Classical Association Conference 2022

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Swansea University Prifysgol Abertawe

Abstract Booklet

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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*.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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*.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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Sunday 10 April

Session 5: 9:00–11:00

Session 5, Panel 1: **Epigraphy in the 21st century: innovations in access, analysis and education (Faraday B)**

Convenor: Jonathan Prag (University of Oxford)
N.B. Presentations are pre-circulated:
https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL50LuP6zjJFvpX3JIryWCUIsXyb-Kdelx

Epigraphy has been at the forefront of the application of digital methods to the study of antiquity over the last two decades. Inscriptions, and the discipline of epigraphy, are notoriously arcane for the uninitiated, and often inaccessible. Digital recording and publication are transforming the possibilities for access (images, texts, translations and more) and for analysis (systematic, standardised and increasingly 'big' data). Such approaches are breaking down traditional disciplinary boundaries (linguistic, geographic, material) and enabling a step change in collaborative work, across geographic and disciplinary boundaries. The associated opportunities for collaboration and training are substantial. The additional potential of linked data and the application of artificial intelligence to these developing datasets offer exciting new challenges.

This panel brings together representatives from many of the leading digital epigraphy projects based in the UK, which illustrate the very rich variety and potential of these new methods. Project presentations will be available online as videos in advance for context; the panel itself will consist of very short papers on specific challenges and possibilities arising from individual project experiences, leading on to a co-ordinated round-table discussion open to all. Highlighted themes include: improving accessibility and value to wider audiences (including schools and the wider public); challenges around digital publication and sustainability; issues of standardisation and interoperability across projects; the increasing potential of AI and machine learning. Although focused through the lens of epigraphy, many of the challenges and issues apply more broadly to Digital Classics as a whole, and we expect the panel to be of interest to teachers and researchers alike.

Participating projects, participants and themes

Roman Inscriptions of Britain online **(RIB):** **https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/**
Alex Mullen (University of Nottingham)

Description: The *Roman Inscriptions of Britain online* was born in 2014, as a digital version of RIB volume 1 produced by Scott Vanderbilt. Since 2017 it has been part of the ERC-funded LatinNow project and was relaunched in 2019, with the addition of the second volume of stone inscriptions (RIB III), the Bloomberg and Vindolanda tablets and numerous

enhancements. By using EpiDoc encoding (XML mark-up designed for epigraphy) and Linked Open Data this resource enables powerful searching and linking to other epigraphic and non-epigraphic resources. The aim is to make available digitally every published text from the province of Britannia: next up will be RIB II and the curse tablets.
Theme: RIB online aims to democratize epigraphy, by making all Romano-British epigraphy, from beautifully carved marble to the scruffiest graffito, accessible to all. But some of the complexities of the material and its original presentation resist neat digital presentation, and the website still retains several features of its beginnings as a straightforward digitization project rather than a specially designed digital epigraphic corpus. As the resource grows and is being used by the public and in both schools and higher education, we need to develop the most effective ways to create improved experience for its diverse audience. Our planned improvements include integration of new resources (e.g. Reflectance Transformation Imaging of stylus tablets and colour photographs), further enhancements of data (e.g. using dating information derived from the LatinNow project's broader epigraphic work), and improved interface and support to facilitate use beyond academia.

Attic Inscriptions Online **(AIO): https://www.atticinscriptions.com/**
Chris de Lisle (Durham University)

Description: Attic Inscriptions Online (AIO) is a website structured around English translations of the inscriptions of ancient Athens and Attica. The core of the site comprises annotated English translations of Attic inscriptions, with links to the Greek text and (where available) images.
Since it was launched in 2012, AIO has been continuously expanded and developed. Releases typically include new site entries, updates to existing entries, and supporting academic papers (*AIO Papers*). Since 2017, AIO has undertaken the systematic re-publication of all Attic inscriptions in the UK, in the context of an AHRC-funded project, *Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections* (AIUK). In 2021, AIO added a range of resources to support primary and secondary school teachers who wish to introduce Attic inscriptions into their teaching, *Attic Inscriptions: Education* (AIE).
Theme: Digital resources have tremendous potential for enabling students to access and engage with the ancient world generally, but in practice teachers may find this difficult to accomplish. AIE has been designed in conversation with school teachers, to help them bring epigraphic material into the classroom, by providing resources targeted at UK curricula, and with a special focus on epigraphic material in UK collections.

Ancient Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea **(IOSPE):**
https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/index.html
Irene Polinskaya (King's College London)

Description: The new edition of IOSPE, titled *IOSPE: Ancient Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea* was launched online in 2015 with the publication of Byzantine Inscriptions (vol. 5): https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/corpora/byzantine/index.html, and followed in 2017 by *Inscriptions of Tyras* (vol. 1): https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/corpora/tyras/index.htm and *Inscriptions of Chersonesos* (vol. 3): https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/corpora/chersonesos/index.html. The project continues to evolve: (a) the name is due to be changed to *Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea: new IOSPE*; (b) the first print edition of vol. 3 (2021) is raising issue of referencing as it differs from

the digital 2017 edition; (c) the first volume of graffiti (*Graffiti and Dipinti of Borysthenes/Berezan*, vol. 2.1.1) joins the lapidary volumes.
Theme: The graffiti volume presents new challenges for structuring and classification: we have no corpora of graffiti of a similar kind in print or in digital form to provide a template. The digital format of corpus publication presents both solutions to some issues of corpus-structuring (dynamic TOCs and multiple search functions) and challenges (standardisation and interoperability, updating of content vis-a-vis stable URLs and corpus numbers) that are best addressed in dialogue with colleagues working on similar projects.

Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania **(IRT): http://inslib.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/**
Caroline Barron (Durham University)

Description: The 2009 digital edition of Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania created a digital publication Joyce Reynold's 1952 print edition. This enhanced reissue aimed to make the original material available again, and to provide the full photographic record, together with geographical data linking the inscriptions to maps and gazetteers, and so to other resources. Electronic publication makes this possible, and also enabled greater functionality, such as free text searches.
Theme: The original edition included only the Greek and Roman inscriptions and their translations. Since this date there has been substantial work on the publication of the neo-punic corpus of inscriptions from Tripolitania, many of them Roman in date. Although the 1952 and 2009 editions of IRT noted the presence of neo-punic in the bi- and trilingual inscriptions in the corpus, their texts remained untranscribed and untranslated. IRT2021 (forthcoming) includes these neo-punic texts as well as a substantial number of Latino-Punic inscriptions, which have not traditionally been studied alongside the Greek and Latin texts. Topics for discussion include the utility of EpiDoc for inscriptions that do not have the same degree of standardisation in publication as Latin and Greek epigraphy, issues around the differentiation of languages and the resulting problems this causes for lemmatizing the corpus.

Charlotte Roueché (King's College London)

Theme: When the *Inscriptions from Aphrodisias* were published (2004/2007: http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/) there were not many resources with which to interoperate; by 2020, when we published the *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica*, https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/, we could refer to *LGPN*, and for *IRT2021* (forthcoming; cf. http://inslib.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/) we have been making increasing use of resources such as WikiData and the new PIR database, https://pir.bbaw.de/. One implication of all this is a shift in the nature and function of commentaries, which it would be useful to discuss. As for sustainability, this remains as big a challenge as it was in 2000.

Crossreads / I.Sicily: https://crossreads.web.ox.ac.uk/
Robert Crellin, Jonathan Prag, Simona Stoyanova (University of Oxford)

Description: Crossreads aims to offer the first coherent account of the interplay of linguistic and textual material culture in ancient Sicily over a period of 1,500 years. Starting from the *I.Sicily* digital corpus of inscribed texts from the island (http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/), the 5-year project will consolidate the corpus across all languages (Greek, Phoenician/Punic, Sikel,

Elymian, Oscan, Latin, Hebrew) and types of text, while building linguistic, palaeographic and petrographic datasets alongside and on top of the corpus, to enable comprehensive analysis of epigraphic culture on the island in antiquity.
Theme: The multilingualism and diversity of the Sicilian corpus raises multiple challenges around accessibility and standardisation, whether from a purely linguistic perspective or with reference to questions of digitisation and interoperability and analysis across texts and corpora. Alongside these challenges of linguistic standardisation, previous work on *I.Sicily* has also engaged with challenges of wider accessibility in collaborations with local schools and museums, and we are looking to develop this work in future collaborations on the island.

***Reconsidering the Roman Stonecutter*: https://www.exeter.ac.uk/research/idsai/seed-cornfunding/pastawards/#ao**
Charlotte Tupman (University of Exeter)

Description: *Reconsidering the Roman Stonecutter* is a pilot project, funded by the Institute for Data Science and Artificial Intelligence at the University of Exeter, to examine how machine learning can be used to enhance our understanding of how inscriptions were planned and created. The project applies a neural network to a dataset of images made available by the *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*, and investigates whether the model can be taught to identify the position of text within 4,000 images, which represents a ten percent sample of the *EDH* image database. It looks at the factors that determine successful identification of areas of text, and the next steps that are needed to further our knowledge of layout and lettercutting practices.
Theme: It would be useful to discuss barriers to access for epigraphers who want to engage with the possibilities of machine learning, and how these might be addressed.

Ithaca: Restoring and attributing ancient texts with deep neural networks
Cf. https://github.com/sommerschield/ancient-text-restoration
Thea Sommerschield (Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia)

Description: *Ithaca* is a Deep Neural Network for the textual restoration, geographical and chronological attribution of Greek inscriptions. This is the first model to tackle three central tasks in the epigrapher's workflow holistically: it advances the previous state-of-the-art set by our previous work, *Pythia* (the first deep neural network for ancient text restoration), and uses deep learning for geographical and chronological attribution.
Themes: This research is designed to assist and expand the workflow of epigraphists, with a strong focus on collaboration, decision support and interpretability: our presentation will address the methodological decisions underlying our model's architecture, focussing specifically on how our model's interpretable outputs can unlock the cooperative potential between Machine Learning and historians.

We will also examine a number of best practices for epigraphers engaging with machine learning for their research: how to efficiently address bias in data, the importance of standardisation efforts and open access, the value of inter-sectoral collaborations, ways to guarantee interpretability of results, and anticipating one's project's accessibility and sustainability in the future.

Session 5, Panel 2: **Experiences of Slavery and Manumission in Ancient Greece (Faraday C)**

Convenor: Jason Porter (University of Edinburgh)

Because enslaved men and women did not write any surviving literature, and are (with a few notable exceptions) largely absent in our archaeological record, the experiences of slaves in ancient Greece are often difficult to describe. The papers in this panel constitute new research that deepens our understanding of the status and socioeconomic conditions of those who were enslaved in ancient Greece, through close examination of sources written by masters, epigraphy, and comparative evidence. The panel's first two papers deal with very different experiences of slavery: the first discusses the utilisation of slave women for manual labour in archaic Greece, while the second focuses on slaves who maintained a largely independent life. The panel's third and fourth papers deal with the continuing effects of slavery on the lives of freedpersons. They discuss the legal and social factors that created forms of dependence that outlasted freedom from enslavement.

Together, these papers demonstrate how diverse and dynamic the experiences of enslaved persons were. Though many slaves were forced into unremitting toil, others, over time, came to occupy positions of relative independence and comfort. Many also went on to gain their freedom; though the degree of that freedom varied from case to case.

Natasha Terlexi (University of Edinburgh)
Homeric Slavery: A Women's Job?

The case has already been convincingly made (Harris 2012; Lewis 2018) that the "slave economy" of classical antiquity was not a product of the Solonian era. In the Homeric epics we are presented with societies whose ruling classes rely on slave labour. This paper focuses on the role of women slaves in the development of this slave economy and explores the possibility that the pre-existing marginalisation of women in patriarchal and patrilineal kinship groups became the prototype upon which slavery developed over time. It does so by examining the Homeric textual evidence in light of data from contemporary societies and by discussing continuity and discontinuity with the palace slaving practices of the LBA period.

The epics present a world in which steps towards a slave economy are initially made by the capturing of women through armed conflicts and raids. Indeed, the epics' enslavement narratives involve women and children nearly exclusively, and the capture and enslavement of women is presented as a crucial aspect of victory in battle. Overall, the epics reveal a far greater identification of slave labour with women's labour as compared to men's. There are a number of reasons to believe that the poems reflect historical reality in this regard. Women were easier than men to control and to productively put to work within the oikos; they could also more easily be incorporated into a social setup that kept all women as dependants of the male head of their oikos. Finally, women were economically valuable. The labour to which female slaves were set – tasks already established as "women's work" – was essential to maintaining the *oikos* but also to textile production, through which enslaved women had a profound effect on production for commodity exchange and trade.

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Marios Anastasiadis (University of Edinburgh)
Slave Agency and Business in Hyperides' *Against Athenogenes*

Recent studies of Greek slavery and society have illustrated the inadequacies of legal status as a sufficient descriptor of socioeconomic position (Vlassopoulos 2007; Lewis 2016; 2018; Davies 2017). Emphasis is now placed on the influence of institutions and the economy (Bresson 2016; Porter 2019; Canevaro forthcoming), as well as on describing slave experience itself, opening the door to the possibility of multivariate analyses able to account for factors such as economic rationalism, agency, and capital of various forms (Deene 2014; Taylor 2015).

While slaves were unquestionably exploited in manifold ways, embedded in the systems of exploitation were incentives (such as the ability to act independently or even manumission) that enlisted slaves' desire for social improvement and their competencies. In other words, such a system was able to recognize and reward efficiency and achievement, best illustrated by the examples of Pasion and Phormion, skilled and thoroughly networked slave bankers who became free and rich citizens (e.g. Dem. 36.48).

This paper presents an analysis of the socioeconomic position of Midas, a slave in Classical Athens, based on Hypereides' forensic speech, *Against Athenogenes*. By reconstructing the *chaîne opératoire* of Midas' perfume business, which is central to the speech, I explore the role and abilities of Midas in the context of Athens' economy. The examination of economic agency, competency, and business practices away from primitivist orthodoxies will introduce into our accounts much needed social and economic complexity and nuance. This will help us to move away from the inadequately simplistic picture provided by legal status.

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Deborah Kamen (University of Washington)
Revisiting Conditional Freedom in the Delphic Manumission Inscriptions

Of the inscriptions from Hellenistic Delphi that record enslaved people sold to Apollo "on the condition of freedom," about a quarter include an obligation to remain by (*paramenein*) their former owner, usually until the latter's death. Scholars have long debated whether to classify these individuals as slaves (Sosin 2015); as free, albeit with continuing obligations (Canevaro and Lewis 2014, Zanovello 2017: 66-82); or as slaves vis-à-vis their manumittors and free vis-à-vis other people (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2018). In this paper, I argue that they occupied a non-binary status somewhere *between* slave and free: namely as conditionally freed slaves (Kamen 2013: 32-42).

First, I challenge the argument (Sosin 2015) that the use of an aorist participle of *paramenein* in many of the inscriptions necessarily implies that *paramonē* was *prior to* their freedom. Second, I demonstrate some of the ways in which an individual under *paramonē* does not neatly fit into the categories of slave and free and is therefore somewhere "between freedom and slavery" (Vlassopoulos 2019). Finally, I compare the standing of those under *paramonē* to similar statuses in other slave societies, including under Roman (Buckland 1908: 286-291) and Islamic law (Crone 1987: 64-76), in colonial Brazil (Higgins 1999: 154-156), and in antebellum Louisiana (Owens 2017). In all of these instances, individuals occupy some kind of recognized limbo status until they fulfill the specified terms of their manumission.

Thus, even if the status of those under *paramonē* was not defined *de iure*, their in-between *de facto* standing is apparent, especially when viewed through the lens of recent scholarship on the complexity of Greek status (e.g. Davies 2017). In short, then, this paper challenges the idea that individuals in the Greek world could only be enslaved *or* free. While law and ideology generally operate in binaries, reality is far more complicated.

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Jason Porter (University of Edinburgh)

Forms of Post-Manumission Dependence in Fourth-Century BC Athens.

This paper aims to discuss the varying circumstances of freed slaves in ancient Athens during the fourth century BC. During this period, surviving literary sources preserve the stories of a number of freedpersons, many of whom had notably different experiences of freedom after their manumission. This paper intends to examine these stories and discuss what they tell us about the experience of emancipation in Athens. It contends that while freeing slaves in Athens represented the sacrifice of complete legal rights to their person and often led to slaves developing a largely independent life of their own, we often see freedpersons retained in subservient positions within the household that had previously owned them. In certain examples, the exploitative nature of these relationships is clear, such as a freedwoman who remained in the house of her lover who had freed her, despite his abuse (Demosthenes' *Against Neaira*), or the children of a freedman who grew up in debt-bondage to their father's ex-master (Menander's *Heros*). In other examples, the picture we are presented with is less overtly exploitative, but nevertheless suggests a link between ex-slaves and their masters that indicates a continued dependence of the former on the latter.

My paper will also discuss the reasons for this dependence. Athenians could and often did attach stipulations to manumission agreements (called *paramonē*) which required freed slaves to continue to perform acts of servitude in freedom. This paper, however, will focus on other stories of freedmen and women. These demonstrate that, even absent legal compulsion, dependence on their ex-master's household also developed out of the isolation of slaves from formal kinship ties in wider Athenian society and their interconnected economic vulnerability after their manumission.

Session 5, Panel 3: **Hellenistic Literature (Faraday D)**

Maria Kovalchuk (University of Pennsylvania / Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg)
Pedagogy and Theocritus' *Idyll* 24

Theocritus' *Idyll* 24 contains a striking catalogue of Heracles' childhood and education. This catalogue has been understudied, since traditionally the poem and its various parts have been examined from the point of view of genre (e.g. Gutzwiller 1981, Luz 2012, Foster 2016); politics (e.g. Griffiths 1979, Stephens 2003); the characterization of Heracles (e.g. Papadimitropoulos 2006, Acosta-Hughes 2012); and philological commentary and textual problems (e.g. Gow 1952, Dover 1971, White 1979, Effe 2003, Bernsdorff 2011).

This paper will analyze how *Idyll* 24 treats the processes of teaching and learning, which will contribute to the recent scholarly interest in the poem's childhood and educational themes (e.g. Miguel Jover 2011, Fai 2014, Ambühl 2021). Scholars who have examined the catalogue tend to engage with it in a descriptive way: here are Heracles' teachers and the subjects they teach (e.g. Stern 1974). However, this educational emphasis (cf. Marrou 1948) is incomplete, since it does not consider pedagogy. Discussing the catalogue in terms of pedagogy would describe *how*, in addition to than *what*, Heracles is learning (Too 2001). Taking on this task, my close reading of the catalogue shows that Heracles was taught (1) privately (2) in a variety of subjects (3) by many tutors and (4) without overt traces of homophilia. These pedagogical observations change the way we read prior generic, political, and character studies done on the poem (mentioned above), since the observations give weight to the contention that Heracles in this poem is presented as an Alexandrian, rather than an archaic, student and, by extension, hero.

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Davide Massimo (University of Oxford / British School at Rome)

A half-empty cupboard: poverty and poor people in Leonidas of Tarentum's poetry

It is known that Hellenistic poetry saw a rising interest in humble figures from everyday life depicted with realism, as shown by characters such as Callimachus' *Hecale*, Theocritus's shepherds and Herodas' townspeople. The poetry of the epigrammatist Leonidas of Tarentum (3rd cent. BC) is another notable example, featuring a vast array of poor folk such as shepherds, fishermen or carpenters: Leonidas has therefore been often referred to as 'poet of the humble people' *vel. sim*. In the context of a broader reassessment of the poet, this paper aims at showing that despite points of contacts and parallels with his contemporaries, Leonidas' treatment of poverty and poor people is much more nuanced than it seemed so far. A reading of selected epigrams will highlight some key issues: a peculiar language and diction, whose extravagance, baroqueness and abundance of neologisms create a stark contrast with the humble subject matter of the poor people described; Leonidas' alleged engagement with Cynic ideals of poverty and frugality, which has been suggested by some scholars; the contrast between the description of Leonidas' own 'hateful poverty' (ἐχθρῆς … πενίης) and exhortations to frugality uttered both through by his literary persona and by the protagonists of his epigrams. All these elements make Leonidas a peculiar voice in the Hellenistic literary panorama, whose complex nuances still need to be fully investigated.

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Enrico Emanuele Prodi (University of Oxford)
The Ancient Edition of Hipponax' Works

From the late Hellenistic period onward, most archaic lyricists circulated in one canonical edition each. The study of ancient scholarship has much to gain from investigating these editions and the criteria that shaped them; Monica Negri's masterful analysis of Pindar's *Epinicians* is a case in point, and I have made a similar attempt with Archilochus. An examination of the canonical edition of Hipponax likewise helps us discern its structure and scrutinise the meanings that this structure carried.

Hipponax's poems were collected into books which had numbers, not individual titles. The criteria for the division can be discerned: testimonies suggest that the poems in scazons were gathered in Book 1, the epodes and perhaps poems in other metres in Book 2. Much like the edition of Sappho, then – where Book 1 collected the poems in Sapphic stanzas – the edition of Hipponax opened with a book in the poet's most characteristic metre. The first poem in Book 1 was against Boupalos, who in all likelihood was mentioned by name in the very first line (fr. 1 West). Book 1, then, was arranged so as to open with an attack on the poet's best-known enemy, just as Archilochus' *Epodes* opened with an attack on Lycambes (fr. 172 West). Furthermore, data relative to the epodic poems (frr. 115–118 West) may suggest that epodes in purely iambic metres were ranged first, followed by those in an admixture of iambics and dactyls – again like Archilochus' *Epodes* – subtly highlighting the primacy of the iambic element in the epodic genre and (coming after Book 1) in Hipponax's poetry.

These and other considerations on the canonical edition of Hipponax help us understand the editorial reception of his works and the way in which such reception guided the poet's further reception by materially constructing the corpus and directing the reading of his poetry in the editor's chosen way.

Session 5, Panel 4: **Visions of Egypt in Imperial Latin Literature (§1) (Faraday E)**

Convenors: Elaine Sanderson (University of Edinburgh) and Julene Abad Del Vecchio (University of Manchester)

The proposed panel aims to examine the representations of Egypt across a diverse selection of Imperial Latin texts, ranging from epic and elegy to biography and apologetic writings, composed between the 1st and the 4th centuries AD. Since particular scholarly emphasis has been placed upon Egyptian symbolism, religion and geography, predominantly in Augustan Actium-centric narratives and their reception, the panel seeks to investigate the ways in which Roman Imperial authors responded, and reacted to, these traditional and/or stereotypical depictions. The panel seeks to consider Egypt and its multiform representations as points of trans-generic convergence for authors to negotiate ideas of poetic, cultural and political memory.

Esther Meijer (Durham University)
Io's Wanderings through Roman Poetry as Explorations of Egypt

From her rape by Jupiter and her transformation into a cow to her wanderings across the world prior to her deification, the tale of Io was strongly associated with Egypt. Through her identification with Isis, for example, Io played an important role for female monarchs of Ptolemaic Egypt in their claims to rulership and divinity (Depew 2016). This paper argues that Io's wanderings through Roman poetry function in a similar manner, and explores the ways in which these wanderings reflect on the changing role of Egypt in poets' characterisations and legitimisations of Roman imperial rulership.

To this end, this paper first examines accounts of Io's wanderings in Augustan poetry, namely Propertius' *Elegy* 2.33a, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1 and *Heroides* 14, and explores how Io's roaming relates to and reflects on Augustus' path to rulership. These passages are then compared to their counterparts in Flavian poetry, including Io's association with Isis and Medea in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* (Davis 2009) and Io-Isis' representation as a benevolent didactic poet in Statius' *Silvae* 3.2. An explanation for the Flavian poets' different conceptualisations of Io is sought in the establishment and legitimisation of the Flavian dynasty, which rose to power from Egypt rather than from Rome. Ultimately, by demonstrating the metapoetic and political aspects of Io's multi-generic wanderings, this paper aims to contribute to our understanding of the ways in which Roman poets engaged with imperial ideology and commented on the legitimacy and evolution of the Principate.

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Elaine C. Sanderson (University of Edinburgh)
***sit pietas aliis miracula tanta silere*: Manilius' Cosmic Inquiries and Lucan's Egypt**

In the final extant book of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, the Egyptian priest Acoreus outlines theories surrounding the Nile flood and previous attempts to access the source of the Nile (Luc. 10.194–331). This elaborate digression—which emphasises the river's scale (Luc. 10.298–331), its relationships with celestial bodies (Luc. 10.225–235, 259–261), and the unknowability of its origins (Luc. 10.213–214, 271)—frames the Nile as a 'cosmic landscape' (Manolaraki 2013: 46), a universal wonder and source of the sublime (Day 2013: 162–163) from a distinctly cosmic perspective. As Manolaraki has shown, Lucan follows the lead of Homer and Manilius (Hom. *Od.* 4.477, 581; Manil. 3.273–4) to conceive of the Nile in celestial terms (2013: 68), the latter of whom represents a crucial if overlooked influence on the *Bellum Civile* (Barrenechea 2004; Grimal 2010; Tracy 2010; Glauthier 2011).

This paper considers the Nile digression's debts to Manilius' conceptions of Egypt and modes of inquiry into sublime and quasi-cosmic entities, the episode's status as a site where

scientific, didactic, and poetic traditions converge, and the metonymic implications of the Nile's sublime character for our reading of Lucan's Egypt. After highlighting the parallels between Lucanian and Manilian representations of the Nile, I will show that, while detailing how to inquire into the Nile's secrets (Luc. 10.194–198, 268–287), Lucan's Acoreus recalls Manilius' guidelines for engaging with and understanding the (sublime) cosmos (Manil. 2.122–7, Volk 2001). I suggest that, in doing so, Lucan equates the river with Manilius' cosmos and, by extension, the brilliant and dangerous shades of the sublime which it embodies. Finally, given Lucan's metonymic use of *Nilus* to refer to Egypt, I then consider the implications of acknowledging the Nile's sublime qualities for our understanding of the *Bellum Civile*'s wider representations of Egypt and its peoples.

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Claire Stocks (Newcastle University)

The Immortal Quest: Domitian and Isis

In AD69, Domitian took refuge in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as the war with Vitellius spilled onto Rome's streets. Suetonius (*Dom*.1.2), tells us that he hid overnight and escaped undetected in the morning, dressed as a follower of the Egyptian goddess Isis. The truth of this story remains subject to debate, yet Suetonius' account – despite its negative undertones – highlights the bond between Domitian and a goddess celebrated in Rome for her association with renewal and immortality.

Starting with Suetonius, this paper focuses on Domitian's relationship with Isis, viewed through the lens of Rome's literary sources. It suggests that despite the hostility shown toward Egyptian cults by authors, Domitian's connection to Isis gave her added status as a deity that protects and who was paralleled with his patron deity Minerva. For Vespasian and Titus, Isis was symbolic of the Flavian quest for renewal after a bloody civil war; for Domitian, she came to symbolise something more: his quest for immortality.

Material evidence demonstrates the significance of Egypt and its deities to Domitian: he rebuilt the Iseum Campense following the fire of AD80 and populated the complex with obelisks declaring himself divine Pharaoh of the Roman people in hieroglyphics. This stands in marked contrast to the Julia- Claudian emperors, who, despite actively promoting their

association with Egyptian cults in the province itself, distanced themselves from Isis in Rome. The literary story is more subtle: although Isis' temple was an established landmark of Rome (Martial *Ep.* 2.14) and Statius calls upon the goddess to protect his friend Celer on his journey to Egypt (*Silvae* 3.2.101-22), her appearances in Flavian texts are fleeting. Yet coupled with later literature, and in light of her association with Minerva, they illustrate how Isis' cult could serve as a means for Domitian to articulate his divine ambition.

Session 5, Panel 5: **Light and darkness in Ancient Greek culture: experiences, representations, meanings (Faraday F)**

Convenor: Richard Buxton (University of Bristol)

Our panel proposes to examine various ways in which the ancient Greeks experienced light and darkness, sunlight and night. Mercedes Aguirre will explore how the darkness of night was, or was not, represented in Greek art, using, along the way, some comparative examples from modern European painting. Efrosyni Boutsikas will offer a state-of-the-art virtual reconstruction of the effects of light and shadow at one particular religious site. Esther Eidinow will approach the topic of the colour of darkness from an angle which combines semantics with historiography. Richard Buxton will concentrate on sunlight rather than darkness, focusing (like Boutsikas) on one particular religious site. Together the panel will attempt to shed light rather than darkness on what they, at least, consider to be a fascinating aspect of ancient Greek experience.

Mercedes Aguirre (Universidad Complutense, Madrid / University of Bristol)
Representing night and darkness in Greek vase-painting

In post-classical European painting, black does not, of course, always denote night. Nevertheless, nocturnal scenes are commonly depicted by black, offset with the contrasting effects of artificial lighting. An alternative strategy (e.g. Van Gogh's *Starry Night*) uses more varied coloration to depict night: blue, violet, yellow. Neither possibility for depicting night/darkness through colour works for Greek black- or red-figure vase painting. With black-figure, this is self-evident; with red-figure, the colour black has no special representational meaning: it isn't a sky or a landscape, merely a 'space between'. How then is darkness conveyed on Greek vases (if it *is* conveyed)?

One possibility is to portray Nux presiding over a scene. Another option shows the moon or stars or both, or parts of the sequence Eos/Helios/Nux/Selene. A third gambit *implies* darkness by representing a source of artificial light, especially torches, for example in connection with deities perceived to have a particular relationship with night. By the same token, torches can appear in images of religious practices or rituals, such as the wedding ritual, at moments which the written sources document as having taken place at night.

However, some mythological scenes which, from the literary evidence, were thought of as nocturnal (night being the optimal time for deception), do not seem to show these

possibilities in their representations on vases: the stealing of Athene's Palladion in Troy; the *Doloneia*, the sack of Troy, etc. In such cases it seems that time – or at least, its visual evocation – was not felt to be 'of the essence'. Conversely – to come full circle – in some postclassical paintings of these same episodes it is precisely the nocturnal element which is strongly emphasised.

Efrosyni Boutsikas (University of Kent)

Light and Shadow Effects at the Temple of Epikourios Apollo in Bassae: Time, Experience, Cognition

Reconstructions of ancient religious performances within their specific chronotope can reveal ways in which natural light, shadows, or even the night sky may have been used to enhance religious experience. Such approaches facilitate better understanding about ancient movement, emotionality, experience, and, consequently, about factors affecting the participant's memory.

This paper presents a reconstruction of the temple of Epikourios Apollo in Bassae using Virtual Reality software combined with astronomical data, to recreate the ancient environment at specific times in the year. The temple of Apollo has long been suspected to have been constructed with astronomical considerations in mind. I propose to assess the potential of Virtual Reconstructions in informing our understanding of orchestrated light/shadow effects aimed at impacting the experience of religious architecture and divine encounters. The paper will also also observe the way the visitor's spatial memory and sense of reality was articulated, in the hope of facilitating discussion of the contribution of digital technology to our understanding of the importance of time and space in ancient Greek ritual experience.

Esther Eidinow (University of Bristol)

The Quality of "Darkness" at the Siege of Plataea

In the fifth century, battle regularly ended at nightfall and during the Peloponnesian war there is, as Thucydides tells us, only one battle between great armies that takes place at night (7.44.1), although there are a number of other types of nocturnal conflict, in particular siege situations (4.135, 5.115.4, 6.7.2), as well as manoeuvres (1.48, 3.112, 4.67.3, 5.58.2, 7.4.2, 7.80.1-4). It is clear that the dark of night is unsettling for soldiers: not only is it impossible to know anything for certain (7.44.1) but it also brings terrors of its own (7.80.3, using the term *phoboi kai deimata*; the latter used again only at 2.102.5, to describe the terrors that pursue a matricide; the implication is of something unworldly). Nevertheless, across the *History*, Thucydides offers little description of the nature of night and darkness.

In this general context, the use of one term stands out as exceptional: *skoteinos*, a rare, poetic word for darkness, which Thucydides uses twice in the description of the siege of Plataea (3.22.1 and 5). The question of the reason for its use and its significance in that passage form the prompt for this paper, which investigates uses of the term *skoteinos* and its cognates as descriptors of "darkness," drawing on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory, and Michael Clarke's (2004) argument for prototypical concepts of colour as "a

kinetic phenomenon at a fundamental level of the language's ordering of experience." It explores how *skoteinos* and its cognates comprised a semantic network of terms that conveyed not only the colour of darkness at night, but also specific emotional and cognitive experiences of that darkness.

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Richard Buxton (University of Bristol)

Helios on Rhodes (and Asklepios on Kos): contrasting aspects of Greek religious experience

The starting point of my paper is Helios' pre-eminence on Rhodes from at least the late fifth century onwards: in cult, on coins, and as embodied in the Colossus. This primacy is the more striking when set against the wider cultic background: Helios' worship elsewhere in Greece is minimally attested. His Rhodian prominence thus required explaining and justifying, and it was myth (already in Pindar's *Olympian* 7) which provided it.

The myths which link Helios with Rhodes need, in their turn, to be set against the broader mythical network. On the face of it, Helios *qua* Sun god is a limitless cosmic power – a bringer, not primarily of heat, but of (especially metaphorical) light. Yet even Helios' powers are limited, particularly when they run up against Zeus. Nor is he exempt from grief and loss; witness the demise of Phaethon.

The balance of power and limit exemplified by Helios can, I suggest, be instructively compared and contrasted with the case of Asklepios, patron deity of Kos, Rhodes' neighbour. Whereas Helios is the god of daylight, Asklepios' special time is the night (incubation). In panhellenic terms, Helios' cults are minimal, whereas Asklepios' sanctuaries number in the hundreds. Helios is eternal and immortal; Asklepios is in various ways implicated in the boundary between life and death, even to the extent of dying himself. Neither of the two figures has 'all the answers'; each incorporates something different, just one part of what human beings need as they try to think about and cope with their mortality.

Session 5, Panel 6: ***Sparsa colligere*: Fragmentary Expressions of Female Voices in Roman History, Literature and Society (Faraday G)**

Proposer: Simona Martorana (Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel)
Chair: Helen Lovatt (University of Nottingham)

From the widespread #MeToo movement to various forms of gender discrimination in the workplace, to the increasing importance of women as political leaders, the debate about the

role of women in contemporary society has gained increasing attention. In some cases, women appear to be harassed and repressed; even when they reach the highest positions and secure the most prominent jobs, women may be suspected of being tools, passively involved in dynamics driven by a male- centred system.

Taking inspiration from the contemporary debate, this interdisciplinary panel navigates fragmentary and mutilated expressions of female voices in Roman culture and Latin literature. Accordingly, the papers investigate traces of women's agency in Roman history (GARCÍA DOMÍNGUEZ; HORN) and society (HORN; RALLO) through the filter of fragmentary literary evidence, as well as their pivotal role in the construction of literary (MARTORANA; RALLO) and legal (HORN; MARTORANA) discourses.

The panel aims not merely to 'seek the woman', but also looks at how these fragmentary traces of female voices challenge cultural, social and legal norms. Can these voices be said to have a subversive potential? How do they engage with the contemporary discussion about female marginalisation? How do they encourage the self-affirmation of modern women?

David García Domínguez (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

***Separatae a viris arma cepere* (Sal. *Hist*. 2.92M). Women, Memory and Power in the Late Iron Age Iberian Peninsula**

The Greco-Roman sources dealing with the Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula (3rd–1st century BC) feature women whose role within their societies appears not to be limited to the private sphere. Although this assertion is confirmed by recent archaeological and iconographical studies (García Cardiel 2017), the voice of these women is still heard mainly through the biased discourse of the remaining written sources (e.g., App. *Ib*. 72; Plut. *De mul. Vir.* 248). It is difficult to get rid of the prejudices that lurk in the aforementioned sources and there are no alternative testimonies to bypass them. It is necessary, therefore, not only to uncover an alternative discourse but also to construct such a discourse by applying new approaches to ancient sources written by men (cf. MARTORANA; RALLO).

This awareness is not at all new in contemporary research and has stimulated the analysis of some ancient literary excerpts where women leave the shadows to undertake conspicuous public action (Hernández García 2012; Pérez Rubio 2013). Particularly recurrent is a Sallustian fragment dealing with the feminine role of transmitting the memory of ancestors' deeds to the new generations (Sal. *Hist*. II 92 M [=McGushin II 75]). Drawing from previous contributions (Salinas de Frías 2010; Pérez Rubio 2017), I show how these often forgotten characters played an active role in history.

How are women affected by their involvement in the conservation of memory? Does this gender construct shape their self-perception and their own positioning within the public debates that arise in their communities? By looking at these fragmentary witnesses, I shall assess women's power, understood as their capacity to see their will fulfilled within their society (cf. HORN). This analysis gives us a glimpse of the involvement of Iberian women in public affairs, achieved through an "institutionalized responsibility" related to the transmission of memory.

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Giuseppe Eugenio Rallo (University of St. Andrews)

In the Shade of the World of Roman (Forgotten) Theatre: Female Characters in the Remains of the *Togata*

In this paper, I examine the formation of female identities in the Togata, a fragmentary corpus of Latin comedies, written by Titinius, Afranius and Atta, and performed between the 2nd c. BCE and the early 1st c. BCE. The Togata stands out as distinctively 'Roman', despite the multicultural nature of the middle-Republic; its characters, both men and women, represent everyday Roman people and their customs and morals (cf. GARCÍA DOMÍNGUEZ; HORN). They speak and act according to the conventions of Roman society.

Building on studies of Roman identity (Gruen 1992; Dench 2005; Wallace-Hadrill 2008), and on the recent surge of interest in the representation of gender in the middle Republican period (Dutsch 2008; Dutsch, James, Konstan 2015), I provide a critique of the various ways by which Roman female characters in the Togata proudly revealed and exhibited their own identities. By bringing the fragments to life, I make sense of women's fragmentary self-identity (cf. MARTORANA). I thereby investigate the portrayal of women in the fragments of the Togata, reflecting on their comic roles on stage and on their impact on other characters. I then analyse the tendency of these women to express their sense of self by means of powerful speeches. Finally, I suggest some readings which uncover female voices, e.g., Titin. tog. 15-6 R.3. *ego me mandatam meo uiro male arbitror, / qui rem disperdit et meam dotem comest* ("I think that I have been badly married to my husband, who is diminishing [the?] *res* [property?]) and devouring my dowry"), and Afran. tog. 285-6 R.3, *illa superbiter / imperat* ("she gives orders arrogantly"). Fragments like these shed fresh light on women in the Togata and advance our understanding of their powerful portrayal(s). Finally, these fragmentary ancient sources engage with the contemporary debate on gender equality and female empowerment.

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Julia-Katharina Horn (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster / Università degli Studi di Padova)

On the Basis of Sex – Alleged Weakness of Women and Female Misbehaviour: Reflections on Women in Roman Law

Roman jurisprudence regularly vilified women as weak to justify the gender-based limitation of female rights. The sources employ generalising and deprecating terminology such as *infirmitas* (Ulp. 29 ad ed. D. 16.1.2.3; already in Cic. *Mur*. 27; Grubbs 2002) for the weaker sex or *sexus inbecilitas* (Ulp. 29 ad ed. D. 16.1.2.2). The second-century jurist Gaius coined the expression *levitas animi* or weak judgment (*Inst*. 1.190; Bravo Bosch 2017).

A gripping example is a well-known anecdote about the rebellious Carfania. Its impact can be traced from the late Republic to the third century. She regularly spoke in court and was therefore deemed a despicable example of female misbehaviour (Val. Max. 8.3.2). In the early third century, the story of Carfania *improbissima femina* ("most impertinent woman") was used to justify the forfeiture of women's right to speak for others in court (Ulp. 6 ad ed. D. 3.1.1.5; Grubbs 2002; Raepsaet-Charlier 2016). She is an outstanding example of a woman banned from the male sphere (the public life, as opposed to the domus). Roman legislation mirrored the ancient idea of the *mater familias* according to the mores. It reflected the male ideal of women overseeing the children and the household (Val. Max. 8.3 "natural condition"; D. 3.1.1.5; Gardner 1986; Hövenreich/Rizzelli 2003). Carfania became a habitual name for women who dared to speak publicly (Val. Max. 8.3.2) and might have even been a symbol of female misbehaviour in general: Juvenal, for instance, depicts Carfinia as an adulterous woman wearing a *damnata* toga (Sat. 2.69-70).

Carfania was condemned as impudent and misbehaving in literature and served as an example of female weakness in legislation. This paper explores aspects of the feminine ideal depicted in Roman legislation to compare it with female voices and identities in the literary sources presented during the session.

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Simona Martorana (Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel)

(Ovid's) Phaedra and the Law of the (Step-)Mother: Recovering the Female Voice in Ovid's *Heroides* 4

At lines 129-140 of *Heroides* 4 (a fictional epistle written by Phaedra to her step-son Hippolytus), Phaedra provides a subversive interpretation of the Olympian rules. To legitimise her relationship, Phaedra, for instance, claims that Jupiter sanctioned the lawfulness of incest (134). By focusing on this section of the poem (129-140), I argue that Phaedra's reinterpretation of the Olympian norms articulates a more general challenge to the rules imposed by the androcentric system. Accordingly, within the literary fiction, she establishes a sort of Law of the Mother – namely, an alternative to the Lacanian Law of the Fathers.

Following certain recent approaches to the *Heroides* (Spentzou 2003; Fulkerson 2005) and Ovid's poetry more broadly (Salzmann-Mitchell 2005; McAuley 2016), I focus on *Heroides* 4, through a "releasing reading". I thereby explore the destabilising potential of Phaedra's poetic persona, trying to 'extract' her feminine voice from the Ovidian text (cf. GARCÍA DOMÍNGUEZ; RALLO). At the same time, I stress the polyphonic and contradictory nature of this epistle (female persona vs. male poet). As a result of this polyphony, *Heroides* 4 appears to be characterised by a certain measure of irony (cf. 17-24: Phaedra professes her virginity and faithfulness); gender role reversals (e.g., Hippolytus' depiction as a young maiden; 67-76); and a subversive reinterpretation of, and interplay with, previous sources (e.g., Phaedra's letter as a reference to Euripides' *deltos*; 3-4).

From the Ovidian text, accordingly, Phaedra emerges as a voice of dissent. This is articulated through the overturning of traditional roles and contemporary Roman law (cf. her incestuous relationship) – which are expressions of a male-dominated society (cf. HORN). Through this subversive content, the literary fiction enables a female voice to be heard; it also de-territorialises the imperative androcentric system and proposes an alternative to male-dominated society, urging us to rethink modern and ancient gender categories.

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Session 5, Panel 7: **Dynastic Politics and Displays of Power in the Age of Diocletian and Constantine (Faraday H)**

Proposers: Nicola Ernst (University of Exeter) and Byron Waldron (University of Sydney)
Chair: Richard Flower (University of Exeter)

The period from the accession of Diocletian in A.D. 284 to the death of Constantius II in 361 was one of political and dynastic experimentation. With Diocletian's promotion of Maximian to the rank of Augustus came a period of uninterrupted co-rulership and with it evolved new challenges to imperial rule and its representation.

This panel investigates how the imperial colleges of the Tetrarchic and Constantinian periods negotiated the sharing of power in terms of *realpolitik* and public image. In particular the papers of this panel focus upon concepts of dynastic relations and imagery especially in relation to filial, fraternal and marital bonds. Each case study explores topics as diverse as palace-building in the Balkans, military culture, ecclesiastical politics, imperial administration, and the formation of dynastic legitimacy. This session raises new questions about the articulation of relationships between emperors and the impact of this on wider concepts of imperial rulership in the fourth century and beyond.

Byron Waldron (University of Sydney)
Slaying His Boar: Nicomedia and the Tetrarchic Dynasty

On 1 May 305 the *Augustus* Diocletian convened an assembly of soldiers and officials on a hill outside Nicomedia. In the extraordinary ceremony that followed, the emperor announced that he was resigning the empire into the hands of his *Caesar* Galerius, and he removed his imperial mantle and placed it on the shoulders of Maximinus, who was declared the new *Caesar*. Lactantius reports that this occurred at the same place where Galerius had been co-opted as *Caesar* in 293. Moreover, this was likely the same location where Diocletian had ascended the throne on 20 November 284. Diocletian's accession had likewise been a memorable event. Immediately after being acclaimed *Augustus* by the troops present, he accused the praetorian prefect Flavius Aper of regicide and personally slew him on the spot. This paper considers how Diocletian's unique accession, its representation and its Nicomedian location served as a propagandistic focal point for the Tetrarchic dynasty. It argues that, in lieu of blood connections, the Tetrarchic regime expressed political continuity through a highly formalized usage of the military *acclamatio*, with the location outside Nicomedia accruing military, religious and ultimately dynastic significance. The paper focuses on the role of Diocletian's accession in initiating this process. It explores the contemporary messaging attached to this bloody event, and its later reception by Roman writers, both explicit (e.g. Aurelius Victor, the *Historia Augusta*) and implicit (Lactantius). Special attention is paid to the recently published painted marble reliefs excavated in Izmit, Turkey, where Nicomedia once stood.

Richard Miles (University of Sydney)
Glac, the Tetrarchs and Homeland: A Reconsideration of Origins in the Self-Representation of Soldier Emperors

The Tetrarchs, like many other emperors of the late third century, were soldiers born to humble origins in the provinces of the Balkans. Aristocratic authors wrote of this fact with scorn, and many emperors appear to have treated their origins as a taboo subject. However, the Tetrarchs constructed palaces in the very places where they had been born: Diocletian in Split, Galerius in Felix Romuliana, Maximinus in Šarkamen and Constantine in Mediana.

The University of Sydney and the Archaeological Institute of Belgrade are currently undertaking excavations at a new site at Glac in Serbia, and there is reason to think that this is yet another Tetrarchic homeland residence; namely, the residence of Maximian built where, so the *Epitome de Caesaribus* relates, his parents had worked wage-earning jobs. The trend and this new site force us to reconsider the role of origins in the self-representation of this fraternal college.

Shaun Tougher (Cardiff University)
Keeping it within the Family: The Dynastic Relations and Significance of Constantius I

Within the period 284-361 Constantius I and his relatives were key players. Of course, Constantius was the father of the dominating figure of Constantine the Great, the son of Helena, but in this paper I will focus on the union of Constantius and Theodora and their descendants. I will consider how both Constantius and Theodora and their children fitted into the dynastic arrangements of the period. As a daughter or stepdaughter of Maximian Theodora herself possessed dynastic import. Her children by Constantius also had a role to play within the political alliances of the time, such as the marriage of Constantia with Licinius. Her sons were also kept in play, and they and their offspring emerged as prominent members of the imperial family towards the end of the reign of Constantine the Great.

Inevitably this is overshadowed by the 'Great Massacre' of 337, but this itself demonstrates how critical they were, and Theodora herself was featured on bronze coins from c. 337-340. In this paper I will assess the political significance of this branch of the imperial family, but will also assess the attitude of Constantine the Great and his sons to the figure of Constantius I. How prominent a role did he play in the imperial ideology and claims to power of his own son and his children? This question is important for our understanding of the self-perception and self-presentation of the dynasty.

Nicola Ernst (University of Exeter)
Constantine II and His Hegemonic Authority (337-340)

In June 337, hardly a month after the death of Constantine I, his eldest son, Constantine II remitted the exile of bishops. While Athanasius of Alexandria saw this as the promotion of pro-Nicene Christianity, I will argue that this should be read more as a political, rather than religious action.

This paper will argue that the remittance of Athanasius' exile formed part of an attempt by the younger Constantine to exert his authority over his younger co-rulers, Constantius II and Constans, rather than being primarily to promote his father's pro-Nicene Christianity as implied by the bishop. This paper will contextualise the recall of exiled bishops by Constantine II in June 337 within his wider political agenda and desire to exert his authority over his younger co-rulers. Further, I will argue that Athanasius' much later references to Constantine II as a champion of orthodoxy (even after his alleged *damnatio memoriae*), served to further bolster his position in the face of the conflict between the bishop and Constantius II.

Session 5, Panel 8: **Getting it right (and wrong) in the Classics classroom**

Convenor: Jessica Dixon (Woldingham School / Classical Association Teaching Board)

Chair: Caroline Bristow (Cambridge Schools Classics Project)

This panel will bring together four papers from teachers with experience of teaching Classics in a range of pedagogical settings, from primary to university level. The first two papers will look primarily at the teaching of Latin and the final two at Classical Civilisation. The panel will both address the problems faced in the Classics classroom and offer solutions and ideas for overcoming these. It will also cover innovative ways to expand the teaching of Classics beyond the specification and engage a broader range of interest in the subject.

Michael Beer (University of Exeter / Open University)

'Ok, we've looked at what we mean by the role of a noun in a sentence and what we mean by the present tense. Now, let's take a look at how we can see this in Cicero's *In Verrem*'. Some reflections on teaching Latin in multiple educational contexts.

This paper will outline my experiences teaching Latin at various levels in schools and universities, culminating recently in becoming part of Classics for All's training programme for primary school teachers to introduce Latin into their school curriculum. Classics for All are using Latin to support literacy and grammar, as a tool to support, or prepare for, the learning of modern foreign languages, and as a way of forging links between other primary curriculum subjects such as Maths, Geography and History. Much of my previous experience of teaching of Latin has either been at secondary or university level but I have also had experience teaching years 6 and 7 as a private tutor, and as a distance tutor for various ages. This has made me aware of the differing problems we face when teaching Latin at differing levels and ages, and for differing purposes, and has given me the opportunity to reflect on divergent approaches to the subject and its delivery. This paper will draw upon these experiences of both teaching Latin in varying contexts and my training role for Classics for All in order to offer strategies that can be used in the classroom to mitigate potential problems and come

to some conclusions about the various efficacies of differing approaches to Latin learning in these contexts.

Jessica Dixon (Woldingham School / Classical Association Teaching Board)
Retrieving Classics: memory retention in the Latin classroom

My students are engaged and interested in Latin; they want to learn and to do well. Nevertheless, even the best can find it difficult to learn something thoroughly and retain this knowledge long-term. They are used to having information at their fingertips and the instant gratification of finding answers through one click either online or on social media. In comparison, having to learn vocabulary, grammar tables and facts for themselves can seem like a laborious chore and prove difficult to do effectively. The increased use of technology and online resources in the classroom post-lockdown offers numerous benefits and opportunities to improving learning. However, the downsides of too heavy a reliance on technology must also be considered. This paper will address some of the problems faced by teachers and pupils in learning and memory retention, and in turn offer methods and activities that can be used in the classroom to counter these.

Rachel Hopley (Downham Market Academy)
KS3 Classics in a rural comprehensive school

Classics has been labelled an 'elitist' subject in the past, and this paper is about dismantling that label and examining the benefits of making Classics accessible for all within secondary schools. It reflects on my experiences working as Head of Latin in a rural comprehensive school where it is unusual to find Classics on the KS3 curriculum. The paper also draws on research done in a Masters of Education about what the impacts of learning Latin and Classics are for those who previously may not have been able to have a Classical education in such a setting. I will outline my approach to creating a curriculum appropriate for pupils with limited interactions with Classics previously and that are unlikely to experience Classics again after KS3. This will include highlighting the plethora of Classics resources freely accessible and how they can be used in such settings. The paper will also discuss why it is important for pupils in comprehensive secondary schools to experience Classics and what the benefits of a Classics education may look like in a 21st-century classroom especially in a context where pupils are not keen to learn or go on to further study beyond 18.

Edward Bragg (Peter Symonds College)
Swords, sandals, and toasted panini: delivering cine-antiquity to sixth form students

Teachers of Classics in sixth form colleges and secondary schools regularly provide extra-curricular activities alongside their bread and butter classes in Classical Civilisation, Ancient History, Latin and Greek. At Peter Symonds College in Winchester, all students are required to pursue at least one activity a week on top of their A level and BTEC timetables. The Classics department at Symonds recently launched a new extra-curricular activity called "Classics on Film." This cine-antiquity class was open to all upper and lower sixth students, regardless of

whether they studied Classical Civilisation, Latin or Film Studies. It entailed a total of 23 lunch-time sessions of 50 minutes each across the autumn and spring terms, during which we focused on Hollywood's portrayal of the Graeco-Roman World, covering eighty years of cinema from *Cleopatra* (1934) to *Pompeii* (2014). This ongoing project raises a spectrum of questions. Which films depicting ancient Greece and Rome should we study? Then once selected in which order should these films be placed during the year? In a 50-minute class, how much context should be provided to support the students' understanding of the film? One of the most technically challenging issues was deciding which scenes from that week's film should be selected. This paper aims to examine the challenges of teaching cine-antiquity to sixth form students, many of whom have never studied either the classical world or cinema before. How is a balance achieved between, on the one hand, delivering an enlightening learner experience and, on the other hand, providing students with an opportunity to relax in the midst of their busy A level and BTEC studies?

Session 6: 11:30–13:00

Session 6, Panel 1: **The Hercules Project: the Labours Continue (Faraday B)**

Organiser: Emma Stafford (University of Leeds)

The 2022 CA at Swansea will see the delayed launch of the four volumes which are the culmination of the work of the Hercules Project (https://herculesproject.leeds.ac.uk/). Published as part of Brill's Metaforms series on classical reception, the books aim to chart and account for the significance in western culture of the Greek hero-god Herakles. They cover an enormous range of material both chronologically, from the end of antiquity to the present day, and in terms of media – from high literature, drama, music and visual arts, to more popular forms of film, cartoons and newspapers. They build on conferences at Leeds in 2013 and 2017, supported by an AHRC Network grant and funding from the Classical Association, Hellenic and Roman Societies, and the Institute of Classical Studies. The project has also been associated with two major public engagement activities – an international touring exhibition (2015-16) based on contemporary New Zealand print-maker Marian Maguire's series *The Labours of Herakles*, and Tim Benjamin's oratorio *Herakles* (2017) – the subject of presentations at previous CA, SCS and CA-FIEC conferences. The papers proposed here provide a flavour of the volumes, the panel as a whole giving a broad overview of the project's findings.

Eva Anagnostou-Laoutides (Macquarie University, co-editor of, and contributor to, the volume *Herakles Inside and Outside the Church*)
Stoic Hercules and the Pelagian debate

This paper discusses the reception of Herakles in early Christianity, especially Augustine, and tries to understand Augustine's otherwise puzzling rejection of the hero in light of the Pelagian debate. In the Roman world Hercules was venerated as a hero able to establish order and fight evil, a hero whose toils were rewarded with a glorious apotheosis. Importantly, Hercules' apotheosis inspired Vergil, who invested the unassuming cowherd Daphnis with a Herculean apotheosis. The Roman Hercules was also invested with Stoic ideology, ever-popular among the elites, which according to Servius (ad *Aeneid* 10.467) promoted an authoritative sense of masculinity, appreciated by Vergil. In this intellectual milieu, Hercules, whom Seneca portrayed as having defeated death (*Hercules Furens* 882-92), became readily comparable to Christ (e.g. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 69.3).

This paper reviews the Stoic revamp of Herakles-Hercules during the early Christian centuries drawing attention to Augustine's familiarity with the Stoic corpus including Prodicus' 'Choice of Herakles' story (*Confessions* 8.11.26-28). My main argument is that Augustine adopted a different stance toward Hercules when the hero was employed in the Pelagian debate (e.g. *De castitate* par.17). Hercules' philosophical revamp, stressing his self-sufficiency and exclusive reliance on Reason to choose the way of virtue, troubled Augustine, especially because it echoed Pelagius' belief in our ability to use reason for choosing the right

path (*Letter to Demetrias* 2.1-2; cf. 3.1-2; 4.2; 10.2). Fearful that the congregation would come to embrace the idea of achieving heroic status and even apotheosis by simply making the right choices (that is without the intervention of divine grace), Augustine was quick to reject Hercules, promoting instead the Vergilian Daphnis as a model of achieving apotheosis through humility. Only by being fully aware of our human limitations can our weakness harbour a powerful spiritual transformation based on divine grace.

Emma Stafford (University of Leeds, project coordinator and co-editor of all the volumes, here representing *The Exemplary Hercules* and *Hercules Performed*)
Herculean Labours and Choices: early modern appropriations of Herculean themes

This paper will draw on contributions to the *Exemplary Hercules* volume to explore the role of early modern writers and artists in transmitting and transforming two competing strands of Herculean myth: the monster-slaying exemplified by the twelve labours, and the more reflective tale of Hercules' choice between Virtue and Vice.

The former motif is the earliest aspect of the hero to appear in archaic Greek literature and art, and the most widely represented in all the types of post-classical media covered by the project. The early modern period sees its share of straightforward renditions of the monster-slaying hero, but is remarkable for the sheer variety of contexts in which it deploys the topos of 'the modern Hercules' vanquishing allegorical monsters – from Erasmus tackling literary labours, to William Pitt the Younger overcoming a hydra of political opponents, and in praise of political leaders from Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian (1459-1519) to King José 'the Reformer' of Portugal (1714-77). The story of the Choice dates only from Prodicus' first telling (as reported by Xenophon via Socrates) in late fifth-century BC Athens, and never achieves the ubiquity of the labours. However, it has a burst of popularity in fifteenth- to seventeenth-century art and in eighteenth-century musical drama, its allegorical nature lending it to adaptation for a variety of didactic contexts.

My aim is to situate the early modern Hercules in the development of the hero's persona, considering *why* certain stories attracted writers and artists of the period, and how their re-tellings laid the ground for later variations on the theme.

Monica Cyrino (University of New Mexico, contributor to the volume *The Modern Hercules*)
From Rock to Hero: Dwayne Johnson's Star Text in HERCULES (2014)

Critics agreed that Dwayne 'The Rock' Johnson's charismatic performance as the titular hero in Brett Ratner's revisionist epic *HERCULES* (2014) was by far the best part of the movie. This presentation explores Johnson's dynamic lead performance as the mythological strongman in terms of his celebrity 'star text' that is interpreted by the audience watching him on screen. As originally framed by Richard Dyer in *Stars* (BFI: 1979), an actor's distinct star image can affect the production of meaning in a film and manipulate the arousal of expectations in viewers. When an actor/celebrity takes a role, they bring earlier roles/identities to the new performance; their star text influences how an audience engages with their previous roles within the new performance.

This presentation considers Johnson's popular status as an elite professional wrestler (1996-2004), and how this mainstream fame as an athlete-entertainer informs his success in playing Hercules onscreen. Johnson's film roles also influence his performance as Hercules, especially his first lead role as the ancient warrior Mathayus in *THE SCORPION KING* (2002); his appearance as formidable government agent Luke Hobbs invigorated the last four instalments of the *THE FAST AND THE FURIOUS* action-movie franchise (2011, 2013, 2015, 2017), as well as the recent spin-off *HOBBS & SHAW* (2019). Since these movies straddle his Hercules appearance, they support his heroic persona for audiences while informing his star text moving forward into other roles, including the shape-shifting Polynesian demigod Maui in the Disney animated hit *MOANA* (2016). Johnson is even the object of an attempt to draft him to run for political office: just as his star text as a heroic competitor shaped his portrayal of Hercules in the blockbuster movie, his now established Herculean identity may lead to aspirations for elected office and influence how the Hercules figure is imagined in the future.

Session 6, Panel 2: **Athenian Politics (§1) (Faraday C)**

Nikolaos Cheimaras (Durham University)
Political Leadership in Classical Athens

The question of political leadership in classical Athens is firmly associated with broader issues concerning the workings of Athenian democracy. Scholars interested in particular aspects of Athenian politics have mainly emphasised the theoretical role of democratic institutions. However, to understand Athenian political leadership what is really required is an examination of practical political democratic workings. This paper focuses on how political issues were practically resolved in fifth-century Athens and has three specific goals. First, to unravel the reasons why and the ways in which leading Athenian political figures and individuals formed groups to influence Athens' direct democratic system. Second, to examine whether the nature of coming together in political groupings around influential politicians evolved across the fifth century. Finally, to revisit the question of how close Athenian political groups come to modern 'political parties'. By exploring the potential structure, organisation, stability, ideological nature and effectiveness of political groups, I investigate specifically the status of fifth-century Athenian political leadership and grouping. I argue that our sources offer a twofold picture. Later and consequently less persuasive authors, like Plutarch, suggest a model of structured, organised, sizable and effective political grouping which, despite the lack of an ideological programme, resembles modern 'political parties'. Conversely, contemporary fifth-century sources favour political individualism rather than strong political formations. The only exception, given by contemporary sources themselves, is the oligarchic revolution of 412/411 B.C. These findings illuminate our view of practical democratic workings and suggest that in fifth-century Athens a model of political leadership based on strong grouping, similar to modern 'political parties', seems unattainable, except for moments when politics were approached under extreme ideological pressure due to critical issues of principle. Interestingly, in the fifth century, these concerned solely the constitutional dispute between democracy and oligarchy; no other single issue acquired substantial ideological importance.

Keren Freidenreich (Graduate Center of the City University of New York)
"Not the son of Achilles, but Achilles himself" – The Figure of Alcibiades as the Homeric Hero within the *Polis* and the Question of Democratic Tolerance

Of the many characters who fill up Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, one of the most problematic – and memorable – is the figure of the Athenian general and statesman Alcibiades. Known for his beauty, ancestry and intelligence, Alcibiades was a promising, highly-motivated politician, who possessed a talent for persuading the Athenian *demos* but also for irritating the people due to his sexual *paranomia*. Within Thucydides' narrative, Alcibiades' figure stands out as a troublemaker, transgressing social and political norms without a care for the consequences of his actions. In fact, according to Thucydides, Alcibiades' provocative behavior and constant scheming turned the Athenians against him, for fear he was aiming at tyranny. Due to Thucydides' depiction of his character, Alcibiades is often considered a representation of the democratic tyrant, posited in sharp contrast to the calculated political career of the model figure of Pericles, the ideal democratic leader. However, a close reading suggests that Alcibiades' character echoes a different model: that of Achilles, the Homeric hero, characterized by his larger-than-life personality and quest for *kleos*.

In this presentation, I would like to suggest that Alcibiades' character embodies the clash between the Homeric hero and the democratic *polis*. This reading is based on a few instances in Thucydides, especially the actions associated with Alcibiades in book V and the speech attributed to him in book VI. Moreover, since the Athenian democracy could not contain – or tame – such a personality, it will be my claim that in Thucydides and Alcibiades' time, the Homeric hero became an *hybristes*, the citizen who disrupts the social order and promotes his own private interests over those of the polis. As I will show, Alcibiades' character came to serve as a new archetype of the *heros*, an updated version proper to the democratic age.

Vasiliki Kotini (Zayed University, UAE)
ὦ πόλις πόλις! The demise of the city in Aristophanic Old Comedy

Written and performed during the precarious times of the Peloponnesian war, Aristophanes' plays echo the agony of the poet for his city which is slipping into loss. The end of the war finds Athens defeated, its democratic institutions abolished. Pericles' κλεινόν ἄστυ surrenders to the Spartan Oligarchs.

The proposed paper discusses the civic backdrop of Aristophanes' plays and examines how this is gradually modified to reflect the changing socio-political reality of Athens. The paper follows the image of the strong and powerful city as rendered in Aristophanes' early plays; this eventually gives way to alternative set-ups in the plays that follow, before it is abandoned altogether as the poet finds final refuge in a non-civic spatial background. At the same time, the paper studies the role and presence – or lack – of gods in Aristophanic plays and argues that there is a reverse analogy between divine command and the power of the Athenian city. It suggests that in the universe of Aristophanes' plays, while Athens stands strong and powerful, the Olympian gods are kept at a distance; however, as the *polis* starts staggering, the presence of gods becomes more prominent, even tangible on comic stage, signifying, in effect, the end of Athenian democracy.

While it largely reviews the corpus of Aristophanic Old Comedy, the study mainly focuses on the 'peace' plays (*Acharnians, Peace, Lysistrata*) while it also discusses the unique setting of *The Birds* and *The Frogs*.

Session 6, Panel 3: **Imperial Roman Religion (Faraday D)**

Samuel Azzopardi (L-Università ta' Malta)
Not So Different After All: Re-Reading Jewish Identity in Josephus' *Jewish War*

The question of the presentation of Jewish identity throughout his work is one that has been visited and re-visited by countless scholars through the ages. This well-trodden academic path, has, however, largely concerned itself with how the *Jewish War* has brought to light the many internal factions, interests and allegiances that divided Jewish society. This portrayal, scholars have rightly argued, serves Josephus' purpose of challenging Roman perceptions of Jewish people – already present and resident throughout the empire – as a culturally, ideologically and politically monolith community. Rather, by emphasising these internal differences, Josephus wishes to exonerate the larger part of the Roman empire's Jewish population by identifying a small section of the Judean Jewish population as the real culprits of the Great Jewish Revolt.

The intention of this paper is different and the emphasis lies elsewhere. Rather than focusing on this well-explored facet of the *Jewish War*, this presentation intends to look at how Josephus seeks to establishes bridges through similarity between the Jews as a race and nation and the other peoples of the Roman empire through description, language and implied political analogy. While not detracting from the argument of exoneration, the argument will be made that Josephus also pleads for equal treatment by identifying the Jews as just one other nation against whom Rome fought, and so worthy of the same treatment imposed on other conquered peoples who had not been subjected to targeted taxation or the embarrassing and humiliating 'investigations' imposed on those whom the Romans suspected of being Jewish.

James Corke-Webster (King's College London)
A New Approach to Early Christian Persecution

The persecution of Christians is one of the most persistent problems of antiquity. It was traditionally assumed that Christianity was legally proscribed from Nero in the first century to the "Great Persecution" of the tetrarchs in the fourth. Over the last century scholarship has retreated from this, becoming increasingly hesitant about the degree to which we can talk about state-sponsored persecution. But almost all work has shared a "top-down" approach, asking whether, why, and to what extent the Roman authorities – often meaning emperors – persecuted Christians. That this has produced increasingly negative answers suggests we have been asking the wrong questions. And it has also obscured the lived experience of those that did suffer. An alternative approach, that Christians suffered "pogrom-esque" violence, was mooted as early as de Ste Croix's seminal 1963 article, but the

details of such a model (the agency involved; its mechanisms; victims' experience) have never been investigated.

This paper explores the frameworks necessary for such a new, comprehensive "bottom up" approach, inspired by comparative studies in the medieval and early modern periods that focus on local competition rather than state operatives (e.g. Nirenberg 2000; Macfarlane 1970). Using a range of early Christian and non-Christian sources, it suggests not just that violence was driven by community tensions, but that accusations could emerge not just from "outsiders" but even "insiders" – i.e. from neighbours, friends, family members, and even other Christians. That in turn has consequences for how we think of the role of the Roman authorities – as the mechanisms rather than the agents of persecution – as well as the range of ways in which persecution could impact the lives of its victims.

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Priscilla Buongiorno (Durham University)

Ezekiel in the Valley of the Dry Bones. The Creative Power of the Iconographical Medium within the Early Christian Community of Rome

This paper aims to exemplify the creative process of iconography within the early Christian production of visual documents. The analysis will focus on a case study, chosen from the sculptural corpus of fourth-century sarcophagi from Roman workshops. The small sarcophagus (REPI 5) features a simple iconographical cycle, composed of two biblical episodes, one from the Old Testament, the miraculous event of raising of the dry bones (Ez 37:1-14), and one from the New Testament, the Adoration of the Magi (Mt 2:1-12). Both these episodes are strongly re-elaborated from the biblical narrative, in order to achieve the present visual form. They are transformed into types and combined together to deliver a (theological) message. From a historical-exegetical point of view, this combination of scenes is completely new, both to earlier and coeval Christian literature. Consequently, this sarcophagus is an original document. This paper will highlight the correlation between the two episodes and its hermeneutical interpretation. This case study will be helpful to take into account a new methodological approach that might provide the key to 'read' early Christian iconography as fruitfully as its contemporary literary counterpart. The representation of the different biblical paradigms played by iconography – and iconography alone – does not correspond to the desire to illustrate the episodes, but rather expresses an explicit exegetical intention that can be understood only in light of the textual hermeneutics. Thus, linked to the literary source, iconography does not represent a visual description of the biblical episodes but rather creates a new narrative, independent and capable of giving birth to a new culture.

Session 6, Panel 4: **More Egypt! (Faraday E)**

Tejas Aralere (University of California, Santa Barbara)
Messalla as Osiris: military might and masculine fertility in Tibullus 1.7

Tibullus composed *carmen* 1.7 around September 25th, 27 BCE, in praise of his patron, Messalla, who was bestowed a triumph for quelling Aquitania's revolts. Earlier scholarship mentions that this poem blends a heroic ode with a religious hymn to Osiris-Bacchus, but overlooks the significance of the various rivers mentioned in the poem. In this paper I argue that Tibullus divinizes Messalla as the legitimate Osiris figure, replacing Antony who had identified himself with the god after marrying Cleopatra.

Tibullus does this in two ways. First, he foregrounds Messalla's military prowess with a catalogue of rivers. He begins with the recently conquered Aquitanian rivers, followed by the Cydnus and the Nile. This reverse timeline of Messalla's military achievements commemorates his most recent Gallic campaigns and his governorship over the Eastern provinces is represented by the Cydnus. Finally, the Nile represents his appointment as consul in 31 BCE replacing Antony before defeating him at Actium. The Cydnus was also where Cleopatra first seduced Antony, whereas, by contrast, Messalla successfully governed the Eastern provinces while maintaining his allegiance to Augustan Rome. Second, Tibullus' ode to the Nile and agriculture evokes Osiris and his Roman counterpart Bacchus as male deities of liquid fertility. Rivers were often identified as masculine entities, and by conquering the territories in which they flowed and consolidating Roman *imperium* around Mediterranean, Messalla represented the prosperity flowing into Rome during the Pax Romana. Messalla thus represents a more masculine Osiris figure than Antony who was infamously maligned for succumbing to Egypt's effeminate extravagance. The reference to Bacchus and to Messalla's restoration of the Via Latina ensured that Tibullus' portrayal of Messalla struck the perfect balance between his patron's Roman and Egyptian identities. Through this homology, Tibullus blurs boundaries between divinities and ethnicities, reflecting the changing cultural landscape of Imperial Rome.

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Emanuele Vuono (Universität zu Köln)

Sappho and Egypt. A rereading of Doricha's episode through *testimonia*

Despite the uncertainty of Sappho's fragments, ancient tradition establishes a link between Sappho and Egypt: her brother Charaxus would have met the Thracian hetaera Rhodopis/Doricha in Naucratis and lost his wealth for her. According to some sources, she would also be related to the Pyramid of Menkaure.

From my research, which consists of a commentary on Sapphic *testimonia*, I have gained a particular perspective about the poetess and what is connected to her. Instead of trying to find possible fragments where she might have narrated this story or to prove if the story is true or not, I would prefer to analyse how it is perceived by the ancient world. A good example could be the controversial epigram that Posidippus from Pella dedicated to Doricha (*HE* 17 = 122 Austin – Bastianini), on which I would like to propose my interpretation: we should ask ourselves what kind of relationship between Doricha, Charaxus, Naucratis, Nile, Sappho and her "white pages" was set up by the epigrammist.

Furthermore, the witnesses of the episode, Herodotus, Strabo, Ovid, Athenaeus, could suggest to us something about the Ancients' approach to this story, Sappho's role in it, Charaxus' (unlucky) experience in a different country and even his (and, indirectly, his sister's) encounter with a different world

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Eleonora Voltan (Universidad de Málaga / Università degli Studi di Padova)
***Picta nilotica romana*. Circulation, chronology and characteristics of a figurative theme**

At the dawn of the 3rd century BCE, the flourishing yet ambivalent relationship between Egypt and Rome starts to become clearer. The agreement of 273 BCE triggered the beginning of an overhaul of the political, cultural, economical and religious settings in Italy, particularly visible in the artistic production that originated from the clash and the interweaving between the Roman and the Egyptian worlds. The present paper aims at drawing attention to the role played by the Romans' strong fascination for the land of the Nile in the process of codifying and shaping the features of the landscape of the Roman painting tradition.

Therefore, I intend here to highlight and clarify the degree of spreading and the time span relevant to such an iconographic model over the provinces of the Roman Empire, emphasizing the recurring of iconic figurative items typical of Nile-based artistic representation, including those related to the flora and fauna typically representative of the Egyptian Land.

Session 6, Panel 5: **Roman Republican History (Faraday F)**

Roman M. Frolov (P.G. Demidov Yaroslavl State University)
Abdication, *imperium*, and the Civilian Responsibilities of Promagistrates in the *Lex de provinciis praetoriis*: A Political Failure?

In the Roman Republic, promagistrates had power in the military sphere and in the provinces (*militiae*), just like magistrates. At the same time, while expected to lead what we may call "civil" administration outside the city of Rome, they were deprived of any legitimate

possibility of independent action in domestic politics (*domi*). However, in the late Republic, powerful proconsuls increasingly intervened in political processes in Rome. Later Augustus made full use of a rule according to which promagistrates did not lose their *imperium* until crossing the city boundary of Rome (or until abrogation). It is against this background that the so-called *Lex de provinciis praetoriis* (ca. 100 BCE) has not yet been fully appreciated. The law stipulates that should a praetorian commander of Asia or Macedonia abdicate his office, he is to retain his civil powers and jurisdiction just as he had them in his magistracy and to remain a proconsul until his return to the city of Rome. Why does the legislator envisage non-routine abdication as a routine procedure? It has been suggested that magistrates-governors just had to mark the end of their magistracy by a public spectacle. But why would provincials need to testify to this change if governors' powers precisely over them would not have been affected at all? This paper explores another possibility: abdication, the continuation of civilian functions as a promagistrate, retention of *imperium* until the return to Rome, and the prohibition to leave a province unless ordered so by the Senate should be considered together. The law may be seen as a precursor of the Republic's political failure.

Nikita A. Filyanov (National Research University, HSE Moscow)

Civitas and _ius provocationis_ in the political discourse of the 120s BCE

In the framework of this research, the information of Aulus Gellius (Gell. *NA*. X. 3. 2-3), Valerius Maximus (Val. Max. IX. 5. 1) and some lines from the epigraphic law of Acilius 123 BCE (Crawford 1996, 1.74) about the right of appeal (*ius provocationis*) in the M. Fulvius Flaccus and C. Gracchus' political program in 125-122 BCE will analysed in detail. In the course of this analysis, we will try to find out what role and meaning *ius provocationis* played in the polemic between the Gracchans and their opponents in the Senate around the issue of granting Roman citizenship to the Latins. The presence of the right of appeal in the Gracchan rhetoric and legislation in 125, 123 and 122 BCE closely related to the agitation of Roman citizens for granting the Roman citizenship to the Latins (*rogatio de sociis civitate danda*). The senate's reaction to such agitation was reflected in the speech of the consul of 122 BCE, C. Fannius, against C. Gracchus' *rogatio de sociis civitate danda* (Cic. *Brut*. 99; *ORF* 1837, 221) and in the bill of the plebeian tribune of 122 BCE, M. Livius Drusus the Elder, about granting the right of appeal to the Latins (Plut. *CG*. 9). These measures deprived the Gracchans of support from the majority of the urban plebs, for whom the granting of the right of appeal to the Latins was a more attractive measure than the *rogatio de sociis civitate danda*.

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Laura Losito (Durham University)

The Structure of Cicero's _Ad Familiares_ Book 5

For a long time, Book 5 of Cicero's *Ad Familiares* was conceived as lacking in internal coherence and no clear rationale was found in the organization of its letters. Instead, it was considered the result of a hurried or unthinking posthumous arrangement. In fact, the letters in Book 5 of Cicero's *Ad familiares* have been artfully selected and arranged by an anonymous ancient editor to create a homogeneous unit that delivers a meaningful storyline. A

commentary is best suited to proving this hypothesis because it is only through a systematic and close reading that we can begin to detect the rationale that lies behind the ancient editor's choices. The letters were evidently selected to provide a narration of the events in Cicero's career that coincided largely with the time span that Cicero asked Lucceius to cover in the centrally-placed letter 12 – but that the historian did not in fact fulfil. The result is counter-history: this is not the story that Cicero would have chosen to tell about his life or the republic, from Catiline's conspiracy to the assassination of Caesar. The editor's choices create a posthumous account of Cicero's career that invests the letters with a metaphorical significance they could not have had at the time of original composition: e.g. all of Cicero's correspondents in Book 5 are united by their connections with Cicero's enemies Catiline and Clodius and their membership of the Roman elite, albeit with different degrees of nobility; it includes a set of letters (5.1-11) that conveys a powerful image of Cicero and others (5.13-18) in which he appears politically isolated.

Session 6, Panel 6: **Commentary and Creation: the *Iliad* Scholia (Faraday G)**

Convenors: Tom Phillips (University of Manchester) *et al.*
Chair: Oliver Thomas (University of Nottingham)

The convenors of this panel are involved in a project to translate the scholia to the *Iliad* and to explore the scholia's role in the intellectual life of late antiquity. The scholia have never been translated into a modern European language, and so remain largely inaccessible to non-specialists. Therefore, despite the wealth of evidence that they offer for Greek thinking about subjects ranging from accidence, syntax, and rhetoric to natural philosophy, ethics, and the gods, and despite their important role in the cultural changes and contestations of late antiquity, the significance of the scholia remains radically under-appreciated. The project aims to remedy this deficiency by making the scholia more widely available, and by analysing the connections between the scholia and literary production in the Greek world from c. 100 B.C. to c. 300 C.E.

This panel will address the project's three principal aims: translating and analysing the scholia, situating them in their cultural contexts, and expanding their use in contemporary education.

Bill Beck (Indiana University)
'Ear, ear for the sea-surge': Sound and Sense in the Homeric Scholia

From Dio Chrysostom to Ezra Pound, Homer's readers have long recognized correspondences between sound and sense in Homeric poetry. But few readers have devoted such careful and sustained attention to the mimetic potential of Homer's verse as the anonymous critics preserved in the exegetical scholia. This paper examines the exegetical critics' attention to Homer's syntactic, sonic, and rhythmic mimesis, demonstrating their deep conviction in the mimetic quality of Homeric poetry and their remarkable confidence in their ability to identify it.

The first part of this paper examines scholia pertaining to syntactic mimesis—that is, language whose arrangement within the verse was regarded as an imitation of the content of the story. These critics argued, for example, that Homer hyperbatically separated verbs from preverbs in imitation of various forms of disorder or separation, including disorganized motion, disorganized thought, force, or violence.

The second part of the paper focuses on scholia that argue for the correspondence between sound and sense. The critics of the exegetical scholia commented on instances of onomatopoetic evocations of war (bows breaking, shields grazed by spears, and breastplates splitting apart), of the natural environment (falling branches, rushing rivers, and the foaming sea), and of animals (sheep bleating, wolves lapping, and lions eating).

The final part of the paper examines scholia that pertain to words or phrases whose rhythm was felt to have reflected the actions they describe. According to these critics, the rhythms of Homer's verse imitated the trembling of mountains, the whizzing of an arrow in flight, the smallness of a child, and the size of a meadow.

Emma Greensmith (University of Oxford)
The Scholia Between Homer and the Bible in the Poetics of Late Antiquity

This paper probes the relationship between Homeric scholia and Greek hexameter poetry in Late Antiquity. As the product of an intellectual world which was both deeply rooted in the traditions of the classical past and facing a rapidly changing future, the scholia offer remarkable insight into the role of Homeric poetry in shaping the turbulent cultural discourses of their time. One crucial but under-exploited method of tracing this insight is to consider whether and how the scholia inform the huge corpus of new epic poetry which was produced during this period. These works do not discuss Homeric epic at a textual or critical distance, but return to Homer's original medium and form. They can therefore reveal how the culminating and evolving trends of exegesis were reflected and reworked into new verse.

This paper will focus on two fascinating and different case studies to show how this process worked in action and in detail: The *Sibylline Oracles*, a vast collection of Jewish and Christian eschatological utterances composed in the voice of the Sibyl, and Nonnus' *Paraphrase of St John*, a 21-book rewriting of the fourth Gospel into Homerizing hexameter. Teasing out the relationship between passages of these poems and the ideas, techniques and concerns contained in a number of Homeric scholia, the paper will outline a provocative dialogue between the writers of Homeric exegesis and these religiously-inflected poets, as discourse on (for example) Homeric myth, lexica, variations and metre is taken up and mobilized to serve very different moral and cultural agendas.

Tom Phillips (University of Manchester) and David Hope (Monmouth School)
Teaching (with) the scholia

The scholia were used in the ancient classroom to help younger students navigate the textual, interpretative, and ethical complexities of the *Iliad*. The form and content of many scholia were influenced by their pedagogic use. When translated and glossed, the scholia are

therefore a productive tool for the contemporary secondary school teacher, offering a means not only of demonstrating to pupils, both those studying the poem in Greek and those working with translations, how the ancient Greeks engaged with Homer, but also of opening up discussions about interpretatively testing aspects of the poem.

One aim of our project is to produce a translation of selected scholia, with accompanying explanatory notes and interpretative questions, designed for use in secondary schools. Based on the speakers' recent experience of using a draft of this material with A level pupils, this presentation will discuss the challenges and benefits of using the scholia in the classroom.

Session 6, Panel 7: **4th Century Greek Literature (Faraday H)**

Sara De Martin (King's College London)
Theognis, and Isocrates' Paraenetic Project

The metasympotic character and political contents of the *Theognidea* have attracted a good dose of scholarly attention in the last four decades. However, the contents, style and pragmatics of the poems collected in the Theognidean *Sylloge* can be investigated beyond their sympotic functionality, as features that mark Theognidean poetry as an exponent of a broader tradition, that of paraenetic discourse.

In the proposed paper, I examine Isocrates' *To Nicocles* as a reception episode that prompts us to reconsider the position of the *Theognidea* in the constellations of ancient genres.
To Nicocles is a compendium of advice addressed to the king of Cyprus. Towards the end of the oration, Isocrates lingers on the nature and aims of morally 'useful' writings (Isoc. 2.40-54). As examples, Isocrates names three authors of paraenetic texts, Hesiod, Theognis and Phocylides. The orator discusses the traits that distinguish useful texts from inconsequential ones, and states that most people are unwilling to listen to 'useful' *logoi*.

I shall explore how Isocrates conceptualises useful writings, dwelling on some formal and thematic elements shared by the examples he mentions. I shall argue that such traits are the constituents of paraenetic discourse. The analysis will also afford insights on how Isocrates conceives of paraenesis as cutting across other commonly-held genre distinctions, and on how he applies the paraenetic mode in his own oration, thus taking the conventions of paraenetic discourse into prose.

Besides, I shall reflect on how Isocrates conceptualises the improving potential of useful texts by looking at their contemporary reception. The orator indeed problematises the moral usefulness of different genres, and morally profiles the individuals who are able to give heed to and benefit from 'useful' writings. I shall show that in *To Nicocles* we find a long-standing wisdom pose, that correlates virtue and social status.

Antonio De Nizza (NTNU: Norwegian University of Science and Technology)
How (not) to Suppress Women's Writing: Philaenis of Samos' ancient and contemporary 'misfortune'

My paper examines the 'Philaenidean Question', i.e., the scholarly debate around the historicity and authorship of Philaenis of Samos, as an instance of suppression of Women's Writing, according to the methods of downplaying and erasure outlined by Joanna Russ' *How to Suppress Women's Writing* (1983). Philaenis is credited by ancient testimonia, which date from the 4th century B.C.E. to the Byzantine *Suda*, as the author of the eroto-didactic treatise *Περὶ ἀφροδισίων*, 'On the realm of Aphrodite'. P. Oxy. 2891 preserves some lines of this kind of *ars amatoria*, but still Philaenis is not included in the handbooks of Ancient Greek Literature.

While the ancient authors' moral condemnation against Philaenis may be interpreted, in J. Russ' terms, as an example of 'Pollution of Agency', in a wider context where the methods of 'Prohibitions' and 'Bad Faith' towards Women's Writing were also common, it is in the contemporary scholarly debate that the full display of erasure methods has taken place. Even if Q. Cataudella (1974), J. Whitehorne (1990) and K. Kapparis (2017) have tried to put Philaenis in a sociocultural and literary context, the dominant trend in the scholarly debate has tended to erase her, consciously or unconsciously applying the methods of 'Denial of Agency', 'False Categorizing', 'Isolation', and 'Anomalousness' (J. Russ 1983). In fact, Philaenis has been dismissed as a pseudonym (K. Tsantsanoglou 1973), the prototypical prostitute (D. Thomson Vessey 1976), a pornographic mask (H. Parker 1992), a fictitious character (S. Boehringer 2007, 2014, 2015).

My paper challenges, on philological grounds, this hyper-sceptical trend in the scholarly debate, deconstructing the biases and gender stereotypes which have often affected the academic research on Women's Writing in Antiquity. I argue for reasserting Philaenis' authorship, asking questions about her intellectual role as a woman writer of Antiquity, who suffered a long-lasting downplaying.

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Antonio Iacoviello (University of Edinburgh)

Weaponising Oratory. The Textuality and Intentionality of Memory in the Honours for Demosthenes

This paper casts new light on the cultural dimension of the honours (*megistai timai*) granted to Demosthenes in 281/80 BCE, and their significance in the wider framework of the recovered Athenian democracy following the ousting of the Macedonian garrison from the Mouseion hill in 287 BCE. The request (*aitesis*) for the honours (transcribed in [Plut.] *XOr*. 850f – 851c) was submitted by Demosthenes' nephew Democharesof Leuconoe, speechwriter and chief protagonist of the political arena of early Hellenistic Athens. Democharesis also credited with assembling the first Athenian edition of the Demosthenic *corpus* (*Urexemplar*), arranged, and compiled before Callimachus.

In this paper, I argue that the honours for Demosthenes and the first collection of his *corpus* were part of the same operation of politics of memory – as Demochareswished to provide the restored democracy with a 'new hero' who epitomised an anti-Macedonian agenda. I demonstrate that the text of the decree's *aitesis*, most notably the deeds for which Demosthenes is praised in the motivation clause (divided into liturgies and benefactions / foreign policy / democratic leanings) closely reflect and echo the arguments which Demosthenes himself employed in his speeches – crucially his self-defence speech *On the Crown*. Other exploits, conversely, overturn the criticisms against Demosthenes delivered by contemporary orators (Hyperides, Dinarchus). I show how these exploits, as given by the *aitesis*, give a partial and biased reading of Demosthenes' career.

The image of Demosthenes sketched by the decree, then, turns out to be shaped and conveyed by his own text. I illustrate how Demosthenes' text, in the form of Democharesʼ Athenian *Urexemplar*, served as a 'memory carrier' in the cultural and political framework of early Hellenistic Athens; and how Demosthenes, and his *corpus*, underwent a process of monumentalisation and, subsequently, political weaponization, by both Democharesand his political fellows/opponents.

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Session 6, Panel 8: **Classics in Schools and the Need for Reform: A Classical Association Teaching Board Workshop (Faraday J)**

Convenor: Sharon Marshall (University of Exeter / Chair of CATB)

The latest statistics on entrants for qualifications in classical subjects in schools, published in the CUCD Bulletin, demonstrate clearly the decline in the take-up of classical subjects and the continued threat to their viability. The impact of decisions taken by policymakers and exam boards, such as the decoupling of AS and A Levels or the discontinuation of Entry Level Classical Greek, can be clearly witnessed and speak to the urgent need for qualification reform.

The Classical Association Teaching Board, in partnership with Classics for All, has recently commissioned a survey to capture data not currently available on the teaching of classics in schools, including pre-qualification teaching at key stage 3, and the challenges faced by teachers in maintaining and growing their classical offering. The survey – intended to become a biennial census of classics teaching – represents the first step in a project led by CATB to lobby for major reform of classical qualifications in schools (and their curricula) to ensure their continued survival. This workshop aims to bring together teachers, academics, and other stakeholders to reflect on the results of the survey and the work undertaken so far, beginning with a series of flash presentations from our CA Education Coordinator, members of CATB, and teachers in schools.

Moving away from a more traditional format, the flash presentations will be followed by audience discussion in small groups (including one online group for those joining remotely), facilitated by CATB and our partners and focused on a number of key issues raised in the flash presentations, from curriculum breadth and depth to minimum timetabling recommendations and alternative modes of accreditation. Each group will be asked to identify and prioritise a short list of action points to inform the CATB's work going forward.

Session 7: 14:00–16:00

Session 7, Panel 1: **Neurodiverse Classics: Constructive Connections (Faraday B)**

Co-organisers: Barbara Goff (University of Reading), Martina Astrid Rodda (University of Oxford), Joe Watson (Durham University) under the auspices of the Inclusive Classics Initiative, with Asterion. Short videos have been pre-circulated at https://asterion.uk/index.php/home/neurodiverse-classics-constructive-connections/

The pandemic and lockdown have focussed attention on inequalities in society, and perhaps especially in the educational sector. Students in schools and beyond have reacted very variously to online provision, and some neurodivergent students have been able to flourish online. Social anxiety has been reduced, and different ways of learning have been accommodated (e.g. repetition of material via online hosting). This panel brings together students, lecturers, teachers and heritage professionals to explore 'constructive connections' between neurodiversity and classics.

In order to exemplify the kind of inclusive practices that work for many neurodivergent classicists, as well as for others, the panel proposes a variety of complementary formats. We plan a series of short, pre-recorded videos on the topics listed below, to be hosted by the CA in advance of and during the conference. Asterion, a new online space celebrating neurodiversity in classics, will host a series of blogposts as part of a week-long event on the theme of 'constructive connections', ideally in partnership with the CA. Comments and questions on these and on the videos will be invited from conference participants, and these will be addressed and discussed by a roundtable of the panellists, in a live online session of the conference. If the CA prefers that this live session be in-person, panel members will accommodate that, but it is important to note that the online dimension fosters and exemplifies good practice for neurodivergent classicists. Finally, panel members will be happy to staff a table or stall during the conference, in person, in order to engage in-person attendees with the videos and blog, and to foster further networking among those interested in neurodiversity and classics.

We are aware that the CA is planning a largely in-person event with online provision explicitly directed mainly to those based abroad, but we judge it is important to learn from the past 18 months and be prepared to innovate further, using online and asynchronous formats to ensure wider accessibility and inclusivity. Panellists are eager to work with the CA in order to iron out any technical difficulties.

Topics for videos:

Justin Biggi, How classics helped navigate neurodiverse diagnoses, how my neurodiversity informs my understanding of the classics.

Susan Deacy, The ACCLAIM: Autism Connecting CLAssically-inspired Mythology Network and classical myth resources for autistic children.
Cora Beth Fraser, The Relaxed Tutorial Project: designing inclusive approaches to online teaching in universities.
Laura Jenkinson, Making things easier for Neurodiverse school pupils.
Claudina Romero Mayorga, Tactile and multisensorial teaching tools in museums.
Ben Tanner, Resources for teaching classics online.
Justine T. Wolfenden, Asterion: the case for a network to celebrate and support neurodiversity in Classics.

Session 7, Panel 2: **Athenian Politics (§2) (Faraday C)**

Ifigeneia Giannadaki (University of Florida)

Resident aliens (metics) in the Athenian society: gender, politics, and democratic ideology

The *legal status* of metics has attracted some attention in recent years (cf. Kamen), while metic ideology was the subject of a seminal study by Whitehead. Yet Greek oratory and particularly the Demosthenic orations have received only limited consideration in modern studies. The Demosthenic Corpus is an indispensable source for the study of metics in Athenian society and economy in Classical Athens and this paper (part of a larger project on metics), focusing on key Demosthenic orations (e.g. 22, 25, 34, 35, 56, and [59]), explores the ambivalent and complex Athenian ideology on metics, informed by modern discussions of gender and citizen identity, as well as latest research on foreign women in Athenian society (Kennedy, Kapparis). Metic identity and ideology were variously constructed and could be positive, comparable to *citizen's* morality and ideology, both for men and women (cf. Zobia). Simultaneously, the *ad hoc* socio-economic position of metics in Athens and their diverse experiences in manufacturing, commerce, or the sex industry, could result in negative representations of individuals (e.g. Lakritos, Neaira) or 'ethnic' groups (e.g. Phaselites). Ultimately, this paper challenges modern conceptualisations of non-permeable social, political, and cultural divides between citizens and metics in Athenian society. Ideological considerations emerging from this study are especially timely and relevant to contemporary debates on immigration and comparable with the ambivalent citizen ideology towards non-citizens in modern democracies, partly arising from prejudice or fears of the alien, the 'outsider', the 'other'.

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Ben S. Cassell (King's College London)

Re-defying the Hero King: Aristotle's *Politics* (III.1284b35-1285b33) and the transitory quality of Theseus' democratic break with convention.

Within the constructive narration of the Athenian past during the 5th-4th centuries BCE, the figures of Kekrops, Erechtheus and Theseus are illustrated as providing a distinct periodization of the Heroic Age in the form of their reigns as King of Athens. Within this schema, Theseus is illustrated as an intersection between the conventional conceptualizations of Kingship in Classical Athenian thought, and its democratic ideologies. Indeed the emergence of Theseus the 'democrat' represents a divergence from the reigns of Kekrops and Erechtheus that in turn structures a conceptualized Athenian temporality via this political action. This is something demonstrated within the definition of differing forms of Kingship by Aristotle, of which criteria Theseus does not signally conform, but rather embodies a move away from the foundational age of autochthonic rulers. This paper will consider the re-definition of traditional Kingship within the purported establishment of democracy by Theseus, in relation to his temporal association with the reigns and figures of Kekrops and Erechtheus, as a means by which Athenian democracy was provided aetiological authority and time itself conceptually constructed. Thus Thesean rule, as conceived and depicted within Classical sources, represents a dualistic move towards the political present and retention of the framework of Kingship of the Heroic Age. This tension, evident in Euripides, the Atthidographers Hellanicus and Philochorus, Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, as with the Aristotelian definitions, indicates the transitory quality of Thesean rule. While the reigns of Kekrops and Erechtheus operate within the defined conventions of Heroic Age Kings, the democratizing Theseus represents a transitory break with traditional modes of rule, which this paper will illustrate as being essential to his own periodized placement, and wider conceptualizations of Athenian cultural pasts.

Edward Armstrong (University of St Andrews)

Sophistic Influence on the Final Speech of Pericles in Thucydides

This paper investigates the influence of the sophists in Athens during the fifth century BCE on the treatment of emotion and reason in the final speech of Pericles in Thucydides (Thuc. 2.60-64). In 1954, Paul Moraux wrote, "Thucydide écrit à une époque où l'enseignement de la rhétorique, dispensé principalement par les sophistes, connaît ses premiers succès à Athènes. Il est donc légitime de se demander dans quelle mesure l'historien… a subi l'influence et suivi les préceptes des rhéteurs de son temps". The sophist Gorgias of Leontini is renowned among modern commentators for his treatment of emotion in rhetoric (e.g. Paul Woodruff; David Konstan; Dimos Spatharas). While less known for emotion and reason, Antiphon the Athenian sophist was a contemporary of Thucydides whose rhetoric was influential in shaping the intellectual landscape of Athens during the Atheno-Peloponnesian Wars. This paper examines how Pericles manages the emotions of the Athenian Assembly in his final speech by close comparison with the speeches and testimonia of Gorgias and Antiphon, as well as the testimonia of the sophists Protagoras of Abdera and Prodicus of Ceos. It argues that Pericles' rhetoric draws on a sophistic understanding of emotion and reason from the intellectual climate of Athens in the fifth century BCE. It further argues that Pericles employs this conception of emotion and reason in his rhetoric to divert the Athenian

Assembly's anger from himself by replacing it with confidence in their ability to win the war against the Peloponnesians.

Session 7, Panel 3: **Building a digital Pausanias, or what digital technology can (and can't) do for the study of the ancient world (Faraday D)**

Convenor/Chair: Elton Barker (Open University)
Respondents for this panel: Maria Pretzler (Swansea University) and Naoíse Mac Sweeney (University of Vienna, Director of the ERC-funded IGMAG: Migration and the Making of the Ancient Greek World)

N.B. This panel will take the form of a roundtable discussion with "position papers" (of 5 mins or so), so as to raise points for discussion and encourage discussion. Online posts in advance on social media will involve more participants and help drive discussion.

In recent years scholars have become more sensitive to mining Pausanias for information. Whether treating him as a source of Greek religion, archaeology or mythology, an example of cognitive mapping or ecocritical description, or a Greek author navigating Roman power, studies now grapple with the precise form of the *Periegesis*. At the same time, advances in digital technology have made it possible to map his text in ways hitherto impractical if not inconceivable. What remains a challenge is to bring narrative context to bear on the application of these mapping efforts.

In this panel we interrogate new digital approaches to mapping Pausanias. Each discussant works with digital methods and tools to study different narrative features —events, people, objects, and places. In our view Pausanias is "good to think with" precisely because his *Description* represents an intersection of text and material culture, between the "sights worth seeing" and the "logoi" about them, as well of past and present, myth and history, Greece and Rome. Critiquing the application of digital approaches to the study of Pausanias can help us think about their affordances and limitations for studying the ancient world more broadly, particularly in relation to public scholarship and Linked Data.

Greta Hawes (Centre for Hellenic Studies, Director of *MANTO*)
Pausanias's myths as digital data

MANTO (www.manto-myth.org) is an initiative that uses digital methods to model the Greek mythic storyworld, and map its impacts on the historical landscape of the Mediterranean. In doing this, it represents familiar material in a quite different way. Traditional encyclopediae arrange their material under the headwords of heroes and gods (Roscher, RE, LIMC), or episodically by genealogies (Gantz, Fowler). Without the linear constraints of a printed book, *MANTO* is modelled rather on the idea of a network, whose entities (places, people, events,

and objects) need not be homogeneous or treated as equivalent to one another. Without an explicit inbuilt hierarchy, *MANTO*'s data can be re-organised and re-analysed from different perspectives, such that places and objects become significant focal points and agency is not merely the preserve of people.

Pausanias's *Periegesis* is a key source: its organisation of the mythic past by place fits awkwardly within traditional rubrics; the full significance of its commentary is often only clear when the broader tradition of these stories is also brought to bear. This presentation explores how *MANTO* allows us to reconceptualise the data of myth (both from Pausanias and elsewhere) by various entities — by the heroic figure him/herself, by object, or by place. It argues that, by allowing for multiplicity within mythical representation, *MANTO* enables us to more clearly see where a critical source like the *Periegesis* sticks closely to its predecessors, where it diverges, and where it does not take up possible opportunities afforded by tradition. Finally, it reflects on how rendering the entities described by Pausanias in the technological form of Linked Data can contribute to, but crucially cannot replace, philological analysis. *MANTO* is an aid to analysis and a spur to think about traditions and stories in new ways, but insights come from close reading of the source materials.

Anna Foka (Uppsala University, Director of the *Digital Periegesis*)
Place relations in Pausanias's tour of Achaea

The *Digital Periegesis* project (http://periegesis.org/) aims to identify, map and analyse Pausanias, in terms of both the forms of space within and the spatial form of his narrative. This means not only exploring his description of places and objects but also tracing his text's spatial organisation, and in particular the relations between places, people and events. For Pausanias doesn't simply follow a "relentless linearity" that describes (and reinscribes) the layout of ancient sites or locates objects (temples, statues) in situ; he also relates places or objects to others in far-flung locations across the Mediterranean and beyond.

Using book 7 as a case study, this presentation focuses on the challenges and affordances of using digital mapping, and in particular semantic geoannotation, to rethink Pausanias's spatial representation. Semantically annotating place is a two-step process. First, we identify all places and objects mentioned; attribute to each their information type (e.g., built or physical environment, statue or painting) for aggregated analysis; and mark the ways they serve to form the unfolding narrative. Tracing the relations between places in book 7, for example, has revealed important connections between the region described ("Achaea") and the islands of Samos and Chios, as well as various Ionian colonies. The second step involves aligning each place to its global authority record in the Pleiades gazetteer for ancient places. This alignment not only provides a set of coordinates by which a place or object may be mapped; it also enables the use of Linked Data technology to connect Pausanias's description to other resources, such as excavation reports, and compare their different perspectives. Thus semantic annotation not only helps us understand the textual geography as being based as much on topological connections as topographical proximity; it also establishes the basis for further investigation into the relationship between texts and material culture.

Flint Dibble (Cardiff University)
Digital archaeology and Pausanias

Pausanias's *Periegesis* is one of our most important records for ancient Greek and Roman religious practice, especially because he is keen to describe material culture and physical space. His focus on sanctuaries and descriptions of ritual activity has led to several scholars labelling Pausanias a pilgrim. For this study, over 300 occurrences of religious practice within Pausanias have been identified and analysed in a database categorizing, comparing, and contrasting them. While it is true that Pausanias was, for the most part, a reliable eyewitness in descriptions of places and activities, a comparison of religious ritual in Pausanias to that from the archaeological record indicates he focused on unusual or note-worthy points, rather than typical religious practice.

This analysis of Pausanias is contextualized within a database-driven comparison of animals in the ancient Greek textual and archaeological records. The numerically large and diverse datasets for ancient Greek animals enables quantitative assessments that characterize our evidence and provide a richer understanding of ancient Greek culture. Similar to Pausanias, most ancient Greek literary sources focus on large, note-worthy animals (cattle and horses) while documentary sacrificial calendars and animal remains show a preponderance of ovicaprids (sheep and/or goats).

A digital humanities approach to animals and animal sacrifice reveals the importance of linking a diverse range of evidence from the ancient world. "Big data" is often aggregated across contexts in an attempt to reveal an "average" picture; however, this analysis suggests that an important first step is to assess the differences between sources of evidence. These differences reveal more about the interests of authors and the formation processes of the archaeological record. In this way a "big data" approach, instead of blurring our evidence, helps us assess and provide a richer and more nuanced picture of the ancient world.

Brady Kiesling (Director of ToposText)
A digital Pausanias as public scholarship

While the ongoing global pandemic has demonstrated the social importance of freeing material culture from languishing in museum storerooms or from being hoarded in the private databases of archaeological excavations, high-quality heritage data remains scarce in the public domain, at once remote from both where it was found and its potential users. A key goal of the *Digital Periegesis* project (http://periegesis.org/) has been to identify cultural phenomena in Pausanias and make thousands of ancient places, people, gods, objects, texts, and events more readily discoverable and reusable for public consumption. When the process is complete, every statue, every vanished altar, every person, every battle that Pausanias that mentions, will at the very least have a unique identifier, if not also a set of coordinates and a link to further resources.

As a discovery tool for public access, we are experimenting with the Wikipedia ecosystem, in particular Wikidata, a lightweight database that lends itself to location-based as well as to thematic searches. The process of reconciling or creating identifiers allows us to endow thousands of Wikidata items with permanent links to the structured mythographic data of

MANTO, to the textual references of ToposText (https://topostext.org/), and to the standardized place identifiers of the Pleiades gazetteer of the ancient world (https://pleiades.stoa.org/). Each new sourced data statement added to a Wikidata item, often laboriously made by hand at the outset, makes it easier for any future user to disambiguate programmatically. The structured data and photographs for statues, pottery, inscriptions, and vanished architecture, already exists in museum inventories and excavation archives. Excavation reports are already digitized (e.g., Archaiologikon Deltion of the Greek Archaeological Service). It is our contention that, by using Wikidata as a simple interface to such data, cultural heritage can be restored to its appropriate public landscape at trivial cost.

Session 7, Panel 4: **Visions of Egypt in Imperial Latin Literature (§2) (Faraday E)**

Convenors: Elaine C. Sanderson (University of Edinburgh) and Julene Abad Del Vecchio (University of Manchester)

Julene Abad Del Vecchio (University of Manchester)
***The Beleus Brothers*: Egypt as site of civil strife in Flavian poetry**

The Argive myth of Danaus and Aegyptus, and the slaughter of the latter's fifty sons at the hands of the former's daughters, was frequently used as a parallel for Civil War from Augustan writers onward (Putnam 1994; Rebeggiani 2018). Flavian poets too feature the tale (in particular, Statius in his *Thebaid*) in their poems to reflect on the dangers and tragedies of internecine strife: the cautionary account of brother against brother is continuously re-enacted, through hereditary *nefas,* serving as an important backbone for civil war narratives. The story of the sons of Bel(e)us (*Belidae*), however, is part of a larger myth of colonisers and geographical expansion, a narrative firmly set in Egypt. Their dispute, according to Servius (*Aen.* 10.497) and Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 2.1.4) arises from Aegyptus' desire to spread out into Egyptian territory, not allotted to him.

In this paper, I first survey existing evidence for the discord between the brothers, taking particular notice of the Egyptian landscape against which the action is set. I analyse the implications of having this important foundational myth, shrouded in discourses of imperial expansion, start off in Egyptian lands, probing whether more can be said (beyond an issue of 'Othering') about the transference of Roman anxieties of imperialism onto parts of its empire. By means of focussing on the exemplary story of Danaus and Aegyptus, this examination allows to inspect the crucial links made between Egypt and Rome during the Flavian emperors, and their manifestations in the poetry of the period (Manolaraki 2013; Leemreize 2014, Capriotti Vittozzi 2014).

Select Bibliography

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Leemreize, M. (2014) "The Egyptian Past in the Roman Present", in C. Pieper and J. Ker (edd.), *Valuing the Past in the Greco–Roman World*. Leiden: 56–82.

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Eleni Hall Manolaraki (University of South Florida)
Egypt in Latin Apologists

In the past two decades, scholarship on the classical reception of Egypt has moved beyond the Saidian paradigm of "Orientalism". This paper discusses the Egyptian sacred in three Latin authors less familiar to classicists. These are Tertullian (*c*. 155- *c*. 220), Minucius Felix (*c*. 170- *c.* 250), and Lactantius (*c*. 250-*c*. 325), Christian apologists who shaped the metaphysics, epistemology, and ethics of the new religion before its canonization by Constantine's Edict of Milan (313). Egypt is a rhetorical tool in the didactic program of these authors as is exemplified by excerpts from their main works, Tertullian's *Apology* (6.7-9) and *To the Nations* (2.8.16-18), Minucius' *Octavius* (21.3), and Lactantius' *The Divine Institutes* (1.11, 1.17.1.21).

The apologists' appropriation of Egypt takes its cue from the Second Sophistic, the intellectual movement seeking among others to ascertain the priority of Greek over Egyptian spirituality in the hierarchy of cultures under Rome. This aspiration of Greek imperial authors (e.g. Lucian, Plutarch, Pausanias, Philostratus) could be broadly if simplistically articulated as follows: since Greek philosophy surpasses Egyptian wisdom, the edifying Roman absorption of Egypt should pass not through 'Egyptophilia' but through Greek *paideia*. In terms of religion, emperors and other Roman culture-makers should engage with Neoplatonic (as opposed to indigenous) exegeses of Egyptian gods. Minucius, Tertullian, and Lactantius emulate the Sophistic Hellenization of Egypt, but they subsume it under the Christian paradigm. First, they equate Egyptian theriomorphism to Greek anthropomorphism to prove that the syncretized Roman gods are patterned after faulty models. Second, they place Egypt at the outer limit of strangeness among Roman religions to show Christianity as comparatively conventional and even traditional. Third, they claim Egyptian wisdom as influenced by Biblical Fathers such as Moses and Jacob, the progenitors of Christianity. The borrowed glow of Judaism filtered through the prestige of Egypt gilds Christianity with authority over Greek tradition under the Rome.

In sum, for Latin apologists Egypt is (to borrow Levi Strauss' famous formulation) "good to think with." Their rhetoric makes Egyptian traditions a foil against which Christian thought can shine and stake epistemic and moral claims over other intellectual systems. Since constructions of others are always and essentially self-constructions, the early Christian reception of Egypt remains vital for gaining insight on diverse cultural contexts of (late) antiquity.

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Leemreize, M. 2014. "The Egyptian Past in the Roman Present", in: C. Pieper / J. Ker (eds.), *Valuing the Past in the Greco–Roman World*. Leiden. 56–82.

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Bruce Gibson (University of Liverpool)
Egypt in the *Historia Augusta*

This paper examines the presentation of Egypt in the *Historia Augusta*. Written, as most scholars believe, at the end of the fourth century AD, this collection of emperors' biographies, covering the period from Hadrian to Diocletian's defeat of Carinus, covers a long span of Roman imperial history. Within this retrospective, the treatment of Egypt, which itself was a becoming a significant place of religious controversy and discord in late antiquity, offers excellent insights into how earlier themes associated with Egypt in Latin literature are reused and repurposed in the *Historia Augusta*.

The paper will examine various themes: 1) the association of Egypt and its inhabitants with sedition and instability (a key focus will be the letter to Servianus ascribed to Hadrian quoted in *Quadriga tyrannorum* 8), and hence as a place linked to a number of usurpations; 2) the significance of Egypt for the grain supply of the empire; 3) the association of Egypt with luxury products such as linen, and thus with wealth and decadence more broadly; and 4) the interest shown in the *Historia Augusta* in Egyptian antiquities and the Egyptian language.

Examination of the representation of Egypt in the *Historia Augusta* will show that the text exploits older traditions linking Egypt with uncontrolled discord and sedition, as well as familiar associations with wealth and otherness, but that the perspective of the long history of Roman involvement in Egypt is used in innovative ways which suit not just the subject matter and content of the *Historia Augusta*, but which also have ramifications for the late antique world of the time of the text's composition. Egypt emerges as a place which can make or break emperors, with an uncertain and volatile population; the special focus on Alexandria in the work also reflects the significance of Alexandria in late antiquity.

Vassiliki Panoussi (William & Mary)
Egypt and Africa in the Vergilian Commentaries

This paper examines comments in Servius and several early modern commentaries on passages that deal with Egypt and Africa more generally. Focusing primarily on the scene of the battle of Actium, I trace the various commentators' attitudes toward Cleopatra, Egyptian

religion, and Africa. Although most early modern commentaries follow Servius closely, several diverge from his rather matter-of-fact attitude toward Cleopatra and Egypt to include extensive pro-Roman and anti-Egyptian comments in their explication. The paper will conclude with some thoughts on these attitudes and their impact on Vergilian scholarship.

Session 7, Panel 5: **Fragments of Euripides (Faraday F)**

Fábio Matilde Sarranito (University of Leeds)
Best not to be born: anti-natalist paradoxes in the fragments of Euripides

The γνώμη that states that the best for humans is not to be born is one of the most striking aspects of 'Greek pessimism'. However, the meaning and importance of the use and reuse of this precept throughout Antiquity remains unclear.

Despite the lack of a dramatic context, a few fragments of Euripides (fr. 285, 449, and 908) provide us with useful case studies. All three portray inversions of ordinary opinion in association with the anti-natalist precept: being poor, of low birth and unfortunate is best; not having children is desirable; births are to be bewailed, while deaths deserve celebration. How should we understand these paradoxical conclusions? A comparison with *Troades*, where the γνώμη appears within a discussion about the value of life and how to face extreme adversity, is illuminating. Andromache states that not being born is the same as being dead. Since the dead are free from harm, the dead Polyxena is happier than the living and still vulnerable Andromache.

Yet, unlike *Troades*, the fragments contain an unmodified version of the precept. Not being born is *the best*, not just better than a life of suffering. This leads to a radical questioning of social values and to glimpses of a world radically different from the one known to Euripides' audience. The ultimate meaning of this, however, is unclear. What is being questioned: the validity of these social values or of the precept itself? While this question cannot be satisfactorily answered, the examination of the fragments shows how ancient authors could make use of the gnomic tradition in creative and surprising ways, and how this γνώμη can be used as a form of lamentation, as a way of understanding and questioning the human condition and as a tool for ethical deliberation.

Lidia Landriscina (Università degli Studi di Urbino 'Carlo Bo')
Euripides' Ino: further hypotheses on the new fragment (P. Oxy. 5131)

An article by Patrick Finglass in *ZPE* (2014) is about a new papyrus fragment published in the P. Oxy. series (Luppe and Henry, 2012), arguing convincingly that it is from Euripides' *Ino*. In the following notes I assume most of the conjectures of Finglass' article, proposing some new reflections:

- The adverb φοράδην (5), used in the same sense as two Euripidean passages (*And*. 1166 and *Rhes*. 888), is meaningful. If we assume that in the fragment the body transported is that

of Ino, there could be a similarity with the passage quoted by *Andromache*, constituted by the theme of the female jealousy in relation to the groom's extra-conjugal relations and by the hatred toward the children born from such relationships.
- A conjecture proposed is π]ύλας instead of π]ἔλας at 8: in fact, it seems unlikely that following a spatial reference as precise as πρὸ δ]ωμάτων a vague term like πέλας should appear.
- Finglass considers the body transported to be that of the little Learchus, mentioning, among other reasons, the adjective μικρὸν (9). Yet the adjective μικρὸν would not really be indicative about the weight of the load, but it would rather be functional to create an opposition with ἀλγειν[όν. This opposition highlights the perception of the incommunicability of pain and the incapacity of man to identify totally with other people.
- The expression of 10 γυμνοῦτε, δείκνυτ 'εἰς φάος π[could be supplemented by πύλας βλέπειν (according with the conjecture of 8), with a construction similar to Soph. *El*. 1458-59 (a passage in which we can find a similar situation to the one of the fragment, because there is a body covered by a veil and carried on the scene).

Leyla Ozbek (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa)
How to plot mirror plots: Euripides' *Phryxus I* and *II*, and *Ino*

The story of Ino is found in various fragmentary plays by Euripides, and implies different models of characterisation and different characters involved. The aim of this paper is to shed light on Euripides' skills in representing different moments of the same saga as well as in providing opposed portrayals of the protagonist. In *Phrixus I* and *II* (whose differences and modern reconstructions will be thoroughly analysed), Ino is depicted as a second wife and step-mother, roles which will lead her to try to kill Phrixus by means of lies and deception (fr. 822 Kn.).

In *Ino*, the situation is opposite (test. iii Kn.): the protagonist, reportedly dead, is rescued and brought back home in disguise by Athamas, who married Themisto and had children from her. Then, it is Ino that must protect her children from a step-mother's attacks. During the action, Themisto contrives a scheme to kill Ino's sons, believing she has Ino on her side, but ends being deceived by Ino. This brings to the death of Themisto's sons and to her suicide, but also to the end of Ino. She is informed that Athamas killed one of her sons in a fit of madness, and laments her fate on stage (*POxy* 5131), later throwing herself and her surviving son into the sea.

Different media will be considered: book- and papyrus-fragments, ancient testimonia, and artistic representations of the myth. All of this sheds light on the range of theatrical skills displayed by Euripides to achieve virtuoso variations on the same theme. The resulting picture of Ino is that of a trickster, which has not only an intra-dramatic, but also a meta-poetic connotation: Ino's complex verbal and practical strategies mirror Euripides' mastery of theatre and dramaturgy.

Session 7, Panel 6: **Politicising Women in the Ancient World (Faraday G)**

Organisers: Ellie Mackin Roberts (Institute of Classical Studies), Claire Stocks (Newcastle University), Penny Coombe (University of Sheffield), Thea Lawrence (University of Lincoln) on behalf of the **Women's Classical Committee UK** and in conjunction with *Assemblywomen: The Video-Journal of the WCC*.

This panel seeks to investigate the ways that women and girls (broadly defined) were politicised in the Greek and Roman worlds. Politicisation, whether imposed internally or externally, is a lens through which we can interrogate the lives of women in a world that is patriarchal and socially constructed. Women's lives are not simply about the production of new generations of citizens, but they are integral to the political, economic, and social fabric of the ancient past. By looking at several cases from Greece and Rome the papers of this panel will trace the lives of distinct women, and then men and societies that frame them as political.

Ancient women, specifically their bodies, are the political pawns in the wars of men, and the Homeric heroines exemplify this unfortunate tradition. In the *Iliad*, the Trojan women, particularly the royal women, are, for the Greeks, the tools for the total destruction of the Trojan enemy, and their sexual violation is the pièce de résistance of this destruction. In Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women*, the fates of the now-captured royal Trojan women are frequently described in relation to their sexual captivity by their Greek enemies, as well as how their sexualities can be used, with varying degrees of success, to improve their new circumstances.

Elena Duce Pastor (Universidad de Zaragoza)
Peisistratos and the politicisation of marriage

Herodotus (1. 59, 6-60) and Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 14, 4) provide scholars plenty of information about the rise and decline of the Peisistratos tyranny in Ancient Athens. Being an aristocrat, competing against fellow aristocrats, he was nonetheless able to achieve and maintain power. In order to interact with the different factions, he used marriage as a way to form and consolidate alliances. These women are mentioned in Athenian sources with no name (his first wife, the mother of Hippias and Hipparchus), and only the patronymic is conserved (his second wife, the daughter of Megakles). When Peisistratos was no longer interested these arrangements, he began to treat his wife with reproach. He finally used women in the performance of the power, for example by pretending to have an incarnation of Athena at his side (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 14). Through this display, Peisistratos's supports permitted him to return to power.

It is vital to notice that women took an invisible part in the process of the political consolidation of tyranny. When the political situation changed, a new marriage appeared between the elites. This analysis will permit me to create a network of political alliances in the Attica in which women are extremely politized by family interests. I would like to explore

the traces of these women and their role in the political situation of the tyranny in Athens, from the beginning to the end of their association with the tyrant.

Briana King (University of St Andrews)
"Brides of Disaster": Homeric Heroines and the Ideology of Male Victory

This paper examines the politicisation of women's bodies in Homeric warfare as the means by which epic heroes secure (or lose) power. By examining the fates of Homeric heroines in the *Iliad*, as well as their continued stories in Euripidean tragedy, the sexual ownership of women's bodies is more clearly revealed as the foundation upon which the ideology of male victory is built. This ideology is not without its ancient Greek historical or social precedents, and as the myths of these Homeric heroines demonstrate, ancient Greek women were not uncommonly at the center of men's politics.

Laura Fontana (Università degli Studi di Milano)
Politicising matrons' mourning in the early Roman Republic

In the Roman Republic the funerary sphere was always invested with political strategies and women got often involved both as passive dedicatees and active agents. Although female funeral initiatives appear overwhelmingly in the last century BCE, their origins are certainly to be found in the early Republic and especially in the mourning observed by matrons for distinguished persons. The strict regulation of women's grieving contained in the laws of the Tenth Table indeed makes us suspect that this phenomenon was given considerable - and most likely political - value.

The aim of my paper is therefore to re-examine and re-contextualise the first attested cases in which women organised themselves to observe mourning (e.g. the funerals of Brutus, Publicola, Coriolanus), in order to grasp the genesis and features of an initiative that at first seems entirely private, but that soon acquired a public and political value.

This analysis, based on a comparison between literary traditions and sociological research on archaic Rome, will allow us to investigate later women's initiatives with different eyes, and also to shed light on still partially obscure dynamics of the early Republic, such as what part matrons' mourning played in defining the embryonic forms of *funera publica*.

Caitlin C. Gillespie (Brandeis University)
Death Becomes Her: Poppaea Sabina's Political Beauty

Poppaea Sabina gained the highest possible position for a woman in Rome due to her seductive beauty (Tac. *Ann*. 13.45.2). This paper utilizes modern theories of gender, the body, and Roman memory to dissect Poppaea's political body in Tacitus' *Annals*. Poppaea's beauty represents a disruption in traditional Roman gendered values and hierarchies of power during Nero's reign. Nero is captured by her beauty like an elegiac lover (Tac. *Ann*. 13.46.1-2). Poppaea encourages the murders of Agrippina and Octavia; her cruelty manifests in her desire to view Octavia's decapitated head (Tac. *Ann*. 14.64.2). Poppaea's body is torn

apart metaphorically when the populace topples her public statues (Tac. *Ann*. 14.61.1). She is textually dismembered when she becomes a mother to Claudia Augusta and the Senate "commended her womb to the gods," (*senatus uterum Poppaeae commendaverat dis*, Tac. *Ann*. 15.23.2). The emperor showcases his obsession with her looks when he orders his wife's body embalmed like Egyptian royals (Tac. *Ann*. 16.6.2). Nero exhorts the populace to remember her for her beauty, but the populace focuses on her shamelessness and savageness instead. The populace interprets her body as un-Roman, questioning the gendered politics of Nero's Rome.

Session 7, Panel 7: **Women in Greek Dialogues and History (Faraday H)**

Convenor: Dawn LaValle Norman (Australian Catholic University)

In the long history of the Greek philosophical dialogue, women play a minor but important role. Male writers used the female voice at critical junctures to make intellectual interventions in particularly gendered ways. This panel will investigate the use of the female dialogic voice at four key moments: in the Platonic corpus (Paper 1), in the works of Plutarch (Paper 2), in the works of a third century Platonic imitator, Methodius of Olympus (Paper 3), and in the Neoplatonic reception of Plato's Diotima from the *Symposium* (Paper 4). Each paper will combine an analysis of the female dialogic voice with the historical situatedness of female gender roles. The diachronic investigation will show how the use of women in literature changed even within a broadly Platonic literary system, in ways that reflect the changing historical roles available to women.

Stamatia Dova (Hellenic College of the Holy Cross)
Aspasia Between Rhetoric and Power in Classical Athens

This paper examines the figure of Aspasia, daughter of Axiochos, as an expert in rhetoric and as a participant in Athenian political discourse. A metic from Miletos, Aspasia was affiliated with Athenian aristocracy from a young age (Bicknell, Kennedy, Mazzon, Patterson) and is thought to have shared with her partner Pericles the last fifteen years of his political career. Recent scholarship has revisited Pericles and his entourage (Martin, Samons, Tracy) as well as Plato's *Menexenus* (Avgousti, Heitsch, Pappas and Zelcer), where Aspasia is mentioned as Pericles' teacher in oratory (διδάσκαλος, 235e4) and credited with the authorship of his renowned funeral oration (*epitaphios*, Thuc. II.35-46). In addition to this speech, Socrates also attributes to Aspasia an *epitaphios* that extolls Athens and its founding ideology of autochthony and primordial excellence (Pl. *Menex*.236a-e).

By contrasting the uniqueness of Athens with notions of foreignness and non-belonging, the very elements that define her own civic profile, Aspasia succeeds in negotiating the polarities between official rhetoric and political pragmatism (Kersh, LeMoine, Monoson). Whether attributed to her as testament to her acumen or as evidence of her high standing in Pericles' circle, these speeches further reveal Aspasia as a perspicacious analyst of Athenian

democracy. Indeed, as a non-citizen moving within the corridors of power, Aspasia exemplifies the outsider who, though knowledgeable in the inner workings of the *polis*, is denied access to the privileges derived from Athenian autochthony (Loraux 1986 and 1993). Nevertheless, she compensates for this exclusion by formulating a multi-faceted discourse on what it means to be Athenian, also demonstrating the power of rhetoric to invent identities and manipulate public opinion.

Dawn LaValle Norman (Australian Catholic University)

Plutarch's Benevolent Ventriloquism: Clea in *De mul. vir*. and Cleobulina/Eumetis in *Conv. sept. sap.*

In his life, Plutarch publicly claims to have had fulfilling intellectual conversations with intelligent women. One of these was Clea, the dedicatee of both *De Is. et Os.* and *De mul. vir.*. We know something of Clea from outside of the Plutarchian writings through surviving Delphic inscriptions (Bowersock 1965 and Kapetanopoulos 1966). However, we know very little of her from Plutarch's own writings: although he praises her, Plutarch does not decide to record her half of the conversation that inspired him to compose his works. Plutarch's championing of Clea's intellectual ability and philosophical mind do not lead him to memorialize her words.

Likewise, Plutarch avoids depicting women's direct speech in his philosophical dialogues. In all of Plutarch's approximately fifteen surviving dialogues, not a single woman speaks in her own voice, even though some are described as philosophical and verbal "off-stage". Plutarch's *Conv. sept. sap.* provides the clearest example of this avoidance. Eumetis, who is also known as Cleobulina, is present during the first half of the dialogue. Although depicted as wanting to speak, and capable of philosophical dialogue, she maintains silence. Instead, another male participant, Aesop, speaks up for her, quoting from her previous speech to the gathered party, thereby leaving her maidenly modesty intact (Stamatopoulou 2019). In this paper, I will argue that Aesop's benevolent ventriloquism in the *Conv. sept. sap.* is parallel to Plutarch's own ventriloquism of his friend Clea, seen most clearly in the preface to *De mul. vir*. Both women are only permitted to speak "on-stage" through the male voice.

Federica Candido (Università degli Studi Roma Tre)

Women and Christian dialogue: The Case of the *Symposium* of Methodius of Olympus

The aim of this paper is to provide an historical-critical analysis of the *Symposium* of Methodius of Olympus (270-290 CE), a singular work in the pre-Nicene Christian literary panorama. The central aim of my analysis is to give an account of the role played in the dialogue by the ten female protagonists. I will argue that the *Symposium* describes a function (rather than an institution), that of teaching by women teachers, which was evidently known to the Christian community that Methodius addresses. I propose that the context in which the *Symposium* originated is the so-called '*a-liturgical synaxis*' in which women could read and interpret the Scriptures, deal with issues in which they were personally involved, and lead an ascetic community life (in contact with the community).

The dialogue is presented as a series of orations by women on the theme of virginity and sexuality. These women, with great pertinence and unexpected autonomy, hold a discussion in the garden of Virtue. Whether real or fictitious, they give a lesson on virginity and eros but, above all, on the meaning of embracing virginity.

I will argue in this paper that Methodius proposed, through his work, to give life to and 'codify' a new model of the virgin that I call 'virgin διδάσκαλος'. The speakers of the *Symposium*, showing substantial intellectual autonomy and admirable skills in knowledge and education, claim their choice of life not through a practice of renunciation but through a constant relationship with the Scriptures. The paradigm of the "true virgin", which the *Symposium* outlines and defines, seems to be built from the complementarity of two factors: the continent life, to be truly such, must be accompanied and nourished by the study of the Scriptures, the learning of philosophy and a constant comparison with their fellow women (αἱ ὁμότροποι).

Crystal Addey (University College Cork)
The Reception of Diotima in Later Platonism: Clea, Sosipatra and Asclepigeneia

The mysterious Diotima of Mantinea, who is presented as a priestess, prophetess, mystagogue and philosophical teacher, features indirectly in Plato's *Symposium* where Socrates reports her teaching and discourse. Since Diotima only appears in this work and is not otherwise historically attested, scholars have often doubted her historical existence and have most frequently seen her as a fictional character invented by Plato. In fact, the reasons to regard the Mantinean priestess known to Socrates as having actually existed outweigh those for treating her as Plato's invention (Nails 2002; 2015, 73).

Whether Diotima was a historical figure or Plato's invention, her teaching methods, philosophical-religious ideas and persona had an important legacy and reception in the lives, intellectual activities and religious roles of female philosophers associated with the later Platonic tradition (Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism). This paper will examine the reception of the depiction of Diotima in Plato's *Symposium* on the intellectual activities, religious roles and teaching of three later philosophical women associated with the Platonic tradition: (1) Clea, a priestess, mystagogue and philosopher, who was a colleague of Plutarch and features in two of his philosophical works which he dedicated to her – *On Isis and Osiris* and *On the Virtues of Women*; she is historically attested in several Delphic inscriptions; (2) Sosipatra, Head of the Neoplatonist school at Pergamon, priestess and prophetess; and (3) Asclepigeneia, the philosopher and theurgist, who was associated with the Neoplatonic School of Athens. Although Sosipatra and Asclepigeneia are only attested in one source (Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* and Marinus' *Proclus, Or On Happiness* respectively), their associations (professional and personal) with male philosophers who are attested in multiple historical sources, confirm their historicity. Thus, Diotima's teaching and discourse had a substantial impact on the lives, roles and intellectual activities of philosophical women in later Platonism.

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Session 7, Panel 8: **Pedagogy (Faraday J)**

Peter Swallow (King's College London)
The Pedagogy and Politics of the KCL Greek Play

What are the political, cultural and educational motivations behind institutional productions of ancient Greek drama performed in the original language? Are these plays genuinely effective as tools of outreach, or as pedological tools for language acquisition and appreciation? King's College London has staged an annual Greek Play in the original language since 1953; but despite its long history and the large numbers of school children, university students and members of the general public who have attended its performances, the Play has received scant academic attention, especially in comparison to the Oxford and Cambridge Greek Plays. No investigation has ever been made into its extensive physical archive. The proposed paper would address this lacuna in the scholarship. I am not, however, merely interested in providing a survey of the archival material. My study will ask deeper questions about the efficacy of staging ancient drama in its original language to an audience largely unable to understand it. The King's Greek Play provides unique evidence to address these questions because, in recent years, it has adapted to become a bilingual production, with *Medea* (2018), *Antigone* (2019) and *Dionysus in the Underworld* (*Frogs* and *Bacchae*, 2020). Ultimately, I will contextualise the shift to a bilingual production as one predicated on a re-evaluation of the politics of Classics as a discipline, and tied to the increasing popularity of Classical Civilisation courses in schools and universities. The King's Greek Play's move away from staging Greek drama in the original language reflects the discipline's increased acceptance that the Greek language may not be a pre-requisite to serious academic study of the ancient world, at least through to undergraduate level.

Hebe Barlow (University of Birmingham)
Classics and the Brilliant Club: Utilising a University Access Charity to Introduce Classics to Non-Selective State School Pupils

The Brilliant Club's Scholars Programme is an award-winning university access charity which exists to increase the number of pupils from underrepresented backgrounds progressing to highly selective universities. After seven tutorials pupils complete a challenging final assignment, marked and moderated using university grades. Each course is developed, delivered, and marked by a PhD tutor, and is based upon their own research.

As this paper will demonstrate, organisations such as the Scholars Programme represent an additional method for Classical outreach in state schools throughout the UK. The individualised nature of each course presents pupils with the opportunity for diverse – even unique – classical engagement. For PhD students it provides pedagogical training, school teaching experience, and an opportunity to link their research with public engagement.

Over the past academic year, I taught my course, 'The Stoics and the Hunger Games: A Critique of Arena Audiences?' in two schools within Birmingham. The primary aim of my course is to demonstrate to pupils that the ancient world is interesting, relevant, and accessible to all. The course introduces pupils to the writings of a variety of ancient authors,

and to the philosophy of the Stoics. Pupils are taught to closely analyse texts, and encouraged to forge connections between the ancient and contemporary worlds in order to apply ancient arguments to the modern literature. In order to simulate university-style learning, the course is delivered through a combination of teaching and seminar work. The tutorials are designed to encourage both the sharing of ideas through group discussion, and to support students in their analysis of primary sources. The data demonstrates that every pupil who participated in these courses improved academically. In addition, personal conversations with several pupils confirmed their newfound interest in the ancient world, and a wish that the subject was available in their school.

Caroline Bristow (Cambridge Schools Classics Project)

'Not one of the immortals, nor any mortal man, heard her voice': challenging rape myths in the (Classics) classroom

οὐδέ τις ἀθανάτων οὐδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων ἤκουσεν φωνῆς. 'Homer's' words regarding Persephone's desperate cries could have been written yesterday. Despite three thousand years' distance they remain heavy with resonance. Her story speaks across three millennia to a society where survivors struggle against rape myths and disclosures of abuse are dismissed because they do not match an internalised narrative, reinforcing ways of thinking which perpetuate a culture of shame, silence and disempowerment.

Education is crucial in the breaking of this cycle and the fantastical tales of ancient mythology are particularly strong tools with which to do so. Material which contains sexual violence can create understandable trepidation but stories by their very nature allow exploration of difficult issues to help us process our feelings and create appropriate social strategies.

Sexual violence is a major feature of the ancient texts, myths and history taught at all levels of education. Primary school children might learn about Persephone and the pomegranate; Lucretia makes an appearance in at least one popular secondary Latin textbook and more than one UK exam syllabus. Often the focus for teachers is on accessibility and the avoidance of direct harm but this paper argues that we can move beyond this. Drawing upon research in fields including psychology, sociology and education as well as the speaker's professional experience of safeguarding in schools it suggests ways in which we might harness the power of our material to help students of all ages navigate issues of consent, respect, and trauma. Persephone can be explored as a paragon of resilience and opportunities can be taken with students to develop emotional intelligence and competencies.

Put simply, by reflecting on how to give Persephone her voice, we may enable others to use theirs.

Cressida Ryan (University of Oxford)

Learning Greek C15-16: the relationship between textbooks and political and religious ideology.

Philipp Melanchthon's contributions to the study of language have been overshadowed by his more famous theological works, but his grammars of Latin and Greek, notably the *Grammatica Graeca* (1518, reworked 1527) established new ground in creating a new kind of Greek textbook. It became a practical tool to carry out educational reform. If, as Nicola McLelland argues, there was a move from relying on teachers for information to using textbooks, a shift in the locus of authority from person to book, then it was important for Melanchthon to earn himself authority as an author-teacher. In this paper I compare his book with other sources available for learning Ancient Greek 1450-1550. The examples he uses offer one insight into the relationship between his political and religious ideology, and his pedagogical materials. Melanchthon, was, for example, one of the first in Germany to read Homer as a philological source rather than an allegorised moral one. He was one of Luther's key advisors, and his Greek teaching was in part a service to biblical literacy, as well as to the reformation of the German education system. This paper considers the extent to which a Greek textbook needs to construct an artificial standard language, and the role of Christianity in this process. Melanchthon discusses dialects in his grammar; he does not, however, mention Koine as distinct, but does include some its forms as standard. The language taught by the *Grammatica Graeca* may be a generic form of Greek without specific discussion of Koine, but Koine writing in general, and the New Testament in particular, is clearly present. In comparing the *Grammatica Graeca* with other contemporary Greek resources, I trace some of the developments of Reformation thought, informed by how they learned Greek, as well as informing the further development of pedagogical materials.

Monday 11 April

Session 8: 9:00–11:00

Session 8, Panel 1: **Experimenting with the past: experimental archaeology and the prehistoric and classical worlds (Faraday B)**

Convenor/Chair: Anna P. Judson (British School at Athens)

Experimental archaeology, like other archaeological research, ultimately aims to understand more about the activities of people in the past – but with the difference that experimental research involves the archaeologist attempting to recreate those activities, as far as this is possible in a modern context. These experiments can include laboratory-based analyses of materials' properties or technological processes; replicative experiments recreating ancient objects or activities; and experiential investigations, exploring what people in the past may have experienced while using objects or participating in activities. In practice, many archaeological experiments involve multiple methodologies, combining scientific analysis and the systematic testing of hypotheses through replication with a consideration of the experimenter's physical and sensory experiences.

This panel, whose papers range in time and place from Bronze Age Greece to Iron Age and Roman Britain, will explore the methodological issues involved in attempting to recreate elements of the past through experimental and experiential research. It will demonstrate the ways in which experimental study of a wide range of activities – from craft production of pottery and textiles, to writing practices, to the everyday activities of cooking and eating food – help us to understand more about the lives of people in the prehistoric and classical worlds.

Jo Day (University College Dublin) & Chase Minos (The Cyprus Institute)
Thinking and doing through clay: experimental approaches to pottery production

Through a combination of case studies and methodological review, this paper discusses the opportunities and challenges of experimental archaeology for better understanding the production processes of ancient pottery. Traditional research on ceramics from the Classical world has focused on creating typologies and chronologies, interpreting iconography, and discussing the uses of the finished vessels within their social contexts. More recently, archaeometric analyses have been used to augment this data, for example with information about provenance and potential contents. Less attention has been paid to the production process, from the procurement of raw materials through clay preparation, vessel formation and decoration, and firing. Experimental archaeology can provide valuable information about this *chaîne opératoire*, through both actualistic (replicative) and controlled (often laboratory-based) studies. This paper presents examples of experiments from both sides of this continuum – and indeed shows that such a divide is not clear-cut – that explore aspects

of Bronze Age pottery manufacture on Crete. The first case study focuses on the reconstruction of an Early Minoan kiln based on an archaeological example from Priniatikos Pyrgos in east Crete, which facilitated investigation into the pyrotechnological capabilities of a third millennium BC community. The second case study explores how both the mechanical properties of non-motorized potter's wheels and different formation techniques can affect clay and, in particular, how they impacted the production of Middle-Late Minoan conical cups. Our results not only provide analogical material that can be used to interpret the archaeological record but also highlight the role of multisensory knowledge in craft production and raise questions about the very nature of 'skill'. All experiments were carried out at the UCD Centre for Experimental Archaeology and Material Culture.

Anna P. Judson (British School at Athens)
Written in clay: experimental recreation of the Linear B tablets from Pylos

Writers in the Mycenaean palaces of Late Bronze Age Greece (c.1400-1200 BCE) used the Linear B script to write administrative documents on clay tablets, which were preserved by accidental firing during the palaces' destructions. The texts of these tablets provide both the earliest written record of the Greek language and evidence for aspects of Mycenaean society ranging from palatial economic concerns to religious practices, while identifications of individual writers through handwriting analysis has allowed reconstructions of these writers' activities within the palatial administrations. Less attention has been paid, however, to the first stage of the writing process – that of shaping the clay tablets, which palmprint analysis suggests was sometimes done by the writers themselves and sometimes by assistants. Although different methods of producing these tablets have been noted – e.g. whether the clay was pressed into shape with the hands, or rolled out and then folded to produce a flat tablet, with or without a straw inserted in the centre – these methods have not previously been subject to a systematic experimental study.

This paper will present my ongoing research into the production of the Linear B tablets, focusing on the site of Pylos in south-western Greece. In this project, I combine observation of the varying production processes used to form the original tablets with an experimental study recreating these different methods. This experimental recreation not only allows me to investigate the impact of the clay's material properties on the production process and on the finished tablets, and the physical activities involved in shaping it, but also to consider the purposes behind tablet-makers' decisions to form tablets in a particular way, and hence their priorities in making them. Experimental archaeology therefore provides key insights into this often-overlooked stage of the process of creating the Linear B texts.

Jennifer Beamer (University of Leicester)
What does shape do? Exploring the shape of a loomweight in southeastern Britain during the Iron Age

The Center for Textile Research (CTR) programme at the University of Copenhagen has demonstrated the importance of conducting experimental archaeology as a series of experiments that explore the *chaîne opératoire* (Andersson Strand and Nosch, 2015). This holistic approach has been fundamental to the success of understanding textile production,

and the products, through an examination of textile tools in a specified landscape. In areas where textiles do not preserve, as is the case in southeastern Britain during the Iron Age (800BC- 43AD), interpreting the production sequence and extrapolating the range of fabrics woven has been difficult, leading to important critiques of interpretations of the archaeological record (see e.g. Marchant, 1989).

To address persistent questions regarding textile production from a practical standpoint, the author embarked on a series of experiments, in line with the protocols developed by CTR, to investigate the suitability of certain loomweights that were used as the tensioning system of warp-weighted loom technology. The insights developed through these experiments have been crucial for understanding textile production. Using the Danebury (6-5th C BC – mid-1st C AD) hillfort landscape as a case study area, located in southeastern Britain, this paper illustrates the importance of experimental archaeology in how it can deepen our knowledge of an essential craft. Furthermore, experimentation clarifies interesting questions, such as the functional purpose of shape in loomweight typologies. This has implications relating to networks of social exchange involving textile traditions, cloth as a commodity, and technological connections to continental Europe.

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Session 8, Panel 2: **Narrating the Achaemenid King: Perceptions and Receptions of the Persian Monarch from Antiquity to Modernity (Faraday C)**

Convenors: Eran Almagor (Jerusalem), Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Cardiff University), and Mai Musié (University of Oxford)

The Achaemenid kingdom as a political entity and as a world empire was a source of great appeal and interest for the ancients. This fascination continued for many generations, both in its core territories in the east and among the former enemies, the Greeks, in the west. This panel (followed by a roundtable) seeks to address four moments in the continuous perception and reception of this kingdom, by focusing on the different ways the *story* of the men who ruled and directed this empire, the monarchs, has been narrated, communicated or structured, and interacted with the story of Persia.

Four modes or contexts of story-telling are addressed in the panel. It begins with outlining the key points of such a *narrative* in an examination of the unique features in the treatment of Persia and the Great King in Greek and Roman historiography and literature. It continues to the special presence of Persian kings as well as other powerful magnates in the evolving genre of *political biography*, through the examples of Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch. The third

moment deals with the interesting case of the narrative of *transition* from the Persian kings to the Seleucid monarchs as espoused by the successors of the Achaemenids themselves. The fourth moment addressed takes us to the *memory* of the first Achaemenid king, Cyrus the Great, in modern Muslim Iran, and the way the story evolved both in content and in structure.

Mai Musié (University of Oxford)
The Persians and the Persian King in Greek and Roman Historical and Literary Tradition

The aim of this paper is to examine the representation of Persians and in particular the Persian king, in the Greek and Roman historical and literary tradition. The paper begins by examining one of the earliest representations of the Persians, Aeschylus' tragedy *The Persians* (472 BCE), and finishes by examining the genre of the Greek novels where old models of the 'barbarian' had become increasingly difficult to maintain. Throughout the entire history of the portrayals of Persia, the figure of the king stands at the centre of the story.

Under Imperial Rome, Greeks and 'barbarians' found themselves united in the same political and economic order and intensified contact with the once mythologised marginal cultures. This was a world where Roman citizens assumed multiple identities: a person could be legally Roman, ethnically Syrian, and culturally Greek, and move freely between those identities in different contexts. The ensuing 'contamination' of the classical stereotypes with the factually accurate anthropological details about eastern races altered the literary representation and gave voices to groups and individuals who were silenced by the classical discourses of power, gender, and empire.

This paper identifies these emerging trends and/or changing attitudes of Greek and Roman authors towards Persia and the Persian king. Through this examination, we would better appreciate how these texts contributed to a contemporary discourse on ethnicity and identity, and how the texts gave a voice to excluded minorities in the Roman Empire.

Eran Almagor (Jerusalem)
Persian Kings and Magnates from Nepos' *Vitae* to Plutarch's *Bioi*

This paper addresses the perception of Achaemenid Persia in the genre of political biography in Nepos' biographies (*De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium*, *De regibus*) and Plutarch's *bioi* (*Parallel Lives*, *Artaxerxes*).

The first part will be a comparative examination of the two projects in two respects:
(a) The variant role of Persia in the historical world-view of the two authors will be suggested as essentially a difference between Roman and Greek perspectives. For Nepos, Persia represents an alternative eastern type of autocratic regime which was not eradicated but rather became relevant for Greeks because of the internal clashes of the Greeks, especially, the mutual weakening of Sparta and Athens; the paper will explore the extent to which this historical picture was for Nepos allegorical of the political situation in Rome of his time and the relevance of the Persian kingdom to the working of the Roman Empire. For Plutarch,

Persia was a foreign power which benefited from the internal wars of the Greeks, and before the age of Philip and Alexander was able to dictate its will to the Greeks; again, the degree to which this portrayal served for Plutarch as an allegory of the Roman control over Greece will be discussed.

(b) The character of Persian kings and statesmen of the Persian Empire will be compared between the two – for Nepos, Persians as well as Greeks and other non-Romans were able to display traits of virtue, for Plutarch the application of these features to barbarians, as well as Romans, was in reality problematic.

Despite these differences, the second part will show how Plutarch nevertheless employed Nepos' work and was influenced by his outlook and emphasis on details, among the various sources that he used.

Stephen Harrison (Swansea University)

When is a Great King not a Great King? Alexander, the Seleucids, and the Limits of Narrative

In the final few years of the Third Century BCE, Antiochus III adopted the title 'Great King'. This title was well over a millennium old, but Greeks had become most familiar with it during the Achaemenid period where it had been a staple of the Persian kings' titulary. The Seleucids had used the title in Babylon several decades earlier, but this was apparently the first time it was used in their communication in the Greek-speaking world. So, what had changed? In this paper, I show that the story of the Seleucids' relationship with the notion of the 'Great King' offers a window into understanding the complexity of the interplay between the Achaemenid and Seleucid monarchies. In doing so, I challenge the validity of the continuity-change paradigm which is often used to assess the transition from the Achaemenid to Seleucid periods.

Instead, I demonstrate that the Greek reception of the Achaemenid monarchy created a distorting lens meaning that apparent continuities can mask significant change. Examination of episodes like this opens up a broader question about how far the Seleucids, and Alexander too, engaged with Achaemenid monarchical traditions as these traditions were understood by their Persian creators, or whether Greek narratives of the Great King created a mirage which affected the perception of the Achaemenid monarchy in the Hellenistic period, and thus limited the extent to which Achaemenid monarchical ideology could be engaged with effectively by ruler and subject alike. I suggest that the Macedonian adoption and adaptation of Achaemenid practices, alongside the multiplicity of receptions of the Achaemenids within the lands that had constituted their empire, meant that aspects of the monarchical ideology of the new dynasties could mean different things to different peoples.

Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Cardiff University)

Cyrus the Great, Caught Between Persia and Iran

On October 29th 2016, crowds numbering 15,000 to 30,000 people swarmed around the rectangular platform which supports tomb of Cyrus the Great, perambulating around it in the

manner in which pilgrims circumnavigate the Kaaba in Mecca. The crowds were vocal: 'Iran is our country! Cyrus is our father! Clerical rule is tyranny', they shouted. Dangerous words in the Islamic Republic, but ones which are symptomatic of the times.

This paper explores the shifting use and abuse of the figure of Cyrus the Great within Iranian society over the last century, focusing in particular on the last sixty years in which Cyrus has been used by two regimes to strengthen their power grip: the last Shah of Iran endorsed Pahlavi rulership as a natural continuation of what he regarded as Cyrus' policy of tolerance; Pahlavi rule was anything but tolerant. In the 2000s, President Ahmadinejad was willing to overlook the fact that Cyrus was a pagan in order to activate a much-needed nationalism to take focus away from his disputed election in 2009; in fact he made Cyrus a sort of Shia saint.

Now the young people of Iran have claimed Cyrus as their very own, separating him from Shahs and Mullahs, they are taking him into the streets in their iPhones and iPads. The myth of Cyrus is increasing, his cult is growing. Fact is displaced by a need to cast Cyrus as a new liberator and that is a powerful use of history. The case of the Iranian use of the Persian past serves to point out that Ancient History is far from being a moribund subject; it is alive and vital and shaping Iran's future.

N.B. An Achaemenids roundtable follows this panel in Session 9.

Session 8, Panel 3: **Early Imperial Latin Literature (Faraday E)**

Steven Green (Yale-NUS College Singapore)
When you don't know you're Roman: Diomedes in the Latin Iliad

** This paper stems from my work to produce a text, translation, and commentary on the *Ilias Latina* for Oxford University Press, as part of their *Pseudepigrapha Latina* series (to be submitted in 2023). Relevant parts of the commentary will be shared with the audience. **

The *Ilias Latina*, an anonymous poem of 1070 verses most likely composed during the reign of Nero (c. AD 60-65), suffers a double whammy in terms of its scholarly legacy. First, it is too often dubbed a 'translation' of the Greek epic and then treated as second-order poetry, the sort that one might write at the beginning of one's literary career. Secondly, the poem achieved its fame posthumously as a medieval school text, an eventuality that is too often read back into its original design.

From a detailed and charitable study of the text, however, one can appreciate the ways in which our poet consciously appropriates his Homeric source and views Homer's Trojan story through the lens of Rome's national mythology, especially as articulated in Virgil's *Aeneid*. This paper focuses on the adventures of Diomedes, who occupies a particularly precarious position in this poem. As he tries to go about his familiar *Iliadic* business, Diomedes finds himself infiltrated by negative traits and viewpoints from the Roman universe in which he now operates. This creates an ongoing identity struggle for the hero, between great warrior and god-spurning violator of national icons (Aeneas and Venus).

Sanne van den Berg (University of St Andrews)
A Violent Blow (or not?): Death in Battle in Tacitus' *Annals*

Because of the strong emphasis on internal affairs, episodes of war in Tacitus' *Annals* can often feel like a welcome variation from the political scheming at Rome. However, if we approach these scenes with the expectations set up by epic, such as the *Iliad*, and indeed history writing like Tacitus' *Histories*, these battle-scenes can often feel slightly underwhelming and disappointing, and so can narratives of deaths occurring during battle. Deaths during battle are often quickly narrated in one sentence without elaborate vocabulary and barely acknowledge the violence connected to these deeds. Mentions of blood, of bodies lying on the ground, or the specification of the weapon responsible for the final deed are rare.

This paper explores death in battle-scenes in Tacitus' *Annals*, using Germanicus' visit to the Varusschlacht, the mutinies in Pannonia and Germany, and war in Britain as case studies. I will argue that Tacitus does not emphasise the violence of deaths in battle but rather understates them, taking away any possibility for glorification of war. Instead, Tacitus pays more attention to the inner workings of the army and its rottenness. For violent descriptions, one should not study the battle-scenes of the *Annals* but look closer to h/Rome. Death leaves the battle-scene and stalks Rome: soldiers have become hooligans and violence associated with the arena is stressed. By contrasting death in battle with violence around the arena and spectacles, I will show that it is here that violence starts spilling out onto the streets in subversion of civil war.

Reading death in battle and during spectacles as more tightly connected will provide a novel appreciation of death-scenes in the battle-scenes of the *Annals*: they focus on internal struggles and politics, avoiding the notion of glory. They emphasise the corruption of Rome during the Julio-Claudian dynasty, just like arena violence.

Alessandra Tafaro (British School at Rome)
Poetry on Objects. Martial's *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*

Martial's *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, collections of verse food-items and gift-tags composed to accompany *munera* distributed at dinner feasts and lotteries, bring the reader in to the festive atmosphere of the Roman Saturnalia, a background which puts to the fore the social and occasional dynamics of Flavian epigram. The characteristic Saturnalian gift-giving affords a fitting premise for further exploring the (already amphitheatrical) interchangeability of poem and *munus*.

While critics have considered both collections as crucial to investigate the workings of textual materiality and the epigram's embeddedness in Roman carnival season, this paper will explore epigrammatic strategies of intertextual allusion and investigate parallel techniques of compression, quotation, distillation and fragmentation of epic works in both Martial's poetry and the epigraphic tradition. Within Saturn's *mundus inversus* and its temporal

suspension of social (and literary) hierarchies, epigram can claim parity with and even overthrow epic.

By evoking the epigraphic origin of epigram and the Hellenistic heritage of poems on/as objects, Martial plays with the deathly association of *munus* and deploys epitaphic rhetoric to enhance the humorous depiction of agonising food-poems. A close reading of epigrams across the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* alongside with Virgil's pseudo-epitaph and Pompeian graffiti, will bring to prominence questions of voice and spatial authority, the art of quotation in literary and epigraphic contexts and the (controversial) relationship between epigram, epitaph and epic.

Marian W. Makins (Temple University)

The Battle of the Sheepfold? Revisiting Lucan's Campus Martius (*BC* 2.196–226)

This paper offers a new reading of an important locus in Roman civil war literature: the Campus Martius as portrayed in Lucan's *Pharsalia*. Specifically, it explores Lucan's representation of the Sullan executions carried out in the Ovile (2.196–226), a massacre memorialized by the dictator's tomb and apparently attested by the lingering shades of his victims (1.580–1). Through a type of allusion that might be termed interspatial – as one landscape is mapped onto another via shared topographical and experiential features – Lucan suggests that this scene in the Campus Martius provides a template for future civil war battles. This pattern of self-reference contributes to an overall impression that Roman civil war is an endless series of re-enactments ultimately stemming from the fratricidal act with which the city was founded; it helps dramatize, too, the contraction and dilation of the world as Rome is displaced onto other parts of the empire, and vice versa.

But Lucan's treatment of the Campus underscores a more fundamental characterization of civil war, and it is with this aspect of the text that the present paper is primarily concerned. Through intertextual allusion (e.g., to Vergil and Seneca) and the ironic use of military language alongside that of judicial punishment, Lucan calls attention to the status of this episode as a 'not-battle,' a perversion of what warfare should be. He also sets the stage for book 7, wherein he invites readers to view the battle of Pharsalus as a massacre every bit as tragic and transgressive as that perpetrated by Sulla. As we gaze over Caesar's shoulder onto the corpse-strewn plain and recall the Campus, we recognize that civil war 'battles' are not patterned on *battles* at all, but on the violent acts of power-hungry individuals willing to murder whomever they must to get what they want.

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Session 8, Panel 4: **Tragedy (Faraday F)**

Pietro Berardi (Università degli Studi di Bari 'Aldo Moro')
Pseudo-Aeschylus: editorial and exegetical notes on Aesch. fr. **61 R. (= *com. adesp.* fr. *831 K.-A.)

In 1985, Stefan Radt included a fragment (**61a, *test. Proverb.* **L**^{2} V b 16 Cohn = *CPG* Suppl. I 25.41) in the section of *TrGF* III dedicated to *Edonians*, the first play of the *Lycurgeia*, one of Aeschylus' lost tetralogies. This operation was apparently legitimate on the grounds of the syntactic proximity with Aesch. fr. 61 R. (*test.* Aristoph. *Thesm.* 134-45 + *schol.* **R** *ad* 135-37). Ten years later, in 1995, Rudolf Kassel and Colin Austin nonetheless printed the same fragment as *com. adesp.* fr. *831. Beginning from this curious editorial coincidence, this paper therefore aims to offer a meticulous examination of the textual tradition, the compositional technique and the poetics of the fragment (which was scarcely investigated by critics so far), in an attempt to shed light on the issues related to its authorship and its most suitable editorial assessment, along with some methodological remarks on the most appropriate treatment that such problematic fragmentary materials should receive by modern editors and commentators.

Lynn Kozak (McGill University)
These Wicked Delights: Tragedy's Spectacular Gorehounds

Horror theories have been conspicuously absent in approaches to Greek tragedy, despite clear parallels between the genres (and horror scholarship's pervasive interest in tragedy; White, Curran, etc.). Bowman's recent work stands out in re-evaluating tragedy through contemporary horror theory. This paper stands adjacent to that work, looking specifically at tragedy's "gorehounds," characters who want to experience horror, alongside tragedy's eager audience. These gorehounds are often, but not always, the gore's authors (cf. Allen-Hornblower), as in *Medea*, where she forecasts her pleasure from what the messenger will soon report: ἀλλὰ μὴ σπέρχου, φίλος,/ λέξον δέ: πῶς ὤλοντο; δὶς τόσον γὰρ ἂν/ τέρψειας ἡμᾶς, εἰ τεθνᾶσι παγκάκως. ("Don't rush, friend, but tell me—how did they die? For you will pleasure us twice as much if they died most terribly." 1133-5) What follows in the messenger speech is grisly and gruesome—distinct from splatter films in that we are told rather than shown the carnage, but with such elegant use of simile as σάρκες δ' ἀπ' ὀστέων ὥστε πεύκινον δάκρυ ("the flesh fell from her bones like pine sap" 1200), it exemplifies tragedy's

capacity for exquisite gore. *Bacchae* gives us another example, as the Chorus rejoices when they hear Pentheus is dead, and demands to know how (1033-42), erupting into celebration again once they've heard of his *sparagmos* (1153-64), delighted in "hands dripping with blood" (χέρ᾽ αἵματι στάζουσαν).

Building on Aldana Reyes' approaches to horror through embodied spectatorship, Ndalianis's understanding of a "horror sensorium", and Smith's understanding of "perverse allegiance", this paper moves past conversations around tragic *pathos*, to the embodied pleasure of tragic audiences, on-stage and off, in their anticipations and perceptions of body-based gore. This paper searches not for tragic audiences' "hunger for tears" (Plat. *Rep*. 606a), but instead, their—our—hunger for blood.

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Lucrezia Sperindio (University of Warwick)

Generic Relations in Hor. *Carm.* 2.1

In this paper, I examine two sets of stanzas from Horace's *Carm.* 2.1, and I juxtapose them to two tragic passages from Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* and *Persians*. Scholarship has explored how *Carm*. 2.1 appropriates stylistic and thematic elements from tragedy and historiography, as Horace imitates the style pf Pollio's *Histories*. I will show that both historiography and tragedy are engaged with lyric in a more complex relationship. In my interpretation, the 'appropriation' of historiographical elements is not an end in itself but becomes functional to the creation of a lyric dialogue between Horace and Pollio. Within his lyric construction Horace renders Pollio's narrative by listening and reacting to it. In this way, Pollio's historiographical experience is constructed as almost opposite to Horace's lyric rendition of it. To the visual and autoptic knowledge of the historiographer, Horace juxtaposes the aural and sonic dimension of lyric. This tension can be better understood if we look at Aeschylus' tragic choruses and their interaction with the messengers' reports. The

tension between lyric song and dramatic narrative in tragic texts, and the way in which choruses take part in the dramatic action can be used as a model for this same tension between lyric and history, as rendered through historiography, that scholarship has tried to pin down in this Horatian poem. Narrative is embedded into lyric through the poet's own re-elaboration of, response and reaction to it. This paper, therefore, offers a new perspective on Horace's *Carm.* 2.1, as it rethinks the generic relations within it, and suggests to look at tragic lyric as an important model for Horatian lyric too.

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Session 8, Panel 5: **Late Philosophy (Faraday G)**

Kenneth R. Moore (Teesside University)

Tolkien's Unique Reception of Pythagorean 'Dissonance' in the *Ainulindalë* of the *Silmarillion*

This article examines J.R.R. Tolkien's cosmogony in the *Ainulindalë*, the song of the Ainur, at the beginning of the *Silmarillion*, considering its Pythagorean elements in particular. Epistemologically, the article explores such known or suspected influences, their links with Christian thinking, Neo-Platonism and Pythagoreanism, principally considering the impact of several ancient and medieval sources including Augustine of Hippo and Thomas Aquinas. The research question may be articulated as follows: how and by what routes have these Pythagorean elements been incorporated into Tolkien's *Silmarillion* and why did he choose to utilise them? The element of greatest interest here is the role of 'dissonance', which appears to have been self-consciously adopted by the author. The article argues that Tolkien

was most likely borrowing this fundamental feature of ancient musical theory in a self-conscious manner as well as his reception of it having been the by-product of early Christian adaptations of Pythagorean ideas. Ancient sources are considered as evidence, alongside relevant biographical information on Tolkien himself.

Zakarias D. Gram (University of California, Los Angeles)

A Question of Substance: Neoplatonic Commentaries on Aristotle and the Problem of Substancehood

In *Ennead* 6.1.3, Plotinus questions the unity of substance found in Aristotle's *Categories*: first, what do different substances, particularly intelligible and sensible substances, have in common such that they constitute one genus? And secondly, how can form, matter, and the composite (of form and matter) all be substance? While Plotinus attempts to answer his own *aporia* by defining substance as 'not said of another,' this does not cover all the necessary kinds of substance. Later commentators, such as Porphyry, Iamblichus (whose response is extant through his student Dexippus), and Simplicius all present various solutions to Plotinus' *aporia*, each of which have their own merit and provide insight into different aspects of what it means for something to be a substance. While Porphyry's *Commentary on the Categories* claims that all parts of a substance are substances themselves, he is unable to give a definition of substance and fails to adequately defend his assertion. Later authors, such as Iamblichus, deal more creatively with the distinction between intelligible and sensible substances (using his *noera theoria*), while Simplicius circumvents the problem entirely by suggesting that the primary substance is not a genus, but a principle in which other substances participate more or less, finally reverting back to a suggestion by Plotinus hundreds of years earlier.

By investigating the history of this critical metaphysical *aporia*, we can better understand how the Neoplatonic commentary tradition functions and the ways in which late Platonists contributed original thought and philosophical systemization to the Platonic tradition. Though the Neoplatonists frequently worked by writing commentaries, we should not understand these works as an admission of not having anything original to say, but rather a new means of contributing original thought while still engaging with valuable philosophical conversations from the past.

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René de Nicolay (Princeton University)

Curbing the Philosopher-King: Putting Plato's Political Thought to Use in the Justinianic Dialogue *On Political Science*

On Political Science (ca. 550) is 'the best work of political theory' from sixth-century Byzantium (Pertusi 1968). Recent commentaries have stressed its engagement with the questions of imperial legitimacy and stability under Justinian (Bell 2009; Kaldellis 2011; Licandro 2017). Its religious conceptions have also attracted renewed attention (McCoull 2009; Steiris 2013). A third strand of scholarship insists on the text's Platonic and Neoplatonic backgrounds (O'Meara 2002; 2003). Building on these three approaches, I argue that the dialogue envisages a rich and original constitutional structure by giving the emperor a highly ambivalent position in the world's metaphysical hierarchy. It does so by combining two radically different Platonic perspectives on philosophical rule vs. the rule of law.

In the regime the dialogue sketches, the emperor is a philosopher-king on the model of Plato's *Republic* and *Statesman*. Because of his superior knowledge, he is most in touch with the divine: this entitles him, for instance, to appoint the highest religious officials (5.65). But the emperor is *also* a human being, subject to passions that skew his judgment: he must

therefore be subject to the laws, and obtain the elite's and the people's approval (5.49). The model here is Plato's *Laws* (875a1-c3), with its stress on the frailty of philosophical knowledge, rather than the *Republic* or the *Statesman*, where the philosopher is entitled to rule against the law and public opinion.

The dialogue's bold, and heretofore unnoticed, interpretive move, combining two very different Platonic perspectives on philosophical rule, enables it to offer a multi-faceted foundation for the emperor's power: divine philosophical insight *and* human submission to the laws and the citizen's consent.

Carlo Delle Donne (Sapienza Università di Roma)

Obscurity in late Antiquity. Calcidius' account of textual obscurity

At a certain point of his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* (317.15 ff. Wazink), Calcidius sets out to distinguish different kinds of obscurity that can affect a text. The first to be analysed is the *obscuritas iuxta dicentem*: in this case, *obscuritas* is said to depend on either a decision (*studio*) made by the author (this was the case of both Aristotle and Heraclitus), or the inefficacy of language (*imbecillitas sermonis*). Secondly, Calcidius takes into account the *obscuritas iuxta audientem*, i.e. that particular kind of obscurity which is due to both the novelty and even the oddity of the discourse (*cum inaudita et insolita dicuntur*), and the intellectual inadequacy of the listener (*cum is qui audit pigriore ingenio est ad intellegendum*). Thirdly, Calcidius mentions a kind of obscurity which is said to be *iuxta rem.* In other words, this obscurity is relative to any *res* (*i.e*. any object of analysis) which is such that it cannot be precisely and immediately understood. Note that Calcidius takes this to be the case of Plato's *chora*: for, neither it can be perceived through the means of sense perception, nor it can be intellectually grasped. But, as Calcidius clarifies, the presence of a certain degree of obscurity in a text does not necessarily put its veritative value at risk, just as the being true of a text does not automatically entail its being clearly expressed (*non statim quae vere dicuntur aperte etiam manifesteque dicuntur*). Unfortunately, to this ancient example of hermeneutics no extensive study has ever been devoted, as Professor Franco Ferrari has often pointed out. So, my objective is to extensively scrutinise the general classification of *obscuritates* provided by Calcidius and then to relate it to the Middle Platonic strategies aimed at neutralising Plato's *obscuritas*.

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Session 8, Panel 6: **New Approaches to Claudian (Faraday H)**

This panel illuminates the late Antique Latin poetry of Claudian through the application of some modern literary approaches: monster theory and the scrutiny of literature against its contemporary backdrop, including material culture. The panel ranges across Claudian's corpus, looking at his epic, invective, and panegyric. Each speaker's focus is different, covering monsters (Coombe), contemporary intellectual discourse (Parkes), textiles (Öhrman), and documentation of the female experience as an intertextual lens (Krauss).

Clare M. Coombe (Vox Clara Tutoring, Kent)

Monstrous Masculinities: Gendering the Enemy in Claudian's *In Eutropium*

Claudian uses monstrosity as a means of characterizing the enemy, transferring the barbarian threat to the story-world and employing monsters already familiar from myth to embody primordial human fears. The majority of his monsters are gigantic in form, hyper-masculinized as one of the dominant tropes for their portrayal. They are also characterized as explicitly 'other', the familiar transformed into the unacceptable, embodying the liminal and reflecting the recurring fears of society. In the *In Eutropium* we have a contrasting phenomenon, however, where otherness goes hand in hand with demasculinizing rather than hyper-masculinizing Eutropius, the eunuch-consul enemy. Using Cohen's monster theory, I shall demonstrate how Claudian makes this alternative otherness equally monstrous to his vision of the gigantic enemy, in turn exploring more fully how gender plays a part in constructing the monster who threatens Roman order.

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Ruth Parkes (University of Wales, Trinity St David)

Polemic and the myth of Ages in Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae*

Recent criticism increasingly seeks to place Claudian's Latin epic, the *De Raptu Proserpinae*, in its contemporary context, as we can see in attempts such as Hinds (2013) to position the work against split imperial rule. This paper considers the backdrop of the relationship between Christian and pagan beliefs in the fourth-century CE. It does not attempt to establish Claudian's religious aims or beliefs from the poem (the difficulties of such a task being explored by Ryser 2020). Nor does it take up the question of what it might have been like for a Christian reader to read the *De Raptu Proserpinae* (Ware 2011; Hinds 2016). Rather, it sets Claudian's poem against contemporary intellectual discourse, building on the approach of Zanker (2017) which sees Jupiter's speech (*DRP* 3.19-65) as reacting to the

Christian Lactantius' polemicized use of the Golden age myth. Instead of arguing that Claudian's "defence" of Jupiter is "primarily intended to amuse" (Zanker 2017: 202), this paper sets the polemical use of the Golden age myth adopted by a god here and in other passages by other deities, in the context of the *De Raptu*'s interest in competing interpretations and stances.

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Magdalena Öhrman (University of Wales, Trinity St David)

Weaving wealth: Claudian's elite weavers between luxury and *lanificium*

Even in Late Antiquity, the *matrona*'s commitment to textile production indicated the probity and prestige of the whole household (e.g. Wilkinson 2015). In early literary passages featuring *historic* weavers (e.g. Ascon. *Milon*.; Sil. 7.79-83), weaving functions in this way without mention of any specific materials used. In non-mythological weaving scenes from Late Antiquity, however, the moral qualities demonstrated by weaving women are paired with additional strategies to increase the prestige of the weaver's household, in particular emphasising the household's wealth and political connections through the weaver's materials. The skilful use of luxury materials (gold and purple thread, gemstones and pearls for embellishment) by elite women weavers contributes to the household's display of wealth, in a way that frames this luxury so as to be above moral reproach. In Claudian's panegyric, this extends to the imperial household and, implicitly, its policies.

This paper examines Claudian's non-mythological weaving scenes from the premise that textile production was well understood by male members of the elite, including sensory experiences of specific work elements and materials, through shared use of domestic space (Öhrman 2020). Thus, in descriptions of elite weavers like Proba and Serena, the impression of wealth and luxury is balanced by Claudian's knowledge of individual steps of the work processes necessary. Textile terminology and craft-based soundplay draws the audience into the sensory experience of the craftswoman, stressing Proba's extensive involvement on her sons' behalf (Claud. 1), or Serena's regular, diligent work (*Claud. Carm. Min*. 46-48). It is noteworthy, too, that the display of wealth through luxurious weaving materials is associated with entering into marriage alliances (e.g. Claud. *Carm. Min.* App. 5) or taking up public office.

Rather than implying individual desires for expensive materials or the latest fashion, in this setting, this weaving together of wealth and skill serves both the needs of the household and, indeed, the needs of the Empire.

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Katherine Krauss (University of Oxford)

Reading Virgil and Imperialist Erotics in Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae*

In Book 1 of his *De Raptu Proserpinae*, the fourth-century CE poet Claudian borrows a motif from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, likening the rape of Proserpina to an expansion of Venus' erotic empire (Tsai). Claudian signals this imperialist framework through intertextual allusions to *Metamorphoses* 5, and most importantly, to the Dido and Aeneas episode in Virgil's *Aeneid*.

This paper aims to excavate Claudian's centonic, multi-layered network of allusions to Augustan poetry, investigating what meaning he finds in the portrayal of the rape of Proserpina as expansionist conquest. The predominant (but not sole) focus will be *Aeneid* 1 and 4, whose imagery contributes to two motifs which are central to the development of the *De Raptu*—that of Venus as a military conqueror and that of Proserpina as a Dido figure. The depiction of Venus extending her power into the Underworld betrays a violence which complicates the grandiose language of empire originally used to describe the rape of Proserpina. Claudian's rendering of Proserpina as Dido questions Dis' assault from a different angle, mapping the loss and madness associated with Dido in *Aeneid* 4 onto Proserpina's separation from her mother.

Over the past thirty years, discussions of intertextual allusion in the *De Raptu* have often focused upon on the interaction of erotic and military discourses throughout the poem as a whole (e.g. Parkes). Despite growing interest in the literary qualities of Claudian's poem, scholarship has not sufficiently treated the relationship between Venus' militarism and Proserpina's resemblance to Dido.

While these two images develop in different ways throughout the text, both touch upon a shared set of concerns about the destructive nature of (erotic) conquest through their allusions to the *Aeneid*. In the characterisation Venus and Proserpina, Claudian invokes

female experience as a lens through which to view and innovate upon the Augustan poetic canon.

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Session 8, Panel 7: **Classics, Pedagogy, Community, and Disability (CUCD Education panel) (Faraday J)**

Chair: Helen Lovatt (University of Nottingham, CUCD chair)

Classics can be perceived imposing normativity on both subject matter and participants. As the subject evolves, both the perceived and actual truth of this position collapses. We study the ancient world in greater breadth, with growing efforts to incorporate both marginalised and mainstream people, topics, and places. This includes a place for disability studies as a discipline providing frameworks for evaluating the ancient world. Debates have also raged about how inclusive Classics can be for students: how accessible is Latin for neurodivergent students? What can we do to make museums and archaeological sites more accessible for those with sensory or mobility impairments? In a further development, academia has been challenged for being fundamentally ableist, and the place of the disabled academic is being defined as an important contribution, not a deviance from any normative model of academia. Little attention has been paid to considering how these threads of subject content, "consumers", and staff combine to redefine our field and its contributors. This panel introduces a range of perspectives, with papers covering a range of disabilities, from a panel with their own disability challenges. We then intend to hold a structured discussion to inform good practice guidelines for inclusive Classics provision.

Ellen Adams (King's College London, CUCD EDI Committee)

MANSIL, communication, and ways of appreciating museum objects

This paper introduces the Museum Access Network for Sensory Impairments (London), MANSIL, https://mansil.uk/. MANSIL incorporates a range of projects and opportunities for supporting those involved with museums in engaging with those with sensory impairments. This includes visitors, staff, and museum objects. In this instance, a specific topic for further discussion is the difference in relationships between academics and museum curators, and education and / or access departments. There is an ethical case for ensuring improved education and access, but also an intellectual one focussed around different ways of looking at or appreciating museum objects. For example, audio description provides an excellent approach to close looking, and is not so far removed from ekphrasis. Communication forms a large part of art appreciation, and I have also been considering whether, and how, a sign language based on visual-spatial communication, such as BSL, might offer different understandings of art from linear spoken language. This project stems from a belief that

engaging with people with sensory impairments is not only the right thing to do, but an enriching act that has benefits for all.

Alexandra Morris (Teesside University)
All Our Yesterdays: Disability, Academia, Museums & the Hellenistic/Ptolemaic World

Disability in the ancient world has long been overlooked and misunderstood, and therefore understudied. It is not the bleak, depressing scenario we have all been taught. When studied at all, it is primarily from a medical, rather than from a disability studies perspective. Similarly, while there is a growing movement in the museum world to be more inclusive of those with disabilities, the overwhelming approach is flawed methodologically. Programming often is targeted to those with specific disabilities, often only addressing one disability type at a time (i.e. Deaf guided tours, touch tours for the blind and visually impaired, programming for those with Dementia/Alzheimer's), and has to be reserved far in advance. While this is a step in the right direction, this perpetuates the idea of separate but equal, continues to enforce barriers to museum access, and goes against the ideal of least restrictive learning environments as addressed in United States education law. While some museums such as the British Museum and Metropolitan Museum of Art have started to realize the importance of identifying historical disability narratives within their collections, programming is often geared towards teaching nondisabled historical and art historical narratives. This talk will explore disability in both the Hellenistic/ Ptolemaic Period as seen through the museum collections of the British Museum, Brooklyn Museum and Metropolitan Museum of Art. In addition, the current state of scholarship concerning disability in the ancient world, and navigating ancient studies as a disabled scholar, will be discussed. History belongs to everyone. Disabled people deserve to learn about history, including our own ancient history. They must be included, rather than excluded in all aspects of academia and arts and history institutions. Disability exists in both the ancient world and the modern one, and it is long past time this was acknowledged.

Alice Rae (University of Edinburgh)
Language Teaching and Neurodiversity

While growing awareness of the impact of neurodivergence and physical disability on individuals' study and research environment has led to increased provisions for students and staff at many universities, there remain a number of unaddressed challenges at disciplinary level. Within the field of Classics, the importance of languages, particularly but not exclusively Greek and Latin, poses a significant challenge for many disabled scholars even when certain measures have been put in place. One example is the problem posed by learning technology such as Dragon. This voice recognition software allows an individual to speak their research aloud while the software converts this into written text. However, as the software requires the user to set a specific language, this makes it very difficult to use terms which come from ancient languages and will automatically convert any terms it does not recognise into the set language. To by-pass this issue, the user must opt to spell the term aloud, a solution which is inaccessible to many neurodivergent scholars.

While many scholars find ways to navigate these challenges, often colleagues who do not have disabilities are unaware of these obstacles and are therefore unable to support their colleagues and students. In particular, there is often an expectation that student support teams or occupational health have provided individuals with the necessary equipment, technology, and adjustments to overcome these challenges, without realising that such measures often do not account for disciplinary specific requirements, such as ancient language use. A greater understanding of these disciplinary specific challenges for disabled scholars will not only allow for better accessibility within Classics but also allow teaching staff to better support disabled students and provide sensitive and practical feedback to help disabled students to further develop academic skills.

Cressida Ryan (University of Oxford, CUCD Bulletin Co-editor)

Meeting the needs of academics and students alike: universal design and academic ableism in the ancient language classroom

Regardless of teaching / research contract type, most academics are involved with both their subject and their students to some degree. Teaching brings with it a need to make provision for disabled students. This may include supporting students with newly diagnosed or acquired disabilities, both pedagogically, and in terms of their identity, as they adjust not only to adult life, but also to university life with a disability. At the same time, academics may face their own challenges in conducting their research and in teaching. Herein lies a conceptual clash in the ways in which disability is managed by academic institutions. As educators, universities have an anticipatory duty to prepare for disabled students. As employers, they have a responsive duty to support academics in doing this, and in carrying out research. Current work on ableism and the lived experience of ableism in academia increasingly highlights the problems caused by this tension. This paper explores the ways in which principles of universal design can be applied to enhance teaching, learning and research for all, students and academics. I discuss the role of COVID-19 in accelerating pedagogical change, with particular reference to remote teaching. Remote teaching brought benefits for some, such as reduced movement, and ease of access to materials, but challenges for others, who may struggle with remote communications, or digital access. With specific reference to ancient language teaching and learning, I consider ways to learn from this situation, using material gathered from a research project on learning analytics and academic self-awareness.

Session 9: 11:30–13:00

Session 9, Panel 1: **Food in Antiquity (Faraday B)**

Haggai Olshanetsky (Bar-Ilan University)
Integration Through the Plate and the Ranks: The Ability to Observe Dietary Laws as a Case Study for the Integration of Minorities in the Roman Army

The Roman army was a melting pot of a diverse array of cultures and ethnicities, with people from different religions and beliefs, who had to conform to the Roman way of life. Therefore, there are some scholars who state that Jews did not serve in the army, in part due to their faith. The Jewish religion, especially the dietary laws, was seen as an obstacle to Jewish military service in the armies of the Empire, and thus, was used as a main argument by those who deny the existence of such service in considerable numbers. The current lecture is the first to fully examine this claim. The diet of the Roman soldier will be examined and the Jewish stance on diet will be explored, as well as comparisons to other religions and cultures, thus showing that it was commonplace in the Roman world to have rules and laws surrounding the consumption of food. The Jewish soldier will be used as a case study to examine the capability of soldiers to keep their individual faiths and customs, no matter their religion or ethnicity, and to successfully prove that all could serve fully and equally. This will emphasise that not only did the Roman army neither segregate its soldiers nor discriminate between ethnic groups but that the Roman army actively operated in order to incorporate all the members of the multicultural Empire in the army. Consequently, it will be proposed that the Roman logistical system was purposefully built, in order to ease the service of soldiers representing different cultures and ethnicities.

Farrell Monaco (University of Leicester / Tavola Mediterranea)
***Panem bonum fert* – The *Panis Quadratus*: Form, Function, Tools and Makers**

This study is focused on the form and function of the commercially produced Roman bread product – the *Panis Quadratus* – produced at a Pompeiian commercial bakery in the 1st century C.E. A particular focus is paid to bakery resources that were used to create the loaves and the class of labourer whose skills and handiwork were responsible for their formation. While several studies related to Roman commercial bakery spaces and production have been published in recent decades, no study has performed an in-depth analysis of the tools of the trade used to form the loaves and the broader image that these tools depict about bakery production environments and the working lives of bakery labourers – a class of Roman who are largely invisible from the archaeological and literary records. Taking into account previously published scholarly commentary and the archaeological remains of commercial Roman bread excavated at Pompeii (Italy), this study aims to determine if first-hand analysis of the loaves, in addition to experimental recreation, can determine the types of resources that were used in commercial bread preparation in Pompeian settings during the 1st century C.E. This study uses a multi-methodology approach incorporating quantitative, compositional, and morphological analyses of original archaeological specimens, in conjunction with literary sources and experimental archaeology, to produce convincing

hypotheses related to form and function. The results of this study have confirmed that experimental archaeology is an integral methodological approach in the interpretation of food processing technologies and prepared food products in ancient Rome, in addition to the interpretation of broader scenarios related to the processing environments, the processors, and the product supply chain itself.

Carly Silver (http://www.carlysilver.com/)

From North Africa to Eboracum: Global Cuisine on the Frontier of Empire

With this presentation, I synthesize work on ancient North African pottery in northern England and southern Scotland on casserole dishes and late Ebor Ware with modern analysis of cultural and ethnic diversity in Roman Britain to suggest possible analogies between ancient and modern Britain.

First, I will consider Dr Vivien Swan's thesis, that a large amount of pottery found in York (Roman Eboracum) and in scattered locations in the north, including along the Antonine Wall, resemble contemporary North African ceramics. Some of them include shallow, round dish casserole-like constructions, whose bases also resemble modern tagine cookware. Swan used the dating of these vessels, to the end of the second century CE and the beginning of the third, to assert that they were made by North African soldiers stationed along the northwestern frontier of the empire.

This possibility is entirely within keeping of the timeline of global migration and military movements, proven extant archaeological, literary, and epigraphic evidence. While acknowledging the influence of migration on military cuisine, Swan also hypothesized that "the York casseroles were made *by* Africans *f*or the use of Africans (or for men from adjacent Mediterranean regions), presumably soldiers in the garrison." In reality, though, their sites of discovery, strongly associated with military locations, implies that soldiers of all stripes used them, regardless of who made them.

Scholars have shown that it is near-impossible to prove a direct correlation between the genealogy of pottery style and the place of origins of those who used such vessels. Indeed, varied Mediterranean styles influenced North African pottery and vice-versa, though Dr Martin Pitts has shown that there are typological similarities between the Eboracum vessels and cemeteries in Tunisia around the same time. Rather than imposing modern definitions or identities that do not directly apply to ancient people(s), I will suggest that that one could highlight the vessels' possible origins and analogies in North Africa, while noting that using such vessels to cook communal meals could have served as a bonding experience for soldiers. I will then briefly outline a few pieces of archaeological evidence indicating ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity that proliferated in Roman Britain at the time (citing work by Drs Caitlin Green, Jo Ball, etc.). I will then show how this evidence countermands the white "myth of racial purity" in Roman Britain, as described by Dr Rebecca Redfern. Indeed, there are distinct agendas in place when people attempt to deny the multiculturalism of both ancient and modern Britain.

It is important to reemphasize the meaning that material culture such as these casseroles and other pottery pieces can have. Their very existence undermines the fantasy of a

mythical, Britain-for-Britons (and Romans) past (see: *Info Wars*' outcry when a BBC cartoon depicted Black Romans in Britain). There is an indelible influence of African individuals in British history from Roman times onward; they have been integral to Britain for as long as they have been denied acknowledgement of that importance, as Dr David Olusoga has argued. As we reexamine the past, so, too, can we emphasize the integral nature of diversity to the island's present, whether directly or indirectly.

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Session 9, Panel 2: **Ancient Persia on the Curriculum: A Roundtable (Faraday C)**

Convenors: Eran Almagor, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, Mai Musié (as above from Session 8, Panel 2, which this Roundtable follows)

Participants: Anna McOmish (Aldridge School), Peter Wright (Blackpool Sixth Form College), James Renshaw (Godolphin and Latymer School)

The study of Ancient Persia is growing in popularity amongst students at universities and at schools. Aspects of Persian history are now taught as central elements of GCSE education and are to be found at A-Level too. In fact, the presence of Persia in schools' curricula is expanding very quickly. This is all to the good, as the importance of the eastern superpower in antiquity can only add to our appreciation of how the ancient world operated. There are difficulties with this, however, and whilst it is encouraging to recognise how much students enjoy Persia-focused modules and course elements, teachers often feel unprepared to tackle a subject which, sadly, has long been marginalised in education.

With this in mind, Ancient Persia on the Curriculum offers an opportunity for teachers to meet with experts on Persian history – many of whom have been teaching aspects of Persian history for decades – to raise questions, share ideas, discuss teaching methods, and adopt strategies.

The proposed roundtable includes short presentations by academics and teachers, affording plenty of time for discussion, practical work, and an exploration of future plans – and promises to be an enlightening as well as exciting meeting.

Session 9, Panel 3: **Hand in Hand: of Scribes, Scholars, and Multiple Handwritings in Antiquity and Beyond (Faraday E)**

Convenor: Marta Capano (Università di Pisa)

Documents written by more than one person are by no means rare: one can find several examples of multiple handwritings and cases of texts produced in collaboration across Europe in the ancient world and in the Middle Ages. In our panel, we will analyse some documents in which the presence of more than one scribal hand is recognisable. Our case studies span over a millennium and range from funerary inscriptions to medieval manuscripts, to curse tablets. We shall focus on Greek, Latin, and Celtic material and on aspects of philology and linguistics, of textual criticism and transmission, without neglecting the materiality the text and of its support. We will be trying to understand how the interaction between different hands worked, how the production of the text and its reception were affected by the different personalities behind the document, and how these (often fragmentary) texts give evidence of regional writing traditions.

Michele Bianconi (Università per Stranieri di Siena / University of Oxford)
Scribal hands and where to find them: a Gaulish case study

Discovered in 1983, the tablet known as the 'Larzac lead' is one of the longest Gaulish inscriptions we possess. One of its most peculiar features of this opistographic inscription, written in a Gallic cursive in the first century CE, is the coexistence of two *defixiones* written in different moments by two different hands. The two hands are usually called M and N, the main difference being the nasals consonants in Auslaut: one of the scribes only has final <m> (e.g. *bnanom*, *eianom*, *brictom*), while the other one only uses <n> (*nepon*). This has been interpreted either as a dialectal variation within Gaulish (where Proto-Indo-European final *-*m* regularly turns into -*n*) or as a contact-induced phenomenon due to the influence of Latin.

The study of this document, which will combine (socio-)linguistic and palaeographical methods, will address the following questions: what is the relationship between the texts written by M and N? What do the content and form of the two texts tell us about the identities of M and N and their scribal competence? To what extent did the knowledge of Latin (language and script) play a role in the production of these texts?

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Marta Capano (Università di Pisa)

***Linguae duae, manus multae*. The inscribing process of bilingual funerary inscriptions from Roman Sicily**

It is well known that the process of inscribing a text on stone involved several phases and multiple people, namely the commissioner, the text's composer, and the stonecutter. However, it is clear that these roles could overlap, for instance in *graffiti*, where a single individual might have worked alone. Nevertheless, in most cases, such as in funerary inscriptions, "authorship" should be considered as collective label for a cooperative group of actors.

In this paper, I investigate how this collaborative process worked in the case of bilingual funerary inscriptions in Roman Sicily. On the basis of paleographic evidence and recent studies on bilingualism in the province, I argue that both Greek and Latin texts were composed by a single individual and then engraved by one stonecutter. This procedure is coherent with what we know about the bilingual Sicilian society in the Roman age, where both Greek and Latin were spoken and, due to the prolonged contact, the two epigraphic cultures mutually influenced each other.

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Angela Cossu (École française de Rome)

From the teacher's hand to the pupil's: Glossed manuscripts from the schools of Ferrières and Auxerre in the 9th Century

Scholars celebrate Lupus of Ferrières (d. late 862) as a 'humanist' for his passion for antiquity, and as a good teacher who corrected and glossed texts for students. One of his pupils, Heiric of Auxerre (d. after 875), attempted to surpass the teacher and reused some of Lupus' manuscripts (for example Paris, BnF, lat. 5725, possibly Paris, BnF, lat. 6370, Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 4929).

In this paper I intend to research this activity of rewriting or glossing, in order to highlight the scribal habits both of the master and of the pupil. To what extent did they influence each other? Which are the common palaeographical aspects concerning the use of the school book? The answers will allow us to better understand the cultural dimension of the medieval educational exchanges.

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Session 9, Panel 4: **Beyond a Binary Sappho: Rethinking Reifications of Sappho's Gender and Sexuality in Reception (Faraday F)**

Proposer: Rioghnach Sachs (King's College London)
Chair: Irene Salvo (University of Exeter)

This panel seeks to illuminate how distinct European receptions of Sappho, from antiquity to the late twentieth century, have encouraged the reification of Sappho as feminine, lesbian and masculine. We show how these reifications run along binary, essentialising lines within and beyond the academy: whether Sappho is normatively feminine, as she is in Coronado's

Los Cantos de Safo; 'mannish', as has been claimed for Sappho in Ovid's *Heroides*; or an icon of lesbian-feminism, as in Monique Wittig's *The Lesbian Body*, whose Sappho shares some commonalities with the Sappho of feminist classical scholarship.

We challenge these limiting binary interpretations with queer and posthuman feminist readings of Sappho's texts and receptions, thereby illuminating the gender-ambiguity of Sappho's texts in our first paper, and their resulting queer polyvalence beyond the gender-binary, as our second paper uncovers in Ovid's *Heroides*.

Rioghnach Sachs (King's College London)

Beyond a Lesbian-Feminist Sappho: The Reading Encounter in Sappho's Fragments and Monique Wittig's *The Lesbian Body*

Between the 1960s and 1980s, English, American and French lesbian-feminist writers frequently invoked Sappho for political self-legitimation (Garber). These receptions have influenced anglophone feminist classical scholarship, evident, for example, in the attention to 'woman-centred' erotic mutuality, reciprocity and egalitarianism among women in Sappho's poetry (Snyder, Skinner, Greene). Using historicist methodologies, these scholars detect values that prefigure lesbian-feminism in Sappho's poetic expressions of ancient sexuality.

In this paper, I seek to question the appropriateness of historicist reification of ancient sexuality 'in' Sappho's poetry. I argue instead that Sappho's poetry frequently omits key details surrounding sexuality—namely, gender, age, social status, reciprocity—thereby evincing a fragmentary style alongside the text's fragmentary status. Rather than offering a fixed image of ancient sexuality, I show instead how Sappho's poetry invites readers to shape sexuality in their imaginations, during the 'reading encounter' (Wilson).

A comparison of Sappho's fragments with Monique Wittig's *The Lesbian Body* (1973), further illustrates how differently lesbian-feminist literature and Sappho's fragments portray desire. In contrast with the Sapphic reading encounter, the Wittigian reading encounter leaves much less open to the reader's imagination. This is largely due to Wittig's radical experimentation with French grammar. *Je* becomes the feminised *J/e*; Patroclus and Achilles become Patroclea and Achillea, for example. As Wittig clarifies in the author's note, her innovations oppose patriarchal literary and sexual norms.

Whereas Wittig's readers must either yield to or reject her text's lesbian-feminist values, the Sapphic reading encounter is open to a much broader range of readers. It allows male identification with Sappho's 'I,' whether performed in ancient symposia (Yatromanolakis, 81-8), or when read in Rome (Catullus 51). Equally, it allows lesbian-feminist identification with the 'I' in more recent receptions—like Wittig's own.

This paper thereby contributes to the panel's aim of opening out Sapphic eroticism to encompass its polyvalence and concomitant sexual fluidity.

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Simona Martorana (Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel)

Rewriting Sappho: Sappho Beyond the Binary in Ovid, *Heroides* 15

Ovid's *Heroides* 15 (or *Epistula Sapphus*; for a discussion on authorship, see Thorsen 2014) has been investigated in the last decades through approaches drawing on narratology and gender theory (Rimell 2000; Bessone 2003; Hallett 2005; Fabre-Serris 2009). Building on Anglo-American and French interpretations of the fragments of Sappho, some scholars have read Ovid's Sappho as a problematic embodiment of lesbian desire. Gordon 1997, in particular, shows how Sappho in *Her*. 15 articulates the stereotypical depiction of the 'mannish lesbian'. In my paper, I go beyond the binarism implied in the previous approaches by exploring in more detail the complexity of the epistle, which is characterised by polyphony, multiple narratives and discourses.

By adopting a trans-cultural and trans-historical perspective (cf. Matzner 2016), and drawing from Braidotti's posthuman feminism (2002; 2013), I maintain that these patterns can be linked to the fluidity of gender roles, non-binarism and (ironic) subversion of existing categories, which emerge clearly from Sappho's letter. The epistle is characterised by, e.g., gender role reversals (cf. Sappho's unusual description of Phaon as an elegiac *puer* at 21-22; 91-96), coexistence of various narrative levels (113-122: overlapping between Sappho's mourning for Phaon and the more traditional descriptions of the mourning of a mother for her son's death) as well as language codes (e.g. metaphoric and literal).

This fluidity and (gender-)queerness are intrinsic to Sappho's writing as well as subjectivity and articulates the non-binarism of her *Weltanschauung*. To express this heterogeneity, however, Sappho has to deconstruct and annihilate the objectified version of herself. Sappho's self-murder at the end of the letter (197-200), therefore, is the apex of her process of subjective self-determination. By becoming-woman (and not 'becoming a woman'; cf.

Braidotti 2010) and challenging the Lacanian, reified concept of *W*oman, Sappho is simply becoming-a-subject and making the traditional category of *W*oman appear meaningless.

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Session 9, Panel 5: **Hellenistic Reception of Plato (Faraday G)**

Alastair Daly (Trinity College Dublin)

Lovers of Sights and Sounds: Herodas' Reading of Plato

In this paper, I explore Herodas' intertextual engagement with Plato's dialogues, starting from the allusion in *Mimiamb* 2 to the rare verb βατταρίζω 'stammer' in the *Theaetetus* (175d4), from which the name of Herodas' orator-pimp Battaros is derived. Plato's Socrates uses this verb to characterize the orator and non-philosopher, the opposite of the philosophical type exemplified by Thales of Miletus in the *Theaetetus*. In Herodas' *Mimiamb* 2, Battaros is prosecuting a Thales. Thus Battaros can be identified with Socrates' non-philosopher; a number of other correspondences support this connection. This offers the reader a sophisticated and complex way of reading Herodas' poem, not only as a parody of forensic oratory, or a character-portrait (*ethopoeia*), but also as a Platonic critique of rhetorical education. Herodas' decision to present a piece of forensic oratory in poetic form acknowledges Plato's grouping of the two. Accordingly, Herodas' poetry can be viewed as an attack on poetry and its audience. Herodas defends his choice to write mimetic poetry by inscribing *Mimiamb* 2 with a warning akin to that implied by the frame of the *Theaetetus*, which casts Euclides and Terpsion as slavish readers of Platonic dialogues. Herodas further dramatises and develops these characters in the form of Kynno and Kokkale in *Mimiamb* 4, and Metro and Koritto in *Mimiambs* 6 and 7, portraying them as the 'lovers of sights and sounds' mentioned in Plato's *Republic* (476b4). Drawing on the *Phaedrus* and the *Republic* in particular, Herodas creates a series of symbols for poetry: the art-work in *Mimiamb* 4, the *baubon* in *Mimiambs* 6 and 7, Myrtale in *Mimiamb* 2. Herodas uses these symbols to explore a

variety of Platonic topics, but principally: Plato's theory of mimesis, his conception of the soul, and their intersection (the power of poetry and rhetoric to deceive and warp the soul).

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Emily Reason (University of Nottingham)

Thumos in the *Argonautica:* The Lemnian Episode and the Ekphrasis of the Cloak

Thumos (θυμός) is a moderately well-researched word in Greek literature, although analysis is largely confined to Plato and Homer. Plato defines thumos in the *Republic* as the one-third non-rational part of the soul, particularly concerned with winning honour through feats of battle. The other parts of the soul that he defines are the epithumetikon (ἐπιθυμητικόν) which deals with physical wants and pleasures, and the logistikon (λογιστικόν) which in a well-trained and fully functioning agent is the rational decision-making aspect of the soul. Long before Plato, however, Homer also used the word thumos, although of course he did

not give a definition. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the remit of thumos is far wider than in Plato. The Homeric soul still has physical wants, an honour-loving spirited aspect, and the ability for rational debate, but the three aspects are less separated out from each other than in Plato, and thumos has a large part in all three. Thus it can immediately be seen that thumos had a different meaning for Homer than it did for Plato.

After briefly outlining the Platonic and Homeric thumos, this talk then considers the next epic author after Plato – Apollonius Rhodius. His understanding of thumos as utilised in the *Argonautica* is examined. Most useful in forming a definition is the Lemnian episode in Book 1. This shows that to Apollonius, the thumos, while still heavily spirited, was most especially concerned with family responsibility, with the Lemnian queen, Hypsipyle, describing the consequences of the 'destroyed' thumos of the menfolk who abandoned their families. With this new emphasis on the motivation of thumos established, it is then possible to view the *ekphrasis* of the cloak that Jason wears to greet Hypsipyle as being the ultimate illustration of some of the most dysfunctional thumoi in Greek literature.

Benjamin Wilck (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)
Was Euclid a Platonist Philosopher?

In this paper, I tackle the question of whether or not the mathematician Euclid of Alexandria, author of the *Elements* (ca. 300 BCE), was a Platonist philosopher.

The striking importance of Euclid's *Elements* for the history of mathematics, and of science in general, is undeniable. It is the earliest extant treatise of deductive mathematics in history, and it has been regarded as the paradigm of an axiomatic science to date. While disciplines as diverse as Mathematics, History of Mathematics, History of Science, and Classics, have rigorously studied their Euclid, the *Elements* has been largely ignored by History of Philosophy.

Indeed, Euclid's *Elements* is a purely mathematical one, and it does not mention any philosophical terminology (safe for a few occurrences of some meta-mathematical vocabulary). Still, recent scholarship on Euclid (see Wilck 2020) suggests that Euclid implicitly yet systematically draws elaborate metaphysical distinctions by way of certain linguistic encryptions in the *Elements*. My paper advances this line of inquiry by exploring possible ancestries of Euclid's metaphysical distinctions.

Already in late antiquity, though, attempts were made to present Euclid as a philosopher, rather than as a mathematician only. Most notably, the Neoplatonic philosopher Proclus argued that the *Elements* is a cosmological treatise about the geometrical elements of the physical universe because it culminates in the construction of the 5 regular polyhedra (the so-called Platonic solids), which prominently figure in the cosmogony of Plato's *Timaeus*.

In order to critically examine Proclus' claim, I compare Euclid's treatment of the 5 regular polyhedra with Plato's. The result is that neither the way in which Euclid defines, nor the way in which Euclid constructs regular polyhedra, resemble Plato's corresponding treatment in any way. Together with further evidence (from Wilck 2020) suggesting that Euclid was more

of an Aristotelian, rather than a Platonic philosopher, I conclude that Proclus' claim is unfounded.

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Session 9, Panel 6: **Late Antique Reception (Faraday H)**

Yana Reznyk (University of Cyprus)

La femme fatale: Blending Ovid and the Bible in Orientius' *Commonitorium*

Orientius, whom the majority of scholars now identify with the homonymous bishop of Augusta Ausciorum (modern Auch) in Southern Gaul, is an important representative of didactic poetry and his work with the title *Commonitorium* constitutes a paramount example in the history of the genre. His didactic poem in elegiacs was probably written around 430 AD. Within two books, Orientius reveals to his readers/students the way to reach salvation by following Christian virtues and avoiding various vices and sins.

Orientius depicts his subject in a comparatively simple manner and, apart from alluding to the Bible, often recalls passages from Classical literature. One of the most striking examples found in the text of Commonitorium where Biblical *didaxis* interacts with Classical *paideia* is the passage 1.337-388; Here the poet alludes both to the Bible and texts such as Ovid's *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia amoris*. Within a catalogue of the sins and moral transgressions from which men must beware to reach salvation, Orientius mentions the woman and characterizes her as *prima mali labes*. He teaches his students in detail how to refrain from adultery and avoid the danger of seduction by women and their appearances.

During the long discourse on the need to resist the temptations of female beauty Orientius uses examples both from Classical mythology and the Sacred Books where violent erotic passions provoked enmity, wars, and mourning. Thus, by alluding to the tradition of ancient erotic poetry and discourses on female beauty, Orientius warns his faithful reader of the destructive nature of erotic attraction as a consequence of divine punishment, which awaits each sinner in the afterlife (2.274): *factis congrua poena manet*. Moreover, as an excellent connoisseur of the Sacred Texts, he illustrates the danger of erotic temptation through very effective images.

Grace Funsten (University of Washington)

Carmina fingere docta:* the *puella* as poet in Maximianus's fifth *Elegy

In his fifth *Elegy*, the mid-sixth century poet Maximianus depicts an elderly narrator struck by erectile dysfunction in an encounter with an unnamed *Graia puella* (5.6). Before leaving, the Greek girl gives two long speeches, a lament and a hymn. Modeling *Elegy* 5 on *Amores* 3.7, Maximianus follows Ovid in blurring the lines between poetry and sex, conflating sexual and elegiac failure (Spaltenstein 1983, 245; Sharrock 1995). In this paper, I examine the role of

the Greek girl, arguing that Maximianus presents her as a successful elegist and his narrator as a failing one.

Maximianus describes the Greek girl as *docta loqui digitis et carmina fingere docta* (5.17), emphasizing her skill in performance and her status as a *docta puella*. Her link to the women of Augustan elegy is also made clear by her appearance, which Maximianus models on Ovid's description of Corinna at *Amores* 1.5. However, while the Greek girl may look like elegy's *docta puella*, she acts like the lover-poet. She pursues the narrator, singing outside his window at night like an *exclusus amator*. She sings a lament for the narrator's penis (5.87-104) and hymn on the penis's generative powers (5.109-53) that can be read as two shorter elegies nested within *Elegy* 5. Maximianus even aligns her with Augustan aesthetics by describing an intervention in her poetic production modeled the *recusationes* of Augustan poetry (5.105-8). He thus describes the Greek girl as a successful elegist in a poem that emphasizes the speaker's sexual and elegiac failure, as well as his old age and Italian origins. Drawing on the work of Uden and Fielding (2010), I read the Greek girl's poetic prowess and the lover-poet's impotence in this poem as a reflection of anxieties about cultural degeneration in the Western half of the Roman Empire in the mid-sixth century.

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Elizabeth Corsar (St Padarn's Institute, Cardiff)

Progymnasmata and the Composition of Ancient Christian Narrative Literature

The undertaking of the preliminary exercises from the *Progymnasmata* equipped students of rhetoric with necessary compositional skills. As part of these exercises, students were expected to engage with texts and to adapt the content of these texts. In this paper, I shall seek to explore how the preliminary exercises that required adaptation likely influenced the way in which early Christian authors engaged with narrative literature and composed their own pieces of narrative literature. I will first, as an example, take the *Progymnasmata* attributed to Theon, who through their exercises encouraged pupils to engage with chreiai, fables, or narratives and to adapt these pieces of text, for example, by expanding or compressing the contents, by structurally rearranging the contents, or by paraphrasing the contents. Then, as examples of ancient Christian narrative literature, I will take the canonical gospels. I shall assume that the authors of these narratives were to some degree rhetorically trained, and with examples from the gospels of Mark and John, I will demonstrate how the similarities and differences between the two narratives reflect the likely influence of the exercises of adaptation upon the author of John's gospel, who I shall propose engaged with sections of Mark's gospel, adapted their contents, and composed their own gospel narrative.

Session 9, Panel 7: **Back to the Future *Redux*: Classical Manipulations in Science Fiction (Faraday J)**

Convenor: Tony Keen (University of Notre Dame [USA] in England)

In line with the 'Classics and the Future' theme, this panel looks at different manifestations of the Classical past in the imagined futures of science fiction. Through examination of the use of *Prometheus* as a spaceship name, *Star Trek*'s employment of Greece and Rome to make points about contemporary times and visions of the future, and the portrayal of actual (if fictional) Classical scholars in Dan Simmons' *Ilium* and *Olympus*, this panel seeks to demonstrate the wide variety of forms in which one can find Classical reception in science fiction.

Tony Keen (University of Notre Dame [USA] in England)
'Final report of the vessel *Prometheus*': A Titan among starships

At Rockefeller Plaza in New York, Paul Manship's 1934 statue of the Greek Titan Prometheus stands as a symbol of civilization and progress. Prometheus' role as this symbol is harked back to time and time again in scientific endeavour, from Humphrey Davy being nicknamed 'the chemical Prometheus' to NASA's Prometheus Project, a plan for nuclear-powered spacecraft. It is therefore natural that the name also crops up regularly in science fiction. But fiction is written with a greater awareness of the world of the story sand what will happen in it, and consequently, the use of mythological names can carry more deliberate connotations and resonances, and be signals to the reader in a different form from the signals carried by scientists using the terms.

This paper examines four applications of the name *Prometheus* to space travelling vessels; the spaceship in Arthur C. Clarke's short story 'Summertime on Icarus' (1960); the prototype starship in the *Star Trek: Voyager* episode 'Message in a Bottle' (1998); the interstellar battlecruiser in *StarGate SG-1*, introduced in the Season 6 episode 'Prometheus' (2002); and the eponymous vessel in Ridley Scott's *Prometheus* (2012). It will explore how the mythological resonances are engaged with in each manifestation.

Jo Messore (University of Bristol)
To explore strange new worlds: Examining *Star Trek: The Original Series*' relationship with the classics

Since the inception of the genre, there has been a strong presence of the ancient world in science fiction (SF), and this is equally the case in one of the genre's definitive franchises, *Star Trek*. This paper explores the reception of the classics across *Star Trek: The Original Series* (*TOS*), drawing on examples across the series, but mostly using as case studies the episodes 'Bread and Circuses', 'Who Mourns for Adonais?', and 'Plato's Stepchildren'. Produced in the late 1960s, the series was a product of a time where American SF was emerging as a genre, television was emerging as a medium, and America was in a period of social upheaval, questioning its own identity and role in the world.

In considering why *TOS* engages with the classics, this paper argues that SF and the ancient world are both removed temporally and spatially from our contemporary time, and this allows for a unique conflagration where the two can be used in conjunction to explore ideas about our own society.

It explores the cinematic legacy of the Roman Epics of the 1950s in the visual portrayal of the Roman Empire and the homogenisation of the ancient world, and how this became synonymous with popular understanding of the ancient world. It then explores how *Star Trek* uses the temporal contrast of the future setting of the show and the past of the Greeks and Romans to examine the idea of the progress of humanity, and how one should acknowledge the past but not be beholden to it. Finally, this paper considers how this is used thematically to highlight and comment upon various contemporary issues such as fears of imperialism, the morality of the television industry, and wider social issues.

Jesse Weiner (Hamilton College)

"I will never understand these people": Classicists and Classicism in Dan Simmons' *Ilium* and *Olympos*

Dan Simmons' *Ilium* (2003) and *Olympos* (2005) are a sprawling pair of science fiction novels based in large part upon Homer and the myths of the Trojan War. There is a certain symmetry to the scenario: postliterate posthumans have turned themselves into Greek gods to recreate the preliterate world of Homeric Greece, and the Trojan War rages anew. In this nearly universal absence of literacy, twentieth and twenty-first century classicists ("scholics," in Simmons' novels) have been reanimated from DNA to ensure the conflict maintains its Homeric course. This paper considers Simmons' presentation of classics and classicism in the *Ilium*/*Olympos* dyad.

In Simmons' technoscientific world, literacy itself represents a lamentably bygone technology, and classicists of our modernity occupy a central position as guardians of special knowledge that links past, present, and future. Yet, even as the novels' scholics (at least one of whom is based on an actual faculty member at an American university) are charged with "knowing" the ancient world, Simmons emphasizes the unknowability of the classical past. As Thomas Hockenberry, *Ilium*'s scholic protagonist declares of the Greeks and Trojans, "If I live to be a thousand years old, ten thousand, I will never understand these people." Thus, just as the other worlds of science fiction effect cognitive estrangement in their audiences, so too is antiquity alienating in its cultural, temporal, and linguistic distance. Finally, I suggest that Simmons toys with concepts of fate and determinism, both within the epic genre and in the role of the reader in reconstructing antiquity.

End of Conference