22a-c: the story about Atlantis reveals not only the secret of Athens' prestigious past, but also the irremediable shortage of Greek memory. The relationship with the remote and unknowable past ends to generate a fracture in collective memory.

Bibliography

Assmann, J. 1997. *La memoria culturale. Scrittura, ricordo e identità politica nelle grandi civiltà antiche*. Torino (Italian translation).

Casali, S. 2010. *The Development of the Aeneas Legend*, in J. Farrell, M. C. J. Putnam (eds.), *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*, Malden, MA-Oxford, 37–51.

Casali, S. 2020. *Evander and the invention of the prehistory of Latium in Virgil's* Aeneid, in M. Aberson, M. C. Biella, M. Di Fazio, M. Wullschleger (eds.), Nos sumus Romani qui fuimus ante…: *Memory of Roman Past ('Études genevoises sur l'Antiquité')*, Bern, 145–68.

Clausen, W. 1964. *An Interpretation of the Aeneid*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 68: 139–147.

Fo, A. 2002. *Virgilio nei poeti e nel racconto (dal secondo Novecento italiano)* in *Il Classico nella Roma contemporanea. Mito, modelli, memoria* (Roma, 18-20 ottobre 2000). Roma, 181–239.

Nesi, C. 2005. *Sebastiano Vassalli*. Fiesole.

Parry, A. 1963. *The Two Voices of Vergil's Aeneid*, *Arion* 2: 66–80.

Putnam, M. C. J. 1965. *The Poetry of the Aeneid*. Ithaca-London.

Thomas, R.F. 2001. *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*. Cambridge.

Vassalli, S. 1999. *Un infinito numero: Virgilio e Mecenate nel paese dei Rasna*. Torino.

Vassalli, S. 2005. *Amore lontano: il romanzo della parola attraverso i secoli*. Torino.

Anactoria Clarke (Open University/KCL)

The texts that launched a thousand Helens: ancient sources and their reception in Pat Barker's Troy novels

This paper will discuss how the figure of Helen of Troy is portrayed, both in ancient sources and also in very modern reception, specifically Pat Barker's Troy novels, *The Silence of the Girls* and *The Women of Troy*. Helen is a mythological figure who is liminal, and has a variety of portrayals and fates; she is sometimes a sympathetic character, a figure of pity, and more frequently a figure of blame. The ancient sources that utilise her either as a central or marginal figure are many, and her portrayals are varied. There is much scholarly writing which analyses how she is portrayed in these sources, and what these portrayals might mean in that chronological time and sociological context. In this paper, I propose to closely analyse how Pat Barker utilises these ancient sources and the differing portrayals of Helen in her Troy novels. There are very obvious receptions of different ancient perspectives in how Helen is illustrated and how she interacts with the other characters, and these both draw directly from the ancient text that Barker is mimicking, and from other ancient sources that give different ideas.

I will conclude the paper by considering how Barker's portrayal of Helen either updates the reader's view of Helen and how she should be perceived, or underlines those ancient perspectives of Helen's role in the Trojan War and the fate of both Greeks and Trojans.

Session 1, Panel 4: **Between Two Worlds: Ovid Shaping Literary Tradition from Virgil to the Post-Classical (§1) (Faraday E)**

under the auspices of the International Ovidian Society

Organiser and Chair: Alison Sharrock (University of Manchester)

Herman Fränkel's seminal book *Ovid: A Poet between Two Worlds* (1945) sought, against the background of 19th-century classicism and aversion to all things 'declining', to situate the maverick late-Augustan as speaking not only to the classical world but also the Christian culture of late antiquity and the Middle Ages. For much of the 20th century, Ovid was perceived, not always positively, as the mediator between so-called Golden and Silver Latin poetry, and as such was used (one might say) to explain, excuse, or excoriate the 'silveriness' of post-Augustan poetry. Then came the explosion of interest in Neronian and Flavian literature towards the end of the last century up to the present day, in which, despite massive ongoing interest in Ovid's poetry itself, the role of the *Metamorphoses* as a mediator between the *Aeneid* and later epic was somewhat lost in the face of the sophisticated exploration of Virgilian intertextuality for post-Augustan Latin epic which was the legacy of Philip Hardie's important book, *The Epic Successors of Virgil* (1993). Despite a special issue of *Arethusa* (2002) which sought to re-contextualise for the new millennium the ancient reception of Ovid, the dominance of Virgil in later Latin poetry has continued to occlude the role of Ovid in literary history, especially of the first century after the death of Augustus. The present panel proposes to look again at the diachronic intertextuality of ancient epic, looking both backwards and forwards from Ovid.

The proposed panel consists of seven papers (here presented in two parts). It will be chaired by Alison Sharrock, except for the case of her own paper, for which Ian Goh will act as chair. This submission is made under the auspices of the International Ovidian Society.

Anke Walter (Newcastle University)

Rome's *fatum* in Ovid's *Fasti*

The Vergilian *fatum* plays a – perhaps surprisingly – minor role in the *Fasti*. There are not very many passages where *fatum* is directly invoked. I will review four of these, three of which are clearly reminiscences of the Vergilian use of *fatum*, and of the overriding importance which this concept assumes in the *Aeneid*. We will see, however, that Ovid – characteristically – is ever ready to adapt the word spoken by the Vergilian Jupiter, to keep developing the story, and, most importantly, to adapt it to the new context of his own aetiological poem in ever-shifting ways. In the fourth instance of the use of *fatum* which we will review, Ovid strikingly extends its meaning backwards in time: Jupiter's overthrow of his father Saturn, according to the poet of the *Fasti*, was equally willed by *fatum* – which puts a new spin on the Hesiodic narrative of Zeus' rise to power, but which retroactively also presents the *fatum* of Rome and her empire in a new light.

Finally, I will briefly reflect on the function of *fatum* for the larger political and, most importantly, theological meaning of the *Aeneid*, and what it is replaced with in the *Fasti*. I will

argue that, while the *Aeneid* is concentrated on *fatum*, spoken long ago, and its fulfillment in the Augustan age, the *Fasti* shifts the focus onto the present moment of speaking.

Eleni Ntanou (University of Athens / Hellenic-American College, Athens)
(Re)shaping Literary Tradition: Pastoral Encounters in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

This paper explores Ovid's employment of the pastoral amoebaean singing contest in his epic poem, the *Metamorphoses*. The meeting between poet-herdsmen and their engagement in musical competitions traditionally constitutes a central pastoral premise, which repeatedly occurs in Virgil's *Eclogues*. Given that capping, antagonising and singing together had acquired strong metapoetic connotations in pastoral poetry long before the *Metamorphoses*, the use of the pastoral *agon* can be read as suggesting a reading of the Ovidian poem in tandem with Virgil's poetry and literary career. Although still centring on music and song, the rewriting of this emblematic pastoral *topos* within the context of epic poetry inevitably results into the transformation of both genres and recreation of the Virgilian precedent. On several occasions, the agonistic premise of the pastoral meetings is redeployed and amplified in the *Metamorphoses*, in which such encounters tend to culminate in scenes of violence. I will focus on the musical contests between the Pierides and the Muses (*Met.* 5), Apollo and Marsyas (*Met.* 6), and Apollo and Pan (*Met.* 11), and suggest that in each of these cases epicising pastoral signifies the reshaping of literary tradition.

Lucy Mudie (University of Manchester)
***nota cano*: the *imago* of Virgil's *Eclogue* 6 in Pasiphae's mirror**

This paper will explore the Virgilian presence in Ovid's comic portrayal of Pasiphae's lust for the white bull at *Ars* 1.295-326, refracted through the Ovidian innovation of an intrusive erotic mirror into this mythic scene. Ovid's multivalent account of the Cretan queen's bizarre bestiality contains a profound literary memory and Virgil's *Eclogue* 6 is alluded to most prominently throughout the passage. Before introducing the famous myth, the poet-speaker uses the clever two-word disclaimer, *nota cano* (Ars 1.297), that allows him the poetic licence to depict Pasiphae in a very different way from Virgil's earlier rendition of her in *Eclogue* 6. Virgil's *Eclogue* 6 is arguably one of his most complex bucolics, in which the Song of Silenus takes centre stage, featuring myths such as Pasiphae and bizarrely accompanied by poet Gallus. The *Eclogue* engages with the literary tradition in an unorthodox way, as Virgil expands the horizons of his bucolic poetry. The poet reflects and refracts traditional Theocritean bucolics, while also incorporating aspects of Lucretian metaphysics, Calvus' *Epyllion* and Gallus' elegiacs. Ovid's *nota cano* not only emphasises the strong Virgilian presence in the passage, but also highlights their joint poetic desire to generically enrich their poetry and to change the perception of the literary tradition with their own poetic lens. One of the most remarkable elements of *Ars* 1.295-326 is Ovid's innovative inclusion of the mirror as an artefact. Just like the poet's words, the mirror has the power to project an *imago*. For the empirical reader, this *imago* is not only an Ovidian reflection, but also a refraction of Virgil's *Eclogue* 6. I will demonstrate how the mirror embodies the revisionary dynamic between Ovid and his literary predecessor, Virgil, while also considering the power of poetic perception, and Ovidian poetry in particular, to shape and adapt the literary tradition.

Alison Sharrock (University of Manchester)
***reges et proelia*: Ovid and war in the Roman epic tradition**

This paper will explore the problematic (dis)connection of the *Metamorphoses* with the generic force of military narrative in the Roman epic tradition, reaching beyond Virgil back to Ennius and Naevius, as well as forward to Lucan, Statius, and especially Silius Italicus. After briefly exploring the ways in which Ovid's poem both does and does not fulfil the generic requirements of war, I shall concentrate on the absent presence of Carthage. Scholars have noted a number of telling omissions in Ovid's great compendium of myth, particularly the (almost) missing figure of Oedipus, but less attention has been given to the absence of any clear reference to the Punic Wars, despite the historical nature of the later books and the powerful presence of pre-Virgilian (historical) epic in the post-Virgilian section of the poem's overall narrative. I shall explore what happens to 'epic after Virgil' in Ovid's poem and the ways in which later poets respond to that development. The remarkable absence of war-narratives after the end of Ovid's Trojan cycle will find unexpected resonance in the military drives of the following century.

Session 1, Panel 5: **Spatiality and Networks at Court and Beyond (Faraday G)**

Matthew Evans (University of Warwick)
Social interaction and the built environment: the gymnasium complex at Olympia

Space and the built environment are neither passive "containers" or "arenas" of social activity and interaction, nor is spatial form a mere result of spatial function. Both of these misconceptions have firmly taken root in many past approaches to space in the ancient world as presented in scholarship up until the recent "spatial turn". Recently developed spatial theories are continually demonstrating the value in realising the profound influence of space and the built environment on social activities and spatial functions through their impact on the sensory experience and social perception of individuals. Classical scholarship has successfully applied this approach in recent years, as seen in studies on the socio-political significance of the built environment or on the lived experience of sanctuaries and cities. Yet, the role of the built environment in shaping social relations between its users (the individuals who inhabit, create and perceive space) is rarely considered outside the domestic sphere.

This paper seeks to examine the social implications of the built environment in the case study of Olympia's gymnasium complex. My approach integrates social data regarding the users of the facility (primarily Olympic competitors) with a spatial analysis of the built environment. The surviving sources relating to this complex make it a favourable case study for this approach. Firstly, there are literary and epigraphic references which inform us of the processes of social interaction among the Olympic athletes. For example, they tell us how the athletes were split into sub-groups according to various factors and how their socio-cultural backgrounds gradually changed over time. Secondly, the complex's layout and structure are well attested in the archaeological record, with noticeable construction phases. Methods of digital spatial analysis as applied to the successive construction phases can provide an idea of the complex's sensory experience and how this changes over time. Overall,

integration of social and spatial data enhances our understanding of how the built environment shapes and is shaped by social interactions between its users through their action and perception.

Jennie Bibbings (Swansea University)
The social performance of street selling in early imperial Roman Italy

My research is on the informal economy of early imperial Roman Italy, using performance theory to understand non-elite agency in informal economic activity. In this paper I wish to demonstrate my approach by focusing on one element: a comparison of artistic representations of street selling. A main way in which members of the ancient Roman non-elite could raise income if they did not have an owner, patron or family member on whose support they could wholly rely, was to enter the marketplace as a petty trader of goods and services. Informal street-based selling was ubiquitous in the Roman world, providing livelihoods as well as a means for non-elite customers to purchase essentials at an affordable price. The performance of street selling became by necessity highly elaborate and distinctive, and yet was treated by the elite with little more than contempt. I compare artefacts from Pompeii and Ostia in order to illustrate a contrast in ancient perspectives on the gestural and verbal language of street selling: a set of hawker figurines from the House of the Ephebe, and a relief of a vegetable seller dating from the late second century CE, now in the Museo Ostiense. I argue that street sellers employed a distinctive performative vocabulary the subtleties of which were largely lost on the Roman elite because the performance was not intended for them.

Margherita Carucci (previously Helsinki Collegium of Advanced Studies)
Made to reign: female co-rulers in the court of the emperor Trajan

In the patriarchal structure of the Roman society, power and rulership were an exclusively male privilege, which placed women in a subordinate position. Being denied the right to vote or hold political offices, Roman women could not become empresses or participated into the imperial power in the official role as co-rulers or dowagers. Nevertheless, royal women contributed to the creation and projection of the male rulers' authority not only with their reproductive power, which ensured the continuation of the rule of the family, but also with their productive activities**.** That is, the (male) imperial ideology and propaganda created an ambience in which women of the ruling families could exercise their agency, influence, political power, and authority because of their role as connecting links for political alliances (marriages), dynastic hierarchies (in their role as wives, sisters, and mothers), and the representation of rule. This paper will analyse the particular form of royal women's rulership with a specific case study on the family of the emperor Trajan (98–117 C.E.). Like his predecessors, Trajan used the imagery of the female members of his family in support of his public politics and for the promotion of certain virtues that sustained the creation of his imperial image as a good ruler. However, far from acting merely as exemplary women on the stage of imperial power for the benefit of one man, Plotina (Trajan's wife), Marciana (Trajan's sister), and Salona Matidia (Marciana's daughter) with her two daughters Vibia Sabina and Mindia Matidia were able to use their privileged position within the royal family for several political actions that showed their autonomy and agency. With the support of textual and

iconographic evidence, this paper will explore the relationship between gender and rulership during Trajan's reign and the modalities through which the female members of the emperor's family participated to the culture of rulership. The discussion will show that through political agency, representation, and household dynamics the royal women were able to practise a form of co-rulership.

Ana García Espinosa (Cardiff University)

Women as Transmitters of History: Ctesias of Cnidus and the Influence of Orality in his *Persica*

The influence of orality in past societies is difficult to measure, and as such, this important aspect is generally disregarded, barely mentioned or considered as an influence on an author's work. Recent studies started to set the scope on memory, collective memory and how that was part of a group's identity (cf. van Houts 1999, Castagnoli and Ceccarelli eds. 2019, Constantakopoulou and Fragoulaki eds. 2020). However, orality generally shines by its absence. Not only is addressing it problematic, but if we add the question of the gender of those who transmitted such information, or stories, or narratives, that authors such as Ctesias might have used, its nuances and challenges increase exponentially.

This paper will address this matter by understanding the background of Ctesias, the mix of cultures and their inheritance present in his *Persica*, and the role the women from the Achaemenid court had as informants for the development of his work. In this way, we can find a mix of Greek and Achaemenid/Iranian cultures, with their respective oral traditions, that will allow Ctesias to develop certain literary characteristics in his work that would be seen later in Hellenistic literature. Furthermore, Ctesias' *Persica* benefits the study of the history of his time and the role of women at the Achaemenid court, which can be seen in one important facet in this paper: the oral transmission of information and familial narratives by royal women.

Works Cited

Castagnoli, L. and P. Ceccarelli. 2019. *Greek Memories. Theories and Practices*. Cambridge.

Constantakopoulou, C. and M. Fragoulaki eds. 2020. *Shaping Memory in Ancient Greece: Poetry, Historiography, and Epigraphy*. *Histos* Supplement 11, https://histos.org/SV11ShapingMemoryinAncientGreece.html.

van Houts, E. 1999. *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200*. Toronto.

Session 1, Panel 6: **Pedagogy (Faraday J)**

Simon Trafford (Dartford Grammar School)
'The other A-Level': Classical Languages on the International Baccalaureate Diploma

The International Baccalaureate Diploma (IBDP) is a relatively unknown qualification in the UK, in spite of its worldwide reach. In the UK the 'go-to' post-16 academic qualification is, of course, the A-Level with approximately 250,000 students taking the qualification each year. By contrast, around 5000 students take the IBDP in the UK each year (165,000 worldwide). In addition, few teachers in the UK have taught the IBDP or have taken it themselves. Why therefore, as classicists, should we care about this 'niche' post-16 qualification, when we already have the A-Level?

The paper advances the following reasons for classicists at all levels to pay greater heed to the IB and its benefits for the promotion of the classical languages:

1. Increased student numbers: on the IBDP all students **have** to take a foreign language, and Latin or Classical Greek can be that option whether at Higher or Standard.
2. Greater security for Classics departments: due to the existence of both Higher Level and Standard Level subjects, there is the potential for more periods of Latin in the sixth form. This can lead to the requirement for more teachers and greater security for school Classics departments (something essential for university numbers too).
3. The curriculum: not only does the classical languages curriculum offer the opportunity for private research (something not available on A-Level), the broad and integrated nature of IB curriculum creates a cohesive and richer learning experience.

The paper will outline what the IB Diploma is, the position of the classical languages within the Diploma and how with greater awareness within the classics community we can champion the qualification and promote positive change for our discipline.

James Robson (Open University) and Mair Lloyd (Open University)
The Battle for Latin: reports from the frontline in UK universities

In the UK, Latin is often seen as an elitist subject taught largely at independent and grammar schools. While great strides have been made over the last generation in opening up the subject to students from all backgrounds, a major hindrance to widening access to Latin at university level is that the study of classical languages can often prove challenging for students. Data collected for this paper, for example, reveals that in 2018-19 only 77% of Latin students on beginners' modules in UK universities achieved a pass.

This paper reports on a new ground-breaking project (initially conducted in a pre-Covid world) that investigates the problems of retention and student success in support of the battle to make the study of Latin sustainable and accessible in higher education. By analysing survey responses from 29 UK universities offering beginners' Latin modules, along with sample examination papers from 23 of these, it builds on a similar survey conducted in 2014 (Lloyd and Robson, 2018) by examining the impact of factors such as assessment methods, class sizes, contact hours, materials and pedagogy. The paper also reports on visits to a small

cross-section of university departments where lesson observations and interviews with students and staff enabled a deeper understanding of the teaching and learning experience. Our paper culminates with an overview of advice and pointers derived from our interviews, and our reflections on these, which in combination suggest broader strategies to underpin successful teaching and learning.

This paper breaks important new ground by using rigorous analysis of qualitative and quantitative data to improve our understanding of successful ancient language teaching. Crucially, too, it seeks to share best practice in an effort to tackle the real-world issue of retention on classical language modules and to promote student success.

References

Lloyd M. E. and Robson, J. (2018) 'A Survey of Beginner's Language Teaching in UK Classics Departments' in *CUCD Bullet*in 47 [online]: https://cucd.blogs.sas.ac.uk/files/2018/05/LLOYD-ROBSON-CUCD-Latin-Survey.pdf

Will Griffiths, Hannah Smith, Tony Smith, Laila Tims (Hands Up Education)

Suburani – a new secondary Latin course

This session (presented by Will Griffiths) will provide an introduction to *Suburani*, a new, not-for-profit Latin course developed by Hands Up Education. *Suburani* is a new Latin course that looks at the ancient world with fresh eyes. The course takes students to GCSE in 32 chapters spread across two books. Beginning in AD 64, it follows the stories of a diverse cast of characters from the Subura in Rome and their travels through the Empire. Each chapter of *Suburani* includes Latin stories, language notes and exercises, civilisation text, and a history or mythology page.

At the heart of *Suburani* is a narrative that encompasses characters from all corners of the Empire and all levels of society. The stories of *Suburani* shed light on the lives of ordinary Romans, representing ethnic diversity, and focusing on men and women, young and old, enslaved and free people, including those often marginalised by ancient sources. This approach aims to make the study of the ancient world engaging and relevant to all of today's students.

Suburani takes advantage of advances in archaeology and technology, and incorporates the latest research and interpretations to present an up-to-date understanding of the Roman world. Its linguistic content is carefully designed to provide a smooth transition to reading original Latin texts, and to prepare students for the OCR and Eduqas Latin GCSE.

This 20 minute session will introduce the course's pedagogical underpinnings, approach to language and culture teaching, and key themes. It will comprise a very quick tour of the content of the print books, as well as the functionality of the *Suburani* digital learning software (including interactive activities and student tracking).

Marco Ricucci (Liceo Leonardo, Milan)

How is it possible to teach teenagers Latin language by "using" Chomskyan theories? Acquiring metalinguistic knowledge by the Neocomparative Method

Many educational research projects have been conceived (but few funded) as a response to the current crisis of classical instruction: the secondary teaching of Latin, more widespread than Ancient Greek, has been abolished from the national curriculum in many European countries or, at any rate, marginalized for political opposition, accusations of elitism, and irrelevance. However, according to a survey of Euroclassica (2019), the largest association of secondary school teachers of Classics in Europe, Latin is not completely "dead". If the level of contact between academic world and school is not mutually synergic enough, the key question is: what does Latin teaching and learning in our times actually mean, and why and how does it – or should it – take place? Finding innovative approach for teaching classical languages can be an actual answer to the crisis. Second Language Acquisition is an academic discipline which investigates how human mind learns a foreign or second language, but it has got outstanding pedagogical implications non only for modern languages, but also for classical ones. In this communication, after the explanation of the fundamental concept of input, the theoretically pedagogical underpinnings of one of the most innovative methodologies of teaching Latin Grammar will be clarified: the Neocomparative Method, which helps developing cognitive skills of metalinguistic knowledge by the comparison between Latin and modern languages described by generative grammar but studied at secondary schools in a way that teenagers can understand. This can shed a new light on the *vexata quaestio* on *langue vivante* and *langue morte*: Grammar-translation method can be "rejuvenated" by fresh injections of Neocomparative Method. If Latin can be "scientifically" described as a linguistic system at the light of Chomsky's generative grammar, we can follow a new path for teaching Latin language to students in order to face the challenges of humanistic education's crisis.

Session 2: 11:30–13:00

Session 2, Panel 1: #**WCC Wiki Workshop (Faraday B)**

Organisers: Victoria Leonard (Coventry University), Anna Judson (BSA), Katie Shields (University College London), and Kate Cook (Durham University), on behalf of the Women's Classical Committee (UK)

Following the success of #WCCWiki's workshop at the FIEC/Classical Association in 2019, the Women's Classical Committee (UK) would like to hold a Wikipedia editathon at the CA in 2022 to improve the online representation of classicists who identify as women or non- binary. Classicists are broadly conceived, to include archaeologists, ancient historians, religious studies experts, theorists, and art historians, and others who work on the ancient world.

The workshop seeks to improve the representation of classicists who identify as women or non-binary on Wikipedia, with a particular focus on overlooked Welsh women or non-binary classicists, such as Kathleen Freeman, Käthe Bosse-Griffiths, Jacqui Mulville and Juliette Wood, or those whose research focuses on Wales's culture and history, such as Catherine Clarke. Of those six women historians who are Fellows of the Learned Society of Wales, an important notability criterion for Wikipedia, five need their pages improving and one lacks a page entirely. The workshop would be an important starting point to addressing this imbalance and promoting the online visibility of Welsh classicists (broadly conceived) who identify as women or non-binary.

The workshop would welcome people of all genders, and it would be aimed at those who had never edited Wikipedia before, as well as more experienced contributors. Training would be provided for the first 30 minutes, followed by a supported editing session. Ideally, the session would operate both in-person (facilitated by Anna Judson, Katie Shields, and Victoria Leonard) and online (by Kate Cook).

The conference would be an excellent opportunity to gather in-person images of classicists who identify as women or non-binary for Wikipedia pages; only around 19% of biographical Wikipedia pages feature women, and less than 1% of these includes an image.

The session would require the use of an appropriate physical space, ideally a computer room with teaching facilities, technical support to facilitate the online element, and preferably refreshments for contributors.

For more information about #WCCWiki, see here, and see #WCCWiki on Twitter.

Session 2, Panel 2: **Ancient Regionalism within a larger context: Regions within leagues, kingdoms and empires (§2) (Faraday C)**

Convenor/Chair: Maria Pretzler (Swansea University)

Emma Aston (University of Reading)

***Potnia Thessalia*: Thessalians, Ptolemies and equestrian competitions in the third century BC**

In the first half of the third century BC, the number of attested Thessalian victories in the equestrian contests of the panhellenic Crown Games rises sharply. This paper reflects on possible reasons for this trend, connecting it with interaction between the Thessalians and the Ptolemies, especially Ptolemy II Philadelphos. Both parties stood to gain from the connection: the Thessalians a possible counterweight to Antigonid power in northern Greece, the Ptolemies potential allies on the Greek mainland. Ptolemaic interest in Thessaly, however, was not purely practical: in the third century, Thessaly was admired as the homeland of heroes (Achilles, Asklepios, Jason) and of the original Hellenes, and as the heartland of traditional elite values. As such it had much to offer a power seeking ideological as well as strategic advantage, and horse-racing in the symbolically charged locations of Olympia and Delphi provided the perfect opportunity for interaction.

Marian Helm (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)

Capua, Rome, and the Shifting Balance of Power in Italy

The proposed paper will discuss the interaction between the res publica and Italy in the 4th to 2nd century to determine how this shaped and influenced politics in Rome as well as in the allied city-states. Rather than focus on the extensively covered military importance of the allies (Kent 2017), it will be explored how the reactions of Rome's neighbors – from resistance to collaboration – impacted both sides' political strategies and decision-making (Jehne/Pfeilschifter 2006). The third century is especially suited to this as Roman dominance was not yet absolute and thus reliant on the allies' cooperation (e.g. in the Pyrrhic War), who thus possessed more weight and leeway.
Nowhere is this more apparent than in the case of Capua: having received Roman citizenship, it was both independent from and involved in Rome's politics, while the Campanian elite became closely intertwined with the *nobiles* through intermarriage (Beck 2015, Mermati 2017). The interaction between these two cities is therefore a paradigmatic example for the development of relations between politics in Rome and in the neighboring communities. Furthermore, it provides information on the shifting balance of power in Italy due to Roman expansion, which led to a corresponding drop in importance of even such a mighty city as Capua, causing disaffection that eventually broke out in the Second Punic War (Fronda 2010). This ill-fated endeavor is a textbook example of trying to negotiate with and then forcefully resist Roman supremacy. Even in defeat, the Capuan example is instructive in regard to how those that had not joined the rebellion tried to save what they could from Roman retribution.

Select Bibliography

Beck 2015 = Beck, Hans: Beyond 'foreign clienteles' and 'foreign clans': some remarks on the intermarriage between Roman and Italian elites, in: Jehne, Martin / Pina Polo, Francisco (eds.): *Foreign "clientelae" in the Roman Empire. A reconsideration*, Stuttgart 2015, 57-72.

Fronda 2010 = Fronda, Michael: *Between Rome and Carthage. Southern Italy during the Second Punic War*, Cambridge 2010.

Jehne/Pfeilschifter 2006 = Jehne, Martin / Pfeilschrifter, Rene (eds.): *Herrschaft ohne Integration? Rom und Italien in republikanischer Zeit* (Studien zur Alten Geschichte 4), Frankfurt a.M. 2006.

Kent 2017 = Kent, Patrick: The Italians in Roman armies, in: Farney, Gary D. / Bradley, Guy (eds.): *The Peoples of Ancient Italy*, Boston – Berlin 2017, 255-268.

Mermati 2017 = Mermati, Francesca: The Campanians, in: Farney, Gary D. / Bradley, Guy (eds.): *The Peoples of Ancient Italy*, Boston – Berlin 2017, 385-418.

Guy Bradley (Cardiff University)

Regional collaboration within Italy under Roman hegemony

How far did Rome tolerate, encourage or suppress regional ethnic organisations such as the Etruscan league or the Samnites who met at the sanctuary in Pietrabbondante? Regional identities seem to have been an important way for Italian communities to organize themselves before the Roman conquest, and typically had religious, military and (sometimes) political aspects. It has often been assumed that the Romans eliminated such regional groupings and pursued a divide and rule policy, only for institutions such as the Etruscan league to be artificially revived in the Augustan period. But there is very little evidence for this view, and it is also unlikely given general Roman disinterest in the internal workings of conquered allied states (at least before the Gracchan period) and the importance of regional groupings in levying troops (such as in the Telamon campaign of 225 BC). It therefore seems opportune to reappraise the continuation and adaptation of Italian regional groups under Roman control from the conquest to the early imperial period.

Session 2, Panel 3: **Homer (Faraday D)**

Despoina Christou (University of Manchester)

Variability in Gods' Relational Speech and Power in Divine Assemblies: the Case of Athena (*Iliad* 4, *Odyssey* 1, *Argonautica* 3)

This paper focuses on the presentation of Athena's role in divine assemblies in epic (*Iliad*, *Odyssey* and *Argonautica*) by examining her speech both in terms of the speech mode used and its particular style as well as the relationship her speech has with her power relations with her divine interlocutors.

Speech is largely conducted in conversations of divine assemblies in Homer and Apollonius. Both direct and indirect speech modes influence how an episode is narrated and further reveal crucial aspects of each speaker's role as well as the relationship between the participating speakers. One key conversational aspect, therefore inextricably related to

speech, is the depiction of power relations between the speakers, which are articulated both explicitly, through what characters actually say (regardless of the speech mode) and implicitly, through the other ways that characters interact, influence or participate actively in conversations, e.g. the depiction of feelings or silence or particular movements or gestures.

The relational aspect of speech and power reveals how they can be embodied in different ways by the same character across the episodes of different epics regardless of the interlocutors' status. The repeated presence of Athena in assemblies shows her acquirement of discriminate speech elements through which she - occasionally - challenges the type of power she possesses, especially knowledge, in her power relations with others. Athena can have her power highlighted or its absence underlined through how she speaks or how her feelings are revealed emphasizing that divine power relations are shifting on the basis of each speech exchange situation. I will argue that depending on the particular epic's narrative aims direct speech can have diverse power-related connotations, which can jointly shed light on a character's characterisation and the intertextual relationship of assemblies across my epics (*Iliad*, *Odyssey* and *Argonautica*).

George Gazis (Durham University)

Homeric scholia and the Platonic tradition: Πλάτωνα ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν?

Every scholar, student or reader of Plato is familiar with the philosopher's use of the Homeric text as an exemplum in a given argument, used to exemplify or refute a particular point. Plato employs Homer, very often by carefully decontextualising lines or passages (Lake, 2018), as the starting point of a more or less abstract analysis, which in the end leaves the revered Homeric wisdom stripped from any practical or philosophical meaning. As Socrates affirms firmly in the *Apology* (22b-c), the *Ion* (533c-534d) and elsewhere, poets talk about beautiful things but have no awareness about their subjects whatsoever. The eventual eviction of poetry from Plato's and Socrates' ideal city in the *Republic* (10.607b) puts the final nail in poetry's proverbial coffin – philosophy and poetry, divinely inspired or not, simply cannot co-exist. This is a view that, despite of its objective accuracy, today tends to be universal for our understanding of the relationship between Plato and his poetic predecessors. Yet, ancient scholarship appears to have taken an altogether different stance, often treating Homer as the first teacher of some of the most prominent Platonic ideas.

In this paper, I examine the, admittedly complicated, tradition of the Homeric scholia and the modus operandi of ancient scholars who I argue not only naturally defend Homer against Platonic attacks but go even further, essentially interpreting the philosopher's work through Homer. All scholia traditions that we have (A, T, bT) display such a tendency, applying universally as it were the maxim Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν. A similar approach, I argue, is adopted by Porphyry in his *Ζητήματα* and the allegorical *Περί τοῦ ἐν 'Οδυσσεί τῶν νυμφῶν ἄντρου*, thus demonstrating that the ancient tendency of interpreting Plato through Homer not only spans several centuries of ancient scholarship, but further unites advocates of both the Homeric and Platonic camps under the practice of Πλάτωνα ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν.

Benjamin Folit-Weinberg (University of Bristol)
Disappearing into thick *aēr*: The function of *aēr* in Homer

Discussions of *aēr* in Homer have generally been concerned with the word's semantics and scope of reference. In this paper, I propose that we should focus instead on how *aēr* works and what *aēr* does, both to characters within the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and for the poet responsible for composing them. Examining three passages—Aphrodite's use of *aēr* to rescue Paris in *Iliad* 3, Apollo's use of *aēr* in connection with Agenor in *Iliad* 21, and Athena's use of *aēr* to protect Odysseus in *Odyssey* 7—I argue that *aēr* offers the poet a stratagem for navigating complex narrative demands and that it is best understood not as a substance but in terms of the phenomenological effects it produces on Homeric characters. I conclude by considering briefly the implications of this argument for discussions of Homeric objects and for our understanding of the Presocratic thinker most associated with *aēr*, Anaximenes.

Session 2, Panel 4: **Between Two Worlds: Ovid Shaping Literary Tradition from Virgil to the Post-Classical (§2) (Faraday E)**
under the auspices of the International Ovidian Society

Organiser and Chair: Alison Sharrock (University of Manchester)

Sophia Papaioannou (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)
Ovid's artistic rivalries and Nonnus' transformed epic contests

Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, more than any other extant Greek epic, is close to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* both in terms of theme, since the two poems share the same spirit of a world history that begins with a cosmogony, and in terms of structure, since they both favour an episodic narrative of multiple smaller accounts, which are sometimes only loosely connected to each other. And yet, the question of Nonnus' direct engagement with Ovid remains fraught with difficulties, as most scholars are still reluctant to make a positive statement on Nonnus' direct engagement with the Latin tradition. By focusing on Nonnus' artistic contests I propose to argue that musical and poetic—performative in general—rivalries, are episodes where we can identify Ovid's influence on Nonnus, because they poeticize ideally the agonistic spirit of later literature—literature self-conscious of its belatedness—, which had been honed by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*. My discussion will focus a) on the musical performance of Nonnus' Cadmus in *D.*1, which draws on the Latin tradition of agonistic performances in pastoral settings and specifically the deceptive song of Mercury in *Met*.1, and b) on the singing competition between Erechtheus of Athens, and Oiagros, the father of Orpheus, in *D*.19, which builds on the song contest between the Muses and the Pierides in *Met*.5.

Catalina Popescu (BASIS San Antonio, Texas)
The Hue of Beauty: Intentional Ambiguities for Ovid's Andromeda

This paper takes the well-known problem of the image of Ethiopian Andromeda as a marble statue (*Met*. 4.675) as a case study, and an image, for the history of reading and re-representing ancient culture. The Ethiopians' black skin (*Met*. 2.235-6) is contrasted with Andromeda's invariably white depiction by later visual artists such as di Cosimo, Mignard, van Loo, Titian, and Rubens. While European artists and commentators for many centuries believed that the Graeco-Roman statues of marble were simply white and untouched by any pigmentation, the discoveries of the 19th century proved that marble and other materials were actually painted or coloured (see John Gibson's *Tinted Venus*, 1862). In this light, when Ovid turns Andromeda from a flesh and blood creature into a sculptural work of marble, the poet plays solely with shape, firmness, and texture, leaving aside (for now) the hue and the implicit racial affiliations. By revealing the nude 'marble' of the princess, the poet invites the reader to join the unfinished game of immobilized Andromeda as she awaits her fate: in other words, rather than crowning her description with the final layer of skin, the mention of marble turns the princess into a work of art 'in progress'. As with many other statues, the underlying marble is the solid contour asking for a finishing touch. In this voyeuristic game, Ovid stops shy of Andromeda's skin and invites his reader to complete this exotic beauty and partake in this creative experience, by adding the final tone. Thus, the exercise tantalizingly enhances the freedom of her visual admirer who - aware that she is a foreign beauty - can go with colouring her skin as far as his imagination, knowledge of foreign lands, and love of exoticism can take him. By turning her into marble, Ovid does not imagine her racially white. On the contrary, he liberates Andromeda and her admirer from any Mediterranean racial/aesthetic expectations, into a poetic realm where beauty, skin deep and beneath, is as versatile as a block of marble awaiting its final painting.

Aaron Kachuck (University of Cambridge / Université Louvain-la-Neuve)
***Per monstra ad astra*: Pegasean Poetics from Ovid to Aby Warburg**

When Franz Boll died on 3 July 1924, Aby Warburg commemorated the author of *Sphaera* (1903) with a phrase now well known to anyone who has glanced at the frontispieces in London's Warburg Library: *per monstra ad sphaeram*, 'through monsters to the sphere'. Warburg's variations on this motto, rich in a variety of associations, captured his personal struggles, but also his approach to classical reception; as he explained in a letter to his families, 'fate has placed "the struggle with the dragon" before the liberation from fear…*per monstra ad astra*: the gods have placed the monster on the path to the Idea'. No single classical figure better exemplified this motto, for Warburg as for the classical tradition, than Pegasus. This paper, an archaeology of Warburg's motto, shows how the figure of Pegasus served to structure works of poetry from antiquity to the Renaissance, and to exemplify a fused poetics of flight of the mind and the grotesque. At its core, this paper studies Ovid's lifelong fascination—poetological, astrological, and zoological—with the figure of the Pegasus. Building on Philip Hardie's work on Pegasus as later model for *Fama*, it demonstrates how Ovid built on the structure of Callimachus' *Aetia* to make the Pegasus key to the structure of his own *Metamorphoses*. It then follows the traces of Ovid's metamorphic Pegasus through the Third Vatican Mythographer (i.e. Albericus' *De diis gentium*), Giordano Bruno's *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*, and finally in Warburg's own copy of a translation of

Bruno's book to help show how Warburg's Pegasean poetics, alive both to the sublimity and darkness of the classical tradition, came to be shaped.

Session 2, Panel 5: **Humour and the Body (Faraday F)**

Jasper Donelan (University of Nottingham)
Desert, corrective justice, and humour in Aristophanes

This paper discusses how Aristophanes stages episodes of corrective justice and exploits themes of desert to create humour. Modern theories of desert differentiate between positive and negative desert (rewards and punishments/benefits and burdens) based on stronger or weaker desert claims (how clearly a person merits reward or punishment). Desert claims rely on a desert base, which is the attribute or action of the person that causes them to (be seen to) deserve something. Certain attributes can constitute unsuitable or unjust desert bases, for example attributes for which one is not responsible or that one cannot realistically change. A sense of proportionality between desert and the desert claim is also fundamental – extreme punishments for minor crimes are generally repugnant, while small rewards are incommensurate with highly impactful positive actions. Further considerations include the timing of the desert (hence, for example, statutes of limitations), utilitarian concerns and justifications for desert, the cultural symbolism of reward and punishment, and whether the distributor of desert has been empowered to dispense it.

Here, I will explore and analyse some of the ways that Aristophanes scripts extra-legal negative desert (that is, punishments) into his comedies. To what degree are distortions of the desert considerations summarised above conducive to humour? How does Aristophanes manipulate the proportionality, timing, and suitability of desert and desert claims, and what is the dramatic effect? To what degree can Aristophanes' characters be viewed as authorised dispensers of desert and how might this influence an audience's reception of those characters? My main examples will be drawn from *Acharnians*, *Wasps*, and *Birds* although, time permitting, episodes from other comedies will also be introduced.

Ekaterina But (National Research University, HSE Moscow)
Fearless Speech in Machon's *Chreiai*

In this paper, I focus on the anecdote about cithara player Stratonicus (fr. 11.156-162 Gow) that has been preserved by Athenaeus in *Deipnosophistai* as a part of the pseudo-philosophical collection with the title *Chreiai* by Hellenistic writer Machon. The anecdote goes as follows:

> "Biothea, the wife of Nicocreon, farted while arriving to the party with the pretty maid; simultaneously she stepped on the almond with Sikyonian sandal and immediately shattered it. Stratonicus said: "The sound is not the same". And under the cover of the night, because of this phrase, he put an end to the freedom of speech in the sea."

In my analysis of this anecdote, I establish the importance of the motif of a voice and sound in the humorous representation of Statonicus's "expertise" as a musical critic.

In my paper, I examine the humor of this anecdote within the framework of modern humor theories: Incongruity theory and Semantic Script Theory of Humor proposed by Victor Raskin. I analyze several instances of vocabulary of this anecdote in the context of technical terminology that can be found in fragments from various works on musical theory by Aristotle, Aristoxenus, and in Commentary on the "Harmonics" of Ptolemy by neo-Platonic Porphyry of Tyre. I suggest that it is not accidental that Machon uses musical terms (such as phsophos "sound" and phonê "voice") in the anecdote about the professional harper player Stratonicus and particularly in the anecdote that is built around the joke about the sound effect. To supplement my reading of this anecdote, I compare the punchline of Machon's anecdote with the concluding lines of Callimachus's Iambus 2 (fr. 193 Pfeiffer) that include a reference to the death of Aesop, and with the narrative about the drowning of comedy writer Eupolis.

I argue that the story about Stratonicus's reaction of queen's little accident and humorous depiction of Stratonicus's death, first, contributes to the ambiguous image of the entertainment professional in Hellenistic Egypt and underlines the dangers of free expression and, second, demonstrates the self-conscious awareness of Machon about the power of humor. With my reading of this anecdote, I argue that the image of Stratonicus is used as a cautionary tale not only about human vices such as loquacity and arrogance, but it in some ways resonates with Machon's own professional fate as a writer in exile, who had to flee Athens because of his critique of Macedonian rulers.

Abigail Worgul (University of Pennsylvania)

The Invective *Iecur*: The Image of the Liver and its Metapoetic Function in Latin Satire

In this paper, I probe the viscera of Latin satirists and inspect the metapoetic function of the motif of the liver (*iecur*) in their works. More specifically, I demonstrate that through its various connotations, the image of the *iecur* becomes a potent signifier in Latin satire and ultimately develops into an embodiment of the mode in which satirists engage in the composition process. I set the tone with a verse of Lucilius, who is the first to bring the *iecur* into the realm of satire by arming himself with it to take a jab at dainty eaters. The *iecur* then makes several key appearances in Horace, where it assumes a metapoetic faculty; by discussing these passages side by side, I build on Freudenberg's (1995) link between Nasidienus' feast (featuring a goose liver!) and satire and argue that the *iecur* specifically functions as a visualization of the anger and self-sacrifice that goes into producing invective literature. I then move on to Persius, who, in two separate passages, adopts and moralizes Horace's association of the *iecur* with anger, self-sacrifice and invective to suggest that if one does not relieve the anger in his diseased *iecur* by producing invective, he subjects himself to internal slavery. Finally, taking my cue from Fredericks' (1971) observation that Juvenal's satiric persona undergoes a shift from a victimized, angry voice to a more distanced and detached one, I turn to Juvenal's application of the *iecur* and argue that this is a marker of this shift in tone: through intertexts with Horace and Persius, he dons the robe of satirist motivated by his diseased liver. However, he ultimately distances himself from the organ

(and by extension, this mode of writing invective) by locating it in the objects of his invective, whereby he drafts a new, distanced satiric persona.

References

Fredericks, D. 1971. 'Calvinus in Juvenal's Thirteenth Satire', *Arethusa* 4: 219–31.
Freudenburg, K. 1995. 'Canidia at the Feast of Nasidienus (Hor. *S.* 2.8.95)', *TAPA* 125: 207–19.

Session 2, Panel 6: **Swansea Classics (Faraday G)**

Panel supported by **Adran Glasurol Graddedigion Cymru** (Classical Section, Wales Graduates)

The plan, before Covid, was for the Classical Association Conference to visit Swansea in 2020, the centenary year of Swansea University. The papers offered in this panel commemorate three scholars appointed to teach Classics in Swansea during the (then) University College's first half-century and to reflect on the continuing resonances of their contributions. D. Emrys Evans, the first professor of Classics, was in Swansea for only six years, but continued (as principal at Bangor) to exert an important influence on the classical scene in twentieth-century Wales. Benjamin Farrington was appointed to the chair of Classics in 1936, stayed in Swansea until his retirement twenty years later, and was remembered with great warmth by all who knew him: in Swansea he wrote his popular and groundbreaking Pelican *Greek Science*, one of many studies reflecting also his Marxist-inspired engagement with the political and economic aspects of ancient society. J. Gwyn Griffiths was appointed to the Department of Classics in 1946, during Farrington's tenure of the chair, and remained there until his retirement (by then a professor) in 1979: known internationally for his work on ancient Egyptian religion and the interpretation of it by Greek and Latin writers, he introduced into the Department what has developed to become one of its most distinctive features, the opportunity afforded for the combined study of Classics and Egyptology.

Ceri Davies (Swansea University)

D. Emrys Evans and Classics in Wales

Professor (later Sir) Emrys Evans (1891–1966) was the first holder of the chair of Classics in Swansea, appointed for the new University College's second session, 1921–22. A native of the Swansea Valley, educated at Ystalyfera County School (before proceeding to university in Bangor and Oxford), he was no stranger to the area. The young professor's first task was to build up a department of Classics from scratch: by the academic year 1926–27, his last year in the chair, he had been joined by two notable colleagues, G. M. A. Grube and Herbert Hill, and the Department had seventy-nine students. In 1927 Emrys Evans was appointed Principal of the University College of North Wales, Bangor, a post he was to hold for thirty-one years. Throughout his career he made a distinguished contribution to the educational and institutional life of Wales.

Emrys Evans's engagement with Greek and Roman studies was combined with a sustained commitment to Welsh culture and a desire to highlight the relevance of the classical heritage to it. A notable BBC Annual Welsh Radio Lecture entitled 'Y Clasuron yng Nghymru' ('Classics

in Wales'), broadcast in 1952, remains an eloquent witness to his convictions. His most lasting contribution was as a translator of classical literature into Welsh, especially six of Plato's works, beginning with the *Apology* (1936) and culminating with the *Republic* (1956). The paper will examine some of his methods as a translator. It will also attempt to elaborate on the momentum for translating classical literature into Welsh represented – and, in large measure, inspired – by him, especially as seen in versions of Sophocles by the poet Euros Bowen (1904–88), a former Swansea undergraduate.

Christopher Stray (Swansea University)
Benjamin Farrington: scholarship, science and Communism

Benjamin Farrington (1891–1974) was born in Cork and studied at University College Cork and then at Trinity College Dublin. After a brief time in Belfast, he taught at the University of Cape Town from 1922 to 1934, moving from a junior post in Greek to a chair of Latin in 1930. In Cape Town he proselytized for Sinn Fein and proposed the foundation of an Irish World Organization; he also joined the intellectual salon run by the Talmudic scholar Solomon Schechter's daughter Ruth, whom he later married. Farrington was appointed to the chair of Classics in University College Swansea in 1936; he remained there until his retirement twenty years later. His inaugural lecture, on the history of ancient slavery, was reprinted in his *Head and Hand in Ancient Greece: Four Studies in the Social Relations of Thought* (1947); he later published on Vesalius, Bacon and Darwin.

Farrington was one of the few classical scholars in Britain who held left-wing views. His relationship with another of them, E.R. Dodds, like himself an Irishman and supporter of Sinn Fein, can be followed in Dodds's correspondence. The two men met in Dublin in 1916 while Dodds, an Oxford undergraduate, was rusticated because of his support for the Easter Rising; Dodds remembered him as 'a gifted and charming man whose career as a scholar was even more bedevilled by politics than my own'. Farrington's letters to Dodds reveal him as a hard-line supporter of Communism; in this respect he resembled George Thomson, Professor of Greek at Birmingham. Farrington was a pioneer in the study of Greek science, but his Marxism often encumbered his scholarship. In this paper I propose to discuss Farrington's scholarship, his politics, and the interaction between them.

Alan B. Lloyd (Swansea University)
Classical and Egyptological Synergies

Wales has played a major role in the history of Egyptology, not only nationally but also at an international level. Of the last three Heads of the Department of Egypt and the Sudan at the British Museum two have been Welshmen, and that is the tip of the iceberg. The Department of Classics, Ancient History and Egyptology, under slightly varied names (and since 2021 as part of the Department of History, Heritage and Classics), has made major contributions to this record of achievement. This began with the late Professor J. Gwyn Griffiths (1911–2004) who made a point of including Herodotus Book II in his Greek and Classics Honours syllabus, reflecting from an early stage one of the major preoccupations of Swansea Egyptology, i.e. the synergy between Egyptology and Classics, a preoccupation which has its deep roots in the recurrent close relationship between Egypt and the Classical world in antiquity. This was

developed further by the late Professor Malcolm Colledge (1939–2015) and Professor Alan B. Lloyd both in publication and research. Subsequent appointments have made it possible to develop a full degree programme in Egyptology which has covered most aspects of the subject both at teaching and research level. In tandem with these developments Swansea has been most fortunate in acquiring a significant portion of the Wellcome Collection of Egyptian antiquities which has enabled it to introduce hands-on teaching on Egyptian artifacts and, equally importantly, to develop a highly successful outreach programme taking in local schools and also the general public. We have come a long way, and there are still worlds to conquer!

Session 2, Panel 7: **KYKNOS: Research on the Ancient Novels (§1) (Faraday H)**

Convenor/Chair: Ian Repath (Swansea University)

Here there will be a set of papers presented under the aegis of KYKNOS, the Centre for Research on the Narrative Literatures of the Ancient World. They will explore Greek and Latin novels from a variety of perspectives, highlighting the responsiveness of these texts to a wide range of approaches and to nuanced and detailed readings. There will be a particular focus on the concept and self-definition of ancient novelistic fiction, as expressed through reflexivity, intra- and intergeneric intertextuality, and reception in later texts.

Ian Repath (Swansea University)
Achilles Tatius: Erotic Trees and Amorous Allegory

Towards the end of the first book of his novel *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, Achilles Tatius includes a short narrative about love between date-palms. This is the second of four stories which his protagonist-narrator says he told his slave as part of his attempts to seduce Leucippe, who was within earshot at the time. While plants desire other plants, date-palms are particularly affected: the male lusts after the female, and pines if she is moved. The farmer understands, sees where the male palm is pointing, and grafts a shoot from the female into the heart of the male, reviving him and creating a marriage. This paper will explore various aspects of this story, including the significance of the word for date-palm – *phoinix*, the switching of the sexes, and the different levels and types of meaning generated by the way the story is introduced and by the novel's narrative structure.

Daniel Jolowicz (King's College London)
Priapus on Lesbos? Philetas in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*

At Longus 2.3–7, Daphnis and Chloe happen upon a garden tended by the aged Philetas, who tells them about an incident earlier that day when he encountered the god Eros hopping bird-like around his garden: at first he does not recognise Eros, instead suspecting him to be a thief or a vandal there to steal from or spoil the garden; Eros then reveals his true identity. After this account, Philetas proceeds to offer erotodidactic advice to Daphnis and Chloe regarding how they might bring their incipient feelings of love to fruition.

This episode is arguably the thematic epicentre of the novel and has received much scholarly attention for its densely intertextual, metaliterary, and philosophical aspects. In this paper I suggest a new interpretative framework for the character of Philetas, namely that he can be read as a Priapus-figure. Priapus was worshipped in antiquity as a god of (among other things) fertility: he is strongly associated with gardens (where, archaeological evidence tells us, his statues often stood), especially as protection against birds and thieves (e.g. Hor. *Serm*. 1.8). He is also a dispenser of erotodidactic advice: in Theocritus, *Idyll* 1 he offers counsel to the pastoral Daphnis (N.B. the significant name), and in Tibullus 1.4 he becomes a full-scale *praeceptor amoris*.

This paper will explore the multiple connections between Longus' Philetas and the figure of Priapus in Graeco-Roman literature, culture, and religion, assessing what this means for the interpretation of Longus' (priapic) pastoral world, as well as for the potential dialogue with Petronius' *Satyricon*.

Nikoletta Kanavou (University of Athens)
On Two New Ancient Greek 'Novels'

The two short fragmentary narratives on papyrus, which were given the titles *Panionis* and *Eusyene* by their first editor, P.J. Parsons (*P.Oxy*. LXXI 4811 [2007] and LXXXIII 5356 [2018]), are among the latest additions to the body of ancient Greek novelistic literature. Both narratives feature named heroines and contain indications of novelistic plots (romance and adventure), but are too brief and broken to allow more than a faint glimpse into the works to which they belong. Both, however, can arguably be contextualised within the large body of Greek fictitious narrative literature. The proposed paper examines the fragmentary plots of *Panionis* and *Eusyene* and makes suggestions for parallel texts that may hold clues to the broader plots of the new narratives and provoke thought about their genre.

Bibliography

Henrichs, A., 2011. 'Missing Pages: Papyrology, Genre, and the Greek Novel.' In: D. Obbink and R. Rutherford (eds), *Culture in Pieces: Essays on Ancient Texts in Honour of Peter Parsons*, 302–322. Oxford.

Kanavou, N., 2018. 'New Remarks on the *Panionis* (*P.Oxy*. LXXI 4811).' *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 64/1: 13–31.

Session 2, Panel 8: **When Classics Gets Creative: (Re)writing Roman Women, Academic Panel: Visualising Roman women on television (Faraday J)**

Organisers: Amanda Potter (Open University), Carey Fleiner (University of Winchester), Rebecca Usherwood (Trinity College Dublin)

Following the success of the 'When Classics Get Creative' panels and workshops at the CA/FIEC conference in London 2019 this 3-paper 90-minute panel **followed by a 90-minute creative writing workshop** will focus on Roman women for creative inspiration. Rebecca Usherwood will discuss the creative and academic process that goes in to creating a drama series set in the ancient world, from the standpoint of the historical consultant on *Domina*. Amanda Potter and Carey Fleiner will analyse the resulting picture of lives of Roman women provided by drama series *I Claudius*, HBO *Rome* Starz *Spartacus* and *Domina.* The workshop will further explore the intersection between creative writing and academic writing, and how creating writing can be a useful tool for students and academics. Rebecca and Carey (who recently published *A Writer's Guide to Ancient Rome)* will provide examples of creative writing assignments they have set for students. Amanda (who has recently held Greek-mythology based creative writing workshops at the Being Human and Brighton Fringe Festivals) will then lead workshop participants through a number of creative writing exercises, using characters from ancient Rome, objects and paintings as inspiration.

Amanda Potter (Open University)
Why can't we be friends? Friendships between Roman Women in HBO *Rome* (2005–7), Starz *Spartacus* (2010–13) and *Domina* (2021)

The press release for *Domina* announced that the series aimed to 'bring to life the power struggles of Ancient Rome from a different perspective, that of the women'.[3] The series does indeed tell the story from Livia's point of view, and includes a number of female characters, the most prominent being freedwoman Antigone, Scribonia, Octavia and Julia. But, as in HBO *Rome*, drama is created in the most part by adversarial relationships between the women, rather than supportive friendships, whose primary allegiances are to husbands and sons rather than to fellow women. Similarly in *Rome* elite women Atia and Servilia are pitted against each other in an escalating feud, while non elite/slave women Eirene and Gaia are rivals for the affections of Pullo. In Starz *Spartacus* Lucretia and Ilithyia form a friendship based on their personal agendas, but this friendship soon falls apart, while relationships with other elite women are based on jealousy and rivalry rather than supportiveness and respect. Slave women who try to form friendships, such as Dione and Naevia in *Spartacus: Gods of the Arena*, are torn apart by their situation as slaves, and in later seasons Naevia and Mira are defined by their relationships with men, rather than with each other.

Using these three series as examples this paper will aim to interrogate how Roman women can form supportive friendships with their peers within the context of a creative reimagining. Does the Roman patriarchy hinder this, in a society where relationships between women and

[3] https://www.pressreleasepoint.com/sky-studios-announces-new-sky-original-series-domina (last accessed 2 March 2022).

fathers, brothers, husbands and/or lovers are privileged, or is there a supportive sisterhood waiting to be discovered? And are male screenwriters equipped to tell the stories of Roman women, without reverting to stereotypes and sensationalist plots, or should we look to female writers to tell different stories, including fanfiction writers?

Carey Fleiner (University of Winchester)
Dignified Dames and Screaming Sluts: Emotion, Voice, and the Women of *I, Claudius*

Historical sources for Roman women most often come from the pens of aristocratic male authors, and these depictions often signpost a woman's character through her speech or emotional responses. For example, admirable women remain calm and stoic in tone and demeanour (e. g. Agrippina the Elder in the face of Tiberius's fury). Conversely, women who display more aggressive emotion – those who cry, nag, seduce, or argue – are the baddies, out of control shrews who emasculate their incompetent husbands (Agrippina the Younger ticks off many of these boxes variously with her husband Claudius and her son Nero). Drama and poetry, however, allows the otherwise controlled and stoic women a chance to give voice to their passions and to elicit sympathy for their tears or anger – Nero's young, long-suffering wife Octavia is a good example here: admired by the Roman people for her fortitude in the face of Nero's cruelty, she cries and bewails her fate to the gods in the praetexta Octavia, bemused that she ought to suffer so. The historical sources admire her for her brave public face; the tragedy invites sympathy for her privately cried tears.

This paper examines the emotional characterisation of in particular Julio-Claudian women in the main historical sources (Suetonius, Tacitus) and compares them with reception of their 'voice' in the television dramas *The Caesars* (BBC 1968) and *I, Claudius* (BBC 1976) – chosen in particular because unlike more recent television drams which aim for natural and situational realism, both were filmed in a style comparatively similar to stage plays – and because like their Classical counterparts, these dramatic depictions were written, directed, and produced by men. Topics may include the emotional expression of fictionalised Julio-Claudian women as a means to manipulate modern audience reception of these historical women; if there is any departure in emotional expression of these female characters compared to their historical counterparts; and how, if at all, did the actresses lend their own voice to their characters' emotions above the influence(s) of the male authors and director.

Rebecca Usherwood (Trinity College Dublin)
The challenges of feminist storytelling: views from a historical consultant

Academic engagement with the ancient world on film and TV tends to focus on the final product. Drawing on my experience working as a historical advisor on the series *Domina* (2021), this paper will offer some perspectives on how projects are shaped from their early development, focusing in particular on the challenges of portraying female agency and female friendship.

Even though such shows are based in the ancient world, they are actively shaped to meet the expectations of modern audiences. Such productions are extremely expensive to make, and both funders and stakeholders need to ensure that the show satisfies their understanding of

what audiences want, particularly in terms of violence, nudity, and drama. Ultimately this can come before other priorities a production might have, such as historical accuracy and female-orientated storytelling. These priorities can also shift as a production moves from its earliest stages (concept, pilot scripts, and pitching), through its development (storyboarding and writing the full season), to its production (designs, set-building, casting), filming, post-production, and publicity.

Part of the appeal of historical drama to modern audiences is the creation of a world that is distant and foreign but bound to our own by common threads of humanity. But an exciting story requires anachronism, so ultimately what is created mirrors our own social environment, reflecting both the patriarchal norms of the past but also those of our contemporary world. That ancient Rome was a patriarchy comes as no surprise, but the contemporary expectations can also be misogynistic in subtler ways. For example, as a consultant, I raised concerns about storylines structured around female rivalry and women as poisoners since, I argued, they perpetuate the elite male authored accounts of the ancient world. However, many of these tropes are key to *Domina*, and I agree that they created an exciting domestic story that prioritised female agency. This raises an issue for me: is it possible, given the source material we rely upon and the constraints of modern TV and film production, to create an authentic feminist story of the ancient world? If so, what might this look like?

Session 3: 14:00–16:00

Session 3, Panel 1: **Discourses of Disruption: The Power of Impoverished Aesthetics (Faraday B)**

Convenors: Lorenza Bennardo (University of Toronto) and Rebecca Moorman (Providence College)

nequit iram explere potestas.
"Their power cannot satisfy their anger." (Stat. *Theb*. 1.623)

After slaying the monster Poine, the Argives in Statius' *Thebaid* behold her repulsive corpse, crushing it with stakes and rocks (1.616–23). Despite their dominance, the men feel disempowered and emotionally impoverished: staring at Poine's inert body is empty consolation (*solacia vana*, 621); dismembering her cannot satisfy their anger. This panel explores such "impoverished aesthetics," identifying passages in which depleted affects emerge from descriptions foregrounding the abject and small, the mean, ugly and weak, or, in Statius' case, a lack. Studies following the "sensory turn" often focus, e.g., on the materialism of the sublime (Butler and Purves 2013; Porter 2016; Fitzgerald 2019). Turning away from grand aesthetic states, we extend recent investigations into the poetics of narrowness and inferiority (Rimell 2015; Matzner and Harrison 2019) to explore aesthetic marginalization and its power to disrupt dominant readings of Latin texts. Two papers explore aesthetic renegotiation through the expected (homecoming) and the taboo (cannibalism); a third paper observes appropriations of the aesthetics of illness for social and financial gain. Collectively, the papers elevate to aesthetic consideration the unexpected power of marginal conditions like strangeness, irritation, and disability.

Bibliography

Butler, Shane and Alex Purves, eds. 2013. *Synaesthesia and the Ancient Senses.* Durham.
Fitzgerald, William. 2019. "Claiming Inferiority: Weakness into Strength." In *Complex Inferiorities*, ed. S. Matzner and S. Harrison, 13-28. Oxford.
Kristeva, Julia. 1982. *The Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection.* Trans. Leon Roudiez. New York.
Matzner, Sebastian and Stephen Harrison, eds. 2019. *Complex Inferiorities: The Poetics of the Weaker Voice in Latin Literature*. Oxford.
Porter, James. 2016. *The Sublime in Antiquity*. Cambridge.
Rimell, Victoria. 2015. *The Closure of Space in Roman Poetics: Empire's Inward Turn*. Cambridge.

Elaine Sanderson (University of Edinburgh)
An Unhomely Homecoming: Encounters with the Uncanny in Seneca's *Agamemnon*

As Hammond has noted, 'what tragedy takes apart is the very notion of the homely, of the self and its rootedness' (2009: 4). The Uncanny, first outlined by Freud as that which is

frightful yet familiar, homely yet unhomely (Freud, 1919; Royle, 2003), thus represents a conducive lens through which to consider some of the 'strange' and/or 'uncomfortable' elements of Seneca's tragedies. Examinations of uncanny elements in Seneca's *Thyestes* and *Troades* (Dodson-Robinson, 2010; McAuley, 2013), and broader psychoanalytically and aesthetically informed studies of Seneca's works (Shelton, 1977; Segal, 1986; Gunderson, 2015), along with recent work on the relationship between ancient literature and the Uncanny more widely (Clarke, 2021; Kamil, 2021; Sanderson, 2021; Sanderson & Burke-Tomlinson, 2021) have demonstrated the fruitfulness of such inquiries.

This paper identifies the Uncanny as a major aesthetic force in Seneca's *Agamemnon*, confronting its audience with the same experiences of unhomeliness, displacement, and uncertainty suffered by its internal characters. I begin by demonstrating the unhomely nature of Agamemnon's homecoming, highlighting the duplicitous implications of the terms in which Agamemnon characterises his safe return and his household (Sen. *Ag.* 782, 791, 800–1) and the harmonious dynamics between Agamemnon and Clytemnestra are described (Sen. *Ag.* 780-1). I then argue that this disruption constitutes *more than* just tragic irony and that this semantic slippage represents a reflection of the kind of uncanny descent into *un*homeliness which runs through this episode. Finally, I build on studies by Dodson-Robinson (2010) and Gunderson (2018) to consider how instances of repetition and doubling – such as the doubling of Troy and Argos (Sen. *Ag.* 791-6), past and present crimes (Sen. *Ag.* 25–7, 43–8, 162–73, 226–33, 875–909; Boyle, 1983: 200–2), and Agamemnon's death(s) foreseen and reported by Cassandra (Sen. *Ag.* 720–40, 867–909) – create a pervasive and recurring sense of the Uncanny throughout the *Agamemnon*.

Bibliography

Boyle, A. J. 1983. '*hic epulis locus*: The Tragic Worlds of Seneca's *Agamemnon* and *Thyestes*'. *Ramus* 12: 199-228.

Clarke, A. 2021. '*Manti kakon*: The Uncanny Prophecies of Calchas in the *Iliad* and Beyond'. *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 10: 11-33.

Dodson-Robinson, E. 2010. 'Rending Others: Ethical Contagio in Seneca's *Thyestes*', *Mouseion* 54: 45-68.

Freud, S. [1919] 2003. *The Uncanny*. Trans. D. McLintock. London.

Gunderson, E. 2015. *The Sublime Seneca: Ethics, Literature, Metaphysics.* Cambridge.

Gunderson, E. 2018. 'Repetition'. *Ramus* 46: 118-134.

Hammond, P. 2009. *The Strangeness of Tragedy.* Oxford.

Kamil, M. 2021. '*Locus Suspectus*: The Uncanny Landscape of Invidia's Lair (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.760-764)'. *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 10: 70-89.

McAuley, M. 2013. 'Breaking Apart Like the World: Seneca and Psychoanalysis'. *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 40: 71-87.

Royle, N. 2003. *The Uncanny*. Manchester.

Sanderson, E. C. 2021. 'A Wor(l)d Beside Itself: Exploring and Experiencing the Uncanny in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*'. *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 10: 90-116.

Sanderson, E. C. & Burke-Tomlinson, H. 2021. 'Introduction: The "Uncanny" in Classical Antiquity'. *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 10: 7-10.

Segal, C. 1986. *Language and Desire in Seneca's Phaedra.* Princeton, NJ.

Shelton, J. 1977. 'The Dramatization of Inner Experience: The Opening Scene of Seneca's

Agamemnon'. *Ramus* 6: 33-82.

Nicola Hömke (Universität Rostock)

A bellyful of honour – the aesthetics of the ugly and the rhetoric of inversion in Pseudo-Quintilian's 'cannibal declamation' (*Decl. mai.* 12)

In a terrible famine, a town has turned to cannibalism. It blames its defaulting *legatus*, who was ordered to buy grain, and sues him for high treason.

This case is undoubtedly one of the most drastic of the 19 *Declamationes maiores*, fictional court speeches wrongly attributed to Quintilian but more likely dating from the 3rd century AD. The description of cannibalistic excesses offers a multifaceted field of investigation for the ancient use of an aesthetics of ugliness. It culminates in a furious rhetoric of horror (or the grotesque) when the declamator calls the eaten relatives in his belly as witnesses to the accusation.

Clearly, Seneca's *Thyestes* functions as a pretext, both motivically and linguistically. Nevertheless, as I will show, the author of *Decl. mai.* 12 does not simply indulge in reminiscence and a rhetoric of mere exaggeration: by giving the cannibal citizens a voice in court, by reflecting on *pietas* and responsibility, guilt and betrayal from their point of view, and even by portraying them as sympathetic figures, he relieves them from the mythological precedent of breaking taboos and allows the question of condemnability to be renegotiated.

This, in turn, contradicts a common interpretation of the social function of the practice of declamation in the imperial period: namely, that it was intended to convey a Roman system of values and a Roman situational ethic to young elite Romans by means of legal role-playing.

Instead, declamations such as Decl. mai. 10 and 12 offer a much more experimental and open-ended stage for the negotiation of Roman values and do not shy away from fundamentally questioning social norms and expectations through a rhetoric of irritation.

This flexibility and openness is probably one of the main reasons for the centuries-long popularity of the art of declamation in the Roman imperial period.

Selective bibliography

N. W. Bernstein (2013), *Ethics, Identity, and Community in Later Roman Declamation*, Oxford.

O. Cappello (2016), Civitas beluarum: *the politics of eating your neighbor. A semiological study of Ps.-Quintilian's twelfth* Major Declamation, in M. T. Dinter – Ch. Guérin – M. Martinho (eds.), *Reading Roman Declamation. The Declamations Ascribed to Quintilian*, Berlin – Boston 2016, pp. 209–236.

N. Hömke (2002), *Gesetzt den Fall, ein Geist erscheint. Komposition und Motivik der ps-quintilianischen* Declamationes maiores *X*, *XIV und XV*, Heidelberg.

N. Hömke (2006), *Die Entgrenzung des Schreckens: Lucans Erichto-Episode aus Sicht moderner Phantastik-Konzeptionen*, in N. Hömke – M. Baumbach (eds..), *Fremde Wirklichkeiten. Literarische Phantastik und antike Literatur*, Heidelberg, pp. 161–185.

N. Hömke (2010), *Bit by bit towards death – Lucan's Scaeva and the aestheticization of dying*, in N. Hömke – Ch. Reitz (eds.), *Lucan's* Bellum civile*. Between Epic Tradition and Aesthetic Innovation*, Berlin – New York, pp. 91–104.
N. Hömke (forthcoming), The declaimer's dealing with the gruesome, dreadful and disgusting in *Declamationes maiores* 10 and 12. In: A. Lovato – A. Stramaglia – G. Traina (eds.): Le ›Declamazioni maggiori‹ pseudo-quintilianee nella Roma imperiale. Berlin – Boston, pp. 123–40.
N. Hömke (forthcoming), *In der Todeszone. Die Darstellung und Funktion des Schrecklichen, Grausigen und Ekligen in Lucans* Bellum civile, Berlin – Boston (BzA).
A. Stramaglia (2002), *[Quintiliano]. La città che si cibò dei suoi cadaveri (*Declamazioni maggiori*, 12)*, Cassino.
A. Stramaglia – M. Winterbottom – B. Santorelli (eds., 2021), *[Quintilian]. The Major Declamations*, I–II, Cambridge (Mass.) – London.
D. van Mal-Maeder (2004), *Sénèque le Tragique et les* Grandes Déclamations *du Pseudo-Quintilien. Poétique d'une métamorphose*, in M. Zimmerman – R. van der Paardt (eds.), *Metamorphic Reflections. Essays Presented to Ben Hijmans at his 75th Birthday*, Leuven, pp. 189–199.

Kate Stevens (Rutgers University)

gula est: Power dynamics of self-impoverishment through faked illness in Martial's _Epigrams_

Throughout his *Epigrammata*, the Flavian poet Martial takes particular care in critiquing the social behavior of other inhabitants (real and imagined) of Rome. His targets behave badly in a number of ways, ranging from miserly patronage to concealment of bodily flaws. I explore how Martial criticizes men who adopt a particular impoverished aesthetic—that of ill health—to enable their abuses of power, exploiting feigned illnesses to manipulate their social positions for profit.

In a number of poems [2.16, 2.40, 9.85, 11.86, 12.56], Martial repeats a scenario: he accuses a man of malingering for the purpose of enjoying unearned social and monetary benefits such as well-wishing and gifts. These men take on similar forms of contrived illness that are aesthetically similar: their symptoms are fevers, listlessness, and coughs, and their illnesses are acute (rather than chronic), potentially fatal (where recovery is cause for celebration), and not visually disfiguring (without perceivable lasting impairment). In contrast, there are two poems where the subject falsifies illness with applications of ointments and bandages [7.39, 10.22]. Martial notably does not attack the greed of these individuals, respectively identified as Caelius and Martial himself. Unlike those faking fever, Caelius and Martial utilize a visibly ill aesthetic not to demand sympathetic gifts but to avoid unpleasant social responsibilities to those with equal or higher status. I argue that Martial targets healthy individuals appropriating the aesthetics of disease to exert social power over others, using these examples to demonstrate that the impoverished aesthetic of illness—as appropriated by wealthy malingerers—can be a tool used to exploit social norms and inappropriately subvert the expected flow of generosity. His treatment of men who feign illness is not uniform, but highly dependent upon how they manipulate their presentation of (ill) health to optimize their position.

Bibliography

Adamik, Tamás. "The System and Function of Attributes in Martial's Epigrams." *AUB Sect. Class.* 7 (1979): 71–85.

Galán Vioque, Guillermo. *Martial, Book VII. A Commentary*. Translated by J. J. Zoltowski. Brill, 2001.

Garland, Robert. *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*. 2nd ed. Bristol Classical Press, 2010.

Gevaert, Bert. *Parcere personis, dicere de vitiis: Deformitas in de epigrammen van Publius Valerius Martialis* (unpublished PhD, Brussels, 2013).

———. "Perfect Roman Bodies: The Stoic View." In *Disability in Antiquity*, ed. Laes, 213–21. Routledge, 2017.

Henriksén, Christer. *A Commentary on Martial: Epigrams, Book 9*. 2nd ed. Oxford University Press, 2012.

Kay, N.M. *Martial, Book XI: A Commentary.* Duckworth, 1985.

Laes, Christian, ed. *Disability in Antiquity*. Routledge, 2017.

Laes, Christian, C.F. Goodey, and M. Lynn Rose. "Approaching Disabilities *a Capite ad Calcem*: Hidden Themes in Roman Antiquity." In *Disabilities in Roman Antiquity: Disparate Bodies A Capite Ad Calcem*, eds. Laes, Goodey, and Rose, 1–16. Brill, 2013.

———, eds. *Disabilities in Roman Antiquity: Disparate Bodies A Capite Ad Calcem*. Brill, 2013.

Moreno Soldevila, Rosario, Alberto Marina Castillo, and Juan Fernández Valverde, eds. *A Prosopography to Martial's Epigrams*. De Gruyter, 2019.

Nauta, Ruurd. *Poetry for Patrons*. Brill, 2002.

Scarborough, John. "Romans and Physicians." *CJ* 65, no. 7 (1970): 296–306.

Spisak, Art. *Martial: A Social Guide*. Bristol Classical Press, 2007.

Stahl, Johannes. "Physically Deformed and Disabled People." In *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, ed. M. Peachin, 715–33. Oxford University Press, 2011.

Williams, Craig A. *Martial: Epigrams Book Two*. Oxford University Press, 2004.

A response to the panel will be delivered by Rebecca Moorman (Providence College).

Session 3, Panel 2: **Greek Religion and Cult (§1) (Faraday C)**

Ariadne Konstantinou (Bar-Ilan University)

The anthropomorphism of the Greek goddess Hestia

Hestia is the Greek goddess related to the hearth, symbolically located in the middle, as the fire at the centre of the house. She is sometimes regarded as one of the twelve Olympians; sometimes, as for example on the east frieze of the Parthenon, Dionysus appears instead of her. Although it would appear that because of her connection to the hearth Hestia has a significant role in Greek religion, she is now the most poorly studied of the twelve Olympians. Often enough the reason given for this neglect is that she is the least anthropomorphic god in the Greek pantheon.

This paper will build upon previous research in order to review and to a certain extent revisit the assessment that, in the Archaic period, Hestia is the least anthropomorphic goddess, that she is little more than an immobile personification of the hearth. My analysis will first draw attention to how twentieth-century scholarship on Hestia owes much to a short reference about her in Plato's *Phaedrus*, while it seems to overlook other equally significant sources from the Archaic period. The paper will then move on to reconsider both textual and visual sources: I first review two references to Hestia in early hexameter poetry, in Hesiod's *Theogony* and in the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*, before turning to the depiction of Hestia in two early Attic black-figure vases, the Sophilos dinos at the British Museum and the François vase. All these sources, I argue, have been neglected in discussing Hestia's anthropomorphic nature in early Greek thought. While the study of Greek gods has returned to the fore in the last twenty years in the field of Greek religion, it seems that not enough has changed in the mainstream conceptualization of Hestia.

Adam Brennan (University of Bristol)

Athens and the Anakeion: Assembling a Regional Cult

As a temple on the eastern slope of the Acropolis, the Anakeion was a Dioskouroi cult site and a gathering point for residents of Athens. It provided a cult fulcrum to the surrounding *polis* while rituals performed in the nearby *prytaneum* further honoured the Dioskouroi, and it was linked to Piraeus' economy. Similarly to worship at cult sites in Sparta, Delos, or Cyrene, worship at the Anakeion recognised these hero-twins according to the customs of the local area.

However, in inscriptions from Attica, the gods of the Anakeion were not always equated directly with the Dioskouroi. Their cult lacks a clear Dioskourion in Athens, unlike in Cyrene or Delos. Nor do the Dioskouroi regularly appear in inscriptions as Dioskouroi, labelled as heroes or gods – their nature is ambiguous. Most surviving inscriptions, particularly those accounting for treasuries, funds, festivals, or other factors dealing with the economic presence of the cult in Athens, do not refer to the Dioskouroi at all. They instead focus on the Anakes, a title considered by Plutarch to derive from their adoption by Athens and initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries. Without known myths and absent their own identity, these hero-twins were understood to be the Dioskouroi even while their name remained almost defiantly different.

Using this inscriptional evidence of Dioskouroi cult, alongside iconographic and literary material, my paper seeks to assemble and compare this noticeably Athenian manifestation of Dioskouroi worship with its presence elsewhere. In doing so I seek to address the disappearance of the Anakes behind a curtain of Dioskouroi worship and provide definition to the Athenian perspective of Castor and Polydeuces' ambiguous nature.

Yannos Kourayos (Excavation on Despotiko) and Erika Angliker (Columbia University)
Dancing at the Parian Sanctuaries of Apollo on Despotiko

The abundance of ancient artefacts and remains at the Parian sanctuary of Apollo on the islet of Despotiko has garnered the attention of scholars specializing in everything from architecture to votive offerings. Among its many finds, Despotiko has also revealed materials and spaces which are important for understanding the role of dance in ancient sanctuaries. This paper makes the first global examination of objects and structures related to dance at the sanctuary of Despotiko. In the first part, we investigate seals depicting dancing scenes that may have been dedicated at the sanctuary, as votives, by dancers. Particular attention is paid to the site's fine clay statues, which, as effortlessly-portable objects, imply the inclusion of dance and movement during rituals. The second part of this paper will examine the dancing spaces of Despotiko. We discuss in detail the two circular structures recently discovered at the neighbouring island of Tsimintiri, which, in the ancient past, prior to the rise of the oceans, was linked to Despotiko by a thin strip of land. Here, we examine the architectural elements of the structure and its relative position among the other recently discovered buildings of Tsimintiri and discuss their probably function as dancing floor. To further understand the functions of dance during festivals celebrating Apollo, we also compare this structure with spaces at the Delion on Paros, which, although different in shape from the one on Tsimintiri, played a similar role as a sacred dancing area related to the cult of Apollo.

Carmine Nastri (Università degli Studi di Salerno)
The Delphic *Labyadai* and the oracle sacrifices

This contribution will deal with lines 29-43 of face D of CID I 9 (first half of the 4th c. BC), also known as the *cippus* of the *Labyadai*, a name in which one of the minor units (definition by Davies 1996 for the civic subgroups) of the Delphic polis identified itself.

The lines mentioned can be read independently from the text of the entire epigraph, since they deal with the oracular prebends for sacrificers. The text portion must be divided into two sections:

- The first includes lines 29-38 which reproduce and copy an archaic inscription of the small town of Panopeus, recently published (Rousset-Camp-Minon 2015) and contain a list of parts of sacrificial animals.
- The second section includes lines 38-43, which require that these parts shall be given to the *Labyadai* in the ritual contexts related to the oracular consultations.

Lines 38-43, due to their particular syntax, have been the subject of the most varied interpretations throughout the history of the studies. The contribution will refer to Rougemont (1977), but will proceed to a close comparison with the literary and epigraphical documentation, in some cases not yet related to the *cippus*. The objective will be to trace new interpretative paths related to the mechanisms of consultation of the Oracle of Apollo, through the study of the oracular prebends. An attempt will also be made to generate new perspectives on Delphic ritual geography.

References

J. K. Davies, *Strutture e suddivisioni delle* poleis *arcaiche. Le ripartizioni minori*, in S. Settis (a cura di), *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*, II.1, *Una storia greca*, Torino 1996, pp. 599-652.

G. Rougemont, *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes, Tome I: Lois sacrées et règlements religieux*, Paris 1977.

D. Rousset, J. Camp, S. Minon, *The phokian city of Panopeus/Phanoteus, three new rupestral inscriptions, and the cippus of the Labyadai of Delpfhi*, in *AJA* 119, pp. 441-463.

Session 3, Panel 3: **Explore the unexplored: new readings of underexploited papyri (Faraday D)**

Coordinator: Martina Delucchi (University of Bristol)

This panel aims to bring to attention a series of edited papyrological texts which has been widely understudied and underexploited. Whilst the publication of new papyri is certainly beneficial to the study of the Classical World, there are many texts which have been published for a long time and have yet to receive the scholarly attention they deserve. We will present different case studies from four distinct literary genres (i.e. lyric poetry, philosophy, oratory, and epics), in order to cover the widest time-frame and subject matters possible. In chronological order, Dr Alexandrou will focus on two papyri (P. Oxy. 2320 and 2317) published in 1954, containing iambic verses, one of them possibly attributed to Archilochus; the encomium to the Thebans of P.Schub. 32, its date and historical value, published in 1950 and never addressed again, will be the centre of Ms Berardi's paper; finally, the so-called *Epyllium Telephi*, an epic hexametrical text known since 1899 will be discussed by Ms Delucchi.

Margarita Alexandrou (University of Cyprus)

Some *Adespota Iambica* reconsidered: The cases of P.Oxy. 2317 and 2320

Working with literary fragments of known authorship and/or genre preserved on papyri, given that in most cases such material survives in tatters, is always a painstaking and precarious endeavour. Dealing, however, with adespota preserved on papyri, i.e. fragmentary texts of dubious or unknown authorship, is an even more challenging task; therefore, in many cases, adespota remain neglected by scholarship, or, even in cases where they receive individual attention by scholars in their own right, they are rarely incorporated into larger discussions of genres to which they seem to belong.

The purpose of this paper is to sketch a picture of some fairly lengthy papyrological fragments of adespota iambica, which seem to preserve typically iambic themes. The foremost theme concerns reproaching (unknown) an addressee: the first fragment reproaches someone for (presumably) having betrayed (in some way) an innocent girl, and the second reproaches someone else for reasons that are hard to identify. Both fragments were published for the first time by Lobel in 1954 (as P.Oxy. 2320 and 2317, respectively),

were subsequently included by West under adespota iambica in his *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* edition (1992) as frr. 35 and 38 W, and they have received some attention by scholars with regard to their content and authorship.

My paper aims, through a new inspection of the papyri, to perform the following tasks: (a) to revisit those fragments and discuss anew issues of content, language, style and possible attribution, (b) to set them in fruitful comparison with the most well-known iambics of the major archaic iambographers; (c) to sketch the contribution of these fragments to our understanding of iambos as a genre (proprieties, themes, narrative technique, etc.); and, finally, in doing so, (d) to discuss issues of method in approaching fragments and especially adespota.

Roberta Berardi (University of Oxford)
P.Schub. 32: a rhetorical exercise on Thebes?

P.Schub. 32 (= P.Berol. inv. 7445 = MP3 2507, LDAB 4265) is a papyrus of unknown provenance (perhaps Fayoum), which according to its editor princeps (and only editor), Schubart, dates back to the 1st century AD. The text has been labelled 'rhetorical exercise', as its 31 lines contain a fine encomium of the Thebans. The papyrus has been largely neglected, perhaps in the light of its attribution to the school environment, and has never really been taken into account in a discourse on Hellenistic rhetoric and oratory. However, both its content and its material data require more attention. First of all, thanks to new palaeographical parallels, it is possible to date the papyrus – with its handwriting being an interesting mixture of severe style and Ptolemaic traits – to a slightly earlier age (1st century BC); secondly, its elegant layout, with broad margins, narrow column, punctuation, and spaced letters, does not make us think of a scruffy exercise. Consequently, we must re-think of the environment in which this object comes from: if it indeed comes from the school, it must have been a refined handbook, but the hypothesis of an embedded speech in history (very difficult to tell apart from rhetorical exercises in papyri) or even actual oratory cannot be ruled out completely. Finally, the text this papyrus contains poses other puzzling problems, such as a unique attestation of the attempt of the Spartans to prevent the foundation of Megalopolis, which could be explained either as an impossible scenario for a declamation, or a historical fact attested only in this source. Therefore, a new examination of this underexplored papyrus is absolutely necessary in order to place it in a clearer historical and cultural context.

Martina Delucchi (University of Bristol)
Neglected epics: the *Epyllium Telephi* (P.Oxy. II 214)

P.Oxy. 214 (= P.Lond. 1181) is a papyrus published very early in the Oxyrhynchus collection which has been largely underexploited. It is a fragment of a larger hexametrical text, generally considered an epyllium, which deals with a part of the myth of Telephus and, probably, of his son, Eurypylus. It was part of a codex: on the recto, twenty-one lines are readable, all mainly complete, and traces of a twenty-second line are also discernible; on the verso there are twenty-two verses, but the papyrus leaves are heavily damaged.

In this paper I aim to address some problems which have been vastly ignored by the scanty scholarship dedicated to it. First, the date of the papyrus sheet. Despite being already dated, no cogent reasons were given for the date itself, I thus attempted to reconstruct the papyrus' history through parallels of palaeographical nature, also comparing it to other papyri found at the same time or in proximity. Second, the date of the text. It has been dated by various scholars to the third century BC as well as to the third CE. Analysing it from a metrical and lexical point of view, I propose to reduce the time span, isolating the half century in which it is likely to have been written. Third, given that the female narrator of the poem has been already rightly identified with Astyoche, Telephus' wife, I try to give an answer on where and when the speech can be collocated in the economy of the myth. Fourth, I focus my attention on the rhetorical and linguistic expedients used by the author to allude to precedent or contemporary traditions, e.g. Homeric echoes, in order to better understand and contextualise the poem itself.

Session 3, Panel 4: **Meroe and Nubia in the Classical and Post-classical World (Faraday E)**

Organisers: Mai Musié (University of Oxford) and Adam Simmons (Nottingham Trent University)
Chair: Mai Musié

In the ancient world several terms were used interchangeably, for example 'Nubian' and 'Ethiopian' both appear to describe black people in the Nile valley, as well as 'Kushites'. Nubia—present day Sudan and Upper Egypt—was located upstream of the First Cataract of the Nile to beyond modern Khartoum. Its people have lived in ancient Nubia from at least 300,000 BCE and the region has been home to the earliest sub-Saharan urban culture in the African continent. The adoption of the toponym 'Ethiopia' in classical and medieval scholarship as a result of Solomonic Ethiopian appropriation has at times caused the anachronistic erasure and reduction of the histories of Meroe and Nubia. This panel seeks to readdress the balance by offering four different perspectives in viewing ancient Nubia. Derbew traces the way that 'Aithiopians' (and blackness), the Greek term for Nubians, appear in literature and art spanning over 900-years of Greco-Roman civilisation. Ashby explores the popularity of the cult of Isis beyond Egypt, particularly in the kingdom of Meroe, and the rites of Nubian priests. Simmons offers a discussion on how Meroitic/Nubian and Aksumite material reflect the localisation of 'Ethiopia' in modern Sudan and addresses how much later historical narratives have contributed to the anachronistic association between 'Ethiopia' and Ethiopia. Drzewiecki offers a different take on 'classical' urbanisation in his discussion on the medieval kingdom of Alwa—a thriving Nubian capital city—and its Meroitic influences with a nod to the city of Aksum and other cluster cities of Western Africa.

Sarah Derbew (Stanford University)
Blackness and Nubia

Derbew will examine the relationship between blackness and Nubia in ancient Greek sources. She will trace the ways that Aithiopians, the Greek term for Nubians, appear in literature and art spanning nine hundred years (fifth century BCE – fourth century CE). An ancient literary example puts this discussion into context. Namely, Herodotus weaves black skin colour in and out of his description of Aithiopians, thus offering broader methods of defining people that incorporates visual and non-visual clues.

Solange Ashby (UCLA)
Isis, Mistress of the Southern Lands: From Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* to Meroe, an ancient kingdom on the Nile

Worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis spread throughout the Mediterranean world during more than seven centuries of Greco-Roman rule in Egypt (332 BCE – 395 CE). During this period temples of Isis were constructed in Greece and Rome and into northern Europe. Less well known are the adherents of Isis from the lands south of Egypt in the kingdom of Meroe (300 BCE – 330 CE) and the Nubian priests whom they employed to conduct rites for Osiris and Isis at the temple of Philae.

This talk will use Heliodorus' *Aethiopica,* a Greek romance of the third or fourth century CE, as an entry point to discover the 'other' great civilization of the Greco-Roman world, Meroe. Heliodorus' protagonist, a young priestess of Artemis from Delphi in Greece, journeys to the 'cataracts of Egypt' and the temple of Isis before arriving in Meroe to discover that she is a Meroitic princess. This talk will discuss what Heliodorus got right—and wrong!—about the actual Meroitic priests and worshippers of the goddess Isis, contemporaries of Heliodorus, as described through their prayer inscriptions written in Egyptian Demotic, Meroitic, and Greek on the walls at the temple of Philae and the decorated funerary chapels of the royal pyramids at Meroe.

The prominence of powerful goddesses (Hathor, Mut, and Isis), the reverence awarded to the queen mothers of Kush, and a series of sole-ruling queens who led their armies in battle against the invading Romans in the period just prior to Helidorus' *Aethopica,* highlight the unusually high status of women in this ancient African society.

Adam Simmons (Nottingham Trent University)
What did Meroe/Nubia and Aksum think about the toponym 'Ethiopia'?

The toponyms Aithiopia (Greek) and Aethiopia (Latin) are often perceived to have encompassed generalised lands. Despite the nuances of their pre-Christian and Christian definitions, the perspectives of Meroe/Nubia and Aksum, the lands most commonly associated with the toponym in North-East Africa, are commonly overlooked. This paper will discuss how Meroitic/Nubian and Aksumite material reflect the localisation of 'Ethiopia' in modern Sudan and addresses how much later historical narratives have contributed to the anachronistic association between 'Ethiopia' and Ethiopia. Despite claims to the contrary,

Aksumite material never claims Aksum to be 'Ethiopia', whether in a secular or biblical form, whilst both Meroitic/Nubian and Aksumite material localise the region of Sudan as 'Kush', and by extension, 'Ethiopia'. Recentring African material in the debate over the definition of 'Ethiopia' challenges the historiographical narrative which portrays Aksum as the dominant power of North-East Africa, whilst minimising Meroe's/Nubia's role via the influence of multiple layered historical mischaracterisations.

Mariusz Drzewiecki (University of Warsaw)
The beginnings of Soba, the capital of the medieval kingdom of Alwa: From Meroitic influences to clustered cities of Western Africa

Most researchers date the beginnings of Soba to the 5th – 6th centuries AD. Already in the 6th century, the city on the east bank of the Blue Nile covered an area of approx. 200 ha, twice the size of Meroe. Despite the consensus on the date, the question of how the city looked like in the initial period, who build it, who was living there, and how it developed are still matters under discussion. Derek Welsby identified Meroitic influences in the 6th-century architecture in Soba and suggested that the city might have started as a small temple complex.

Excavations carried out in 2019–2020 and the results of radiocarbon dating have brought new insights into the issue. Based on the data, a hypothesis is put forward according to which the early Soba could have been a polycentric city. The metropolis in its first centuries had several areas characterized by permanent buildings (made of stone and/or brick) and vast areas where light (wooden) buildings dominated. The city was much different from other Nubian capitals since it did not have fortifications and one clearly defined centre. In this regard, it was more similar to the city of Axum and the so-called clustered cities of Western Africa.

Session 3, Panel 5: **Cognitive Approaches to Greek Comic Fragments (§1) (Faraday F)**

Convenor: Anna Novokhatko (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

This panel will bring together different approaches of contemporary cognitive studies to the interpretation of fragments of Sicilian and Attic comedy, covering a broad chronological span from Epicharmus to the 3rd century BCE. The focus is on two questions: the performative materiality of fragmentary comedy and the question of what insights we can gain from the fragments about the presence of spectators to whom the performance was addressed.

In theatre, the interplay between the physical world of the theatre structure and the natural world and the fictional setting, between the world visible to the audience and the world evoked by the imagination, is emphasised. In this way, a microcosm is created in which the characters, the actors, the author and the audience share in a common experience. Somatic

behaviour, expression and emotion are essential to understanding the complex and varied ways in which the actors and characters on stage communicate with their environment. Environmental theories that understand perception as a combination of the person's environment and the way the person interacts with it, creating a new understanding of the individual's experience, have already been applied to the performative dynamics of Greek theatre.

The performative materiality is essential for the reception of the staged discourses, the meanings and empathetic responses in the audience that were produced and conveyed through visual and audial performance. Drama enacts learning through and from our bodies, establishing the sensoric contact between the living bodies on stage and the living bodies of the spectators.

Scholars working on fragmented comedy and/or cognitive studies have been invited for the panel. Various issues will be raised, such as the linguistic features of the fragments themselves, the role and function of the material objects referred to in the fragments, the affects of the audience implied in the text, and the limits imposed by the phases of reconstruction, production and reception of the fragmentary texts.

The aim of this panel is to explore the interpretive possibilities and experiential aspects of fragmentary Greek comedy.

Peter Meineck (New York University)

"The mind sees and the mind hears": comic fragments and the predictive life of things

A fragment of an unknown comedy by the Sicilian playwright Epicharmus (fr. 214) tells us that "the mind sees and the mind hears, all else is deaf and blind" an apt description for this paper on the perception of material things in the Greek comic fragments. In another nugget from Epicharmus, a character asks why a tripod with four legs is even called a tripod (fr. 147) and in all that survives of his play, *Cyclops*, we only hear about objects: a mortar (fr. 70), sausages (fr. 71) and a wine cup (fr. 72). In fact, in surveying the surviving fragments of ancient Greek comedy it is striking how many references there are to what at first seem like mundane material items. As opposed to tragedy, ancient comedy was a prop heavy endeavour to be sure, but how far can we evaluate which material objects appeared on stage as props and what was intended to be imagined in the minds of the audience? Was there a difference in the cognitive effects of a physical object as opposed to what was mentioned but not shown? Might a deeper appreciation of how these things were regarded in antiquity combined with an understanding of how the human mind makes sense of material objects offer an additional way to analyse the comic fragments as remnants of ancient live performative events?

In this paper I will apply Lambros Malafouris' recent Material Engagement Theory (2013) to several ancient comic fragments that include noticeable mentions of domestic objects. Material Engagement Theory (MET) developed in the field of cognitive archaeology is an interdisciplinary analytical framework based on several influential theories of distributed cognition that places material things in cognitive equilibrium with brains bodies and environments across permeable mental boundaries. It allows us to perceive ancient artefacts

as enactive objects, what Colin Renfrew has described as "the remnants of ancient thoughts". Going further and applying new theories of predictive processing I will also ask, what was the cognitive effect of only hearing about an object rather than seeing it embodied as a physical prop on stage and how might these references have acted on the somatosensory, kinesthetic and active inference mechanisms of the spectators' minds.

Andreas Bagordo (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)
The Case of Aristyllos coprophile

Taking a cue from the presence of a *kōmōdoumenos* named Aristyllos who appears in two aristophanic passages (Ar. *Eccl.* 644–50bis and *Plut.* 312–5, where he is derided as fellator and coprophile) a complicated theory has been concocted, according to which he can be identified with Plato (Aristyllos was a hypocoristic form of Aristocles, his real name): to show that Aristophanes would have made fun of a first draft of *Resp.* V (449a – 57d), where *kallipolis* is characterized by the political role played by women, by their sexual freedom, by the community of women and children and by the sharing of goods, the author of this theory is forced to predate books of *Politeia*, to backdate the *Ecclesiazusae* and, finally, to subtract fr. 551 K.–A. to the *Telemēssēs* of Aristophanes. We will try to show how a correct (and economic) interpretation of the comic aristophanic mechanisms is sufficient, respecting literary and testimonial evidence, to revise this construction.

Amy Lather (Wake Forest University)
Thinking about Thinking about Cleverness: Aristophanes and Material Intelligence

This paper takes as its focus those passages in *Clouds* and *Frogs* that portray sophistic and poetic forms of language as (among other things) "sawdust" (*Frogs* 881), "slivers (*Clouds* 130, *Frogs* 819)" and "flour" (*Clouds* 260-2). Such imagery visualizes the characteristic "subtlety" (*leptotēs*) of clever speech as the product of whittling and filing that deprives language of meaning by reducing it to fragments. Aristophanes' depiction of sophistic speech-making as a form of tool use, however, is uncannily in line with those in the 4E cognition camp who likewise would maintain that language is a vital tool for human cognition. If we, in turn, take seriously Aristophanes' decidedly materialistic conception of sophistic language, then, paradoxically, the comic poet turns out to provide a very specific meaning to "meaninglessness" itself.

According to Andy Clark, one of the leading proponents of the extended cognition model, language represents not a translation of some kind of inner thought language, but it is instead "a key cognitive tool by means of which we are able to objectify, reflect upon, and hence knowingly engage with our own thoughts, trains of reasoning, and cognitive and personal characters" (Clark, A. 2008. *Supersizing the Mind: Embodiment, Action, and Cognitive Extension.* Oxford: 59). Words, to put it another way, provide a set of external symbols that make our thoughts intelligible both to ourselves and to others. In the first part of the paper, I focus on this external element of language by demonstrating how Aristophanes repeatedly envisions cleverness (in *Clouds* and *Frogs* as well as elsewhere) as a mind-extended (rather than brain-bound) process. This, however, is where Aristophanes' characterization of sophistry as a practice of chiseling or splintering offers a productive test case for extended

cognition, since Aristophanes' claim is precisely that such speech-making actively *breaks down* intelligibility, i.e. into dust, slivers, or flour.

Thus, in the second part of the paper I argue that Aristophanes' conceptualization of subtlety (=meaninglessness) in terms of particulate matter offers its own way of making sense of unintelligibility: that is, as something that only becomes comprehensible in the aggregate. In the *Frogs*, for example, the cleverness of Euripides' language takes its form in "linchpin-shavings" and "chisel-parings" (819). In the same way that an individual wood shaving is barely noticeable, so too the sophistic "paring" of language only becomes apparent when such instances are heaped together, in the "great dustclouds of words" (903) that comprise the *agōn* between the tragedians, or in the "fine flour" that sprinkles Strepsiades at *Clouds* 260–2.

Session 3, Panel 6: **Reception and Books (Faraday G)**

David Scourfield (Maynooth University)
E. M. Forster's *Oresteia* Travesty

On the day of the final performance of the 1900 Cambridge Greek Play – Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* – an anonymous parody ('A Tragic Interior') appeared in a King's College magazine, *Basileona*. The author was a 21-year-old undergraduate, E. M. Forster, who had recently completed Part I of the Classics Tripos; three months later he would publish a sequel, parodying the *Choephori*. This paper seeks to contribute both to the reception history of Greek tragedy and to Forster studies by offering a focused examination of these little-studied parodies, elucidating aspects of their immediate intellectual context and adumbrating their wider significance for their author's mature work.

Recasting the *Oresteia*'s first two plays as drawing-room comedies and exploiting the traditions of Victorian classical burlesque, Forster presents to his implied audience what he imagines to be happening *inside* the palace of Agamemnon while the theatrical action is taking place *outside*, with elements of farce and much breaking of the dramatic illusion in the Aristophanic manner. Great play is made with key stage-properties; features of character and plot are distorted through exaggeration; liberties are taken with the cast. Beneath the comic carapace, however, may be observed a set of serious, characteristically Forsterian, concerns.

The paper will address two main issues. First, it will show how Forster's parodies engage with contemporary scholarship on Greek tragedy and associated debates at Cambridge, in particular the eccentric interpretations of Arthur Verrall, whose sceptical interest in parapsychology, closely linked to his rationalist criticism, is exploited for comic effect. Secondly, it will briefly consider the relationship between the parodies and Forster's later fiction, showing how his rewriting of the *Oresteia* involves a complex play on the notions of interiority and exteriority and appearance and reality, themes that will emerge prominently both in the classically inflected short stories and in the novels, especially *The Longest Journey*.

Select Bibliography
Ford, J. E. 2005. *Rationalist Criticism of Greek Tragedy: The Nature, History, and Influence of a Critical Revolution*. Lanham, MD.
Hall, E., and Wrigley, A. (eds.) 2007. *Aristophanes in Performance 421 BC–AD 2007:* Peace, Birds, *and* Frogs. London.
Lowe, N. J. 2005. 'Problematic Verrall: The Sceptic at Law', in C. Stray (ed.), *The Owl of Minerva: The Cambridge Praelections of 1906*. Cambridge: 142–60.
Macintosh, F. 2005. 'Viewing *Agamemnon* in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in F. Macintosh, P. Michelakis, and E. Hall (eds.), *Agamemnon in Performance 458 BC–AD 2004*. Oxford: 163–85.
Monros-Gaspar, L. 2015. *Victorian Classical Burlesques: A Critical Anthology*. London.
Piggford, G. 1997. 'Camp Sites: Forster and the Biographies of Queer Bloomsbury', in R. K. Martin and G. Piggford (eds.), *Queer Forster*. Chicago and London: 89–112.
Scourfield, J. H. D. 2019. 'Forster and Woolf', in K. Haynes (ed.), *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature*, vol. 5. Oxford.

Matthew Payne (Universiteit Leiden)

The Use of the Translation Paradigm in Criticism and Scholarship on Ennius' Tragedies

The identification of some of the Roman tragedies by Ennius as translations was made by later writers such as Cicero and Gellius. Editors and critics use this principle to reconstruct plots and draw conclusions about characters, themes and aspects of performance.

I will briefly outline how the later writers we are reliant on for both our fragments and our testimonia are pursuing their own agendas: Cicero utilises the translation paradigm to encourage the acceptance of his own programme of philosophical writing; Gellius projects his own contemporary hybrid Greco-Roman literary culture into the Republican past. Often fragments found in the grammatical writer Nonius do not display close verbal correspondence, as is the case for some fragments from Ennius' *Hecuba*.

In the modern era scholars and critics have used the comparative paradigm in new ways. My starting point is Scaliger's attribution of a fragment of Aprissius instead to Accius' *Bacchae* by analogy with Euripides, an extreme example of the translation heuristic. I move on to Iphigenia, highlighting how Jocelyn's approach to Ennius' *Iphigenia* as liberal adaptation produces significant differences from other editors who let verbal parallels with Euripides' version shape their reconstructions.

Drawing on Gutt's relevance theory of translation, I suggest rethinking translation as a communicative act not between target text and source text but between the Roman poet and audience. As Gildenhard has shown with Ennius' *Medea*, the differences between Latin and Greek versions often reflect different cultural ideologies. I will argue that for some fragments apparently close verbal parallels could possibly be moments of convergence being deployed exceptionally in order to focus audience attention on socio-political commentary relevant to their own cultural context. To illustrate this, I will use a few fragments from Ennius' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia* as case-studies.

Christopher Lillington-Martin (Coventry University)
Xenophon's *Anabasis* in Procopius' *Wars*: Dreams and Self-portrayal by Xenophon and Procopius

This paper considers Procopius' reception of Xenophon. Procopius cites the *Cyropaedia* and refers to Xenophon's "exquisite eloquence" as being "quite capable… of… mere embellishment of the facts" (*Buildings* 1.1.13–14*).* Does Procopius (*Wars* 3.12.3-5) follow Xenophon (*Anabasis* 3.1.11-12), as one important model for history writing by narrating, as an insider, a prophetic dream on the eve of a military expedition and highlighting his subsequent participation in events? Both authors were physically present in military operations, and this certainly adds credibility to both their accounts. Does Xenophon's narrated dream, to act and lead the army "to the sea", inspire Procopius to propose himself as an agent and narrate a unique dream, virtually foretelling of Belisarius' victory "across the sea", against the Vandals of Carthage, on behalf of Justinian?

Session 3, Panel 7: **KYKNOS: Research on the Ancient Novels (§2) (Faraday H)**

Convenor/Chair: Ian Repath (Swansea University)

Leonardo Constantini (University of Bristol)
Re-framing the Festival of Laughter (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.32-3.12)

The episode of the so-called Festival of Laughter (Apul. *Met*. 2.32-3.12) describes the trial of the protagonist Lucius, which surprisingly turns out to be a practical joke for the yearly celebration of the god Laughter (*Risus*) in the city of Hypata. This episode finds no parallel in Greek or Latin literature and is generally regarded as an Apuleian addition to the original plot of the "ass-story", which both Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and (Pseudo-)Lucian's *Onos* independently refashion.

Much scholarship on this episode has focused on a historical or anthropological reading: on the one hand, some call attention to the Spartan celebration of the god Laughter (Γέλως), or to the Roman festival of the *Hilaria* as possible sources of inspiration for Apuleius. On the other hand, other scholars discuss this episode from an anthropological standpoint, stressing Lucius' role as a ritual scapegoat. A lacking perspective, however, has been the assessment of typically Greek legal customs in the Festival of Laughter. My work on the *GCA* III (forthcoming 2021) has enabled me to cast new light on the literary and socio-cultural context of the episode, in which Roman and Greek traditions are brought together, e.g. references to Greek practices such as the *basanos*, i.e. the use of evidentiary torture on free citizens which was forbidden in Rome; mention of Greek offices translated into Latin (cf. *nocturnae custodiae praefectus* = νυκτοστρατηγός); the presence of the victims' female relatives who behave as suppliants (ἱκέτιδες). This paper aims to expand on my discussion in the *GCA* III and address the following questions: how should we understand these references to Greek customs in the episode? What kind of effects were they meant to elicit? Could they possibly be traced back to Apuleius' lost Greek model?

Rachel Bird (Swansea University)

Falling in Love with Love: Echoes of Greek Novels in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* IV.28–VI.24

The inset tale of 'Cupid and Psyche' in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* has attracted various interpretative approaches, some of which explore the allegorical nature of the story and some of which focus on its relationship with the wider text. There has also been some attention paid to how certain tropes from and allusions to the Greek novels which predate Apuleius are present (Walsh, Hägg, Kenney, Sandy, Harrison). In this paper, an analysis of how 'Cupid and Psyche' is indebted to the Greek novels will be provided, with focus on characterisation through imagery and direct speech, and on the themes of human misfortune and suffering. I aim to explicate how this intertextuality informs our reading of both 'Cupid and Psyche' and the *Metamorphoses* more broadly. This paper will offer new perspectives on literary and allegorical aspects of this complex text: I will look at how Apuleius' use of the Greek novels in this particular episode suggests that his view of divine love and the human soul is nuanced by the nature of his literary influences and the characters represented therein. The way in which 'Cupid and Psyche' reflects back on the novels will also be considered, with attention paid to how Apuleius might have read those texts with which he engages.

Olivier Demerre (Universiteit Gent)

A Pun in the Ass. (H)*aemulatio* of Chariton's *Callirhoe* in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*

While scholars assume that Roman novelists display an awareness of the Greek love novels' salient generic features, few studies investigate the presence in a Roman novel of an allusion to a specific Greek novel. In this paper, I argue that textual, structural and thematic evidence suggests that Apuleius alluded in at least one passage of the *Metamorphoses* known as the Charite-*Komplex* (4.23–7.15) to the episode in Chariton's novel (books 1–3) of the abduction of Callirhoe by the pirate Theron. This allusion helps us draw a better picture not only of Apuleius' positioning towards one Greek love novel but also of the early reception of Chariton's work.

Apuleius capitalizes on the two main themes of the Charite-*Komplex*, success/failure and dissimulation, to comment on his allusive technique and tease the reader about the allusion. Firstly, Haemus–Tlepolemus, who wishes to infiltrate the robbers' band that has kidnapped his bride-to-be, introduces himself as the son of Theron and an *aemulus uirtutis paternae*. The filiation between Theron and Haemus-Tlepolemus is an allusive trope establishing a literary filiation with Chariton's novel. Moreover, the pun on Haemus' name refers to the concept of *aemulatio*, literary rivalry. Apuleius invites the reader not only to contrast Haemus' successful speech with Theron's failure to dissimulate his identity, but also his and Chariton's literary techniques, because both novelists allude to episodes in the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus dissimulates his identity.

Secondly, following J.J. Winkler's influential interpretation of the *Metamorphoses* as a hermeneutical challenge to the reader, I contend that just as Charite's and Tlepolemus' true identities are progressively disclosed, Apuleius disseminates through the text increasingly

more obvious clues signalling the allusion. Apuleius' game with the reader's expected knowledge of *Callirhoe* consequently testifies to the popularity of the novel among Latin-speaking circles.

Session 3, Panel 8: **When Classics Gets Creative: (Re)writing Roman Women – Creative Writing Workshop (Faraday J)**

This follows on from Session 2, Panel 8, as a 1.5-hour practical creative writing workshop, introducing participants to writing exercises that can be used in the future with pupils, students and community groups.

Writing exercises to include:

- (Re)construction of a historical character
    - Crafting a character around a slim mention in the sources, using a series of questions about the character to build up a fuller portrait
- Using images/material objects to create a plot
- Alternative Universe Fiction taking familiar history and recasting it in another time/genre

Session 4: 16:30–18:00

Session 4, Panel 1: **Disease and Isolation in Latin Poetry (Faraday B)**

Organiser: Chiara Blanco (University of Edinburgh)

The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic has brought to the forefront the deep-rooted connections between social stigmatization and illness (Sotgiu-Dobler 2020). As a result, the expected impact of the pandemic on mental health has been accentuated to an unprecedented degree, with some of its most common manifestations being a sense of loss, increased fear and anxiety, as well as extreme social isolation (Marshall-Bibby-Abbs 2020). This panel aims to demonstrate that such marginalization, that comes as a direct consequence of disease, finds parallels already in the context of ancient Rome, and in particular in the poetic production of the time. By exploring the links between physical and mental disease, and the depiction of isolation in Latin poetry, we aim to show further how disease led to a considerable change in the communication between the individual and the Roman community.

While classical scholars have extensively examined the links between ancient medical doctrines and literary texts (Langslow 2000; Holmes 2010; Thumiger 2017), little attention has been paid to the Latin poetic production as a whole. Likewise, although various aspects of isolation in the ancient world have been studied side-by-side with the contemporary social, political and racial debate (Sulosky Weaver 2019; Pandey 2020), the impact of disease on social stigma and isolation has so far been overlooked.

This panel will examine different aspects of the social response to disease by focusing on three case studies, namely Horace, Ovid and Seneca, and will address such issues ranging from the representation of illness as a cause of self-stigma, to the rift caused between the individual and the community because of disease.

Bibliography

Holmes, B. 2010. *The Symptom and the Subject: The Emergence of the Physical Body in Ancient Greece*. Princeton.

Langslow, D. 2000. *Medical Latin in the Roman Empire*. Oxford.

Marshall, L., Bibby, J. and I. Abbs. 2020. "Emerging evidence on COVID-19's impact on mental health and health inequalities." *The Health Foundation*: 18 June 2020.

Pandey, N. 2020. "The Roman roots of racial capitalism: What an ancient empire can teach us about diversity." *The Berlin Journal* 34: 16-20.

Sotgiu, G. and C.C. Dobler. 2020. "Social stigma in the time of coronavirus disease 2019." *European Respiratory Journal* 56: 2002461.

Sulosky Weaver, C.L. 2019. "To Include or Exclude? Marginalization of the Deformed in the Classical Greek World." *Journal of Greek Archaeology* 4: 163-179.

Thumiger, C. 2017. *A History of the Mind and Mental Health in Classical Greek Medical Thought.* Cambridge.

Allegra Hahn (University of Manchester)
Between Self-Alienation and Isolation: The Pathology of the *Avarus* in Horace's Poetry

Horace often discusses the detrimental effects of *avaritia* both on the mind and the body. *Avaritia*, considered a mental illness by medical authors (Gal. *Aff. Pecc. Dig.* 9), is for Horace commonly associated with dropsy, a physical disease that causes the body to retain abnormal amounts of fluid. At the same time, however, the dropsical is plagued by eternal thirst, a common symptom of the disease (Celsus *Med.* 3, 21). According to Horace, the dropsical keeps accumulating water, until their body becomes dysfunctional. Similarly, the *avarus* cannot contain the insatiable desire to accumulate material goods, forgoing any other obligation and isolating themselves to the detriment of their own psychosocial well-being. This social alienation as a consequence of *avaritia* is found in *Satire* 1.1, 84-87, in which the miser is a sick individual, despised even by his own relatives who refuse to assist him in his moment of need. In *Ode* 2.2, 15-16, the dropsical has pale skin, as the stagnant water that swells the body causes a lack of blood flow. As the verses are embedded in a political context describing the personal and social benefits of not being greedy, the lack of circulation in the dropsical body could metaphorically exemplify the isolation cast upon the individual suffering from avarice.

Greed is for Horace simultaneously a disease and a problem of moral psychology. The isolation of the *avarus* presents itself as a particular case of marginalization that, although caused by disease, may even appear as justified. The individual's isolation is not derived from the societal prejudice against the sick, but it is instead aided by his self-alienating ailment. This paper attempts to explore, focusing on Horace's treatment of *avaritia*, the dynamics of the relationship between mental illness and social integration in Latin poetry.

Chiara Blanco (University of Edinburgh)
Drowsy Beauty: *Lethargus*, *Furor* and Isolation in Ovid's Narcissus

Wandering alone in the wilderness, Ovid's Narcissus is presented as a marginalized character since his first appearance in the *Metamorphoses* (3.368; 377). Whereas scholars have focused extensively on Narcissus' delusional erotic feeling, little has been said on the nature of his mental disturbance and consequent isolation in the episode; and yet, seclusion from society and restless wandering are among the most common symptoms of mental derangement in both ancient medical (e.g. Hipp. *Epid*. 3.17, case 7) and literary sources (e.g. Hom. *Il*. 6.200-2; Eur. *Bacch.* 148).

In this paper, I want to show that Narcissus' erotic delusion is part of a more complex clinical picture which involves the conditions of *lethargus* and *furor* in conjunction with the character's marginalisation. In the first part, I analyse Narcissus' characterization, by focusing on his emotions and the symptoms of his ailment: the young man is consistently described as wearied and lacking strength (411-2; 467; 490; 500), while simultaneously being delusional (428-30).

In the second part, I compare Narcissus' symptomatology with the mental ailment known as *lethargus*, a disease which was the object of intense debate among some of the most renowned physicians operating in Rome at the time of Ovid (Cael. Aur. *Acut. Dis.* 2.1.6):

whereas Athenaeus of Attalia classified *lethargus* as a form of *furor*, Asclepiades linked it to delirium instead.

I argue that Ovid merges these different clinical pictures to reiterate the aetiology of the episode (the very name *narcissus* comes from *nárkē*, 'torpor' (*LSJ*)), while simultaneously stressing the subjectivity of Narcissus' erotic experience. By investigating Narcissus' ailment in Ovid's episode, I aim to show the poet's engagement in an active dialogue with the medical debate of his time on mental illness and isolation, creating as a result a character that balances between his self-infatuation and the torments of mental disturbance.

Simona Martorana (Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel)

Madness, Disease and Isolation in Seneca's *Hercules Furens*

This paper explores the connections between mental illness and isolation in Seneca's *Hercules Furens* through the re-examination of Hercules' madness as a mental (and philosophical) disease. Seneca's Hercules combines the previous literary tradition, most notably Euripides' *Herakles*, with the dialectics between self and the other, body and mind, wisdom and aberration. While in the Euripidean drama Hercules' fury has been read as the result of the coexistence of an external agent and mental disease, in the *Hercules Furens* Seneca stresses to a greater extent the internal origin of Hercules' madness by downplaying its external agency.

Hercules' fury manifests itself through evident symptoms (such as hallucinations, rolling eyes and convulse movements: cf. *HF* 939-1053), which can be linked to Seneca's description of the angry man (e.g. *De Ira* 1.1; 2.3), as well as recalling certain symptoms featuring in ancient medical treaties (e.g. *On Sacred Disease* 1). Mental illness, and its relevant manifestations onto the body, is thus combined with moral corruption, and leads Hercules to shame and dishonour, as well as self-stigma and social isolation (cf. 1221-1245).

In terms of mythological background, Hercules's fury and alienation from the human community are intertwined with his ambivalent identity as both an exceptional, semi-divine individual and a polluted entity. Concurrently, Hercules' madness is relatable to the representation of anger as an inhuman passion, and mental disease, featuring in Seneca's *De Ira* (e.g. 3.10). Seneca's depiction of anger as unsuitable to human and social life (*De Ira* 1.1; 1.6) contributes to the interpretation of Hercules' desire to depart from the human community as a consequence of self-stigma. By investigating Hercules' madness, this paper sheds light on Seneca's re-conceptualization of mental illness as a fracture between the individual and the community.

Session 4, Panel 2: **Greek Religion and Cult (§2) (Faraday C)**

Marina Polito (Università degli Studi di Salerno)

IG II^2 1237,4–8: Priests, Prebends, and Sacrifices

The problems related to the identification, in the three decrees, of phratry, other organisms, reciprocal relationships among themselves and other Athenian figures make *IG* II^2 1237 the most studied epigraph of Athenian phratries. Although this draws attention away from another aspect, constituted by the relationship that links priests, prebends, and sacrifices. The objective of this contribution is to clarify the obscure relationship among these three elements, i.e. (1) priest (2) prebends (3) sacrifices, within the phratry, and (4) in relation to the polis.

The comparison between the information obtained from the lexica and that obtained from this epigraph allows to correct some important traditional readings of the text and to highlight a series of aspects related to the *meion* and the *koureion*, the two main presentation sacrifices, respectively, of children and *paides*. Methodologically, these results make it clear that each type of source (lexica, epigraphs, orations) on Athenian phratries, just like the documentation on each individual phratry, must be studied without transferring data from one phratry to another, because there are often some differences.

At the same time, attention is always kept onto the relationship between the phratry and the State, both (1) for origin and duties of the priest, and (2) for the implications of *meion* and *koureion* in terms of age and requirements of candidates and for the legislation about them (V–IV c. b.C.), related to the admissions into the civic body, and (3) for the progressive acceptance of the Athenian State towards new forms of association, such as the *thyasoi* of this epigraph.

This new interpretation of the three decrees of the epigraph allows us to enter a world in which sacrifices, rites, meat and wine offerings mark the mechanisms of age groups of *paides* within the community.

Amy Arden (University of Leicester)

The Gendered Phenomenology of the Spartan Hyakinthia

A phenomenological study of the Spartan Hyakinthia at Amyklai demonstrates that the myth and cultic realities of the relationship between the adolescent Hyakinthos and the god Apollo incorporate a gendered ideology that can be 'read' in the environment (both landscape and skyscape) of the Amyklaion. The thematic aetiology of the festival was the reproduction of Spartan society and cultural mores, reflecting the practices of the *agoge* (education) and *syssitia* (dining groups), with Hyakinthos presenting the idealized model of a young *eromenos*, and the Dioskouroi as the model for warrior men. However, the ritual practices and the location pushed human fecundity to the fore and, whether by accident or design, emphasized the important role of women in the continuity of Spartan society. The long shadow cast by the colossal cult statue of Apollo (described by Pausanias, 3.19.2–5) would have incorporated the altar of the god, the tomb of Hyakinthos, and the Taygetos

mountain, sacred to Taygete, mother of Lakedaimon, the founder of Sparta. The Spartan community would have stood in the midst of this tableau which made reference to both the past and the future, placing them at the centre (in both place and time) of the generational cycle.

Ellie Mackin Roberts (Institute of Classical Studies, London)
As-if the body of an animal: Politics, Status, and Situated ritual in Ancient Greece

This paper will discuss the multi-layered, situated experience of Athenian girls during the Arkteia at Brauron and (possibly) Mounichia. In this festival, young girls first 'play bears' before retuning during a later festival when closer to marriageable age to participate as basket bearers. This is a multi-stage process that prepares girls and women to move between social statuses. Balancing status-binaries involves, as Mary Douglas reasons, a 'social drama' which is enacted upon the body-physical for the benefit of the body-politic.

To account for the violence enacted upon the body of girls during such status transition, this 'social drama' sometimes involves ritual make-believe. This gives an outward, yet still embodied, expression of the girl's inward physical and emotional changes. In this make-believe the body becomes a ritual implement, an instrument of knowledge creation that forewarns the *body* of the impending violence. As Christina Toren comments, 'our cognitive processes are *constituted* through our embodied engagement in the world.' Make-believe in religious contexts is an inherently dynamic process that is necessitated by multi-directional relationships between the body and mind of the individual, the collective body and mind of the community, the situated environment, and the divine.

Girls in such circumstances are transformed by make-believe into ritual implements prepared for bodily maturation. Upon their return they are re-transformed from their younger selves, through site-situated experience, both as a 'maturation' rite and as a way to appease the wild-maiden goddess, Artemis. However, this make-believe acts at a supra-defined level – girls' bodies are transformed not only for their own benefit, but for the more significant benefit of the body-politic, as they become wives and mothers, returning to the festival with their own daughters in turn.

Session 4, Panel 3: **War and Death (Faraday D)**

Elisabeth Slingsby (University of Cambridge)
Commemoration Through Comparison: Representing the Victims of the Triumviral Civil War

In his second *Suasoria,* Seneca the Elder has several declaimers assert that the Three Hundred Spartans must stand firm at Thermopylae, because fleeing would constitute a betrayal of their forebears, their city, and the liberty they had dedicated their lives to defending. Four *suasoriae* later, Seneca's declaimers offer these arguments once more to convince Cicero that he should face death head on, rather than beg Antony to remove his name from the proscription lists. Why would Seneca suggest that in spite of their vastly

differing circumstances, the grounds on which the Spartans and Cicero decided to die were identical?

My proposed answer to this question rests on an examination of the implicit and explicit parallels between those who perished in the Triumviral period and those who fell in non-Roman conflicts, which are drawn in Latin and Greek literature in the century after Octavian's victory at Actium. I contend that such parallels were a key means of commemorating the individuals, and occasionally the communities, who paid the ultimate price in this period of civil war. Specifically, I will focus on the ways in which comparison with non-Roman conflicts cause the proscribed and civil war combatants to appear to have sacrificed their lives for the same reasons as illustrious war heroes. By analysing the virtues which the Roman victims and non-Roman warriors supposedly share, I will demonstrate that regardless of whether an individual died resisting the Liberators, the Triumvirs, Antony, or Octavian, they could be commemorated as if they had drawn their final breath fighting a foreign foe.

Josh Webb (University of Leicester)

Equally Elite: The hoplite of the archaic and classical Greek world in western scholarship

This paper will examine the political, social and economic identity of the 'hoplite' in the archaic and classical Greek world through the perspective of western scholarship, and focuses on the issue of an 'egalitarian' ethos as a driving force behind the rise of the polis. I will suggest the 'egalitarian' ethos is anchored into scholarship by an anachronistic interpretation of archaic Greek society; continues to obscure our understanding of Greek citizenship and hoplites as a social group; and represents a divergent understanding from what recent archaeological evidence and interpretations present. These issues will be examined through two separate means.

First, I will present evidence that the perceived 'egalitarian' ethos of ancient communities derives from outdated arguments presenting a 'hoplite revolution' as its beginning. Recent re-interpretation of the literary and archaeological evidence suggests the 'polis' of the archaic period should be viewed as more a confraternity of elite clans that jealously guarded early notions of 'citizenship', rather than a hotbed of social revolution. I will thus argue that 'hoplite' identity is reflecting an elite status during this period.

Second, this paper will tackle the ideological ramifications of the use of the term 'egalitarian'. I will suggest how 'egalitarian' fails to accurately understand the varied position of the citizen and hoplite in poleis outside of the traditional Athenian-Spartan lens, but that even this variation still betrays a decidedly elite ethos. Then, I will consider the labelling of hoplites and poleis as 'egalitarian' as an inherently problematic perspective on equality throughout history. I will show that it encourages the reader to ignore the position of politically, socially and economically disenfranchised groups (women, foreigners, subject populations and slaves) in both the ancient and the modern world. In the 21st century this cannot be ignored.

Cynthia Liu (University of Oxford)
Shelf Life: literary traditions of ritual death

Despite the Orphic maxim to 'shut the doors on the profane', more than mere echoes of mystery religions and their multifarious associations resound throughout antiquity in literature. Scholars have considered particular references to mystery allusions (e.g. Lloyd-Jones 1990 on Pindar; Riedweg 1987 and Bernabé 2011 on Plato; Dickie 1998 on Hellenistic poets; Norden 1916, Morgan 1999, and Bremmer 2009 on Virgil). Many have focused their studies on various initiatory rites, others on echoes of the Orphic gold tablets.

In this paper I look specifically at the ways in which ritual death, specifically the performance of katabasis, is portrayed and appropriated in literature, moving from Pindar and Plato to the Augustan era. I will argue that poets 'practice death' (Plato *Phaedo* 64) to demonstrate the exclusivity and depth of their source of knowledge and inspiration while also claiming their unique ability to convey such insight. I advance the notion that the mysteric link between epiphanies in pre-mortem rituals and encounters with deities in the post-mortem underworld provides a basis for these poet's claims and is, if not precisely a topos, nonetheless a feature that binds these poems. Ritual pre-emptively rehearses death, proffering a mystical of knowledge of the afterlife, of which knowledge the Orphic tablets provide reminder. Ritual elements also facilitate an immediate 'first meeting' between initiate and underworld deity. Poets rework pre-emptive knowledge of and encounter with the afterlife into knowledge of and access to a repository of literary tradition, establishing poetic memory within the context both of afterlife and rebirth. This idea is the purposeful and itinerate counterpart to the framing of poetic inspiration as sudden mystery epiphany, an experience sometimes also akin to death: "a sweet danger" (Horace *Odes* 3.25.19) and "a beautiful risk" (Plato *Phaedo* 114d), and as in Pindar's fourteenth *Olympian*, a chance for poetic glory.

References

Bernabé, A. 2011. *Platón y el orfismo. Diálogos entre religion y filosofia.* Madrid.

Bremmer, J. 2009. "The Golden Bough: Orphic, Eleusinian, and Hellenistic-Jewish Sources of Virgil's Underworld in *Aeneid* VI" *Kernos* 22: 183-208.

Dickie, M. W. 1998. 'Poets as Initiates in the Mysteries. Euphorion, Philicus and Posidippus.' *A&A* 44, 1998, 49-77.

Lloyd-Jones, H. 1990. 'Pindar and the afterlife.' In *Greek epic, lyric and tragedy: The academic papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd- Jones*. By Hugh Lloyd-Jones, 80–109. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Morgan, Ll. 1999. *Patterns of Redemption in Virgil's* Georgics. Cambridge.

Norden, E. 1903, 1916, 1927. *P. Vergilius Maro* Aeneis *VI.* Leipzig.

Riedweg, C. 1987. *Mysterienterminologie bei Platon, Philon und Klemens von Alexandrien.* Berlin.

Session 4, Panel 4: **Regional Identity (Faraday E)**

Lev Cosijns (University of Oxford) and Haggai Olshanetsky (Bar-Ilan University)
Plague, Climate, or War: What Brought the End of the Agricultural Settlements in the Negev

The agricultural settlements in the north-western Negev desert prospered and grew during the Late Roman/Byzantine Empire, especially in the 6th century C.E. Their sudden decline has caused much debate in the academic world, regarding its date and causes. There are numerous publications that attributed this decline to the Late Antiquity Little Ice Age and/or the Justinianic plague. This theory can only be proven if the decline and/or abandonment of these settlements can be dated to the middle of the 6th century. There are several academics who have claimed to date the decline to this period. However, this lecture will aim to show that their dating is wrong and that the decline of these settlements did not commence in the 6th century but rather in the 7th century. Instead, it will be claimed that the Persian and Arab conquests destabilised the area to the point where the agricultural communities in the Negev could not continue to prosper and flourish. Archaeological evidence which supports this claim will be brought forward not only from the Negev desert. The understanding that the decline occurred in the 7th century C.E. will also aid in explaining other phenomena which can be detected in the excavations and surveys conducted in the Negev desert.

Chingyuan Wu (Peking University)
Regionalism in the Amastrian Territorium: An Epigraphic Perspective

This paper revisits a series of Amastrian inscriptions collected by Christian Marek to discuss how they can be useful for exploring regionalism of the Amastrian territorium in the second to third centuries CE. On inscription dedicated by Marcus Aurelius Alexander serves as the focal point of discussion (Marek 1993: 180, Kat. Amastris no. 95). Alexander was Amastrian archon, Bithyniarch and Pontarch, and the genearch of the local *genos* at Bonita in the Olgassys Mountains, where his grandfather named Areipios laid down the foundations of a temple for Zeus. Alexander's roles are essentially the outcome of an integration between Amastris, the Amastrian territorium in the Olgassys Mountains, and the greater region of Bithynia and coastal Paphlagonia, though such a process is not visible in literary accounts. We find Memnon of Heraclea and Strabo (*BNJ* 434 F 1 9.4-5; Strab. 12.3.10) recount the synoecism of Queen Amastris in the Hellenistic period between four communities (Sesamos, Kytoron, Kromna, Tieion) as how Amastris came to being, but these were coastal settlements. Alexander's inscription serves both as a temporal and geographical marker to retrace the integrative processes between the coastal and interior Paphlagonia that can be seen from the epigraphical record collected by Christian Marek. In this paper, the 116 inscriptions in Marek's catalogue are mapped and tagged to clarify their geographical distribution and chronological range. The outcome suggests that there were multiple centers in the territorium of Amastris along the coastal region and in the Olgassys Mountains. Bonita, for example, was likely one of the main nodes through which transport and communications with other locations took place. Amastris, with its suite of civic institutions and connections, is therefore better understood as an important regional interface for different local centers in the territorium of Amastris, and potentially not the only place where urbanism occurred.

Reference

Marek, C. *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia*. Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1993.

Dylan James (University of Haifa)

Bilingualism and Greek Identity in the Fifth Century BCE

The study of bi- and multilingualism in the ancient Mediterranean has come into its own in recent decades. Adams' tomes on bilingualism in the Roman world (Adams 2002; 2003; 2007), in particular, have reset the field and inspired a boom in scholarly output on related topics. The evidence for bilingualism, of course, is far greater for the Hellenistic and Roman periods than the Archaic and Classical (Rochette 2010), so naturally scholarly attention has focused less on the earlier era. Notable exceptions have examined specific authors or genres (especially Herodotus and drama: Hall 1989; Harrison 1998; Colvin 1999; Munson 2005; Miletti 2008). This relative lack of attention has led to some enduring notions about bilingualism in the Classical period which are yet to be fully scrutinised.

One dominant strand of thought is the idea of cultural betrayal: that speaking another tongue (especially for Greeks) was inherently transgressive (Leiwo 1996; Harrison 1998; Gera 2007; Clackson 2015). Such views may well derive their logic from the many passages in Greek literature where foreign speech is, to quote Munson, "almost invariably an index of primitivism, uncouthness, intellectual or cultural inferiority, irrationality, or madness" (Munson 2005, 2.) Thus, the argument goes, these attributes must also apply to bilingual individuals—but any differences stemming from the identity of the speaker go unexamined. More generally, such perspectives require stronger argumentation and more focused attention to authorial perspectives.

This paper will re-evaluate the evidence for bilingualism among Greeks in the fifth century BCE. It will be argued that the notion of 'bilingualism as cultural betrayal' holds little water for this period, and retrojection of Roman-era linguistic debates are chiefly to blame for its endurance.

References

Adams, J. N., M. Janse, and S. C. R. Swain (eds.). 2002. *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word* (Oxford University Press: Oxford).

Adams, J. N. 2003. *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).

Adams, J. N. 2007. *The Regional Diversification of Latin,200BC–AD600*.(Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).

Clackson, J. 2015. *Language and Society in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).

Colvin, S. 1999. *Dialect in Aristophanes: The Politics of Language in Ancient Greek Literature*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford).

Gera, D. L. 2007. 'Themistocles' Persian Tapestry', *CQ* (57.2), 445–457.

Hall, E. 1989. *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford).
Harrison, T. 1998. 'Herodotus' Conception of Foreign Languages', *Histos* (2.1), 1–45.
Leiwo, M. 1996. 'Language Attitude and Patriotism: Cases from Greek History', *Arctos* (30.1), 121–137.
Miletti, L. 2008. *Linguaggio e Metalinguaggio in Erodoto*. (Fabrizio Serra: Pisa).
Munson, R. V. 2005. *Black Doves Speak: Herodotus and the Languages of Barbarians*. (Center for Hellenic Studies: Cambridge, MA).
Rochette, B. 2010. 'Greek and Latin Bilingualism.' In E. J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* (Wiley-Blackwell: Malden, MA), 281–93.

Session 4, Panel 5: **Cognitive Approaches to Greek Comic Fragments (§2) (Faraday F)**

Convenor: Anna Novokhatko (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Paul Martin (University of Bristol)
Cognitive Science, Humour, and Comic Fragments

This paper explores how cognitive science approaches to humour can help us to understand different aspects of comic fragments. Since Victor Raskin and Salvatore Attardo's cognitive linguistics based theories of humour (e.g. V. Raskin, *Semantic Mechanisms of Humor*, Dordrecht 1985, S. Attardo and V. Raskin, "Script theory revis(it)ed: joke similarity and joke representation model" , *Humor* 4, no. 3-4, 1991, pp. 293-348), humour studies has long been heavily influenced by cognitive sciences. For studies of Greek comedy, cognitive studies offer us an important opportunity to understand how the audience's comprehension of jokes, which has recently been studied more extensively (G. Ritchie, *The Comprehension of Jokes: A Cognitive Science Framework*, Routledge 2018), impacts on the experience of ancient comedy.

This paper will therefore explore the different ways this approach can enhance our understanding of comic fragments. I aim to demonstrate in particular how our assumptions about the effect of comedy on its audience are directly implicated in our interpretations of fragmentary comedy. Audience members always bring their experiences and beliefs to the table to comprehend and analyse the social and political worlds with which comedy presents us. Likewise, humorous narratives can provoke 'an overcommitment of expectation' (M. M. Hurley, D. C. Dennett & R. B. Adams, *Inside Jokes: Using Humor to Reverse-Engineer the Mind*, MIT Press 2011:239) to lure audiences into adopting preconceptions about comic plots that can be exploited for comic effect. In an analysis of comic fragments, where our information is always inevitably limited, we must work to uncover both what information audiences use to interpret comedies and how comedy itself manipulates audience's expectations.

Virginia Mastellari (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg / Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg)

Disrupting Illusion in Ancient Greek Comedy: A Cognitive Perspective

This paper moves from the ground-breaking work on theatre spectating from the perspective of neuroscience and evolutionary theory *Engaging Audiences. A Cognitive Approach to Spectating in the Theatre* by Bruce McConachie (2008). The book provides an overview of the cognitive involvement of spectators, including emotional engagement, and of the audience action and interaction with a performance. This interaction is also guaranteed by our mirror neuron systems, responsible for our ability to empathize with the experience of others. Moreover, following Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner (*The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities*, 2002), McConachie points that audience «generally blend the actor and the character together into one image, one identity, to enable their affective immersion in the performance» (p. 42). How does this fit, however, with a comic parabasis, namely when the author removes his mask, exiting his character, and speaks to the audience about contemporary matters as if he were the comic poet himself? The actor is obviously not completely breaking the blend and speaking for himself. Rather, he is impersonating a different character, in this case the poet's one. This paper will take into account this and other examples of disrupting illusion on the comic stage and how this affected the bond with the audience, considering direct allocutions to spectators and their different functions in comedy, requests to the audience (as for instance not to hiss at a character's bad pun in Timocles fr. 19 PCG), and concluding with the expositive prologue typical of the New Comedy (where a character addresses the audience in order to provide information about the background of the plot).

Anna Novokhatko (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Enacted and embodied environment in comic fragments

The props on stage were multimodal enactive signs within the overall experience of the drama, as was the environment in which it took place. They enabled, enacted, embodied and extended mimesis and contributed to changing the way people experienced the performance of narratives (*The Oxford Handbook of 4E Cognition*, ed. by A. Newen, L. De Bruin and S. Gallagher, 2018).

This paper is concerned with embodied and embedded landscapes in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. In addition to various extant and fragmentary choral songs from comedies describing picturesque landscapes around Attica and the Peloponnese, which can(not) be animated in spectators' minds in response to the actions of the chorus, there are many specific references to geographical destinations. Hermippus presents a list of goods that create an image of landscapes in Sicily, Lybia, Euboea and Phrygia (fr. 63 PCG), Demetrius describes a sailing voyage (fr. 1 PCG), Cratinus alludes to a mountain (fr. 343), and so on.
Can the embedded setting be seen as an attempt to map the thought patterns? How should the audience react to what they perceive when they imagine the implied landscape on stage? And to what extent is the environmental perception of the setting shaped by the emotional, intellectual and aesthetic models of the comic playwright and the audience?

Session 4, Panel 6: **Euripides (Faraday G)**

Maria Combatti (Columbia University)

Protean Egypt and the Entanglement of Women and Nature in Euripides' *Helen*

This paper explores the representation of Egypt in relation to women in Euripides' *Helen*. The Egyptian setting has been widely discussed by scholars. Charles Segal considers Egypt a fabulous land which is closer to the island of an Alcinous than to an actual place and where the real power lies with the women (Segal 1971). Phiroze Vasunia observes that Egypt, where Greek men save Greek women from foreign, black pursuers, is a space for Athenian male's self-contemplation (Vasunia 2001). Naomi Weiss notes that Helen becomes the personified Greece able to transcend the distance between Egypt and her native land (Weiss 2017). Whereas these studies focus on cultural issues, putting the human at the center of their discussions, this paper concentrates attention on human (women)-nature interactions to provide a more nuanced understanding of the play's Egyptian setting.

By drawing on insights of ecofeminism (Alaimo 2010; Mortimer-Sandilands and Erickson 2010) and affect theory (Wehrs and Blake 2017; Ottum 2019) for interpretative assistance, I will show that Euripides depicts Egypt as a land where nature coalesces with female corporeality and feelings, thereby becoming a space to express the women's and especially Helen's suffering, who herself moves fluidly between the human and nonhuman realms. In so doing, first, I will examine the Nile's waters and the ways in which they merge with the women's embodied and emotional experiences. Then, I will focus on the vegetation surrounding the Nile (e.g., reeds) to highlight its blurring with the women's physical and moral traits. Finally, I will deal with the blending of Helen's identity with an island at the end of the play. Thus, I will argue that *Helen*'s Egypt is a protean environment that materializes a pluralistic and transformative ontology of life, in which the human and more-than-human worlds cross over into each other.

Works Cited

Alaimo, S. (2010) *Bodily Natures. Science, Environment, and the Material Self*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mortimer-Sandilands, C., and B. Erickson (2010). *Queer Ecologies: Sex, Nature, Politics, Desire*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Ottum, L. (2019) "Feeling Nature, Reconsidered: Ecocriticism, Affect, and the Case of *H Is for Hawk*." In S. Ahern (ed.) *Affect Theory and Literary Critical Practice. A Feel for the Text*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan. 235-250.

Segal, C. (1971) "The Two Worlds of Euripides' *Helen*." *TAPA* 102: 553–614.

Vasunia, P. (2001) *The Gift of the Nile: Hellenizing Egypt from Aeschylus to Alexander*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Wehrs, D. R., and T. Blake (2017) *The Palgrave Handbook of Affect Studies and Textual Criticism*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weiss, N. (2018) *Music of Tragedy: Performance and Imagination in Euripidean Theater.* Oakland: University of California Press.

Cristiana Lucidi (King's College London / University of Roehampton)
When ideals meet reality: the *agon* between Lycus and Amphitryon in Euripides' *Heracles*

In Ancient Greece, the ideal warrior was depicted as a hero or a hoplite who willingly sacrificed himself on the battlefield, in order to protect his comrades, to lead his army to victory, and to save his fatherland. Thus, he was meant to stand among the *pròmachoi*, fighting strenuously and never moving back when facing the enemy. Those characteristics, already existing in Homer's *Iliad*, were definitely established by Tyrtaeus who, in his martial elegies, considered the hoplite fighting-style as the only way for a warrior to gain either a beautiful death or a glorious life in case of survival.

At any rate, in Euripides' *Heracles* this traditional conception seems to be revised under the influence of the contemporary Athenian public debate, regarding the increasing importance of the light-armed troops, that sometimes revealed to be decisive for the victory. In Euripides' play, this is immediately clear from the debate between Lycus and Amphitryon. Here, the usurper tyrant enhances the hoplite fighting-style and attacks that of the bowman in traditional terms, blaming the stereotypical cowardice of the archer; Heracles' father instead, with a speech that resembles a sophistic rhetoric exercise, not only defends the ambiguous characteristics of the bowman, that appear to be opposite to those of the heavy-armed infantry, but also claims that the way of fighting of the hoplite is inefficient and foolish.

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that Euripides does not lean towards Lycus' nor Amphitryon's perspective, that are respectively the expression of the middle-class and the lower- class point of view. It seems more like Euripides is trying to create a synthesis between the two opposite and extreme stances. Thus, as the body civic is composed by the adult males from all the social classes, so the army is formed by both the heavy- and the light-armed, upon whose solidarity and symbiosis on the battlefield hinges the fate of the democratic polis.

Alexandros Velaoras (University of Patras)
Agonistic Supplication in Euripides' *Suppliant Women*

In this paper, I will focus on the chorus of Euripides' *Suppliant Women*. I will argue that they constitute an assembly of women, most likely a spontaneous one, who take advantage of the ritual of supplication in order to occupy public space with their bodies, which bear and exhibit all the tokens of grief and transgressive lamentation (Butler 2015; Athanasiou 2017). The purpose of the mothers' public assembly is twofold: first, they are trying to enhance their persuasiveness and have Theseus intervene with Thebes on their behalf so that their dead sons are recovered and buried; and second, they stage a protest against necropolitical violence (Bargu 2016) and an antiwar protest, drawing attention to the impact of war on civilian population. In that protest, lamentation and motherhood are highly politicized in the suppliants' (unsuccessful) attempt to reclaim the rights of the family over the war dead from the *polis*. These mothers compare and contrast with other female characters in the play, namely the goddesses Demeter and Athena; Aethra, the initial addressee of their supplication; and Evadne, an Argive bride/wife. In that way, it will be argued, the Argive

mothers constitute a counter-hegemonic, agonistic alternative to Athenian imperialist politics.

Works Cited

Athanasiou, A. 2017. *Agonistic Mourning: Political Dissidence and the Women in Black*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Bargu, B. 2016. 'Another Necropolitics'. *Theory and Event* 19.1 [online]. Available at: https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/610222 (Accessed: 31/8/2021).

Butler, J. 2015. *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press.

Session 4, Panel 7: **KYKNOS: Research on the Ancient Novels (§3) (Faraday H)**

Convenor/Chair: Ian Repath (Swansea University)

Claire Rachel Jackson (Universiteit Gent)

Chariton's *Callirhoe*, Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, and Early Novelistic Receptions

The early reception of Chariton's *Callirhoe* is hard to trace. While a second-century papyrus fragment provides a *terminus ante quem*, imperial and late antique sources pay little critical attention to the novel. Although some have argued that the final line of Persius' first satire (1.134) or a letter of Philostratus (*Ep.* 66) alludes to the novel or its author, neither source is unproblematic and raises as many questions as they can answer. But while the early reception of the novel is far from clear, recent scholarship has suggested that later novelists such as Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus may have alluded to Chariton in their own novels (Jackson 2021, Bird 2019). The implications of these relationships, however, can go further. What can these potential references tell us about the early reception of the novel, both *Callirhoe* as an individual text and the novel as a genre?

This paper argues that allusions to Chariton's *Callirhoe* in Musaeus' *Hero and Leander* testify not just to the novel's early readership, but also to the formation of the novel as a coherent and recognised genre in antiquity. Musaeus' intricate knowledge of Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe* and Clitophon has long been noted due to the exact quotations which pepper *Hero and Leander* and the use of shared novelistic motifs. By contrast, I argue that Musaeus' use of *Callirhoe* alludes not to Chariton's motifs or style, but to key moments in the novel's plot development such as Callirhoe's *Scheintod* and the couple's final reunion. Transposed into this new context, however, these references highlight the problematic implications of these scenes for the novel's erotic and closural dynamics. Such references, therefore, suggest an awareness of the novel not just as a stylistic inspiration but as a structural one. By tracing these allusions across the epyllion, this paper argues that Musaeus uses *Callirhoe*'s narrative architecture to explore – and subvert – generic conventions and expectations of novelistic fiction in late antiquity.

Bibliography

Bird, R. (2019) 'Achilles Tatius and Chariton: Reflections and Refractions,' *Mnemosyne* 72.3: 471–487.

Jackson, C. R. (2021) 'Believable Lies and Plausible Truths: Negotiating Imperial and Late Antique Concepts of Fiction in Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*,' *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 151.1: 203-235.

Nick d'Alconzo (Universiteit Gent)

Novels in quotation culture: the case of Niketas Choniates

The aim of this paper is to expand our knowledge of the reception of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus in Byzantium beyond the well-trodden testimonia and the genre's revival in the Komnenian novels. The broader idea is that *Leucippe & Clitophon* and the *Aethiopica* participated in the quotation culture of Byzantium, and that this frame allows us to explore readership beyond the usual suspects. This paper focusses on one serial quoter in particular, the 12th-century historian Niketas Choniates, who borrowed from Heliodorus for both his History and Orations. The second life given by Choniates to the Heliodorean utterances opens a window on reading experience as well as on the fluid relationship between fiction and history.

Session 4, Panel 8: **Pedagogy (Faraday J)**

Eleni Bozia (University of Florida)

An introspective look at teaching classics

This paper presents a classics course that I developed to move beyond traditional approaches and explore the narrative and metanarrative of the field with a focus on diversity and inclusion and how classical studies can actualize the conversation. In this course, students explore how race, biological and social identities, belonging, and exclusion have been fashioned since Greco-Roman antiquity and why considerations of these civilizations are relevant to our perception of ourselves and others. The presentation will also feature students' projects that indicate how these discussions were conceptualized.

The students read selections of Ancient Greek and Latin literature and secondary bibliography to get a comprehensive understanding of the topics of identity, immigration, and belonging. The selections vary from Aristotle's *Politics*, Euripides' *Ion*, and Demosthenes *Oration* 57 to Claudius' Lyons Tablet, Lucian, and Apuleius. We consider autochthony, gender, and social standing against the backdrop of discrimination and inclusivity. The students then discuss how modern socio- political narratives have (mis)interpreted the classical world to advance agendas of exclusion, colonization, and the narrative of the powerful.

The second part of the course examines the importance of understanding and appreciating history(ies) and culture(s) and how digitization plays a role in preserving and disseminating historical artifacts as different colonization issues arise. Assignments include 3D scanning and 3D printing to actualize a tangible relationship with the world's past and better comprehend our connections through objects and sites. Such a conscious approach to world heritage hopes to bring the realization that our present will be future generations' past.

In closing, this course was designed as a pedagogical experiment to prove the exigency of actionable learning and transcending conceptual disciplinary borders to better harness the power of classics and the intercultural skills it teaches while emphasizing its contribution to the social good.

Laura Jenkinson-Brown (Churcher's College / Greek Myth Comix)
Choose Your Own Odyssey (aka You Are Odysseus)

Odysseus is often criticised as to having made, in his narrative and the rest of the *Odyssey*, the wrong decisions. However, the decisions he makes are key to understanding his character and experiences. In addition, in schools there is not time to read the entire text of the *Odyssey* and students only get to experience specific books, especially if the text appears daunting to them.

By reimagining the *Odyssey* as a Choose Your Own Adventure book, students and other readers can potentially gain a more detailed appreciation of the character of Odysseus and the world of the *Odyssey*, by taking on his character and making choices at the same time as he does throughout the text, with the same or different outcomes.

Through detailed consideration of different translations of the *Odyssey*, other mythology contemporary with the events of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the way Odysseus' encounters in his narrative hindsight might be experienced in the present, I have created an interactive book-game of the first twelve books of the *Odyssey* that offers readers the chance to take on the challenge of being Odysseus, making decisions that will affect him, his crew, and his chances of reaching home, or not. I am now in the process of creating choices and outcomes for him as the reader reaches Ithaca. Having given test-readers between the ages of 9 – 45yo the first completed section, both familiar with the *Odyssey* and entirely new to it, I have responses that indeed suggest that this approach allows for a more detailed understanding of Odysseus, is a more accessible way of coming to the text for younger readers, and overall suggest that the experience is extremely enjoyable and indeed eye-opening for those more familiar with the text.

Arlene Holmes-Henderson (King's College London)
Pandemic pivoting and online outreach: how 'Classical Conversations' helped Oxford reach new pre-university audiences

In the UK the majority of students studying Classical subjects attend fee-paying schools (Hunt and Holmes-Henderson, 2021, Swallow and Holmes-Henderson, 2021). This paper summarises the impact of an innovative online outreach initiative offered by the University

of Oxford since January 2021 which successfully reached students traditionally underrepresented in Classics. Pre-pandemic, Classics outreach was predominantly delivered face-to-face in university buildings or in museums (Hackett et al., 2020, Holmes-Henderson et al., 2018). The 'Classical Conversations' initiative offered something new. It provided school students aged 6-18 and their teachers the opportunity to chat online with an Oxford academic on a topic of their choice for approximately 30 minutes. The date, time, platform and topic were agreed in advance but the students, teacher and academic were free to ask questions as part of a natural, free-flow conversation, unlike a traditional prepared lecture. Afterwards, teachers and students were asked to reflect on their experience of these conversational interactions via online surveys. The resulting data illuminate not only what went well and where improvements can be made, but also indicate how Classics outreach in the UK could usefully adapt to changing curricular trends, student preferences and teacher needs. Both quantitative and qualitative data will be shared, together with some of the national publicity which the initiative attracted.

References

Hackett, A., Holmes, R. and MacRae, C. (2020) *Working with young children in museums: weaving theory and practice*, Routledge, London.

Holmes-Henderson, A., Hunt, S. and Musié, M. (2018) *Forward with Classics: Classical languages in schools and communities*, Bloomsbury, London.

Hunt, S. and Holmes-Henderson, A. (2021) 'A level Classics poverty. Classical subjects in schools in England: access, attainment and progression', *Council of University Classics Departments Bulletin*, 50, 1-26.

Swallow, P. and Holmes-Henderson, A. (2021) 'Working towards fairer access to Classical subjects in schools: the Advocating Classics Education (ACE) project', *Council of University Classics Departments Equality Diversity and Inclusion Blog*, 24th May 2021.