UK Classical Association Conference
Swansea University, 17–20 April 2020:
Abstracts
CONTENTS

Friday 17 April

15:30 Needed: A unified voice for Classics in the UK? Listening to and Learning from the Experiences of the USA
[followed by Workshop facilitated by S. Hunt and C. Ryan]

Hunt, S. Introduction
Carlon, J. Via Media—Best Practices in the Latin Classroom
Whitchurch, B. In Medias Res: Effects of the CI and Traditionalist Debate through Case Studies in Boston, NYC, and DC
Kitchell, K. Dies Irae: The Perils of Latin Pedagogical Trench Warfare

7.00 pm ‘Ancient Global Connections’
Musie, M. Ge’ez Manuscripts and the Spread of Early Christianity
Whitfield, S. Shared Aesthetics across Afro-Eurasia
Scott, M. Forming Opinions of Global Trading Partners
Morgan, Ll. Heracles and Cultural Integration

Saturday 18 April

Session 1. 9:00–11:00

Commentaries, Interrupted.
Prodi, E. Commenting Fragments: P. Oxy. 2636
Andolfi, I. Retrieving the Origins of Commentaries: Protagoras on Homer
Coward, T. R. P. Two Fragmentary Rhodian Commentators: Attalus and Aristocles
Cartlidge, B. Could They Put Humpty Together Again? Speakers and Commentators in Athenaeus

Ancient Regionalism within a Larger Context: Regions within Leagues, Kingdoms and Empires (Part 1 of 3)
Pretzler, M. Sparta and Peloponnesian Regionalism in the Classical Period
Husøy, T. Thessaly and the Origin of Regionalism in Central Greece
Aston, E. Slippery Customers: Diplomacy with the Thessalians in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC
Helm, M. Regionalism in the Northern Hellenistic Peloponnesian in the Third Century
Storying Gendered Emotions in Classical Antiquity: Embodied Narratives
(Part 1 of 2)  [Panel supported by Women’s Classical Committee UK]
Blanco, C.  Beneath the Skin: Investigating Cutaneous Conditions as Somatisations of Gendered Emotions
Chow-Kambitsch, E.  Behind Her Twisted Eyes: Symptoms of Lethal Ecstasy in Euripides
Ace, A.  (Gendered) Emotions in the Midwife Metaphor of Plato’s Theaetetus
Watkins Nattermann, I.  Unveiling Gestures in Colluthus’ The Abduction of Helen: Aidos, Female Sexuality, and Rape

Martial
Nobili, M.  Kissing the Crippled
Kaiser, J.  The Body of the Book: Martial’s Reception of the Augustan Book-apostrophe
Gianni, G.  Martial, Masculinity and Sexuality in the Erosion Cycle (5.34, 5.37, 10.61)
Tafaro, A.  Omnis Caesareo cedit labor amphitheatro. Power and Monuments in Martial’s Liber Spectaculorum

Unlocking Greek Epigraphy: Widening the Audience of Ancient Greek Inscriptions
Lambert, S.  Attic Inscriptions Online
Holliday, S.  Teaching Inscriptions in the Secondary Classroom
Liddel, P.  The Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections Project: Lyme Park
Brunet, M.  IG Louvre and E-STAMPAGES

Light and Darkness in Ancient Greek Culture: Experiences, Representations, Meanings’
Aguirre, M.  Representing Night and Darkness in Greek Vase-painting
Boutsikas, E.  Light and Shadow Effects at the Temple of Epikourios Apollo in Bassae: Time, Experience, Cognition
Eidinow, E.  The Quality of ‘Darkness’ at the Siege of Plataea
Buxton, R.  Helios on Rhodes (and Asklepios on Kos): Contrasting Aspects of Greek Religious Experience

Homer and Pindar
Nelson, T.  Homer, Hesiod and a Footnoting φασί
de Brose, R. P.  The Semantics of kòmos in Pindar: a Cognitive Approach
Gazis, G.  Which path will you follow? Homer’s universe and Pindar’s afterlife

Hellenistic Culture
Meccariello, C.  Ephefrastic Epigram and the Politics of Education in Ptolemaic Egypt
Massimo, D.  Poverty and poor people in Leonidas of Tarentum’s epigrams
Pasquariello, G. Kalleixenos of Rhodes (FGrH 627 F2) and the Alexandrian Pompe. Pan-Hellenic echoes of the Ptolemaic rulership in an erudite context
Daly, A. Lovers of Sights and Sounds: Herodas’ Reading of Plato

**Classics for (Good and) All: Classics education as a force for social change**
Bristow, C. Taking on Taboo: breaking silence through the power of Classical myths and stories
Padilla Peralta, D. Towards an anti-racist Classics: citational justice
Hay, L. Re-queering the Classics classroom
Haley, M. Classics in State Classrooms

**Session 2. 11:30–13:00**

**Swansea Classics** [Panel supported by Adran Glasurol Graddedigion Cymru (Classical Section, Wales Graduates)]
Davies, C. D. Emrys Evans and Classics in Wales
Stray, C. Benjamin Farrington: scholarship, science and Communism
Lloyd, A. B. Classical and Egyptological Synergies

**Ancient Regionalism within a larger context: Regions within leagues, kingdoms and empires** (Part 2 of 3)
Wu, C. Changes in Local Time-Reckoning Practice as an Indicator of Regionalism in Coastal Paphlagonia during the Roman Imperial Period
Pearson, C. Local Culture in the Demes of Southern Attica
Ocansey, D. Geopolitics of Classical Athens: Broken Paradigm or Viable Perspective for Ghana, A Developing Nation?

**Beyond a Binary Sappho: Rethinking Reifications of Sappho’s Gender and Sexuality in Reception**
Sachs, R. Beyond a Lesbian-Feminist Sappho: (Homo)eroticism in Sappho’s Fragments and Monique Wittig’s *The Lesbian Body*
Martorana, S. ‘Writing like a man, *becoming-woman*: gender-queerness and literary creation in the *Epistula Sapphus*
Palermo, S. Searching for Sappho: The Poet of Lesbos in Spain between 19th and 20th Century

**Exempla in practice**
Morrell, K. *Exempla* and electoral reform in the late Roman republic
Lawrence, S. Making an example of Socrates: philosophy and exemplarity in Valerius Maximus 7.2
Langlands, R. Wisdom into practice: Philo of Alexandria, the gymnosophists, and ancient exemplary ethics
Reception Influence (Part 1 of 2)
Sebastià-Sáez, M. Amélie Nothomb’s *Le crime du comte Neville* (*The Crime of Count Neville*): the myth of Iphigenia in a contemporary fairy tale
Zhang, D. The Other’s Other: the reception of Euripides’ *Medea* in China
Ryan, C. Reading the Reformation through Greek tragedy: Melanchthon, Camerarius, the New Testament and Sophocles

Smashing pots. New approaches to fragments of ancient vases (Part 1 of 2)
Lindenlauf, A. Practices of repair, re-use and re-utilization of pottery at Naukratis
Holly, J. & Thornton, A. Conflicted Fragments
Romero Mayorga, C. Pottery fragments en vogue

Greek Political Philosophy
Okyere Asante, M. K. Plato’s *Republic* V: A Reading from an Afro-communitarian Perspective
Hatzistavrou, A. Political authoritarianism in Plato’s *Statesman*
Brouwer, R. Cynic and Stoic Cosmopolitanism

The Case for Critical Ancient World Studies
Padilla Peralta, D. Epistemicide and a New Disciplinarity: Prospects?
Umachandran, M. Classics at the Borderlands: Decolonizing ‘Antiquity’ with Gloria Anzaldua
Alli, Q. Classics and the Myth of ‘Access’

Accessing Classical Civilisation and Ancient History in Britain, Past and Present Perspectives [panel under the auspices of Advocating Classics Education (ACE)]
Hall, E. Historical Overview
Stead, H. Adult Education & Mass Market Publications in the Long 19th century
Holmes-Henderson, A. Who has Access to Classics in Schools Today?
Wright, P. Classics and Blackpool

Session 3. 14:00–16:00

The Eye of the Beholder: The Critical Gaze and Visual Receptions
Bevan, G. Medusa’s Gaze: Madonna as Spectacle
Pucknell, D. The Older I Get, the Better I Used to Be
Diver, R. Beautiful Art or Disturbing Sexual Violence?: Visual Receptions of Daphne in Children’s Books of Greek Myth
MacNeill, K. In the shadow of Orpheus: The contrasting representations of Hades as dangerous bachelor and faithful husband in *The Book of Life* and Disney's *Hercules*.

**Ancient Regionalism within a larger context: Regions within leagues, kingdoms and empires** (Part 3 of 3)

- McAuley, A. Boiotia's Northern Frontier: Regionalism in a Hellenistic Federation
- Bradley, G. Regional collaboration within Italy under Roman hegemony
- Brennan, A. Athens and the Anakeion: Assembling a Regional Cult

**Storying Gendered Emotions in Classical Antiquity: Sex differences?** (Part 2 of 2) [Panel supported by Women's Classical Committee UK]

- Molli, L. A female *Iliad*: reading Homeric emotions through Barker's *Silence of the Girls*
- Eidinow, E. Lost Stories? Women and Girl Children in Times of War
- Ngan, S. I’ll Make a (Wo)man Out of You: Narratives of Grief in Seneca’s *Consolationes*
- Maly-Preuss, J. Emotional and Moral Discourse in Early Christian Women's Letters

**Literature of the Republic**

- Persyn, M. Questioning the Survival of Lucilius' Earliest *Satires*
- Thomas, D. *Paene ad nullum usum aptus*? The Cremona Fragment of Cicero's *Brutus* and the *Codex Laudensis*
- Payne, M. The use of the translation paradigm in criticism and scholarship on Ennius’ tragedies
- O'Bryhim, S. Roman Comedy in Catullus c. 32

**Narrating the Achaemenid King: Perceptions and Receptions of the Persian Monarch from Antiquity to Modernity**

- Musié, M. The Persians and the Persian King in Greek and Roman Historical and Literary Tradition
- Almagor, E. Persian Politicians from Nepos' *Vitae* to Plutarch's *Bioi*
- Conroy, L. Achaemenid Usurpers and Liar-Kings in the Greco-Roman Literary Tradition on Alexander's Persian Campaigns
- Llewellyn-Jones, L. Cyrus the Great, Caught Between Persia and Iran

**Smashing Pots. New approaches to fragments of ancient vases** (Part 2 of 2)

- Nørskov, V. Piecing together the biographies of fragments
- Tsiafakti, D. From fragments to pots through 3D digitization
- Smotherman Bennett, D. & Smith, A. C. Athena's Repository: A gathering space for Attic sherds
The New Plato Text
Curtolo, M.V. The Philological Contribution of the Papyri of Plato: an Overall Assessment
Herrmann, F.G. The text of Plato's *Parmenides*
Strachan, C. A crux in Plato's *Symposium*
Joyal, M. Reading *Alcibiades* in the Empire and Late Antiquity

Narrating the Past, Transforming the Present: Unravelling Collective Memory in the Ancient World
Damigos, S. Early Peloponnesian Mythical Origins and the Boundaries of the Political Community
Domínguez-del Triunfo, H. Forgotten Memories in Macedonia: Was there Even a Persian Invasion?
Apostolou, S. Conceptual Landscapes and Collective Identities: The Fluctuating Boundaries of Aeolis, Mysia, and the Troad in Ancient Asia Minor
Pagkalos, M. E. At the Service of the Community: Local Histories, Local Historians, and the Transformation of Collective Identities

Teaching Classics with Technology
Costa-Veysey, J. Learner-Centered Pedagogy and Purposeful ICT: Flipping the Latin Classroom
Natoli, B. Making Antiquity Accessible: 3D Printing and the Instruction of learners with visual and auditory impairment
Grigsby, P. Past and the Future: Getting ICT into Schools with the Warwick Classics Network
Downes, C. iPad Technology and the Latin Classroom

Sunday 19 April

Session 4. 09:00–11:00

Hand in Hand: of Scribes, Scholars, and Multiple Handwritings in Antiquity and Beyond
Bianconi, M. Scribal hands and where to find them: A Gaulish case study
Capano, M. *Linguae duae, manus multae*. The inscribing process of bilingual funerary inscriptions from Roman Sicily
Cossu, A. From the teacher’s hand to the pupil’s: Glossed manuscripts from the schools of Ferrières and Auxerre in the 9th Century
**Regional Epigraphic Cultures Across the Ancient Globe** (Part 1 of 2) [under the aegis of the Association Internationale d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine (AIEGL)]

Socaciu, D. & Cartlidge B. The roles and functions of text in the Urartian state

Oreshko, R. Language, society and cultural contact in Lydia in the 5th–4th centuries BC: an epigraphic perspective

Borgia, E. Inscriptions from Hadrian’s Wall in Tullie House Museum & Art Gallery Trust (Carlisle): local identities and Roman influences

Simmons, J. Writing from the waves: trader epigraphy from the ancient Indian Ocean world (100 BCE – 400 CE)

**Honour in Athenian Politics and Society** (Part 1 of 2)

Barbato, M. ‘For Themistocles of Phrearrhioi, for the sake of honour’. A new perspective on ostracism

Mazzinghi Gori, B. Women’s honour in fourth-century Athens

Ceccarelli, P. The Athenian chorēgia: nothing to do with honour?

Esu, A. How should an honourable Athenian behave? Honour and shame in Lycurgus’ *Against Leocrates*

**Between Two Worlds: Ovid Shaping Literary Tradition from Virgil to the Post-Classical** (Part 1 of 2) [panel under the auspices of the International Ovidian Society]

Walter, A. Rome’s *fatum* in Ovid’s *Fasti*

Ntanou, E. (Re)shaping Literary Tradition: Pastoral Encounters in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*

Sharrock, A. *reges et proelia*: Ovid and war in the Roman epic tradition

Abad del Vecchio, J. *quid Odyssea est?* The reception of Ovid’s ‘Odyssean’ themes in post-Augustan literature

**Greek comic fragments** (Part 1 of 2)

Bagordo, A. Between Aristophanic Comedy and Platonic Philosophy: The Case of Aristylos

Bianchi, F. P. Collecting Comic Fragments and the History of Classical Scholarship

Favi, F. ‘New’ Greek in old texts: (alleged) regionalisms and anticipations of *koiné* in Epicharmus

Martin, P. Party Politics in Later Comedy

**Dynastic Politics and Displays of Power in the Age of Diocletian and Constantine**

Waldron, B. Band of Brothers: Diocletian and Maximian, *Virtutibus Fratres*

Miles, R. Glac, the Tetrarchs and Homeland: A Reconsideration of Origins in the Self-Representation of Soldier Emperors
Ernst, N. Constantine II and the Exiled Bishops: Athanasian Agenda and Political Hegemony
Baker-Brian, N. J. Maintaining the Legacy: Dynastic Rule in the Constantinian Empire, AD 340–350

**Dialogue and Genre: Genre in Dialogue**
Harman, R. Dialogue and dialogism in Xenophon’s *Hellenica*
Wilshere, N. Lucian’s dialogue on Ajax’s Odyssean silence
Wilson, L. Rethinking Dialogue Models: The Case of the *Phaedrus*

**KYKNOS—Ancient Narrative** (Part 1 of 3)
Jolowicz, D. Aphrodisias and the Greek Novel
D’Alconzo, N. Continuity in the novels’ story-world
Jackson, C. R. *F(r)ictions of genre: Receptions of Chariton’s Callirhoe* in Heliodorus’ *Aithiopika* and Musaeus’ *Hero and Leander*
Kanavou, N. On Two New Ancient Greek ‘Novels’

**Bridging the gap from GCSE to A Level in Classical Civilisation and Ancient History**
Dixon, J. Reading and analysing sources
Foster, S. Conceptual thinking skills to support weaker pupils
Ball, G. Making the most of assessment and feedback
Hopley, R. Rethinking revision and retention at A level

**Kingship**
Wuk, M. A ruler of his word? Oath-taking and oath-breaking in later Roman imperial politics
Unruh, D. Kingship by Consent in Isocrates’ *Nicocles*
Liney, N. On the good king according to Statius: kingship theory and the *Silvae*
Szöke, M. The emperor’s new patchwork family: Imperial Legitimacy and Family Ties in Pliny’s *Panegyricus*

**Session 5. 11:30–13:00**

**Poetic Reception in Late Antiquity**
Nolfo, F. Ovid’s presence and gender issues in late antique poetry
Krauss, K. Reading Virgil and Imperialist Erotics in Claudian’s *De Raptu Proserpinae*

**Regional Epigraphic Cultures across the Ancient Globe** (Part 1 of 2)
Butler, S. Glocal writing in the ancient Mediterranean: the case of Western Anatolia
Sabaté Vidal, V. Approaching Iberian inscriptions on lead tablets: a case for ‘epigraphic bilingualism’
Sánchez Natalías, C. Habits within the habit: the various trends in North African defixiones

Honour in Athenian Politics and Society (Part 2 of 2)
Rocchi, L. ‘...καὶ ἔδοξεν ὑμῖν τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαι!': The ἀτιμον/ἐπίτιμον dichotomy in Athenian law
Duplouy, A. Always be the best and be superior to others. Extent and limits of honour strategies in archaic Greece
Brock, R. Honour, identity and social stability in the Greek polis

Between Two Worlds: Ovid Shaping Literary Tradition from Virgil to the Post-Classical (Part 2 of 2) [panel under the auspices of the International Ovidian Society]
Papaioannou, S. Ovid’s artistic rivalries and Nonnus’ transformed epic contests
Popescu, C. The Hue of Beauty—Intentional Ambiguities for Ovid’s Andromeda
Kachuck, A. Per monstra ad astra: Pegasusan Poetics from Ovid to Aby Warburg

Greek comic fragments (Part 2 of 2)
Mastellari, V. The speaker of Mnesimachus’ fr. 7 and a consideration on dialects in Attic Greek Comedy
Novokhatko, A. A. 4th cent. BCE comedy and the developing vocabulary of criticism

Heterodox Classics
Stewart, E. Professions and Professional Autonomy, Ancient and Modern: How can ancient texts impact on our understanding of the modern workplace?
Kierstead, J. Athens and the Diffusion of Greek Democracy
Gold, S. Classics in Flux

Women in Greek Philosophical Dialogues
Kipps, F. Xenophon’s Theodote: Art, Seduction and Persuasion (Memorabilia 3.10–11)
LaValle Norman, D. Aspasia, Dirt and Death in Plato’s Menexenus
Stamatopoulou, Z. Female Wisdom in Plutarch’s Symposium of the Seven Sages

KYKNOS—Ancient Narrative (Part 2 of 3)
Repath, I. Achilles Tatius: Erotic Trees and Amorous Allegory
Demerre, O. ‘ΑΤΕ ΔΕ ΖΩΝ ἑΡΩΤΙΚΟΣ: Eros and narration in Longus and Achilles Tatius
Norton-Curry, J. Leukippe’s sacrifice and amphitheatre spectacle
Teaching Classics and Outreach
Lloyd, M. E. & Robson, J.  The Battle for Latin: reports from the frontline in UK universities
Rozier, C.  From research to resources: modelling classical content in KS3 school curricula
Bragg, E.  Swords, sandals, and toasted panini: delivering cine-antiquity to sixth form students
Beyer, A.  New insights and methods of vocabulary acquisition in Latin classes

The Hercules Project: The Labours Continue
Stafford, E.  Herculean Labours and Choices: tracing themes from the Church Fathers to the twenty-first century
Anagnostou-Laoutides, E.  Stoic Hercules and the Pelagian debate
Cyrino, M.  From Rock to Hero: Dwayne Johnson’s Star Text in Hercules (2014)

Session 6. 15:30–17:30

Classical Reception and Influence
Scourfield, D.  E. M. Forster’s Oresteia Travesty
Broughall, Q. J.  Half-built or half-destroyed? Pursuing the classical ruin in the works of Gore Vidal
Burke-Tomlinson, H.  Roman(tic) Love Elegy: A comparative analysis of Byron’s Thyrza cycle and Tibullus’ homoerotic elegies
Jackson, P.  Dumas and the Classics

Sparsa colligere: Fragmentary Expressions of Female Voices in Roman History, Literature and Society
Martorana, S.  (Ovid’s) Phaedra and the ‘Law of the (step-)mother’: recovering the female voice in Ovid’s Her. 4
García Domínguez, D.  Separatae a viris arma cepere (Sal. Hist. 2.92M). Women, Memory and Power in Late Iron Age Iberian Peninsula
Rallo, G.  In the Shade of the World of Roman (forgotten) Theatre: Female Characters in the Remains of the Togata
Horn, J.  Levitas animi: The Alleged Weakness of Women in the Roman World reflected in Roman Legislation of the Late Republic and Early Principate

Dynamic Sanctuaries. The political and economic effects of religious centres on Mediterranean communities
Pestarino, B.  The socio-economic role of Cypriot sanctuaries in the administration of the classical city-states’ territories
Arghandehpour, M.  How does classical historiography portray the political role of Greek Asian sanctuaries during Kyros II’s invasion of Ionia?

Frank, K.  The relationship of the oracle of Dodona with local economies in the Classical and Hellenistic periods

Latin Epic
Makins, M. W.  War or Not-War?: Revisiting the Campus Martius in Lucan (Pharsalia 2.196–226)
Sanderson, E. C.  Carmen in Suos Versus Convertens: Civil War and Intratextuality in Lucan’s Bellum Civile
Anagnostou-Laoutides, E.  Furious Leaders and Lusty Lions: Lucan on Vergil on Propertius and their Greek Elegiac Models
Hawkesworth, J.  Structural Chaos in Aeneid Book XI

Greek Tragedy
Blanco, C. & Abbattista, A.  Tereus’ illicit penetration(s): A new reading of fr. 581 R.
McPhee, B.  ‘The Cause of These Troubles’? Paris at Sophocles Philoctetes 1426
Lynch, S.  Consent and Non-Consent in Greek Tragedy
Lucidi, C.  When ideals meet reality: the agon between Lycus and Amphitryon in Euripides’ Heracles

Free Speech
Hamnett, G.  Making yourself heard: feigned madness and free speech
Westwood, U.  Free speech and the law: the παρρησία of the Mosaic code in Josephus’ Antiquities
Dainotto, R.  The portrait of a society. Representation and manipulation of historical characters in Against Leptines

Emotion Metaphors in Graeco-Roman Literature and Art
Short, W. M.  A Metaphor Complex: Latin’s Animus Concept Between the Universal and the Cultural
Devereaux, J.  Emotional Intelligence: Rethinking Seneca’s Style
Horn, F.  The Metaphoricity of θυμός in Early Greek Poetry
Räuchle, V.  Metaphors in The Making: Eros as Embodied Desire in Early Greek Art

KYKNOS—Ancient Narrative (Part 3 of 3)
Kruczio, B.  Thermouthis and the (w)asp: Multiple Meanings and Gallows Humour in Heliodorus 2.20
Panayotakis, C.  Hermeros the ‘interpreter’ (Petronius, Sat. 37–38)
Costantini, L.  Re-framing the Festival of Laughter (Apuleius, Metamorphoses 2.32–3.11)
Bird, R. Falling in Love with Love: Echoes of Greek Novels in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* IV.28–VI.24

**Beyond the Classics Classroom—Myth, Pedagogy and Promise**

Maurice, L. Using Mythology in the Autistic Classroom: A Case Study from Israel
Strycharczyk, B. & Pearson, H. Antiquity as a Key to Interpreting Reality: A Case Study from Poland
Holmes-Henderson, A. Classical Myth and Oracy: Promoting Classics to English Teachers
Hunt, S. Bacchus and Ariadne: Picture, Text and Talk.

**Monday 20 April**

**Session 7. 09:00–11:00**

**Late Antique Commentaries**

Hanigan, D. R. (Mis)quoting Homer: Reading Greek Poetry with Clement of Alexandria
Domaradzki, M. Homer’s *Litai*: Figurative or Literal? Heraclitus the Allegorist and Clement of Alexandria on the Prayers
Foster, S. Commenting on the Commentators? Use or Abuse in the Earliest *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni*
Fear, A. Commentary or Corpus? Porphyry’s *Cave of the Nymphs*

**Conversion of Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity**

Brown, A. R. Competition and Conversion at the Panhellenic Sanctuaries
van ‘t Westeinde, J. The Curious Case of Sardis: use and appropriation of (religious) space
Avdokhin, A. Spiritual and Career Ladders: Converting Officials’ Virtues in Greek Epigraphy
Brand, M. From the sphinx Tutu to the apostle Mani: religious change in fourth-century Kellis (Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt)

**Violence and the Senses in Latin Literature**

Myers, M. The sound of violence: some ‘soundscapes’ in Tacitus
Batty, R. Sound, silence, and song: violent river similes in Virgil’s *Aeneid*
Chhibber, A. Words of peace, visions of war? Sight and sound in the persuasive speeches of Statius’ Tydeus and Jocasta
Lawrence, T. Asking for it: scent and consent in Martial’s *Epigrams*

**Philosophy and Satire**

Soldo, J. Satirizing a Satirist—Fronto and Seneca
Bronowski, A. Lucian on the Philosophers: if you can’t beat them, mock them
Goh, I. The Virtue in Satire: Lucilius Once More, With Added Lucretius
Kachuck, A. Persius’ Paradoxes

**Greek Dramatic Fragments**
Bini, F. Aristotle’s testimonia on Agathon’s works
Landriscina, L. Euripides’ Ino: further hypotheses on the new fragment (P. Oxy. 5131)
Berardi, P. The cold case of Aeschylus’ Bassarai
Mura, A. The commentary in P. Oxy. 2737 and three fragments from Aristophanes’ Amphiaraos

**Identity**
Bozia, E. “Ἐλληνὶ δοκεῖν τε καὶ εἶναι’ (D. Or. 37.25): Being not Becoming in the High Roman Empire
Grigolin, C. Claiming Seleucid Origins in the Seventh Century AD: the Case of Karka de Beth Selok in Northern Mesopotamia
Avaliani, E. Hybrid Cultural Identities in the Late Roman Empire: Empress Ulpia Severina’s Inscription and Image from Caucasian Iberia
Nguyen, K. Refugeehood and Empire-making in Julius Caesar’s De Bello Gallico

**Explore the unexplored: new readings of underexploited papyri**
Alexandrou, M. Some Adespota lambica reconsidered: The cases of P. Oxy. 2317 and 2320
Antola, M. Some Considerations about P.Berol. inv. 9782: ἀλλὸ προοίμιον of Plato’s Theaetetus
Berardi, R. P.Schub. 32: a rhetorical exercise on Thebes?
Delucchi, M. Neglected epics: the Epyllium Telephi (P. Oxy. II 214)

**Defining and Defying Frames of Rulership**
Clarke, A. Teaching rulership: Cheiron as tutor and exemplar
Cassell, B. Re-defying the Hero King: Aristotle’s Politics (III.1284b35–1285b33), and the transitory quality of Theseus’ democratic break with convention
Homer, G. Aristophanes Lysistrata: Ancient ‘Otherness’ to Modern Leadership
Stott, R. How far do the surviving material remains suggest that Agrippina the younger was breaking convention in regards to women holding a political position in Rome?

**Intermedial Classics in Our World**
Cole, R. Total War: Gaming Rome in the 21st Century
Kolovou, P. An Ongoing Conversation in Images: Jean Harambat’s Graphic Novel Ulysse. Les chants du retour
Stachon, M. Composers Playing with Lesbia’s Sparrow
Session 8. 11:30–13:00

The Classics through Neo-Latin: The Mediatory Role of Renaissance and Early Modern Latin Literature in Later Reception of the Classical World
Barton, W. Eighteenth-Century British Reception of the *Pervigilium Veneris* through a Neo-Latin Lens
Smets, S. A layered Renaissance: 20th-century reception of Neo-Latin authors involving the Classics
Maciejewska, M. The Classics and Modern Staging of Jesuit Plays on Japan

Character and Context: A Panel on Claudian
Ware, C. We Need To Talk About Alaric
Parkes, R. Fractured aesthetics in Claudian’s *De Raptu Proserpinae*
Öhrman, M. Before Proserpine: Weavers in Claudian’s panegyric poems

Women in tragic and dramatic fragments
Catrambone, M. A cortège for Astyoche? Choral identity and female speech in Sophocles’ *Eurypylus*
Ozbek, L. How to plot mirror plots: Euripides’ *Phryxus* I and II, and *Ino*
Morosi, F. Like a Natural Woman: Female characters in extant and fragmentary Old Comedy

Philosophy and Literature
De Vos, B. Platonism in the Pseudo-Clementines
Freer, N. Poetry, Philosophy, and Power in Virgil’s *Georgics*
Irarrázabal Elliott, M. Anger, Agency, and Tragedy in Seneca

Later Latin
Arthur-Montagne, J. ‘Low’ Learning and Disreputable Genres in the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* 
O’Kell, E. Dictys Cretensis, Contracts of Fictionality and the Cultivation of the Suspicious Reader
Bonaventura, M. Rationalising Homer in the Second Sophistic: Dio Chrysostom and Dares Phrygius

Classics in the Marketplace: Being a Classicist in Public
A roundtable discussion led by Draycott, J., Gloyn, L., Musié, M., and Morley, N.
Friday 17 April

15:00. Needed: A unified voice for Classics in the UK? Listening to and learning from the experiences of the USA

Part 1: Plenary Panel

Hunt, S. Introduction
The last ten years have seen considerable changes in the examination systems used in England in particular, which have also affected those in Wales and N. Ireland. The GCSE examination acts as the guardian Cerberus of entry to the sixth form and thence to university: its three heads being the marker of an individual student’s achievements at age 16, used to hold schools to account in a pseudo-market of education, and as a means of checking that the Government is meeting its targets of raising standards for all. Teachers and students seem to be prisoners of the exam, the creation of which was characterised by a lack of consultation by the government. The GCSE examinations in Latin and Greek—through ministerial decree—have become more traditional, more factual, less creative and less appealing to the very students we would like to attract to the Classics student body of the future. Meanwhile other early routes to the study of classical languages have been whittled away or closed off through the effect of government policy or lack of funding. And yet at the same time organisations such as Classics for All, Cambridge School Classics and university outreach and widening participation departments have been doing their best for years to create more opportunities for students from diverse and non-traditional backgrounds to get into classics, as well as maintaining enrolments from more traditional routes. Arguments in the UK continue to arise periodically about the value of more traditional or more progressive approaches to teaching classical languages. Such arguments are reflected in the US as well.

A panel of 3 very highly-regarded US university classics educators and teachers share their knowledge and experiences of classics teaching and we ask what teachers on this side of the Atlantic might be able to learn from our friends on the other about making our voices heard together for the good of classics for all.

Carlon, J. ‘Via Media—Best Practices in the Latin Classroom’
There no doubt that increasing interest across the United States and parts of Europe in teaching Latin actively, that is using all four language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) has challenged our profession to think deeply not only about Latin pedagogy but also about the goals of Latin instruction. What is it we want our students to gain from studying Latin? If we want them to read Latin texts with some proficiency, what should our classroom practice look like?

Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research has much to tell us about how we can help our students become fluent readers, and its results can be particularly informative for
classroom instruction of vocabulary, reading strategies, and syntax and for effective assessment of student learning. But SLA researchers have always sought to understand the learning process, not to dictate pedagogical practice, which is complex and must be flexible, ready to respond to the needs of individual students and programs, if it is to succeed. One size does not fit all.

This paper will offer a brief summary of SLA research that is most pertinent to the Latin classroom. It will then consider a number of ways in which instructors might change their current practices in order to make the language more approachable for their students; even subtle changes can have a significant impact on student learning. The focus will be on practical methods that do not require a drastic shift in pedagogy, with examples taken from current classroom teachers who have modified their teaching practice to respond to what we now know about how second languages are acquired. The paper’s goal is to encourage collaborative dialogue, through which Latin teachers can join together to preserve and expand the study of the language they love.

Whitchurch, B. ‘In Medias Res: Effects of the CI and Traditionalist Debate through Case Studies in Boston, NYC, and DC’

This paper traces the ways in which the debate between proponents of Comprehensible Input (CI) and those espousing traditional methodologies has impacted classics departments in the array of institutions in which I have taught over the course of the past twelve years. Included in this number are secondary schools where Latin resides at the core of the student experience such as Boston Latin School in Boston Massachusetts, Brooklyn Latin School in NYC, and Washington Latin School in Washington DC, but also secondary schools where Latin is an elective (Battlefield High School in Northern Virginia). There are also two universities where I taught in the capacity of a graduate student, one public (University of Massachusetts Amherst) and another private (Fordham University) in addition to summer teaching experience in Rome alongside Latin teachers employed at an even wider variety of institutions during the academic year.

At the core of my remarks is how teaching in the context of teams of Latin teachers has demanded compromise and the espousal of an eclectic pedagogy, even if to varying degrees of success. This stands in contrast to the increasingly polarized postures that one finds on social media often emanating from Latin teachers who are the sole educators to offer the subject at their respective institutions. I argue that in our craft there is more that unites us than that which divides us and that our failure to pursue the former comes at the expense of our students. In an age of precarious enrolments and incomplete statistical data on the health of our profession, there is little that could be more fatal to the subject to which we and so many others have dedicated our professional energies.

Kitchell, K. ‘Dies Irae: The Perils of Latin Pedagogical Trench Warfare’

The proposed talk will centre on current pedagogical debates in America, concentrating on the often heated rhetoric of certain Comprehensible Input (CI) enthusiasts and the equally
heated response from those who espouse more traditional methodologies, with both sides seemingly engaged in a sort of trench warfare over the issues.

First, the claims of CI enthusiasts will be outlined. Then, I will attempt to show that several of their pedagogical innovations actually have a long history. Many of the current ‘hot issues’ have been discussed in national reports produced in America in 1828, 1894, and 1899. The ACL’s own study, The Classical Investigation of 1921-1923 was already calling for several reforms that are promulgated today as new.

The paper will try to show that today’s CI innovations are neither entirely new nor inherently inimical to goals held by many classicists. It will then point out several data-based markers that seem to indicate that American enrolments are once more declining, doing so at a rate that bodes ill for the future of the profession. Further, there is no national oversight or consensus on the methods and goals of emerging pedagogical theories, raising the spectre of a serious problem when students raised under the ‘new’ methodologies meet the reality of the sort of preparation and curricula expected by today’s college faculty.

If the issue is not resolved, a serious drop in college/university-level classics majors will result in a drop in trained high school teachers and PhD students. The result of not learning from our past and not finding common ground, may result in a precipitous drop in enrolment and interest surpassing even that which occurred in the Seventies. It is time to leave the trenches and come to the bargaining table.

Hunt, S. Conclusion and Invitation to Workshop following

Part 2: Workshop and Discussion

Hunt, S., Ryan, C., and others TBC (Facilitators)

The second session is a workshop to watch a selection of video and live demonstrations of innovative teaching practices being used in US and UK High School / Secondary School Classics classrooms today. Each short, five–ten minute demonstration of the teaching approach will be followed by opportunities for questions from the floor about the approach and their potential contribution to providing more inclusive and accessible routes into classics whilst maintaining sufficient academic rigour. The organisers hope that the event will be able to be captured digitally for wider dissemination to teachers, academics and other interested parties.
19:00. Ancient Global Connections

While many speak of the ‘global turn’ in Mediterranean study, too often this refers either to the comparison of an ancient Mediterranean author with one from another culture, or indeed simply a discussion of what another culture thinks of a Mediterranean author. This panel seeks to confront head-on the fact that the ancient Mediterranean was only part of a much wider connected series of worlds, into which it fed and by which it was influenced. Each paper will look at a particular case study of engagement between communities and its impacts, offering as a result a panel reaching across Afro-Eurasia. In addition, each paper will reflect on how best these kind of ancient global connections can be taught at postgraduate and undergraduate level in order to ensure that the study of the ancient world today properly reflects its connected reality.

Musié, M. ‘Ge’ez Manuscripts and the spread of early Christianity’
This talk will focus on the ancient Ge’ez manuscripts known as the Garima Gospels from the Ethiopian highlands, now believed to be dated to CE 330-660. The Garima monastery is located in the highlands of northern Ethiopia. The area of the Aksumite empire, with its capital in Aksum, covered much of the area of modern Ethiopia and Eritrea from the 1st to 8th centuries CE. The gospel texts were translated in the 5th century from Greek into Ge’ez, which is still the liturgical language of the Ethiopian and Eritrean Orthodox Church(es). The importance of the Garima Gospels to the wider history of ancient manuscripts (and therefore Mediterranean civilisation) have not been appreciated until recently due to the assumption that they dated to the 10th or 11th century. However, radiocarbon readings in 1999 and 2012, organised by Jacques Mercier and the London-based Ethiopian Heritage Fund, dated parchment from the two Garima volumes to CE 330–660.

The re-dating of these manuscripts makes them particularly important because so few illuminated gospel books have survived from this period. We are also able to see the commonalities between these manuscripts and other illuminated gospel books elsewhere, and at the same time appreciate what is distinctively Ethiopian about them. On a broader level these manuscripts from Ethiopia help us to understand how Christianity, from its earliest days, was woven deeply into the fabric of Roman Africa. Major cities like Alexandria and Carthage emerged as institutional and intellectual centres of the newly ascendant church in the fourth century, thus confirming Africa’s critical role in the development of Christian theology and practice. Ethiopian and Nubian rulers to the south and east adopted and elaborated upon the Christian beliefs and institutions of the Roman-Byzantine world. These manuscripts under discussion will hopefully generate an awareness and deeper understanding of their historical and cultural value to the study of ancient Mediterranean civilisations.

Whitfield, S. ‘Shared Aesthetics across Afro-Eurasia’
Material culture can prove a compelling illustration of global connections, whatever the period. Objects moving across cultures also illustrate how aesthetics are adopted, challenged or rejected as they are encountered by new communities. A well-attested and much discussed example is the spread of the gold and garnet steppe aesthetic across Europe in the first millennium. At the same time, the aesthetic was also adopted at the
other end of Eurasia seen, for example, in Silla-period (57 BC–AD 935) elite tombs in the Korean peninsula.

But why was this aesthetic so successful and what does this tell us about the receiving communities? To explore this, this talk will consider other examples of Afro-Eurasian aesthetics in the period, including lapis and jade, both sourced in central Asia, the former in what is now eastern Afghanistan and the latter in Khotan, in what is now northwestern China. Lapis is used in ancient Egypt, as a pigment in Buddhist painting in south and central Asia (and, later, in Christian painting from Anatolia into Europe), and in Silla chestlaces. Yet although known and used in China, it is not widely found in elite tombs. By contrast, jade (nephrite) remained a valued material through the history of China but its impact elsewhere is less apparent.

Scott, M. ‘Forming Opinions of Global Trading Partners’
The multiple goods that moved in many different directions between cultures and communities from the Mediterranean to China and beyond have been the subject of increasing study in recent years as the fields of ancient global history, and of ‘silk road studies’, have developed. Such study has focused on the systems behind the movement of these goods along the silk roads network, as well as on the social impacts of these goods on the communities that consumed them (e.g. the famously high cost and social depravity that Chinese silk was said to have inflicted on the Roman world). Less often asked is what impact these goods had on how the receiving community conceived of the producing community. This paper seeks to examine the link, and indeed often the absence of it, between the consumption of goods and the perceived nature of the community who produced them. In short, what difference did trade make to the formation of opinions about trading partners in antiquity?

This paper will examine several case studies, both of communities who physically interacted with one another as well as exchanged goods; and of communities who only received the other’s goods but had no direct interaction. An example of the former will be that of Han China and different constituent Kingdoms of central and western Asia, with which the Han had a varying amount of diplomatic and military contact as well as trading goods. Examples of the former will be Rome’s consumption of Chinese goods and their resultant understanding of the Seres (‘silk’) people, as well as, conversely, Han China’s understanding of Rome (Da Qin) in relation to the many goods it ascribed to having come from the Roman world. Discussion of these case studies will also link into my experience of teaching an Ancient Global History module to 2nd/3rd year Classics undergraduates at the University of Warwick in 2018-2019.

Morgan, L. ‘Heracles and cultural integration’
A paradox that lies at the heart of Virgil’s Aeneid is the power of violence to generate a unified community, the Roman people forged from the conflict between Trojans and Latins. Hercules is a key vehicle for this theme, a figure of extreme violence who is also communis deus (8.275), the god who is god for all. Virgil’s Hercules reflects his role in an Italian context, a patron of agricultural commerce across the peninsula who could indeed represent a unified Italy.
He also corresponds to the Herakles familiar from studies of Greek colonisation such as Irad Malkin’s *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (2003), the ‘opening hero’ whose journey ‘clears the way, sets the precedent, frees the land from hindrances such as afflictions and monsters’ (Malkin 2003, 207), accompanying (or in mythic terms preceding) the Greeks wherever they went. But again, the justification of violent acquisition of territory that Herakles offers coexists with a power to conciliate. Herakles was a Greek god whom colonised communities could recognise as their own, and thus mythically (through Herakles’ assimilation to local gods, or his fathering of non-Greek peoples) and actually the Herakles evoked in Augustus’ *tropaeum* above Monaco could function as a force for cohesion as well as violent subjugation.

This paper will sketch the global reach of Herakles, his presence throughout the Mediterranean as far as Tangier mirrored across Asia in the wake of Alexander, descendant and emulator of Herakles. In Asia we witness the coalescence of Iranian and Indian hero-deities with Herakles, Verethragna and Indra among others, and Herakles entering the visual vocabulary of Buddhism in what is modern-day Pakistan. Vajrapani, the attendant of the Buddha who in Gandharan art regularly resembles the Greek Herakles, is still conveying the key Heraclean characteristic of overpowering violence, but embodies also the same mysterious power of Hercules to bring disparate people together that Virgil had exploited.
When studying the ancient world, one has often to make do with literary scraps. With regard to ancient Greek scholarship and commentaries, this is even more frequent, for two reasons. First of all, the earliest extant works of literary criticism are mostly in a fragmentary state. Furthermore, commentaries extensively incorporate citations. Consequently, they are an invaluable repository of texts, which would otherwise be lost. And, to complicate matters even more, these two conditions can coexist, so that one has to deal with fragmented commentaries cited in other fragmentary texts.

This panel thus intends to delve deeply into what those (broadly understood) ‘interrupted’ commentaries were like. It starts with an examination of a papyrus commentary on a lost lyric poem, a case study that encapsulates very well the panel’s key research questions. The second one sheds light on Protagoras and the emergence of literary criticism before Alexandrian scholarship, and the third focuses on Rhodian literary scholarship as it survives in later works and commentaries. The final paper reassesses the commentator’s craft in Athenaeus’ Deipnosophistae, in which fragments of texts were creatively rearranged to form a new and original whole.

Prodi, E. ‘Commenting Fragments: P.Oxy. 2636’
This paper examines the intersection between fragment and commentary in an actual commentary (hypomnema). Ancient commentaries brim with fragments. The commentator isolates a morsel of text out of the relevant work—a paragraph, a sentence, a phrase, a single word—and proceeds to elucidate it, with or without an explicit attempt to feed his explanation into a more global interpretation of the target text as a whole or even of the immediate surroundings of the chosen passage. When other material is called on to justify an interpretation—grammatical, stylistic, mythological, historical—what results is often a constellation of fragments, detached from their original contexts, displayed alongside one another in order to contribute, piece by piece, to an understanding of the target text.

The chosen test case is P.Oxy. XXXII 2636, published in 1967 as ‘Commentary on Choral Lyric’ and understudied since (the bibliography runs to a whopping four items, two of which are brief discussions in reviews of the other two). Itself appropriately fragmentary, it preserves no certain indication either of its own author or of the author and title of the lyric texts it comments on—which are, of course, fragmentary. The first of these texts appears to be a poem in praise of a man called Pigres; the second opens with an intriguing reference to the epiphany of a god, probably Apollo. After some introductory reflections on the interplay of fragment and hypomnema, in keeping with the topic of the panel, the paper offers some text-critical and interpretative improvements on the papyrus, then investigates
what sort of commentary it represents and what the fragments it preserves can tell us about the lost lyric texts it accompanied.

Andolfi, I. ‘Retrieving the Origins of Commentaries: Protagoras on Homer’
This paper uncovers Protagoras’ contribution to the field of literary scholarship as described by Peripatetic sources. This evidence testifies to Protagoras’ pioneering literary interests, which will set the course of future developments, in (what one would call today) philology and narratology respectively.

As it is widely acknowledged, Protagoras was no stranger to inquiry about language. According to Plato (Crat. 391c, Phaedr. 267bc), he was an expert of ὀρθοέπεια, that is ‘correctness of language’. These assertions find support in Aristotle, who states that Protagoras distinguished the gender of nouns and that he put this notion into practice when reading the Iliad’s proem (Soph. Ref. 173b 17–22). Protagoras also found fault with the action inferable from the poem’s opening line (Poet. 1456b 15–8): here the bard does not pray to the Muse, as he should, but gives her an order. Therefore, Aristotle bears witness to Protagoras’ engagement with philology and also with the context of utterance, i.e. the core of pragmatic linguistics.

The scope of Protagoras’ literary activity also extends to the structural framework underlying a narrative. Thanks to a papyrus commentary on Iliad Book 21 (P.Oxy. 221, col. XII 19-25), we know that he engaged critically with the ‘Themachy’ section. Protagoras observes that the fight of Achilles against the Scamander works as a ‘transitional episode’, whose main function is to separate the Trojans’ slaughter and the battle of the gods and to enhance Achilles’ prominence. Even if the terminology here employed is typically Aristotelian (cf. Poet. 1459a 29 ff.), this passage is well worth dwelling over for its embryonic attempt to analyse poetry’s narrative structure.

Hence, this paper illuminates what Protagoras’ toolkit for poetry exegesis was like, but also how Aristotle reported the sophist’s views on literary criticism and how he eventually incorporated Protagoras’ ideas in his own scholarship.

Coward, T. R. P. ‘Two Fragmentary Rhodian Commentators: Attalus and Aristocles’
The southeast Aegean and the adjacent coast of Asia Minor were centres of intellectual and literary activity well before the rise of Alexandria. Peripatetics on Rhodes and Athens, Stoics, and scholar-poets pioneered several disciplines. Following the establishment of Alexandrian and Pergamene literary scholarship, Rhodes became a venue where long-standing traditions of philosophy, rhetoric and philology blended together.

This paper examines the activities of two Rhodian commentators: Attalus and Aristocles, who worked on didactic poetry, and philosophy and dialectics respectively. Attalus (early 2nd century BC) wrote the earliest known astronomical commentary with text and preface on Aratus’ Phaenomena. It is unclear if this was a monograph or running commentary, though Attalus (1.12–13 Maass) asserts that he has produced both a revised text (βιβλίον διαφανθεμένον) and an interpretation (ἔκδηγησις). A number of fragments survive via the commentary of Hipparchus, also from Rhodes, and suggest a major scholarly enterprise.
Attalus demonstrates intriguing connections with Alexandrian scholarship, especially with Aristarchus, and raises questions of his relationship to him. Aristocles (second half of 1st century BC and known to Strabo), the orator and scholar, was a commentator on Plato’s dialogues and a specialist of Hippocratic vocabulary, and may also have written an *On Dialects* and *On the Art of Poetry*. Varro (LL 10.74–5) also criticized Aristocles’ definition of analogy.

Together their surviving fragments raise questions of handling fragmentary commentaries embedded within other commentaries or works, and our understanding of the word ‘commentary’ itself in regard to the output of both scholars. This paper considers the impact of Alexandrian scholarship and the continuity of Stoic and Peripatetic learning on Rhodian literary scholarship, the development of literary scholarship on Hellenistic literature and Classical prose, and the legacy of Rhodian learning in Rome.

**Cartlidge, B. ‘Could They Put Humpty Together Again? Speakers and Commentators in Athenaeus’**

What influence did the development of the commentary have on literature more widely? This paper investigates the relationship between (a) fragments, (b) the commentary tradition, and (c) Athenaeus’ speakers, by charting two distinct tracks.

First, the paper contends that the key comparandum for Athenaeus’ text is not philosophical dialogue, nor the tradition of gastronomic writing, nor even compilation or lexicographical literature, but the lemmatic commentary. The only difference, superficially, is that Athenaeus’ lemmata—or ‘fragments’ as we usually call them—are not taken from successive sections of a continuous text; rather, these fragments represent a literary tradition seen as a whole—a canon, or corpus. Furthermore, the corpus is structured in such a way so as to be mnemonically useful, particularly with reference to ‘catalogues’ in the text. Catalogues recreate ‘texts’ from fragments—Humpty-Dumpty is reassembled, but in new and unexpected ways. The lemmatised text is thus a complex and artificial construct for Athenaeus.

It follows from this that Athenaeus’ speakers are cast in the role of commentators—comprising the text, as it were, that is not ‘lemma’. This, the second track, has further interesting implications for Athenaeus’ dramatic characters and their personal identities (better handled, it will be shown, than is usually granted to Athenaeus). Speaker interactions in Athenaeus dramatise the fragmentation process—to put it another way, the actions of the commentator as s/he creates a lemma. Furthermore, this allows a new approach to the actual content of individual speeches: what does a deipnosophist have to say about literature? This is a central enterprise in the re-articulation of Athenaeus as a writer, rather than a mere compiler. The organisation of knowledge in Athenaeus is thus shown to be a dynamic and intellectually contested process.
Session 1, Panel 2. **Ancient Regionalism within a Larger Context: Regions within Leagues, Kingdoms and Empires (Part 1 of 3)**

Chair: tba

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.

**Pretzler, M. ‘Sparta and Peloponnesian Regionalism in the Classical Period’**

Regionalism in the Peloponnese, mainly 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*). In this paper I am revisiting Sparta’s relationship with various regional entities in the Peloponnesse. In particular, I am focusing on the advantage of regionalism from the point of view of the hegemon. The paper investigates how, and under which circumstances, Sparta actually found regional organisation within its league an advantage, and in what ways it exploited and even fostered regional entities to serve its own ends.

**Husøy, T. ‘Thessaly and the Origin of Regionalism in Central Greece’**

The sixth century saw an increasingly powerful Thessaly extending its influence beyond its borders, particularly in central Greece. This paper shall examine the effects of the Thessalians on the peoples in central Greece, with an emphasis on the Phocians and Boeotians. Both developed stronger ethnic identities because of the Thessalian threat; furthermore, all three would later in the Classical period develop federal governmental systems.

For the majority of the sixth century the Thessalians had dominated central Greece, from the obscure but crucial First Sacred War to their advances halted in Boeotia. Both the Boeotians and Phocians did not have firmly established ethnic boundaries in the early sixth century but developed these much as a resistance against the Thessalian forces in the region. Both Phocians and Boeotia based much of their early identity on anti-Thessalian
attitudes; in Phocis this was strong enough that Herodotus suggests the only reason the Phocians fought in the Hellenic Alliance was because the Thessalians fought on the Persian side. In Boeotia the final battle of Keressos, which stagnated the movement of Thessalian forces through Boeotia, was remembered as crucial as the latter battles of Chaeronea and Leuktra.

A crucial element of the developing ethnic identities in these regions was the development of a common mythological background. Both the (possibly legendary) battles the Phocians fought in the First Sacred War and later exploits in the sixth century strengthen the anti-Thessalian feeling in this region. The Boeotians, however, wrote themselves into the stories of Greek migrations and claimed to have been expelled from Thessaly. Therefore, memories of Thessalian involvement in the sixth century created a narrative of rising ethnic identities and changing power dynamics in Central Greece leading to the rise of strong regionalism.

Aston, E. ‘Slippery Customers: Diplomacy with the Thessalians in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC’

By 361/0 BC, it was possible for Athens to have a treaty with ‘the Thessalians’, at least on paper (or stone!). We know this from IG II.2 116, which records αὐθηναίων καὶ Θετταλῶν εἰς τῶν ἄει χρόνων (‘alliance of the Athenians and the Thessalians for all time’). The Athenians have their officials, the Thessalians have theirs; the whole matter seems straightforward.

However, as this presentation will argue, making a treaty with the Thessalians in the fifth and fourth centuries BC was rarely a simple matter. States wishing to draw up diplomatic connections with Thessaly faced a puzzling assortment of different poleis, and different political agencies within poleis, which made Thessalian foreign policy exceptionally changeable and multifarious. Even when outsiders could deal with a Thessalian koinon and its officers, these apparently orderly institutions hid a great deal of faction and dissent. Philip II of Macedon was canny enough to spot this, and directed his diplomatic relations with Thessaly accordingly, placing more faith in personal friendships than in the machinery of federal government.

Helm, M. ‘Regionalism in the Northern Hellenistic Peloponnese in the Third Century’

Following on recent work on interconnectivity and multipolarity in the third century, this paper will focus on the northern half of the Hellenistic Peloponnese as a case study for regional interaction across federal and political borders. The north of the Peloponnese has numerous distinct and long-established polities between the Isthmus of Corinth and the Akte Peninsula to the South, and these communities had long interacted with one another before the advent of the Hellenistic geography of power. This paper will examine this region in the third century in order to catch a glimpse of how these regional ties manifested themselves and persisted in a complex and often compartmentalised political framework.
Session 1, Panel 3. **Storying Gendered Emotions in Classical Antiquity: Embodied Narratives (Part 1 of 2)** [Panel supported by the Women’s Classical Committee UK]

Chair: Salvo, I./Gerolemou, M.

Although studies on emotion in ancient Greek and Roman cultures are currently thriving, gender differences in emotional experience and expression have been comparatively little investigated. These two combined panels aspire to identify the interplay between gender, emotion, and forms of narration. Discussion will focus on highlighting embodied narratives and investigating sexual differences.

The first session on embodied narratives will ask how ancient authors have storied emotion—from poetry and tragedy to medical and philosophical texts. Narratives could construct, thus shape, their ‘consumer’s’ gendered emotional expression, or undo it. In particular, forms of emotional narratives can be conveyed through body parts or material objects closely attached to the body, evoking a gendered emotional and embodied experience.

The second session on sex differences will explore gender-specific patterns of emotions. Contributors will consider whether there are any stereotypical emotions that are considered socially acceptable for females and males. The way women and men experience and express emotions will emerge from modern reception of Homeric epic, Greek historiography, Seneca, and Christian papyri. From these sources, it will be examined whether verbal and non-verbal expression of emotion, codes of behavior and morality have different frequency and intensity depending on the sex of the agents.

**Blanco, C. ‘Beneath the Skin: Investigating Cutaneous Conditions as Somatisations of Gendered Emotions’**

A medium between the self and the external world, the skin was deemed to be one of the seats of human emotions in classical culture. Alopecia, vitiligo and, more generally, itch are often listed as symptoms of lovesickness in women by some of the best-known ancient authors, such as Hesiod (*Catalogue of Women*, 132–3 M-W) and Theocritus (*Idylls*, 2.88–9). Interestingly, while women’s skin was mainly affected by unfulfilled erotic disease, men mostly experienced skin ailments in relation to shame. Thus, for instance, in Aeschylus’ *Libation-Bearers* 279–82 Orestes lists leprosy and alopecia among the terrible consequences that he will have to face if he does not avenge the murder of his father. In the first part of my paper, I will investigate literary texts, by focusing on how women and men were believed to somatise different emotions through skin ailments. In the second part, I will investigate medical and biological treatises, Hippocratic and Aristotle’s works in particular, with the aim to understand whether the narrative which they provide is consistent with what is found in literary sources. Since women’s complexion and flesh were allegedly lighter and thinner than men’s (e.g. Aristotle, *Parts of Animals* 2.2), can this difference in their skin physiology be deemed responsible for the gendered somatisation of their emotions too? By focusing on cutaneous conditions, this paper aims to explore gendered emotions and their somatisation in ancient Greece.
Chow-Kambitsch, E. ‘Behind Her Twisted Eyes: Symptoms of Lethal Ecstasy in Euripides’

Violent women in Euripidean tragedy manifest the symptom of rolling eyes, or twisted pupils (diastrophous koras), often accompanied by foaming at the mouth, as their bodies become vessels for the powerful influence (orge) of a deity. This paper will draw from Euripides’ Bacchae, Medea, and Herakles to explore Euripides’ use of the roving gaze to denote female (or feminized) ecstasy at its most lethal. Renate Schlesier (in Masks of Dionysus, 1993) has argued that the maenad provides a model for the ‘Bacchic madness’ (whether or not inspired by Dionysus) displayed by violent women in Greek tragedy, in contexts of love, war, and kin-killing. Schlesier observes that maenadic behaviors anticipate the required (from an Aristotelian perspective) turning of events and prime the character for a sudden shift in emotional state that accompanies it. Martha Nussbaum (in Medea: Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy, and Art, 1997) has similarly commented on Medea’s comparison of herself to a maenad in Seneca’s Medea as a means of calling listeners to witness her emotional volatility. This paper will build upon such previous discussions by tracing the embodiment of magnified, changing, and sometimes indistinct emotions in the gaze of lethal ecstasy. After the violence is over, the traveling gaze of the bacchant/sufferer of divine orge becomes fixed on the object that transmutes and concentrates emotional experience (e.g. delusionary triumph into the horror of recognition). This characteristically female/feminized gaze can belong to the victim of the violence as well as the perpetrator, as in Euripides’ Bacchae, when the playwright places us behind the eyes of Pentheus. For when he arrives onstage in his maenad costume, he describes his first impression of his new disguise: his altered perception of the world as his gaze shifts across it, taking it all in with the same twisted eyes through which his mother will see when she kills him.

Ace, A. '(Gendered) Emotions in the Midwife Metaphor of Plato’s Theaetetus’

In Plato’s Theaetetus, Socrates compares philosophy to childbirth (149a ff.). Among other similarities, philosophical elenchus is emotionally distressing in two ways that reflect the experiences of new mothers. First, philosophers feel ‘pangs’ of (emotional) pain just as mothers experience physical pain (149c–d, 151a–b); second, men are attached to their arguments just as mothers are attached to their children. Therefore, when Socrates refutes a man’s argument, it feels like his ‘child’ is being taken away (151c–d, 160e–161a). I argue that Plato uses this comparison to help readers understand and react differently to negative emotions that they (or their interlocutors) may have while philosophizing. Socrates’ interlocutors often see their interactions as combative. By reframing philosophy as childbirth, Socrates encourages Theaetetus (and Plato encourages readers) to stay patiently with midwife-Socrates (who induced their ‘pangs’, but can also soothe them, 149c9–d2), rather than lashing out at (151c6–d4), or retreating from (150e3), opponent-Socrates. Second, the childbirth metaphor implies that we have negative emotional responses in the context of philosophical arguments because our arguments are ours—we are attached to our ‘children’, whether biological or philosophical (cf. Plut. Platonic Questions 999f–1000a). By using a feminine-gendered emotional experience to elucidate this, Plato both reinforces and challenges gender stereotypes of emotion. On the one hand, by reframing philosophical defensiveness as irrational attachment to a ‘defective’ argument/child rather than martial valour, Plato attacks the masculinity of defensive interlocutors, reinforcing notions that femininity is to be avoided. On the other hand, by
comparing the masculine-coded experience of philosophy to the feminine-coded experience of childbirth, Plato highlights similarities between men’s and women’s emotional experience, showing that men are not exempt from ‘feminine’ emotionality: the emotional experience of love for one’s own, and distress when it is under attack, is universal and transcends gender.

Watkins Nattermann, I. ‘Unveiling Gestures in Colluthus’ The Abduction of Helen: Aidos, Female Sexuality, and Rape’

This paper examines the gendered gestures of unveiling in Colluthus’ early fifth-century CE epyllion, The Abduction of Helen. The female veil is closely linked to notions of aidos: a veiled woman performs her modesty by physically closing herself off from the male gaze, while unveiling gestures can compromise her sexual modesty (Llewellyn-Jones 2003, Aphrodite’s Tortoise). I read Colluthus’ text as a rape narrative that is simultaneously conveyed and complicated through the material object of the veil. I propose that Colluthus frames the story of Helen’s rape with gestures of unveiling that allow the reader to glimpse the gendered emotional response of the female characters surrounding her and, at the same time, elide Helen’s own reaction to her rape. Colluthus uses the veil to trace an arc through the poem expressing women’s emotional responses to the crisis at hand: he moves from childlike innocence, to sexualized behavior and a lack of aidos, to utter destruction. Early in the poem, the nymphs of the river Xanthus throw off their veils in play (1–3), while Aphrodite casually removes hers to seduce Paris (82–84); at the end of the poem, both Hermione and Cassandra throw off their veils in grief (328–29, 391–92). Childlike playfulness, seduction, and grief are all expressed by the same motion and resonate through their repetition, as each repeated gesture takes on an additional shade of meaning in its shifted context. While the central act—Helen’s rape and her own emotional response to it—are themselves cleverly elided, these gendered gestures using the material object of the veil obliquely reflect the other female characters’ emotional states, all the more vividly if we consider the possibility of this piece’s performance as a mime (Cadau 2015, Studies in Colluthus’ Abduction of Helen).

Session 1, Panel 4. Martial
Chair: tba

Nobili, M. ‘Kissing the Crippled’
The noun dexiocholus ('lame in the right leg') in Martial 12.59.9 is a hapax legomenon which has long puzzled interpreters. Moreover, the hendecasyllable shows a lacuna of one long element. The path to the correct interpretation has been (quite hastily) opened by A. E. Housman (1919 and 1926), who quotes two passages from ancient authors showing that a man lame in the right leg was shunned ‘because it was unlucky to meet one’. Nobody, however, has so far fully explained the reason why ancient sources mention the right leg in connection with bad luck. This paper takes its point of departure from this passage of Martial (where a very simple emendation of the corrupt line 9 is offered) to provide a supplement to the recent treatments of ancient disabilities by J. Garland (1995) and C. Laes (2013), exploring, in particular, the testimony provided by Martial about popular beliefs on disabilities and the disabled—often leading to disgust in a certain set of situations, but with many ‘distinguio’s, as it will be shown, as in the case of a disability due to war injuries.
— in the Graeco-Roman world and their impact on the lives of such categories of marginalised people.


Imagining one’s own work as a physical entity is a literary topos in Latin literature that originates in Horace’s Epistle 1.20. Ovid and Martial both revisit the concept of attesting a physical body to their books and sending them off to their patrons for protection and promotion. The address to and the treatment of the book has been explored by scholars such as Citroni 1986, Wissig-Baving 1991, and Oliensis 1995. These scholars, however, have explored Martial’s take on his Augustan predecessors only for the sake of putting him into relation with them. This paper dedicates attention to Martial’s perspective and investigates how he adapts the Augustan model of addressing one’s book to the imperial system of patronage. Martial casts his book as anthropomorphic with bodily features, clothes, agency, and even speech. Scholars have noted, however, that Martial’s representation of the book is not consistent throughout Martial’s oeuvre but varies in the degrees of separation between book and author and of agency attested to the book. While this inconsistency has been recognized, it has yet to be addressed adequately. This paper investigates the inconsistent representation of the body of the book and suggests that the very inconsistency adds layers of complexity to the Augustan topos. In its new context, the topos gives expression to a new set of anxieties, one that is quintessential to the existence of the imperial client-poet. This paper first argues that the new set of social anxieties becomes evident from the ways in which Martial dramatizes or banalizes the representation of the physical book as proposed by the Augustans: Martial diverges from authors such as Horace and Ovid in the representation of the relationship between poet and book, book and patron, and the grade of personification of the book, which is most evidently observed in its physical appearance. I will show how these factors express the poet’s anxiety in the changing client-patron relationship of the first century CE and suggest anxiety as a theme of coherence between the seemingly inconsistent epigrams. In conclusion, by examining Martial’s representation of the physical book in contrast with the Augustans, this paper proposes a solution for the perceived inconsistency in representing his book.

Bibliography

Gianni, G. ‘Martial, Masculinity and Sexuality in the Erotion Cycle (5.34, 5.37, 10.61)’

In a short cycle of three epigrams, the poet Martial commemorates a deceased five-year-old girl named Erotion. There is no consensus on whom the young girl was, whether Martial’s daughter (Bell 1984), his favorite pet slave (Kenney 1964) or an object of sexual curiosity (Watson 1992). Indeed, the language of the second poem of the cycle is purposefully ambiguous and features many tropes of erotic poetry. This paper investigates, for the first time in recent scholarship, the entire cycle together, analyzing the three epigrams in relation to one another rather than focusing on the most scandalous and salacious one. This intervention argues that, while denying the sexual element would be a mistake, it must be looked at in the wider context of Martial’s poetry, in which exaggeration lies next to crude truth, invective next to affection, and the reader is the ultimate judge.

The three poems form a non-binding cycle, in which each poem can be read independently for it does not require previous knowledge of the others. However, only by reading them together is possible to detect the speaker’s manifested feelings for the young girl, mourning her untimely death as a family member and lamenting the loss of such sexual beauty.

The three poems suggest that Erotion was both a beloved pet-slave and an object of sexual thoughts, rather than actions due to the unreadiness of her body (which is a trope attested in Greek epigram AP 12.205). Affectionate, quasi-fatherly thoughts are combined with erotic interest. Only in recent centuries, sex and children have become a gross and unnatural combination (Ariès 1965). Martial’s language does not give any indication that he was aware of the unease his words may have provoked. To Martial and his contemporaries, sexual curiosity towards a young female slave was a manifestation of positive masculinity; for other examples of unholy masculinity or femininity are rebuked in the strongest terms throughout Martial’s production.

In conclusion, the Erotion cycle attests an unpleasant for us and yet much too real scenario that must have been common and understandable to a Roman audience of the late first and early second century CE: enslaved children seen as sexual objects to be engaged with once their age allowed it.

Bibliography

Tafaro, A. ‘Omnis Caesareo cedit labor amphitheatro. Power and Monuments in Martial’s Liber Spectaculorum’
In the context of the Flavian propaganda of restoration and monumentalisation of Rome, Martial writes the Liber Spectaculorum to celebrate the inauguration of the Flavian Amphitheatre in AD 80 (Coleman 2006). Through the tiniest of the poetic forms, Martial promotes this new grandiose feat of architecture, which, located on the site of Nero’s
Golden House, stood as the icon for the Flavian recovery of the Empire from its momentary collapse (Mart. sp. 2).

By playing on the constant tension between lapidary permanence and ephemeral materiality of the epigram, Martial permanently captures the transient streams of Imperial spectacles (Fitzgerald 2007), whilst exalting the monumental essence of the Amphitheatre. Although seemingly at variance with Flavian monumentality, the epigram reveals itself as the ideal medium to extol the arena wonders (Rimell 2008).

As Coleman (2006) duly emphasises, Martial promotes vision as a mode of consumption for his spectacle-epigrams. This paper will explore Martial’s innovative take on the already paradoxical trope of poetic monumentality, investigating how the poet re-writes and monumentalises his spectacles in the posthumous collection of the Apophoreta. Whilst the Flavians renew the monumental cityscape, Martial offers his verses a tri-dimensional and marble afterlife, morphing the arena games into portable objet d’art.

The Liber Spectaculorum reenacts the tension between monumental/permanent writing and subjective/impermanent graffiti which construe the Amphitheatre, in which official inscriptions coexist with impromptu gladiatorial graffiti. By playing with authoritative and subjective amphitheatrical voices, the book creates a spectrum through which we appreciate Martial’s self-memorialising strategies and which will allow us to tackle the complex paradoxes structuring both monuments and monumental writing.

Session 1, Panel 5. Unlocking Greek Epigraphy: Widening the Audience of Ancient Greek Inscriptions

Inscriptions provide first-hand insight into the history and culture of the ancient Greek world. Until relatively recently, the opportunity to read Greek inscriptions was limited largely to those with a good knowledge of ancient Greek and access to an academic library. This panel will explore current developments which are facilitating the engagement of a wider audience with Greek inscriptions: we will discuss (a) recent developments pertinent to the display of Greek inscriptions in museums and other collections (in particular the Fitzwilliam in Cambridge, the Louvre in Paris and the Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections project); (b) the impact of open-access websites dedicated to the publication and translation of inscriptions (especially Attic Inscriptions Online); and (c) projects making images of inscriptions and their squeezes accessible to a wider audience. We will consider their pedagogical implications for school- and university-teachers and the exciting possibilities they are opening up for a wider audience. Further details on individual contributions can be found in the supplementary document below.

Lambert, S. ‘Attic Inscriptions Online’
My talk will present Attic Inscriptions Online (AIO), explaining its origins, purpose and key features, work in progress and future plans, with particular emphasis on the ways AIO seeks to broaden access to Attic inscriptions and on the project Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections (AIUK). AIO has encouraged feedback via an online survey, a feedback button at the bottom of each translation, and a contact form. This panel will be a very valuable
opportunity to gather informed feedback from other panel members and the audience, and ideas for AIO’s future development.

**Holliday, S. ‘Teaching Inscriptions in the Secondary Classroom’**

I will focus on the impact of using inscriptions in the secondary classroom as a specialist ‘Classics [i.e. Latin]’ rather than ‘Ancient History’ teacher. I will focus upon how the use of open-access sites such as ‘Attic Inscriptions Online’ has helped to develop my own subject knowledge as a non-specialist teaching the history of the 5th Century BCE in translation (with only GCSE level Ancient Greek) owing to their reliable modern translations with detailed notes. Moreover, I will discuss how AIO has empowered A-Level students to confidently use inscriptional evidence in their work, providing a counterbalance to excessive reliance upon the narratives of Thucydidides, Plutarch or Diodorus Siculus which are held to resemble the genre of modern historical narrative with which students are familiar.

**Liddel, P. ‘The Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections Project: Lyme Park’**

My paper introduces the Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections project. More than 220 Athenian inscriptions on stone are currently housed in British collections. They consist of decrees, financial accounts and inventories, sacrificial calendars, leases, name lists, dedications and funerary monuments. They are a resource of great importance for historians, archaeologists and linguists. They are dispersed across private collections, public museums and institutional collections. This AHRC-sponsored project will publish editions, translations and commentaries on all these decrees on the open-access Attic Inscriptions Online website, making them widely accessible to a wide audience. I will focus upon the two Athenian inscriptions on display at Lyme Park in Cheshire. Both are funerary monuments with relief sculpture; I will explore their commemorative function, historical context, the discovery of them in the 19th Century and their current display context (alongside a piece of uninscribed sculpture).

**Brunet, M. ‘IG Louvre and E-STAMPAGES’**

This talk presents 2 digital open access projects: IG Louvre (a digital publication of the Greek inscriptions in the Louvre) and E-STAMPAGES (a digital library of squeezes of Greek inscriptions in Lyon and Athens (FSA)). Both intend to open Greek epigraphy to a wider audience and to provide resources for students. At the Louvre there are more than 1000 inscriptions, ranging from the 6th century BCE to the 6th century AD, including a wide range of texts and inscribed objects from across the Greek world. The digital publication of the collection (with Greek text in TEI/EpiDoc/XML, translation(s) and commentary) enables a view of the epigraphic documents in all their dimensions, emphasising monumentality and context, and considering them as visible words to be seen as well as read: it represents an ideal sample for a Digital Handbook of Greek Epigraphy. But it raises also the issue of how best to deploy a substantial digital publication for the wider public.
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.

Buxton, R. ‘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.

Aguirre, M. ‘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: Hades, Persephone, Hecate. 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: Hermes’ theft of Apollo’s cattle; the stealing of Athene’s Palladion in Troy; 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.

Boutsikas, E. ‘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.

Eidinow, E. ‘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.

Bibliography

Session 1, Panel 7. Homer and Pindar
Chair: tba

Nelson, T. ‘Homer, Hesiod and a Footnoting φασί’
In this paper, I scrutinise the allusive depths of a pair of similes at the end of the Homeric Catalogue of ships, which connect the events unfolding on earth with the supernatural strife of Zeus and Typhoeus (Il. 2.780-85). Scholars have long admired the structural artistry of these lines, but here I wish to focus on the unobtrusive φασί of verse 783, a word which—I suggest—plays the role of a pre-Alexandrian footnote, signposting Homer’s allusive agenda.

A careful examination of Homer’s simile reveals numerous thematic and verbal parallels with Hesiod’s account of Typhoeus’ defeat in the Theogony (esp. Theog.843-47, 857-59), centred around lashing, the groaning earth and the demolition of nature. Depending on the position we take on early Greek intertextuality (and the relative chronology of Homer and Hesiod), we could see here either (a) an early instance of direct textual allusion in archaic Greek epic (Homer citing Hesiod); or (b) an elaborate allusion to a pre-existing and well-established theogonic tradition, from which Hesiod’s poem would soon emerge. In either case, the Iliad’s Typhoeus simile offers a compact and miniature postscript to a major episode of the theogonic tradition, highlighting how the defeated Typhoeus continues to be punished in terms precisely comparable to his initial defeat. In addition, his place of rest in life (εἰς Ἀρίμοις, Theog.304) has become his permanent resting-place (εἰς Ἀρίμοις, Il.2.783) – note Homer’s euphemistic εὐνάς (not ‘bed’, but ‘tomb’). These Homeric verses thus exhibit a considerable degree of intertextual sophistication, flagged by φασί.

Notably, this signposted allusion introduces an analogy which underlies much of the remainder of the Iliad, where Typhonomachic imagery recurs as a parallel and foil for the
events of the Trojan war. I shall close by tracing these enduring reverberations, which demonstrate the programmatic significance of Homer's Typhoean allusion.

Bibliography

The word kômos as used by Pindar in his Epinikia points the character of the victory song as a definite sub-genre within lyric, its particular occasion and mode of performance. However, the relationship of this word with all these dimensions has been proven difficult to understand. In this talk I will try and demonstrate that an analysis of the passages in the victory odes in which kômôs occurs, when conflated diachronically and synchronically with its use in other authors and genres, allows us to deduce that (a) kômôs belongs to an inherited technical Indo-European vocabulary of song making and that (b) its use in Pindar preserves the most ancient meaning against which all other uses (in epic, elegy and drama, for example) must be understood, rather than the other way around, as is usually done. I shall then try and explicate the symbolic semantics of kômos by means of an Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM) deduced from Pindar’s odes, arguing that, within this ICM, its most schematic meaning is that of celebration [of men] (Skr. śamsa – Gr. kômos), and that from this meaning the less schematic conceptual construals of praise song (Gr. epikômios hymnos), and group of celebrating men (Skr. naraśamsa – Gr. kômos anērōn) is likely to have arisen.

Gazis, G. ‘Which Path Will You Follow? Homer’s Universe and Pindar’s Afterlife’
In this paper, I want to offer a disruptive interpretation of the underworld narrative of Olympian 2, by moving away from the established approach that seeks to separate and define specific religious/cultic beliefs, and looking instead at the mythic tradition which Pindar exploits in order to paint an image of the afterlife which is as diverse as it is familiar. I argue specifically that the afterlife is visualised as a three levelled construct where the lower level is reserved for the impious, the in-between level for the pious as an idealised earthly existence, whereas the upper level can be found following the path of Zeus next to the tower of Cronos and offers essentially a deification of the soul on the Isle of the Blessed (O. 2.65–80). This model, if superimposed upon the Homeric division of the cosmos would reflect precisely the geographical elements of the underworld, the earth and heaven, with
the last level, representing a plain of existence in the sky. This interpretation finds support in a comment by Aristotle regarding the alleged Pythagorean belief of the sun being conceived as the ‘tower of Zeus’ (Fr. 204.10), thus placing Pindar’s Isle of the Blessed beyond the constraints of the earth and firmly within a visualised celestial realm.

That some form of Acragantian afterlife cult could be concealed within the narrative is probable and supported by reliable external evidence (cf. Griffith 1991; Currie 2003, 233). I argue however that the description which Pindar presents has very little to do with any concrete doctrine. Whether this is done intentionally or as a result of genuine ignorance is a question that has to, inevitably, remain open. What can however, be proved, I argue, is that Pindar’s approach to the concept of distinct afterlives remains, within its peculiarity, as traditional as ever.

Session 1, Panel 8. Hellenistic Culture
Chair: tba

Meccariello, C. ‘Ecphrastic Epigram and the Politics of Education in Ptolemaic Egypt’
The landscape of Ptolemaic Alexandria was a constellation of symbols of power. From the grandiose palace area with its gardens and public buildings to the lighthouse towering above the skyline, fragments of this landscape survive in descriptive epigrams discovered elsewhere in Egypt. Specifically, school papyri show that epigrams describing—and originally inscribed on—Alexandrian landmarks were used in education in areas where royal architecture was not as conspicuous as in the capital.

In this paper I focus on four such epigrams. The first two (SH 978–9), on a fountain featuring a statue of Arsinoe and on a shrine of Homer dedicated by Ptolemy IV, are preserved, with other literary passages, in the so-called Livre d’Ecolier, a late third-century BCE schoolbook from the Fayum. The other two (Posidipp. 115–16 Austin/Bastianini), on the lighthouse and a temple of Arsinoe, are found in P. Louvre inv. 7172, one of the school texts of Ptolemaios, a resident of the Serapeum of Memphis in the mid-second century BCE.

Combining an analysis of the texts with a consideration of the artefacts which preserve them, I elucidate strategies, aims and effects of the use of these epigrams in school. First, I analyse the Livre d’Ecolier as an ideologically marked microcosm, and demonstrate the pivotal role of the two epigrams in informing both the roll’s layout and the interpretation of the whole.

Second, I explore the effects of the epigrams contained in P. Louvre on Ptolemaios’ memory and imagination by analysing passages of his letters and notes.

On these grounds, I conclude that the ecphrastic and deictic nature of the epigram made it an ideal tool for political propaganda: in verbally conveying the ‘here and now’ of symbolic objects, these epigrams not only recreated and widely disseminated the cityscape of Alexandria, but also guided and controlled its interpretation.
Massimo, D. ‘Poverty and Poor People in Leonidas of Tarentum’s Epigrams’

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, Thecitus’ shepherds and Herodas’ townspeople. The poetry of the epigrammatist Leonidas of Tarentum is another notable example, featuring a vast array of poor folk such as shepherds, fishermen or carpenters. Though it shows some points of contacts and parallels with his contemporaries, Leonidas’ case is quite peculiar due to several distinctive elements, which this paper aims at illustrating: his language and diction, whose extravagance, baroqueness and abundance of neologisms create a stark contrast with the humble subject matter and whose finalities should be highlighted; his engagement with Cynic ideals of poverty and frugality, suggested by some epigrams; the contrast between Leonidas’ description of ‘hateful poverty’ and prayers and exhortation to poverty 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 investigated.

Pasquariello, G. ‘Kalleixenos of Rhodes (FGrH 627 F2) and the Alexandrian Pompe. Pan-Hellenic Echoes of the Ptolemaic Rulership in an Erudite Context’

Kalleixenos of Rhodes described in a long, detailed fragment (FGrH 627 F2 = Athen. V 25–36; 196c–203b), the solemn Pompe (‘procession’) held in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The account is a piece of Hellenistic erudition: composed of two parts, it first accurately describes the skene (‘tent’) in which banquets had to be held and then it reports the different ritual processions that were part of the Great Pompe. The symposiac character of the tent decorations justifies Kallixeinos’ quote in Athenaeus’ Deipnosophistae and the ecphrastic, meticulously descriptive nature of the fragment reflects the Alexandrine interest for erudite literature and cataloguing. The aim of this paper, however, is to go beyond the information given by a first reading and to search out the traces of the political background of this Ptolemaic celebration. The clue is represented by the mention—among the tent decorations—of the thyreoi, the typical Celtic shields. Their use as ornament might only be justified as a source of pride for the Ptolemaic court, hence as a reference to Philadelphus’ victory over his revolted Galatian mercenaries in 275 BC. The mention of their shields would therefore help us in taking a position about the debated dating of the Pompe and, in particular, in retracing the Pan-Hellenic resonance that Ptolemy II aimed to give to his rulership, because the victory against the Galatians became a propagandistic pattern after their defeat at the Delphic sanctuary in 279 BC. Given that in 276 BC Alexandria obtained the promanteia in Delphi and in 262/1 BC the Ptolemaia—the city festival to which the Great Pompe is often related—were recognized as Pan-Hellenic, hence Kallixeinos represents an important testimony of the propagandistic process that Ptolemy II built up to be included in the Delphic ‘international’ environment.

Daly, A. ‘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 (ethopoia), 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 *Mimiamb* 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 *Mimiamb* 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).

Session 1, Panel 9. **Classics for (Good and) All: Classics Education as a Force for Social Change**  
Chair: Musié, M.

Classics is often characterised as being ‘exclusive’ and ‘elitist’. The subject itself is, however, one of the most naturally diverse and representative in its material. Spanning a vast geographical area with corresponding racial and cultural diversity, with figures from a wide spectrum of gender and sexuality, this is a subject in which the widest possible community of students, teachers and researchers should feel included. Nor is Classics by its nature a subject that belongs only to a heterogenous ‘elite’ (cf. Hall & Stead).

The marginalised and marginalising position of Classics is one born of years of pedagogical and curriculum decisions. This panel highlights some repercussions of those decisions and challenges their perpetuation. It offers practical ways of using Classics education to address issues of social justice. We conclude with a call for Classics institutions to work together to make access to Classics education itself equitable and attractive across society.

This panel challenges the Classics community to move beyond a position where ‘no one feels excluded’ and where those who maintain outdated attitudes and power structures are ‘called out’, to one where all students and educators positively belong and where any who (albeit inadvertently) exclude or silence others are called back in to an eclectic norm.

**Bristow, C. ‘Taking on Taboo: Breaking Silence through the Power of Classical Myths and Stories’**  
The difficulties inherent in including depictions of sexual violence in ancient myths are highlighted in Erik Robinson’s article ‘The Slaves Were Happy’ (2017). He comments that, in a world where Classics’ position in schools is not ‘safe’, the teacher must avoid scandal, and yet Robinson himself also feels compelled to address issues of sexual violence directly and not silence the voices of survivors: ‘We must “sanitize” the myths to present them as a part of the curriculum; but by taking this sanitization to the extreme, we risk becoming
complicit in a culture that, through a complex web of social taboos and received narrative, silences its victims' (Robinson 2017).

Educators also face the reality that during their careers they will—probably unknowingly—teach this material to victims of sexual violence. This creates trepidation, if only out of a desire to protect their students.

Stories are however one of the very mechanisms by which humans handle such societal tensions and upsetting matters. Stories deliver ‘feelings we don’t have to pay [full cost] for’ (Gottschall 2012), and by their very nature allow and promote exploration of difficult issues in order to help us process our feelings and create appropriate social strategies.

This paper argues therefore that rather than seeing the teaching of ancient mythology as a risk, it should be recast as an opportunity. In an educational context, these stories can be a powerful tool in helping not only to develop understanding of the ancient world, but also to engage with the modern one. This paper will explore the role of stories and narrative in human culture through research drawn from various disciplines, before coming back to the Classics classroom—at all levels—and how we as educators can better harness the power of stories to help students navigate issues of consent, respect, and trauma.

**Padilla Peralta, D. ‘Towards an Anti-racist Classics: Citational Justice’**

This talk will proceed from the premise that citational practices are one of the premier technologies by which the whiteness of classics reproduces itself (cf. Ahmed 2013 and Kim and Mackrandilal 2014, on citation as reproductive technology). Under the banner of ‘black scholarship matters’, Tat-Siong Benny Liew has encouraged colleagues in biblical and Early Christian studies to ask: ‘Whose scholarship counts as scholarship in my guild?’ (Liew 2017). To judge from bibliographies and reading lists in classics, scholars of color do not matter—and are even in many cases to be shunned—except when they hold forth on race (and even then…). The persistence of this enforced irrelevance, despite Shelley Haley’s regular recourse to critical race theory over the years to displace ‘the experience of whites as the norm’ and re-centre classics ‘in the experiences of people of color’ (Haley 2009, 28), is a barrier to inclusive pedagogy and scholarship. Yet if racial identities, inasmuch as ‘they are fundamental to our selves as knowing, feeling, and acting subjects’, delimit our cognitive horizons—‘differently identified individuals do not have the same access to points of view or perceptual planes of observation or the same embodied knowledge’ (Alcoff 2006, 126 on identities and epistemic lines of sight)—the continuing inability of classicists to cite or seriously engage with the scholarship of people of colour leaves the field as a whole intellectually impoverished. Classicists have a long way to go when it comes to documenting and rectifying their own ‘racial politics of citation’ (the phrase: Ray 2018). In the hope of building up momentum for a (necessarily incomplete) rectification of this injustice, this talk will outline several strategies for incorporating the work of scholars of colour in school and university curricula.

**Hay, L. ‘Re-queering the Classics Classroom’**

Despite the wealth of material afforded by the ancient world, the historical curation of aspects of the Classical world have led to a classroom subject which has repeatedly been stripped of its LGBTQIA+ content. Huge efforts are being made now to undo this damage,
and to ‘re-queer’ history in particular, against a backdrop of rising homophobia, transphobia and ‘debates’ around the suitability of this content for classrooms.

This paper will look at the historic and current challenges to the inclusion of gender and sexual diversity in everyday Classics teaching, and aim to reframe this issue as an opportunity. This paper suggests that Classics lessons not only have the potential but the duty to engage with LGBTQIA+ students and experiences in a meaningful, proportionate, and integrated manner. Lessons should ‘usualise’ diversity and reflect the modern world without distorting the past to create respectful discussion using a range of ancient material.

Finally, this paper will offer practical suggestions as to how to make best use of the unique potential of the Classics classroom. The goal should be not only a safe space for students of all identities but also an environment where LGBTQIA+ experiences are routinely encountered as an aspect of a normal society. As Bethanie Sawyer expressed so well in her article for JCT: ‘It’s not hard at all to include multiple identities in your curriculum. There are hundreds of ways, and almost anything and everything you read in Roman literature will provide you at least some opportunity. Don’t waste it.’ (2016).

**Haley, M. ‘Classics in State Classrooms’**

Educational reform is squeezing Classics out of the curriculum in state and private schools alike. This can make students challenge the relevance of the discipline: with only three A-Level options, why should a state school student devote their time to Classics? This paper aims to provide practical advice for Higher Education (HE) institutions promoting Classics to state school students from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds and at different key stages.

Drawing on experience of working with the Classics for All teacher network, this paper establishes the status quo in state school teaching and sets out some difficulties facing schools initiating Classics in the curriculum. It makes practical recommendations for organisations aiming to support them in meeting this challenge.

The paper will focus on ways of integrating outreach into teaching events, providing a guide to designing, for example, summer school courses that not only support state schools already offering Classics but also draw new schools in the subject. It will encourage HE practitioners to consider such questions as: How can I add value to my summer school offering? How can I make beginner’s languages accessible to KS5 students without infantilizing them? What skills built in my session can transfer to other courses that my students study? How can I embed differentiation in talks and resources? What relevance do Classical myths have for these students?

By first mapping out the challenges for schools and then focusing in on improving support offered by HE partners, this talk will provide a practical guide on promoting and sustaining Classics in state schools and re-establishing the relevance of the discipline for state-school students. It will foster discussion between Classics teachers and academics in the audience, creating a forum to drive change.

Ultimately, this talk makes the case that engagement needs to be *engaging* if the discipline is to survive.
Bibliography
   [https://feministkilljoys.com/2013/09/11/making-feminist-points/]
   L. Nasrallah and E. Schussler Fiorenza (eds.), Prejudice and Christian Beginnings,
   Minneapolis.
Hall, E. and Stead, H. n.d. Classics & Class: A people’s history of Classics
   [http://www.classicsandclass.info/]
   [https://thenewinquiry.com/the-whitney-biennial-for-angry-women/]
Ray, V. 2018. ‘The Racial Politics of Citation’, Inside Higher Ed
   [https://eidolon.pub/the-slaves-were-happy-high-school-latin-and-the-horrors-of-classical-studies-4e1123649916].
Saturday 18 April

Session 2: 11:30–13:00

Session 2, Panel 1. **Swansea Classics** [Panel supported by Adran Glasurol Graddedigion Cymru (Classical Section, Wales Graduates)]
Chair: Williams, M.

The Classical Association Conference 2020 visits Swansea in the University’s centenary year. The papers offered in this panel aim to mark the occasion by commemorating 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 ground breaking *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.

**Davies, C. ‘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.

Stray, C. ‘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 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. After a brief period in Bristol, 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). Farrington 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.

Lloyd, A.B. ‘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, 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!
Wu, C. ‘Changes in Local Time-Reckoning Practice as an Indicator of Regionalism in Coastal Paphlagonia during the Roman Imperial Period’

This paper discusses regionalism in coastal Paphlagonia during the Roman imperial period from the perspective of time reckoning. Epigraphic evidence indicates that the cities in coastal Paphlagonia used different epochs for reckoning the year. Each epoch likely commemorated a specific historical event, such as the annexation of coastal Paphlagonia in 70 BCE by Lucullus, Sinope's receipt of Caesar's colony in 45 BCE, and declaration of Amisus as a free city in 31 BCE. Numismatic evidence suggests, however, that Sinope changed the epoch of its era from 45 BCE to 70 BCE, a curious choice. Wolfgang Leschhorn provided several hypotheses to explain this shift (Leschhorn 1993, 161–162). One is the colony's support of Septimius Severus' criticism of Caesar in the Senate following the defeat of Albinus (Cass. Dio 76.8.1–4). Others include the change of the colony's view towards its own history, and the rise of the Greek party that suppressed the Caesarian party.

Taking up the question from the perspective of regionalism—defined here generally as the homogenization of local practices into a regional norm—this paper proposes a hypothesis in which the changing of the era at Sinope was the result of the growing influence of Amastris, a city that used the Lucullan era from 70 BCE down to the mid third century CE. Amastrian inscriptions suggest that the city's elites were well-represented among the leading ranks of the regional organization called the Koinon of the Cities in Pontus. Sinope's shift to the Lucullan era may perhaps be the result of the expanding influence of the city of Amastris to peer cities in the regional organization. This paper also tests the limitations of the new proposal, both by examining the uses of the era and the historical context in the Pontic sub-province.

Pearson, C. ‘Local Culture in the Demes of Southern Attica’

This paper will discuss the main ancient road between the cluster of demes from Aigilia/Thorai to Anaphlystos, in southern Attica, focusing on how the ancient passersby would have been affected by the continuity of monuments and burials which had accumulated there during the Archaic and Classical Periods. By the fifth century, the local surroundings created a charged sense of meaning which formed a unique, social memory and directed the passersby to see the physical monuments as representative of a local, religious and political identity in addition to gesturing toward wider panhellenic concepts.

Instead of focusing on Athenian influence (Morris 1987), I use a larger network approach and compare this region to other coastal development on Paros and Rhodes that have been argued to be part of a network of Greek “colonizations” (Malkin 2011, esp. 78).

Scholars have noted the impressive monuments (Heilmeyer and Maßmann 2014) and religious shrines from this region (Goette 2014). This area can be considered as one geographical sub-region due to the wealth and similarity of the monuments found there. The main road was a place of private and communal ritual for hundreds of years (800–400 BCE) (Kakavogiánni and Petrócheilos 2013). It linked several prosperous communities in
southwestern Attica and contained some of the most splendid monuments to survive until our day.

The *archontes* inscription (*IG I3 972*) may have marked this road as part of a major festival. A close reading of Kroisos’ epigram (*IG I3 1240*) reveals that the panhellenic concepts in the poem (*kalos thanatos*) also engage in the local landscape and position the reader to monumentalize Kroisos’ death as part of a schematic narrative template (Wertsch and Karumidze 2009) which was anchored in the continuity of burial ritual and monuments along the road through his local region.

Bibliography


Ocansey, D. ‘Geopolitics of Classical Athens: Broken Paradigm or Viable Perspective for Ghana, A Developing Nation?’

Much scholarly ink has been spilled on the geographical underpinnings of the remarkable achievements of classical Greek civilisation. It seems however, that the role(s) of geopolitics in their remarkable achievement(s) have either been abandoned or received minimal attention in mainstream discussions. This seeming abandonment has partly contributed to the partial understanding of the reasons for or causes of these achievements; thus, this paper attempts to fill this gap using critical analysis of primary and secondary sources.

This paper aims to revitalise the geopolitical foundations of the successes of classical Athens, by reflecting on its strengths, weaknesses, character and form to drum home the assertion that the geopolitics of classical Athens is a viable perspective for a developing nation like Ghana. In view of this, I seek to examine the following: (1) What is the geographical and historical context of classical Athens? (2) How and to what extent does classical Athens’ *classical geopolitical orientation* converge or diverge with its *critical geopolitical orientation*? (3) How and to what extent does present day geopolitics advance the geopolitics of classical Athens? Any prospect(s)/lesson(s) for developing nations like Ghana and future geopolitical research? The scope of this study is classical Athens (c. 490–323) for a number of reasons: extended historical coverage; intense modern engagement with their evidence; and the unusual degree of variability in its socio-political institutions. As a response to the misconception that the study of Graeco-Roman civilisation is irrelevant to the contemporary concerns of a developing society like Ghana, this research attempts to demonstrate that the Graeco-Roman experience and that of Athens, to be
precise, is an essential element in the trajectory of Ghana’s quest to demonstrating that it is indeed the gateway to Africa.

Session 2, Panel 3. **Beyond a Binary Sappho: Rethinking Reifications of Sappho’s Gender and Sexuality in Reception**

Chair: Salvo, I.

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 a sanctified forerunner for ‘woman-identified’ lesbian identity, as in Monique Wittig’s *The Lesbian Body*, and indeed, some recent classical scholarship.

We firstly 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 fragments in our first paper, and their resulting queer polyvalence beyond the gender-binary, as our second paper uncovers in Ovid’s *Heroides*.

We proceed to contest the current dominance of French, US and UK receptions of Sappho (all influenced by lesbian-feminism) in anglophone scholarship, by comparing these receptions with 19th–20th century Spanish receptions of Sappho. We consider why Spanish receptions reify Sappho’s femininity, but not her lesbianism, in contrast to her French and anglophone counterparts. As such, the panel’s queer and feminist theoretical underpinnings are fruitfully coupled with a comparative, cross-cultural and transhistorical approach.

**Sachs, R. ‘Beyond a Lesbian-Feminist Sappho: (Homo)eroticism 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 as a Classical precedent for political self-legitimation (Garber 2001). These receptions have pervasively influenced anglophone Sappho scholarship, evident, for example, in the attention to ‘woman-centred’ erotic mutuality, reciprocity and egalitarianism among women in Sappho’s poetry (Snyder 1997, Skinner 1996, Greene 1996). Consequently, despite historicist methodologies (e.g. Snyder 1997, Williamson 1995), these lesbian-feminist concepts have become critically authoritative in Sappho scholarship (Skinner 1996, Snyder 1997), thus reifying Sappho’s femininity and homoeroticism.

However, the appropriateness of lesbian-feminist ideas in Sappho scholarship is not unanimously accepted: the concept of ‘mutuality’ is shown to be unsupported by the Greek text in Sappho Fragment 1 (Carson 1996). A comparison of Sappho’s archaic fragments with a lesbian-feminist text, Monique Wittig’s *The Lesbian Body*, will further illustrate how differently lesbian-feminist literature and Sappho’s fragments portray desire, and importantly, how the latter does not invite the reification of Sappho’s gender and sexuality that lesbian-feminism’s influence has encouraged in scholarly readings of Sappho.
Wittig’s text, in describing a lesbian relationship, relies on overt feminisation of the French language, inherited mythology, and first-person subjectivity. ‘Je’ becomes the feminised ‘J/e’; Patroclus and Achilles become Patroclea and Achillea, for example. Such radical linguistic innovation is firmly situated by the paratextual author’s note within a lesbian-feminist context.

Sappho’s texts, meanwhile, once disassociated from the paratextual information of the author’s name and gender, frequently keep the narrator gender-ambiguous (DeJean 1990, 20–21; Stehle 1997, 317). This allowed for multiple performances by different performers in an ancient oral culture, including men and boys in later antiquity (Yatromanolakis 2007, 81–88; cf. Catullus 51). Therefore, Sappho’s poetry ensures its own popularity among diversely gendered audiences, by frequently presenting a more ambiguously gendered erotic desire, relatable beyond gender.

This paper thereby contributes to the panel’s broader aim of challenging receptions of Sappho’s (homo)eroticism that have limited the texts’ polyvalence and concomitant sexual fluidity.

Bibliography


Goold, G. P. et al. (eds.) 1913, Catullus. Cambridge, MA.


Martorana, S. “‘Writing like a man, becoming-woman”: gender-queerness and literary creation in the Epistula Sapphus’

The so-called Epistula Sapphus (for a discussion on authorship, cf. Thorsen 2014) has been investigated in the last decades through approaches drawing on narratology and gender theory (cf. 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, indeed, 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. metaphorical 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 Woman, Sappho is simply becoming-a-subject and makes the traditional category of Woman appear meaningless.

Bibliography

Palermo, S. ‘Searching for Sappho: The Poet of Lesbos in Spain between the 19th and 20th Century’
Since Classical Antiquity, Sappho’s womanhood and sexuality have been reified according with approved norms by, e.g., postulating the existence of ‘two Sapphos’ (as in Aelian’s Varia Historia 12.19) or neutralising her queerness into heteronormativity (as in Ovid’s Heroides 15). Her image has been ‘re-invented’ throughout the centuries and ‘as a mirror, has given each generation back an image of itself’ (Lipking 1988, 58).
The aim of this paper is to analyse the ways in which these two reified facets of Sappho, as the first woman poet or as the first lesbian, have been shaped in Spain during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. On the one hand, I explore the works of authors such as Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda (Imitando a una oda de Safo) and Carolina Coronado (Los cantos de Safo), who appropriate Sappho as a normatively feminine literary role model, at a time and in a space dominated by men (López López 1998). On the other hand, it is significant that lesbian artists as Lucía Sánchez Saornil and Victoria Durán (Carretón Cano 2005) left Sappho’s legacy completely out of their works. I analyse these conspicuously Sappho-less portrayals of lesbianism through a sociological and historical approach, contrasting them with the ‘lesbianisation’ of the poet in their contemporary UK and French contexts.

Taking Classical Tradition and Reception theories (Kallendorf 2007; Hardwick & Stray 2008) as a starting point, this paper will investigate the ways in which these Spanish artists create and affirm their identities as women of letters and/or lesbians in their responses to, and omissions of, Sappho as a Classical paradigm.

Moreover, this paper offers to the panel the opportunity of broadening scholarly perspectives on Sappho’s reception, by comparing and contrasting the specific Spanish mythifications of her character, and reifications of her sexuality, with dominant anglophone and French contemporary perspectives, influenced by lesbian-feminist politics.

Bibliography

Session 2, Panel 4. Exempla in Practice
Chair: Short, W. M.

The study of Roman exemplarity has traditionally focussed on the rhetorical and historiographical function of exempla; on exempla as conduit for mos maiorum and historical memory. Recent scholarship, however, has emphasised the ethical function of exempla (esp. Langlands 2018) and has begun to explore how exemplarity could be used to promote change, from republican experiments with ‘show trials’ and role-modelling in the fight against provincial maladministration (Morrell 2017) to the imperial practice of ‘exemplary government’ (Peachin 2007).

The papers in this panel explore further the practical application of exempla and their transformative power, both in terms of the ethical reform of individuals and as part of attempts at institutional reform.
Paper 1 examines how some late republican reformers deployed concrete exempla, positive and negative, in conjunction with and in support of new legislation against electoral bribery. Although their efforts had limited effect, their strategy reveals the vital role that exempla were thought to play in changing both the behaviour of individuals and institutional culture.

Paper 2 takes a closer look at how exempla could function as tools of ethical reform and as a vehicle for philosophical ideas. Analysis of the foreign exempla in Valerius Maximus 7.2 shows Valerius repackaging elements of Greek philosophy in exemplum form, so as to facilitate philosophical engagement and ethical self-improvement by Roman readers.

Paper 3 reveals the transformative effect that exempla could have on philosophy itself. Under the influence of Roman exemplary ethics, Philo of Alexandria's Every Good Man is Free adapted the popular exemplum of the gymnosophists to serve a new form of practical Jewish philosophy.

Together, the three papers shed new light on the nature of Roman exempla and the role that exemplarity could play in effecting real-world change.

Morrell, K. ‘Exempla and Electoral Reform in the Late Roman Republic’
Processes of institutional reform are typically associated with bold legislative initiatives, but legislation is only one means of effecting change. Other strategies include examples and role-modelling designed to change the culture of institutions and individual actors. Indeed, the special place of exemplarity in Roman society made exempla a natural tool for would-be reformers.

This paper examines attempts to combat electoral corruption as a case-study of how exempla could be deployed alongside legislation in pursuit of institutional change. In 63 BCE, the jurist Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, then a candidate for the consulship, protested the conduct of his fellow candidates and successfully urged the passage of a new, stricter bribery law. He also vowed to prosecute one of his competitors if his own (clean-handed) campaign was unsuccessful. He was joined in this by M. Porcius Cato, who had already made himself an exemplum of propriety in electioneering. The result was the trial of L. Murena, a defendant selected not out of animosity but as a typical example of electoral misconduct.

By juxtaposing Murena with their own uprightness, Sulpicius and Cato provided both positive and negative exempla to support the aims of the new lex Tullia de ambitu. Their efforts had limited effect: Cicero successfully defended Murena and electoral bribery remained endemic. Nonetheless, the case illustrates how legislation and exempla could be coordinated in the cause of reform. Indeed, Cato reprised the strategy during his own consular campaign in 52, and although he lost the election, by his own admission the campaign was free from corruption. The episode thus also highlights the precarious multivalency of exempla: like Sulpicius in 63, Cato was a model not only of propriety but also of how to lose an election. The lesson was perhaps not lost on Sulpicius, who beat Cato to the consulship of 51.
Lawrence, S. ‘Making an Example of Socrates: Philosophy and Exemplarity in Valerius Maximus 7.2’

A wide divide has traditionally been observed between philosophy and exemplarity; however, as recent work by Rebecca Langlands in particular has demonstrated, exempla in the Roman world were not only a rich source of ethical ideas but also functioned as ‘tools for thinking’. That is, exempla could stand both as inspirations to positive change and also as methods of enacting change. This paper will pursue this line of thought by examining the way in which Valerius Maximus explicitly deals with philosophical ideas in his chapter de Sapientia (7.2).

de Sapientia is remarkable both for its disproportionate number of external exempla (the chapter contains eight internal (Roman) exempla to 23 external (foreign) exempla), and its particular focus on philosophers in that external material. Fourteen of the external exempla are based on the words of Greek philosophers—with particular representation of the pre-Socratics and Socrates himself—and all of these exempla contain ethical advice. In contrast, the internal material consists of examples of political or military wisdom at the state level.

Valerius is vigorously present as narrator throughout this chapter but especially so in the external material. Here he sketches in the dramatic context of the philosophical sayings, repeatedly confirms their wisdom and intervenes to provide explanations of their meaning. Unlike the internal material, the external material also sees an emphasis on the use of first person and second person verbs and personal pronominal adjectives, as the reader is actively encouraged to see their own individual experience in the wisdom on offer. In this way exemplarity allows philosophical ideas, embodied in striking characters, to be both generalised and personalised as devices of ethical reform, as the concepts are repackaged in a format that was effortlessly popular and memorable at Rome.

Langlands, R. ‘Wisdom into Practice: Philo of Alexandria, the Gymnosophists, and Ancient Exemplary Ethics’

The gymnosophists, Indian sages who trained themselves to withstand extremes of heat and cold, were reputed to walk barefoot across burning coals and lie naked in snowy mountains; they had an enduring fascination for the ancient Greeks and Romans.

Philosophers in first century Rome were continuing in the wake of Cicero to grapple with challenges such as how to blend Greek philosophical ideas with the practical tradition of Roman exemplary ethics, how to develop Stoicism as a practical ethics, and how to respond philosophically to emerging political autocracy. In this context the gymnosophists were often adduced as an exemplum which was bound up with key philosophical ideas about freedom, pain, virtue, and the relationship between body and soul, and with debates about whether philosophy is of any practical utility in the real world (e.g. Val. Max. 3.3, engaging with Cicero Tusculans).

Into this philosophically and politically charged climate came the Hellenistic Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria, who in 38 CE visited Rome as part of a deputation to the emperor Caligula. In her recent book on Philo (2018), Maren Niehoff has explored the intellectual implications of this life-changing stay in Rome, arguing that the cultural and intellectual climate at Rome had a profound effect on Philo. The influence of exemplary
ethics is particularly evident in his work *Every Good Man is Free*, which is suffused with *exempla* and the structures of Roman exemplary ethics.

Taking his deployment of the gymnosophists (*EGMF* 97) as a starting point, this paper will show how Philo reworks the exemplum to engage with Greco-Roman debates about philosophy and practical virtue. He repurposes the exemplum as a means of integrating his new form of practical Jewish philosophy into a wider, Rome-centred tradition and possibly to counter recent political tensions between the emperor and the Jewish community.

Session 2, Panel 5. Reception Influence (Part 1 of 2)
Chair: tba

The focus of my conference proposal is the analysis on Amélie Nothomb’s (1966) novella *Le crime du comte Neville* (*The Crime of Count Neville*, 2015), regarding its classical influence. This work is a recreation of the ancient Greek myth of Iphigenia. Amélie Nothomb is one of the most celebrated contemporaneous authors in French language, as well as fellow of the Academie royale de langue et de littératures françaises de Belgique (Royal Academy of French Language and Literatures, Belgium). Nothomb’s vast output covers a wide range of plots and takes its influences from several cultures ranging from Japanese to classical literature. In the case of *Le crime du comte Neville*, the author takes the Greek myth of Iphigenia and transforms it into a contemporary horror fairy tale, which takes place in a castle in the Belgian forests. Therefore, the focus of my short paper will be the comparison between Nothomb’s *Le crime du comte Neville* and the ancient Greek tragedy by Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, the most paradigmatic work concerning this myth in Classical Era. I will also consider in my analysis Racine’s *Iphigénie* (1674) and subsequent recreations of the myth. Thus, I shall bring light to how the myth of the sacrifice of Iphigenia is still alive nowadays and how it can be adapted to several genres.

Zhang, D. ‘The Other’s Other: the Reception of Euripides’ Medea in China’
Medea is one of the most discussed plays when it comes to the Greeks’ invention and treatment of the ‘Other’ on the tragic stage. In China, Euripides’ Medea is also one of the most popular works in the corpus of Greek tragedy, and the first which was adapted into a traditional Chinese dramatic form. The character of Medea has been constantly referred to and employed as a model in comparison with a series of female characters in Chinese drama and the traditional moral doctrines they convey. This paper looks at various scholarly attempts to involve the character of Medea as a mirroring figure in the study of Chinese drama, focusing on two female roles to which Medea is often compared, namely Zhao Wuniang and Dou E, both the heroines of plays which deal with the theme of marriage crisis and the outcast wife. This paper also looks at an adaptation of Medea into the form of Hebei clapper opera first appeared in 1989, which gives us some clue of how the significance and subtlety of theatrical space in Euripides’ Medea has changed when ‘transplanted’ onto the traditional Chinese stage. Why do Chinese scholars and producers take such an unusual interest in Medea as a way to reflect on the form and meaning of native drama? Which aspects of the ‘otherness’ in the figure of Medea have been suppressed in the process of her Chinese reception, and which have been emphasized? This
study of the invention of a ‘Chinese’ Medea tries to give another example of the complexity and possibilities for our understandings of this role of the ‘Other’ in the fifth-century Athenian play as generated by its reception in a very different cultural context.

Ryan, C. ‘Reading the Reformation through Greek Tragedy: Melanchthon, Camerarius, the New Testament and Sophocles’
While Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) is a well-known Reformation name and his status as Praeceptor Germaniae well-established, the details of his engagement with Greek, and the impact of this revival on the nature of contemporary thought and expression has been less thoroughly considered. In this paper I take an interdisciplinary approach to the history of scholarship as a starting point to offer a Classicist’s-eye view on Melanchthon’s Greek learning in action. I use Melanchthon’s relationship with Greek, as expressed through his and his contemporaries’ Latin writings on Sophocles and the New Testament, to offer new ways of understanding the linguistic structures underpinning some aspects of Reformation thought. In this new era of ‘Deep Classics’, we are encouraged to delve more thoroughly into this kind of reception, but work on Sophocles has so far been limited. The early printed texts remain little more than catalogued. Elia Borza has done much to describe and consolidate our resources for Sophocles, but his analysis is necessarily limited by the quantity of material with which he deals, and his focus has not been on Germany. I argue that by reading Melanchthon and his contemporaries’ engagement with Sophocles and the New Testament in the light of each other, light is shed on both. Non-Christian literature was an important part of Melanchthon’s educational programme, offering opportunities to shape language and thought in a less religiously sensitive arena of discourse than work on the New Testament. Through writing about Classical Greek and translating it, Melanchthon and his contemporaries could experiment with and develop a system of language allowing them to talk about emerging Reformation concepts. Sophocles may not play a unique part in this story, but, as an important part of Melanchthon’s engagement with Greek, does offer an excellent case study in applying this way of reading the texts.

Session 2, Panel 6. Smashing Pots. New Approaches to Fragments of Ancient Vases (Part 1 of 2)
Chair: tba

Fragments or sherds of ceramic vessels serve a primary diagnostic function in archaeological contexts, where they support termini post quem and other temporal and cultural judgments. But what use are they after that? While many sherds have been tossed, washed away, or otherwise obscured from the archaeological record, many others have found their way into museums and other collections. Archaeologists, curators and teachers have kept them for a variety of reasons ranging from educational value to legal necessity, yet in truth most sherds have remained hidden in drawers, ignored, while their complete or reconstructed counterparts have caught the admiration and attention of collectors and visitors.

This panel investigates the variety of ways in which scholars are now querying the biographies of these humble artefacts beyond their excavation contexts. Lindenlauf, Holly/Thornton & Nørskov consider them as evidence for recycling at Egypt’s Naukratis trading post in antiquity, collateral damage in WWII London (Holly and Thornton), and
repatriated stolen art in the present (Nørskov). Tsiafakis, Smith & Smotherman Bennett also consider how the digital revolution is helping scholars to collaborate both across interdisciplinary bounds in reconstructing and displaying once broken vessels and in joining disparate fragments and assemblages across multiple collections.

Lindenlauf, A. ‘Practices of Repair, Re-use and Re-utilization of Pottery at Naukratis’
Clay objects break at different rates but they tend to break eventually. Yet breakage does not necessarily end the use life of a clay object. If a damaged vessel is not considered irreparable, it may be mended and used for the same purpose (re-use) or a different function (re-utilization). Individual potsherds may be considered useful because of their properties, such as their form (to serve as a writing surface or lid), their weight (to serve as a loomweight), or sharpness (to serve as a scraper or knife). Some clay objects may have to be modified to serve their new function, as in the case of stoppers or games pieces. Sherds may also be broken down completely to reclaim the material (material reprocessing) as temper but this practice is difficult to trace archaeologically.

At Naukratis, most repaired and recycled clay objects have been found in rubbish deposits. While the findspots of recycled pots do not necessarily reflect the original location and context of their use, it is possible to reconstruct diverse technological practices of repair—to cracks and breaks—and recycling damaged vessels and potsherds. Correlating frequencies of repair and recycling techniques with vase shapes and production centres provides insights into the management of resources and value systems in place at Naukratis, from Archaic to Roman times. It also provides the foundation for better understanding the factors that motivate repair and recycling within a multicultural trading community.

Holly, J. and Thornton, A. ‘Conflicted Fragments’
On the 23rd of February, 1944, enemy action destroyed the premises of Spink and Son, Limited, a London auction house. An unknown number of Greek antiquities, as a result, were buried and either partially or completely destroyed. The following year Annie D. Ure, Curator of the Museum of Greek Archaeology at University of Reading, went to London with Sir John Beazley to examine these fragmentary vases, approximately 35 of which Ure brought back to Reading for educational use with University College students. In the intervening years, some have been partially reconstructed and put on display in the Museum, subsequently renamed the Ure Museum, while the majority are kept in storage.

Archives at the Ure Museum and Beazley Archive illuminate the curatorial and research-driven relationship between Annie D. Ure, Professor Percy N. Ure, and Sir John D. Beazley, and clearly demonstrate the continuation of their scholarship during the Second World War. This paper will piece together fragmentary archives and the vases to which they pertain to build an understanding of the treatment and distribution of antiquities during wartime. It will also consider the educational value of fragments, past and present, for the study Greek pottery.
Rodriguez-Perez, D. ‘Pottery fragments en vogue’
This paper studies the influence of Greek pottery fragments in the fashion industry and how ceramics have been deconstructed, reused and reinterpreted by the sector to evoke a distinctive sense of elegance. Traditionally, fashion has shown an interest in ancient Greek garments and clothing styles depicted in pottery and other media, such as the peplum or the chiton—creating flowy dresses and playing with the drapes, folds, knots and high-waist lines to offer a simple but refined solution to modern fashion needs.

However, recent collections presented by high-couture and prêt-à-porter firms have focused on decorative patterns present in black-figure and red-figure ceramics. By selecting certain fragments of ancient vases, mixing the patterns and editing them, the fashion industry has produced new motifs and reproduced ancient ones in a unique way.

Palmettes, meanders, tongues, rosettes invaded the most celebrated runways such as Milan and Paris. Channel, Versace and Dolce&Gabanna have carefully dissected well-known ancient Greek pots—especially those from Magna Graecia—and created outfits that encapsulate a multiplicity of patterns that would not normally appear together on ancient ceramics. This paper will address the selective usage of patterns and how the layout of these on the pots (rim, shoulder, foot, etc.) has influenced the design of the motifs in the new modern garments.

Session 2, Panel 7. Greek Political Philosophy
Chair: tba

Okyere Asante, M. K. ‘Plato’s Republic V: A Reading from an Afro-communitarian Perspective’
In this paper I provide an analysis of how a reading of Plato’s Republic from an Afro-communitarian perspective can shed some new light on the gender equality argument, as well as on the problems in the communal organisation of the Guardian class, in Book V. Two main issues that have been at the core of Republic V have been (1) the communal proposals on women, children and property, and (2) the tension between state compulsion and individual autonomy. Issue (1) has been debated forcefully for decades, and issue (2) has seen some not so recent discussions. Even then, these debates have been held often in isolation of each other as if (2) has no bearing on how the proposals for communism will be implemented. I argue that an understanding of (2) has a necessary influence on how (1) will be implemented, and that a reading from an African communitarian theory can provide nuanced perspectives on how the community of Guardians, with its attendant problems, will be organised for an efficiently running polis.
Hatzistavrou, A. ‘Political Authoritarianism in Plato’s Statesman’
In this paper I argue that the political philosophy of Plato’s Statesman is strongly authoritarian. I define as a strongly authoritarian regime a regime that has all of the following three features:
1. Ordinary citizens collectively lack the power to make policy decisions on domestic and foreign affairs and to pass new laws and revise or abolish old laws.
2. Ordinary citizens collectively lack the power to elect and hold to account any officials and the members of the ruling elite, and the latter are not subject to the rule of law.
3. The political decisions of individual ordinary citizens which occupy political offices (though not the highest political offices) are ultimately controlled by the ruling elite.
My interpretation conflicts with an anti-authoritarian interpretation of the political philosophy of the Statesman that has recently gained traction. Lane takes the Eleatic Stranger to recommend that ordinary citizens govern themselves and McCabe, commenting on Lane’s views, characterizes politics of the Statesman as ‘anti-authoritarian’. Cooper understands the Stranger to recommend that ordinary citizens accept and approve executive and legislative actions of the political expert.

In the first section of my paper I clarify the nature of strong political authoritarianism that I ascribe to Plato in the Statesman. In the second I provide the main textual evidence for my interpretation that the political philosophy of the Statesman can be rightfully classified as strongly authoritarian. In the third I contrast my interpretation with and defend against the anti-authoritarian interpretation.

Brouwer, R. ‘Stoic Cosmopolitanism and its Cynic Origins’
Did the early Stoics simply take over the Cynics’ interpretation of cosmopolitanism or did they offer a radically different version? In modern scholarship the latter option, that Cynic cosmopolitanism is radically different from the early Stoic version, has been defended in two ways. It has been maintained that in line with their critical approach towards convention, the Cynics would only have presented cosmopolitanism as a negative conception, as a rejection of the traditional ways in which communities are organised. It has also been maintained that the Cynics developed a positive conception of cosmopolitanism, but that it should be radically distinguished from the Stoic conception, in terms of luck versus order respectively. Revisiting the extant evidence, I show that the Cynics neither developed a purely negative conception nor a positive conception radically different from the early Stoics, and conclude that the early Stoics took over the Cynics’ positive conception of cosmopolitanism, while developing it further.

Session 2, Panel 8. The Case for Critical Ancient World Studies
Chair: tba

‘Critical Ancient World Studies’ is a mode of studying antiquity (broadly defined) that makes four critical steps away from the field known as ‘classical studies’ / ‘Classics’. (1) It critiques the field’s Eurocentrism and refuses to inherit silently a field crafted so as to constitute a mythical pre-history for an imagined West; (2) it rejects the assumption of an
axiomatic relationship between so-called ‘Classics’ and cultural value; (3) it denies positivist accounts of history, and all modes of investigation that aim at establishing a perspective that is neutral or transparent, and commits instead to showcasing the contingency of historiography in a way that is alert to injustices and epistemologies of power that shape the way knowledge is constructed as ‘objective’; and (4) it requires of those who participate in it a commitment to decolonising the gaze of and at antiquity, not simply by applying decolonial theory or uncovering subaltern narratives in a field that has special relevance to the privileged and the powerful, but rather by dismantling the structures of knowledge that have led to this privileging. This panel makes the case for the necessity, and showcases some applications, of Critical Ancient World studies for the future of so-called ‘Classics’.

Padilla Peralta, D. ‘Epistemicide and a New Disciplinarity: Prospects?’
The desire to recover and preserve the antiquities that are nowadays designated ‘classical’ is rooted in the conviction that knowledge of these antiquities is an unqualified (and universalizable) good. But does (and should) awareness of the epistemicides that underpin the constitution and reproduction of classical antiquity change the texture of that desire? Relying on the definition of epistemicide put forward by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2016, 2018), this paper will argue (1) that the imperial formations of the ancient Mediterranean, culminating with the Roman Republic and Empire, engineered a staggering loss of locally situated knowledges whose effects were felt throughout western Eurasia; (2) that specifying the conditions and consequences of this loss requires, at a minimum, the ditching of inflexibly positivist approaches and a move towards the ‘compassionate historiography’ gaining momentum in other fields (e.g. scholarship on the trans-Atlantic slave trade); (3) that full recognition of the magnitude of this loss and its ripple-effects should inform contemporary methodological, affective, and intersubjective orientations towards Greco-Roman antiquity. As a protreptic for ancient historians and classicists who tacitly or explicitly endorse a species of neo-evolutionism according to which the mere fact of survival alone is a testament to merit, this paper will pursue an ironizing reading of Hor. Epist. 2.39 (est vetus atque probus, centum qui perfecit annos) for the sake of foregrounding the connivance of the ‘classical’ with acts of epistemicide. To the contention that some marginalized cultures in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean not only survived but even flourished in the face of empire’s ravages, this paper will respond that the success of isolated communities in projects of resistance should not blind us to the fates of many others—and that the choice to sidestep honest confrontation with those fates leaves us trapped not only in historiographical but in ethical quicksand.

Umachandran, M. ‘Classics at the Borderlands: Decolonizing “Antiquity” with Gloria Anzaldúa’
Responding to Sara Ahmed’s call to divest from traditional frameworks of knowledge production and to seek out ‘those who have contributed to intellectual genealogy of feminism and anti-racism, including work... that has too quickly been cast aside or left behind, work that lays out other paths, ... created by not following the official paths laid out by disciplines’ (Ahmed 2017, 15), this paper turns to the thought of Gloria Anzaldúa (1942–2004) with a wayward intentionality. One of the key figures in radical Chicana feminist philosophy, Anzaldúa theorized situations, ontologies and epistemologies of belonging and dispossession in Borderlands (1987) from her lived experiences at the border between Mexico and Texas. Anzaldúa’s notion of ‘mestiza’ consciousness can re-theorize
assumptions to which classics has been in hock: 1) objective knowledge-making, 2) linguistic purity and mastery, and 3) historiographies of progress. This paper illuminates therefore how Anzaldua's auto-theoria and other subjective knowledge-making practices might constitute a reparative epistemic disciplinary practice if classics encouraged self-affirming, rather than self-expunging, engagements with the past. Paying attention to Anzaldua's use of multiple discursive and linguistic forms (her mixed use of poetry and prose in Spanish, Nahuatl and English in a range registers), this paper insists that the forms of knowledge production as well as the range scholarly objects must expand to include vernacular and non-standard language. Finally this paper treats Anzaldua's metaphor of 'sifting' history, in conjunction with her theorizing of mytho-poiesis, as a corrective to grand notions of progressive history. In making a priority of decolonization over post-colonial critique, this paper seeks to describe how the mestiza consciousness infers an on-going encounter with imperialism(s) that have accreted in the epistemic foundations of classics. This paper therefore enacts the processes of undoing and remaking hegemonic knowledge that Anzaldua calls for by decentring triumphalist notions of antiquity and thus placing classics at the borderlands.

Alli, Q. ‘Classics and the myth of “access”’
The movement to widen access to Classics has made very slow (and for some demographics, almost no) progress over the last decade, in spite of departments and universities spending increasingly large proportions of their budgets on outreach, access and widening participation activities. Such initiatives, I argue, have had very limited success because they are built upon exclusionary narratives and default to an idea of Classics as the mythical pre-history of an imagined West that—by definition—excludes certain kinds of students and scholars. Some of the largest projects to widen access to Classics place the idea of Classics as a foundation myth for an idealised West at the centre of their value structure (e.g. Classics For All’s 2018 assertion that Homer is ‘the moment when the first voice of the West was heard’), but the discipline as studied at undergraduate level also relies on ‘the classical’ as a value judgement in ways that lead to the exclusion of particular kinds of students. While, within the research of individuals, much has been done to broaden the scope of the field, this has had very little effect on undergraduate curricula or student demographics. It is crucial, both for the survival of the field and for its intellectual integrity, that ‘Classics’ reshape itself so as to appeal to a diverse and representative body of students. While, within the research of individuals, much has been done to broaden the scope of the field, this has had very little effect on undergraduate curricula or student demographics. It is crucial, both for the survival of the field and for its intellectual integrity, that ‘Classics’ reshape itself so as to appeal to a diverse and representative body of students. Instead, classicists must examine the multiple ways in which inequality and supremacy are encoded within the definition of the field itself, and rewrite ancient world studies as a critical and decolonising discipline aimed at its own liberation from the value-laden gaze of ‘Classics’.
Session 2, Panel 9. **Accessing Classical Civilisation and Ancient History in Britain, Past and Present Perspectives** [panel under the auspices of Advocating Classics Education (ACE)]
Chair: Hall, E.

The debate over the future of the teaching of classical subjects in secondary schools resurfaces time and again. Publications constantly reassess the availability and utility of classical languages, especially Latin, in secondary schools. Yet the truth is that far more British teenagers sit examinations in Classical Civilisation or Ancient History. These are more widely available than classical languages in the state sector, where 93% of our teenaged children study. Because, unlike Latin and Greek, these subjects can be usually be taught by individuals qualified to teach in any discipline, the potential for introducing them into more schools and sixth-form colleges is rich. But there is little information available about the historical background, origin, content and advantages of these subjects and qualifications in them, a dearth which this panel, drawing on teachers’ practical classroom experience and two interconnected AHRC-funded research projects, *Classics and Class in Britain 1660–1939* and *Advocating Classical Civilisation in Britain: Recording the Past, Fostering the Future* (the latter also funded by the Classical Association, an anonymous donor and King’s College London), is intended to address.

**Hall, E. ‘Historical Overview’**
Although both ancient historical subjects and ancient literature in translation were taught sporadically in some British state secondary educational institutions from the Education Act 1870 onwards, courses leading to examined qualifications in these subjects became a recognisable and standardised feature of the curriculum in 1951. Syllabuses were drawn up under different titles by several examination boards. Classical languages were offered to pupils in the private sector, and to those pupils selected competitively by the 11-plus examination to receive their secondary education at a grammar school or direct grant school subsidised by the state as a result of the ‘Butler’ Education Act 1944 and the Education Act (Scotland) 1945. This legislation also raised the school leaving age to 15 (upped again to 16 in 1964), bringing the opportunity to study for O Level (from 1965 CSE) qualifications to thousands more British teenagers. An educational ‘apartheid’ system therefore operated in Classics education between 1951 and the mid-1970s. Teenagers in secondary modern and (occasionally) technical schools, if they were offered any access to ancient Greece or Rome at all, took qualifications accessed through translation and material culture. Some of the innovative courses and materials developed by teachers at this time were of dazzling creativity. The situation changed again in the 1970s. The direct grant system ended; comprehensive schools multiplied. The decline in availability of classical languages outside the fee-paying sector became and remains precipitous. But a proportion of comprehensive schools and sixth-form colleges now saw both Classical Civilisation and Ancient History as exciting subjects for pupils of all backgrounds. Some modern universities, especially Warwick, Liverpool and Kent, were now offering degrees in classical subjects without an exclusive emphasis on the ancient languages, and A-Levels in Classical Civilisation or Ancient History were welcomed by admissions tutors at such institutions.
Stead, H. ‘Adult Education & Mass Market Publications in the Long 19th Century’
There has been a long and proud British tradition of teaching and self-educating in classical civilisation via English-language translations extending back to the late 17th century and the availability in translation of an increasing number of ancient authors and encyclopaedic reference works. This paper explores the classical reading experiences of non-elite people from the early days of mass cultural enterprises in the 19th century, fuelled by technological advancement and propelled by the Labour Movement and commercial capitalism. Across Britain widening routes to the Greek and Roman Classics developed fast: Mutual Improvement Societies, Adult Schools, Mechanics Institutes, University Extension schemes, the Workers’ Educational Association (WEA) and the Labour Colleges. Classical material featured heavily in the cheap and popular publishing ventures of both George Miller in Dunbar and the Peebles-born brothers, William and Robert Chambers, whose educational publications found their way across the British empire. Other key publications and John Cassell’s *Popular Educator*. These pioneers, all ‘in the same ruinous business’, as Cassell would put it, ‘of giving the vulgar people more knowledge for a “Penny” than the lords used to have for a pound’, built on earlier enterprises in South-east Scotland and Lord Brougham’s Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Cassell joked that ‘the country is positively threatened with cooks, housemaids, nurses, footmen, grooms, mechanics, and peasants, that will have more information, intelligence, piety, and morality, than the kings, lords, clergy, and gentry, of the olden time!’ Other Victorian and Edwardian series which fuelled widespread interest in Classics included Henry Bohn’s famed ‘Classical Library’ of Greek and Roman classics, William Stead’s ‘Books for the Bairns’ series and Dent’s *Everyman’s Library*.

Holmes-Henderson, A. ‘Who has Access to Classics in Schools Today?’
This paper will reveal which Classical subjects (Latin, Greek, Classical Civilisation and Ancient History) are available in various types of schools across the UK (fee-paying, state-maintained, academy, free, faith and more). This new data analysis has been made possible by the compiling of a schools database as part of the Advocating Classics Education research project. Numbers of students, numbers of schools and the regional distribution of schools offering these subjects at GCSE, AS and A Level (and equivalents) will be examined and their significance discussed. Two initiatives which seek to bridge the divide between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’ of Classics education will be highlighted, together with suggestions for widening access to the study of Classics for all young people in British schools in future.

Wright, P. ‘Classics and Blackpool’
I’m often greeted with surprise regarding the success of the subject in an area more associated with the Blackpool Tower, the Pleasure Beach and the Illuminations. However, our dynamic young people have a real thirst for the ancient world and can see the relevance of classical study—from politics and language, to their own careers and local environment.

Classics at Blackpool Sixth Form has been a high profile and high achieving subject in the college for some years. I am passionate in my view that the engagement and skills acquired from a study of classical history and literature can have a profound impact on student grades, literacy, communication and aspirations. A packed enrichment programme ranging from theatre visits to archaeology digs, to visits to Athens and guest speakers, reinforces
and reiterates the relevance and skills of the subject and has led to the creation of long term, highly profitable links with a range of outside associations, schools, universities and employers.

Despite this, locally, no primary or secondary schools offered students any opportunities for exposure to classical literature or language. The possibility of introducing Latin and Classical Civilisation in the Blackpool and Fylde area was an opportunity too good to miss. Classics is now thriving in Blackpool—we have ten primary schools delivering Latin as part of the curriculum, four high schools offering Latin / Ancient History and Classical Civilisation to Key Stage Three pupils and a £10K research grant to measure how Latin improve English literacy levels for primary children.

In an area that often, and undeservedly, suffers from poor press coverage it is thrilling to see pupils engage with classics—history, literature and language—and see it as meaningful, relevant and exciting.
Saturday 18 April

Session 3: 14:00–16:00

Session 3, Panel 1. The Eye of the Beholder: The Critical Gaze and Visual Receptions
Chair: tba

A large element of how we receive and learn about classical culture is visual. This panel seeks to address this, examining visual receptions which impact the ways in which classics is viewed. We feature papers on four distinct but influential elements of modern visual reception: celebrity culture, picture books, film and finally, the reception in museums and scholarship of works of ancient art. This panel has made a marked effort to focus on receptions which would not traditionally be considered ‘highbrow’ and might consequentially be neglected in reception scholarship.

Three of the papers in this panel individually consider Persephone, Daphne and Medusa, women of Greek myth who have been subject to the lust of male gods. What do modern images of these women reflect about modern society? In what ways do images manipulate the gaze and encourage certain readings? Do they remain truthful to the ancient works? Another paper considers modern receptions of Late Roman Republic ‘Heroic Nudes’ who have the faces of old men and the bodies of athletic youths. How do we read these statues without projecting our modern perceptions onto them? This panel aims to provide a fresh take, through the medium of modern visual receptions, on the concept of ‘the gaze’.

Bevan, G. ‘Medusa’s Gaze: Madonna as Spectacle’
In 1992, comedienne Julie Brown parodied Madonna’s documentary Truth or Dare (1991) in her film Medusa: Dare to be Truthful (1992). Although Madonna had never directly engaged with Medusa, I suggest that Brown read the popstar as the Gorgon because of Madonna’s incessant need to fixate the gaze of her audience by any means possible, as if the audience had indeed been petrified by looking at Medusa. In this paper, I use Brown's reading of Madonna as Medusa to critique Laura Mulvey's feminist film theory. In her seminal essay, ‘Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema’ (1975) Mulvey used Sigmund Freud's ‘Medusa's Head’ (1922) to argue that woman onscreen is an image to be objectified by an exclusively male gaze. I challenge this by arguing that woman as an object is not always at a disadvantage as Medusa and Madonna are women who are powerful when they are looked at. After all, Medusa can only petrify when directly gazed upon, and Madonna relies on her ever-changing image to appeal to a diverse audience and to remain in the public eye. Madonna is thus a popstar chameleon who can be a pastiche of Marilyn Monroe in ‘Material Girl’ (1984) that may appeal more specifically to a male audience or an androgynous woman in a suit in ‘Open Your Heart’ (1986) that is open to a queer reading. By introducing the complicated dynamics of the gaze through the figure of Medusa and using various images taken from Madonna's pop videos, I shall posit that Madonna manipulates her image to appeal to a diverse range of gazes and therefore orchestrates how she is looked
upon. I shall conclude that woman as object can be a powerful stance and her image can speak to a range of identities, not simply that of a straight, white male.

**Pucknell, D. ‘The Older I Get, the Better I Used to Be’**

Images from the ancient world have always enthralled the modern spectator; whether a building, monument, or statue. What though of those images which don’t enthral; what about those which simply confuse? The late Roman Republic produced several works of statutory known as the ‘Heroic Nude.’ Heroic Nudes have been called an ‘artistic abomination’ suggesting that the image itself lacks continuity, with their aged head and young body; they have sat uneasily with the modern viewer (Smith 1982). Hallett (2005) was the first to provide an official typography for the heroic nude statue, yet the full relevance of the type has yet to be fully explored.

In terms of composition, the head of a Heroic Nude is normally that of an old man, perhaps between sixty and seventy; yet the body is that of a young athletic male. The most extreme and best-known example is the Tivoli general. Previously, statues such as the Tivoli general have been described as an aberration, an artistic nightmare, ‘a monster of inauthenticity’ (Stewart 1979). Yet it is clear that they depict what a Roman viewer was accustomed to seeing when regarding their military leaders. Elsner (1995) suggested that Roman art should be viewed through the prism of *Phantasia*, which means ‘visualisation or presentation.’ In other words, the Roman view may gaze upon an idealised body, but map it onto the great military figures of their age.

This paper will suggest that far from just an interesting artistic quirk, the ‘aged Heroic Nudes’ provided the viewer with an idealised, but not unrealistic, depiction of Roman military commanders. An analysis of several ‘Heroic Nudes’ from the Republic and early Principate corresponds with the depiction of the Republic’s great military figures such as Marius, Caesar and Pompey, all older men who held military command at an advanced age.

**Diver, R. ‘Beautiful Art or Disturbing Sexual Violence?: Visual Receptions of Daphne in Children’s Books of Greek Myth’**

Ovid’s story of Daphne and Apollo has enjoyed a rich visual reception history, with famous artworks by Bernini, Pollaiuolo and de Vos. These have been written on by e.g. Allen 2002. However, scholarship has only recently begun to consider visual reception in children’s media, and as a result, artwork of Daphne produced for children has been ignored. These illustrations are a vital piece in the reception puzzle: as Murnaghan and Roberts (2018) established, children’s books are often the first form in which children encounter myth, and shape later interpretations. This paper argues that visual representations of Daphne in children’s myth anthologies emphasise her artistic beauty and sexuality, but rarely the horror of her story.

Modern perceptions of the visual elements of Daphne’s myth are particularly curious. Ovid’s Daphne story is about attempted rape. Yet we still find the myth called ‘charming’ (Greeka 2019) and talk of ‘the impossible love of Apollo and Daphne’ (Italy Magazine 2019). In classical scholarship, Allen (2002) describes artwork depicting Daphne’s transformation as ‘charming’ and Ovid’s version as ‘touching’ (p.341). Joseph Campbell denigrated Daphne, and as Browns (2005) demonstrated, western poetry has often done the same.
How is this response shaped by the children's books and illustrations we encounter early in life? My key texts will be Price (1924), Coolidge (1949), the D'Aulaires (1962), Coats (2002) and Milbourne and Stowell (2011). Representations of Daphne's body in these invite the voyeuristic 'gaze' of the viewer, and the illustrations find ways to avoid making Apollo appear threatening, even when this contradicts the accompanying text. Daphne's body is beautiful in flight and transformation, and the story is depicted as neither serious nor dark. Overall, these illustrations depict Daphne as a beautiful object available for visual consumption. This shapes adult reception tendencies to view the myth as beautiful, not disturbing.

MacNeill, K. ‘In the shadow of Orpheus: The contrasting representations of Hades as dangerous bachelor and faithful husband in The Book of Life and Disney’s Hercules’

In Disney’s Hercules (1997), though a significant amount of time passes, Persephone fails to appear. This bachelor Hades is an isolated, bitter caricature. The Book of Life (2014) reimagines the myth of Orpheus, fusing it with the Mexican tradition of the Day of the Dead. In contrast to other cinematic retellings of the myth, such as Cocteau’s Orpheus (1950) or Camus’ Black Orpheus (1959), Hades is given physical form as Xibalba. He is visually the personification of the Mayan Underworld, corresponding with Burton’s (2011) view that the realm Hades inhabits informs his representation. However, in personality he is crafty and tricky rather than an embodiment of evil and fear.

This paper explores these two different interpretations of Hades and considers the influence of societal views of ‘the bachelor’ and ‘the husband’ on how Hades is portrayed in comparison to the stylistic fingerprint of the animation studio. The institution of marriage has been viewed as a marker of identity, shown, for example, by the fact studies on an individual's satisfaction in life have traditionally divided their subjects according to marital status in addition to gender. Studies in the 1980s such as Cockrum and White (1985) deduced that there had been a significant shift in the relationship between marriage and life satisfaction since the 1950s: single and married individuals now had similar levels of satisfaction. It might be assumed that 30 years later, any association between happiness and marital status would be moot, yet the connection is still very much at the forefront of people’s minds (Dolan, 2019). Globally, we are reassessing how our social relationships define us. The surviving myths of Hades are predominantly centred on his role as a husband. I therefore feel that an assessment of the impact changes in views on marriage have had on his representation is fitting.

Session 3, Panel 2. Ancient Regionalism within a Larger Context: Regions within Leagues, Kingdoms and Empires (Part 3 of 3)
Chair: Pretzler, M.

McAuley, A. ‘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 Hyetos 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?

Bradley, G. '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 Pietrabondante? 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.

Brennan, A. '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 inscriptive evidence of Dioskouroi cult, alongside iconographic and literary material, my paper seeks to assemble and compare this noticeably Attic manifestation of Dioskouroi worship with its presence elsewhere, cataloguing attributes and charting differences between this ‘regional hub’ and other outposts of the cult. In doing so I seek to address the disappearance of the Anakes behind a curtain of Dioskouroi worship and to more easily define the Athenian perspective of Castor and Polydeuces’ ambiguous nature.
Molli, L. ‘A Female Iliad: Reading Homeric Emotions through Barker’s The Silence of the Girls’

In *The Silence of the Girls*, published in 2018, Pat Barker rewrites Homer's Iliad from the perspective of Briseis, Achilles’ concubine, a Homeric character too often overlooked by scholars. Following in the footsteps of Atwood’s *Penelopiad* (2005), who makes queen Penelope narrate her own version of the *Odyssey*, yet moving a step forward, Barker grants the slave Briseis the privilege of retelling Homer’s story from her personal point of view. As female narrator and focalizer, Briseis recounts her own version of the *Iliad* by placing emotions and feelings at the very centre of the storyline. Without outdistancing the Homeric model but rather offering a ‘philological’ reading of it, Barker re-enacts the Iliadic depiction of male and female feelings and further expands on it, by filling the gaps of what is left unsaid in her model. In an attempt to give voice to a slave figure almost silenced by history, Barker focuses on Briseis’ verbal and non-verbal expression of emotions, and often contrasts her way of feeling with that of her master Achilles, thus emphasizing gender differences in emotional experience and expression which were already present in the Greek model. A notable example is the depiction of Briseis’ abduction from her master’s tent: while *Il. I.348* represents the slave’s unwillingness to follow the heralds, but no reference is made to Achilles’ reaction in her presence, the contemporary novelist interestingly concentrates on the motif of tears by contrasting Briseis boasting her capability to constrain tears with Achilles’ irrepresible weeping. Within this framework, my paper aims at comparing Homeric depictions of sentiments in the *Iliad* with Barker’s fictional rewriting of the poem, in order to see whether—and how—*The Silence of the Girls* may help us reconsider patterns of emotions in ancient epic by either building on omissions or expanding on scattered references to female feelings in her hypotext.

Eidinow, E. ‘Lost Stories? Women and Girl Children in Times of War’

According to Pausanias, Manto, daughter of Tiresias, was mother of the seer, Mopsus; most scholarship concentrates on this aspect of her story. But there are other versions: some give a compact account of the typical suffering of a woman in warfare including exile, itinerancy, and, enforced marriage; others indicate that Manto was an oikist.

This multiplicity raises questions about not only the attitudes of our sources, but also our own approaches. It introduces the focus of this paper, which explores our role as historians in selecting and reconstructing particular narratives, and the possibility of writing not just a history of women in society, but a history of ancient society through the experiences of women.

It draws on a range of ancient sources that speak to the experiences of women and girls in situations of vulnerability, usually as a result of warfare. Women’s suffering in war is a part of the (global) cultural lexicon of female experience, both ancient and modern. Almost a literary topos, such details tend to be passed over, with little, if any, reflection, eliding the emotions not only of those described, but also the emotional responses of their audiences.
But does that mean that we should ignore these partial lives—for which we have little other evidence—and concentrate on the more remarkable stories? If, instead we focus on those female figures in the interstices of our ancient texts do we risk implicitly reinforcing what Henry and James (2012, 85) have identified (drawing on feminist analyses) as the first social contract—the sexual-social contract of male sex right? Or can we (should we?) further destabilise this prevailing ‘discourse’ not only through critical analysis, but also by attempting to assemble the situated female subjectivities that this evidence suggests.

Bibliography

Ngan, S. ‘I’ll Make a (Wo)man Out of You: Narratives of Grief in Seneca’s Consolationes’
In this paper, I argue that Seneca, in his consolationes to Marcia and Helvia, constructs a gendered narrative of grief as an essential part of his consolatory strategy. In accordance with Greek and Roman precedent, grief is characterised by Seneca as an emotion which especially afflicts women, as opposed to men (e.g. ad Marciam 7.3: magis feminas quam viros ... eadem orbitas vulnerat). It seems, therefore, a rather daunting task to console a grieving woman. However, by presenting a narrative of grief specific to women, Seneca gives women, or at the very least his addressees, relief from this particularly female emotion; the gendered construction of grief is matched by a gendered consolatory strategy.

Seneca’s narrative of bereavement and grief, which forms his consolatory strategy, is gendered in the ideal of familial duty it upholds. His addressees’ past bereavements (Marcia’s loss of her father and Helvia’s loss of her mother, husband and grandchildren) and their success in overcoming their grief in the past provide evidence that they have previously been able to overcome their grief. Seneca extends this narrative from the past into the present and encourages his addressees to emulate their past selves, offering them concrete examples of how they can do so by focusing on fulfilling their familial duty towards their living relatives. Both their past behaviours and the behaviours Seneca encourages them towards centre upon their familial roles. Seneca’s consolatory strategy, therefore, is particular to the gender of his addressees, relying on a narrative of grief which presents his addressees as ideal daughters, wives and mothers, in their pasts, presents and futures.

Maly-Preuss, J. ‘Emotional and Moral Discourse in Early Christian Women’s Letters’
The overall testimony from the papyrus letters of Egypt is colourful, and particular letters can yield detailed insights into their senders’ circumstances and sentiments. Interest in ancient emotional discourse has led to previous studies of emotive language in the papyri (e.g. Clarysse 2017), but these have not focussed on the emotional discourse specifically of women. When studying the language of emotion, morality becomes relevant also. Much emotional language involves praise or blame in relation to an external standard;
moreover, emotion can aid in discerning the proper application of moral precepts. Analysis of moral and emotional discourse as associated phenomena allows for a fuller understanding of the sentiments displayed in correspondence. With an aim of at once broadening the scope of study on emotive papyrus letters and of examining emotional-moral expression in a specific corpus, I undertake close analysis of moral and emotional discourse in two Christian women’s letters of the fourth century CE. The first of these commends moral behaviour and expresses emotional urgency (P.Wisc. 2.74), the second condemns immoral behaviour and expresses exasperation (P.Grenf. I.53). Each provides an unusually precise and emotively communicated account of the relevant circumstances. The selection of Christian women’s letters permits interpretation of these women’s moral sentiments in the context of explicitly stated moral precepts presented in similar contexts, i.e. (men’s) Christian epistolary literature. Alongside a microhistorical approach, I also undertake comparison with women’s emotive language in correspondence generally. Altogether the testimony from P.Wisc. 2.74 and P.Grenf. I.53 suggests a fourth-century female laity whose private communication reflects at least as much similarity with that of non-Christian women (in letter structure, formulaic phrasing, typical concerns) as it does Christian distinctiveness.

Session Three, Panel Four. Literature of the Republic
Chair: Goh, I.

Persyn, M. ‘Questioning the Survival of Lucilius’ Earliest Satires’

The fragments of Lucilius have long defied any clear arrangement, their obfuscating jumble the direct result of the vicissitudes of textual transmission. No surviving manuscript of Lucilius exists. Rather, his poetry is preserved in scraps and morsels sprinkled among the works of later Roman authors. Among these sources, the fourth-century encyclopedist Nonius Marcellus is the most prolific, helpfully relating over six hundred fragments of Lucilius—nearly half of the extant corpus.

Yet there are many problems with relying upon Nonius’ work, the De Compendiosa Doctrina, and the greatest uncertainty exists among the fragments of Satires 26–30, which are apparently quoted in reverse-order (Lindsay 1901; White 1980). Charpin 1978 offers an excellent synopsis of the problem: the difficulty is not just that Satires 1–20 are cited in ‘un ordre positif’, while Satires 26–30 are in ‘un ordre négatif’, it is that all of the poems of Satires 26–30 are cited backwards, relayed painstakingly from end to beginning—a method of reading that defies logic, if we assume that Nonius inherited a complete text of the Satires.

Is it not, however, far more likely a scenario that what Nonius had of these books of Lucilius were already ‘apothegmata’—pithy lines that, removed from their original context, could then be read in a manner that appears to be ‘backward’? This assumption would account for the relatively high frequency of Nonius’ citations of Satires 30, and, in turn, could be accounted for by the age of the books themselves, as Satires 26–30 are considered Lucilius’ earliest work (Raschke 1979; Breed 2018). It is the purpose of this paper, following the thought-provoking observations of Steinberg 2008, to explore the probability and potential ramifications of the theory that Satires 26–30 may have been reduced to and survived as mere excerpts well before the time of Nonius.
Thomas, D. ‘Paene ad nullum usum aptus? The Cremona Fragment of Cicero’s 
Brutus and the Codex Laudensis’

The famous Codex Laudensis (L), the source of all the surviving manuscripts of Cicero’s 
Brutus, as well as of the complete texts of De Oratore and Orator, was lost just a few 
years after its rediscovery in 1421. In 1957, Isabella Pettenazzi announced the discovery of a 
ninth-century fragment of Brutus (C, Archivio di Stato di Cremona, Fragm. Cod. Comune 81 
(ex 295)) and proposed that it might be a part of the lost Laudensis. However, in the 
following year, Enrica Malcovati put forward several objections to Pettenazzi’s thesis, and 
since then there has been a scholarly consensus that the Cremona fragment should not be 
considered a part of L.

Each of Malcovati’s arguments, though, is open to question. Through a fresh evaluation of 
the texts of C and the descendants of L, and also of the humanists’ descriptions of the 
Laudensis, I demonstrate not only that there is no impediment to the identification of C 
with L, but that in fact there can be little doubt that C is a fragment of the long-lost 
Laudensis. I then assess the wider implications of this conclusion for the future editing of De 
Oratore, Orator and Brutus, as well as for the history of the transmission of Cicero’s 
rhetorical works.
Payne, M. ‘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.

O’Bryhim, S. ‘Roman Comedy in Catullus c. 32’

I will argue that Catullus is casting himself and ‘Ipsimilla’ in roles from Roman comedy (the *miles gloriosus* and the prostitute), and that the poem is a thinly veiled sexual invitation to Lesbia.

Much of the language in c. 32 can be traced to Plautine comedy, particularly colloquialisms that fell out of favor in the late 1st century B.C. Catullus’ tone reflects that of the braggart soldier, which would make ‘Ipsimilla’ his lover, who is invariably a prostitute in Roman comedy. That she is not, however, a high-priced *meretrix* is confirmed by the phrase *tabella liminis*, ‘the plank of the threshold’. In all likelihood, this phrase refers to the type of door peculiar to shops and *tabernae*. If the spelling ‘Ipsimilla’ (‘little mistress’) is correct, Catullus is portraying his lover as the proprietress of a *taberna*. According to inscriptions from Pompeii, these women were open to having trysts with their patrons.

This admits the possibility that ‘Ipsimilla’ is a pseudonym for Lesbia, who establishes herself at a *taberna* and has intercourse with hundreds of its patrons in c. 11 and 37. Unlike these angry poems, c. 32 is more playful. It reflects Catullus’ attitude in c. 68, where he does not mind that Lesbia has other lovers, so long as he gets special treatment. This is exactly what
he receives in c. 32: others must visit ‘ipsimilla’ during work hours, but she will admit Catullus on her free time when the taberna is closed.

Session 3, Panel 5. Narrating the Achaemenid King: Perceptions and Receptions of the Persian Monarch from Antiquity to Modernity
Chair: tba

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 seeks to address three 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.

Three 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 the 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 statesmen and politicians in the evolving genre of political biography, through the examples of Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch. The third 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.

Musié, M. ‘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.

Almagor, E. ‘Persian Politicians 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.

Conroy, L. ‘Achaemenid Usurpers and Liar-Kings in the Greco-Roman Literary Tradition on Alexander’s Persian Campaigns’
Following his victory at Issus in 333, Alexander the Great allegedly attempted to portray himself as the saviour of the Persians. Arrian attributes a letter to Alexander in which he accuses Darius III of unlawfully seizing the Persian throne, claiming that the purpose of his military campaign was to free the Persian people from Darius’ illegitimate rule (*Arr. Anab.* 2.12.5). In fact, it was Alexander himself who was the usurper. Having no traditional claim to the Achaemenid dynasty he took the Persian throne by force, first through subsequent military victories over Darius, then by executing other claimants to the throne—famously Bessus—under the guise of avenging Darius’ murder.

Interestingly, this narrative is reminiscent of the version of Darius I’s ascension to the Persian throne told on the Behistun inscription. The traditional Greco-Roman sources on this period also present Bessus similarly to the Liar-Kings featuring in the Old Persian inscriptions. This paper therefore explores the Achaemenid origins of the presentation of usurpers in the Greco-Roman literary tradition. I argue that by examining the Old Persian and Herodotean evidence, we can identify an image of the archetypal ‘Liar-King’ that recurs
in Achaemenid ideology, and this image has eventually found its way into Alexander’s literary tradition.

Moreover, although it seems that the Greco-Roman sources tried to deflect attention away from the hostile nature of the Persian campaigns by providing sympathetic justifications, the fact of the matter is that Alexander violently seized a throne to which he had no traditional claim, making him a usurper. This paper therefore additionally argues that the Greco-Roman narrative preserves certain elements of this archetypal pattern of usurpation in Alexander’s own behaviour, inadvertently fashioning him into an Achaemenid Liar-King in his own right.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. ‘Cyrus the Great, Caught Between Persia and Iran’
On 29 October 2016, crowds numbering 15,000 to 30,000 people swarmed around the rectangular platform which supports the 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 Shiia 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.

Session 3, Panel 6. Smashing Pots. New Approaches to Fragments of Ancient Vases (Part 2 of 2)
Chair: tba

Nørskov, V. ‘Piecing Together the Biographies of Fragments’
In the warehouse of the art dealer Robin Symes, authorities in 2014 uncovered about 1,500 fragments of South Italian red-figure pottery. They had been stored in Geneva since about 1990, were repatriated to Italy in 2016, and since 2018 are on a long-term loan at the Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology at Aarhus University. There scholars have embarked on a multidisciplinary biographical investigation, contextualizing the sequence of events in the life stories of these objects, from ancient production and use to modern illicit excavation and trade. Forensic investigations are used for the analysis of the modern trade networks. This part of the analysis is accepting the illegal excavations and trade as part of
the history of the objects and investigate how this influences the scholarly value of the objects. Comparative analysis of material from excavations in Apulia, as well as confiscated material from the area, on the other hand, uses traditional methodologies to look for matching pieces and connections within the area and considers the archaeological value of re-contextualization. Natural science, specifically petrographic analysis of the clay, helps us understand the production of the vessels to which the fragments belonged. Further archaeometric analyses may aid in contextualisation. The fragmented state of the objects is essential in the search for missing parts that could connect the artefacts to find spots or other collecting institutions. Digital tools are used for transparent investigation methods, allowing us to share information and open dialogue, in contrast to the secretive methods of the modern trade networks.

**Tsiafaki, D. ‘From Fragments to Pots through 3D Digitization’**

Pottery fragments are the most common and abundant finds in almost every archaeological excavation. Their invaluable contribution to the knowledge of the past has long been recognized. Thousands of fragments unearthed in settlements, cemeteries, sanctuaries, or elsewhere narrate the history of a site. Therefore, pottery studies hold a prominent place within archaeological research.

To extract information from the actual fragments, however, it is necessary to have in mind the intact vessel along with its use and role in a specific context. The demonstration of fragments as they initially were (intact) is of great importance both for scholarly research and presentation to a wider audience. We have employed a great range of tools (e.g. photographs, drawings, completion) to satisfy these needs. The zenith of recent technological developments as applied in humanities and classical studies are digital reconstructions of material culture in 2D or 3D.

This paper explores the contributions of digital reconstruction techniques—as applied to Greek pottery—to our knowledge of the past, moving from 3D digitization to 3D completion and/or reconstruction of pottery fragments in order to indicate the initial appearance of each vase as it was used in the past. Moreover it will be considered, through particular case studies, how those techniques facilitate the study, publication, and presentation of ceramics to a wider audience, and the transformation of fragments into virtual yet real looking pots.

**Smotherman Bennett, D. and Smith, A. C. ‘Athena's Repository: A Gathering Space for Attic Sherds’**

Museum collections often display only their best-preserved artefacts, complete items that fit the available display space and are easily explainable in brief placards. The rest of their collections, including mountains of ceramic sherds, however, remain in storage, out of public and even scholarly view. While many institutions are creating online databases to increase the accessibility and awareness of their collections, few databases seek to join up disparate collections. They rarely include photography of stored objects and, even with displayed objects, rarely include photographs of details or views of artefacts from multiple angles. Nor do they provide access to 3D models that rather sit apart in webspaces such as SketchFab. Athena’s Repository addresses these issues with a consolidated database that will make stored archaeological material, initially Attic vase sherds, readily available for
study with an emphasis on visualisations and 3D technologies, such as photogrammetry. The database will house 3D models of sherds from disparate collections in a single virtual space that will link directly to the museum's collection, when available. The consolidation of these sherds in a single virtual environment, moreover, will facilitate the reuniting of dispersed vases.

The Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology has begun to create 3D models of its ca. 300 Attic fragments through photogrammetry. The resulting models will be made available through the Ure Museum Database, thus also Europeana, but also contribute to the growing dataset of Athena's Repository. There scholars will be able to reunite dispersed sherds with those to which they once belonged. Athena's Repository will thus be a transformative tool for scholars. It will also enhance our understanding of extant fragmentary pieces, serve as an archival record in case of their destruction and subsequent loss, as in a recent case in Brazil, and facilitate wider access to these materials for educational purposes.

**Session 3, Panel 7. New Plato Text**

Chair: tba

This panel combines talks on different aspects of Plato scholarship that have a bearing on a new edition of the text compared with the existing scholarly editions: a new understanding of the corpus of Plato Papyri; a better understanding of the manuscript tradition; a much wider and deeper knowledge of the reading and reception of Plato's dialogues through the ages; and a refined understanding of Plato's own language and style in the composition of his dialogues. The four papers provide examples of the history of the text in those regards, and of interpretation of passages from individual dialogues against this background.

**Curtolo, M. V. ‘The Philological Contribution of the Papyri of Plato: An Overall Assessment’**

So far no quantitative researches have been carried out on all the available papyri of Plato. Although Pieter J. Sijpesteijn produced an overall view of the papyrus testimonies in the 1964 article ‘Die Platon-Papyri’ (*Aegyptus* 44, 26–33), only 43 papyri were considered and critical-philological matters were not dealt with.

To date 131 Platonic papyri referring to 36 dialogues—including commentaries and pseudo-Plato’s works—have been published and this research aims at making a global analysis of their philological value.

In the study I have recalled the approach developed by Paul Maas in his *Textkritik* (1960, Leipzig) and I have created a database comprising all of the nearly 1060 readings of the papyri that are suitable for critical textual matters. They have been divided in various classes (new lectiones preserved only in the papyrus; readings which confirm the ones of the codices; readings corresponding to part of the medieval tradition, ...).

This work allows for some considerations on three axes (history of transmission, constitutio textus and evaluation of the recensio), which I have tried to keep separate, although they
are inevitably intertwined. For instance, it seems to exclude the ‘preformation’ of a single branch of the medieval tradition developing therefore some reflections on the ‘stemmatic’ relationships between the papyri and the other testimonies and helping us in the ‘selectio’ between adiaphora, precisely because clear clues of convergence between papyri and single branches have not emerged.

The contribution of the papyri to the text constitution has not always been exploited by John Burnet in his edition (1900–1907 [19052-19122], Oxonii) giving an opportunity for evaluating the efficacy of ecdotic praxis.

Herrmann, F.-G. ‘The Text of Plato’s Parmenides’
The Parmenides is unusual in its form among Platonic dialogues. The rigid formalised repetitive argument structure of the second part is unparalleled in the Platonic corpus. This poses specific challenges to anyone copying the text. As has been demonstrated from various angles over the past two generations, the varying nature of the copying of manuscripts in antiquity and the Middle Ages has affected the text of the Parmenides in exemplary ways. This brief presentation will illustrate with a couple of examples how an understanding of these processes, in combination with a closer attention to the actual shape of the text of the manuscripts, is reflected in the new Plato text.

Strachan, C. ‘A Crux in Plato’s Symposium’
Abstract to follow shortly.

Joyal, M. ‘Reading Alcibiades in the Empire and Late Antiquity’
Abstract to follow shortly.

Session 3, Panel 8. Narrating the Past, Transforming the Present: Unravelling Collective Memory in the Ancient World
Chair: tba

Collective identities are based on narrative constructs that social groups communicate to internal and external audiences. These constructs gradually become ‘traditions’, through performance or ritualisation, and are perpetuated by social mechanisms. This collection of papers examines the development of different forms of communicating stories and perceptions of identity in the Ancient Greek world. Local histories, imbued to the very core of the community, became a distinct genre after the late Classical period and an essential aspect of communal perceptions of the past. Tales of phyletic descent were used as separators between different population groups and made their mark on communities’ pasts. On several occasions, however, narratives of the past were consciously modified as an answer to contemporary social and political needs. Different perceptions of geographical space were a direct outcome of political developments and changing worldviews, thus adding a temporal aspect to geography and allowing communities to subscribe to multiple identities. The panel examines the ways communities, and individuals re-evaluated relations, actual and conceptual space, and their past in Classical Antiquity.
Moreover, it explores the issue of agency to establish by whom, how, and to what purpose the past was negotiated continuously in the Greek world.

**Damigos, S. ‘Early Peloponnese: Mythical Origins and the Boundaries of the Political Community’**

This paper examines the evolution of the narrative means of group-identification in the long process of the formation of political communities in the Archaic and Early Classical Peloponnese. A variety of symbolic systems was used in this process, ranging from the construction of origin stories and questions of autochthony or migration to the connection with selected supra-polis narratives that developed a Pan-Hellenic reach. These symbolic systems often incorporated contradictive elements that created a clear differentiation with neighbouring poleis or groups within the poleis themselves. The most prominent traditions in the region were connected to the main storyline of the Homeric epics, but also to the tradition of the *Herakleides*, usually combined with elements of Dorian cultural heritage. As a response, different political or social formations tend to contradict such narratives through a symbolic system that emphasises pre- or anti-Dorian elements.

The importance of the use of symbolic systems is apparent during the process of the separation of groups or populations. These constructs, well attested in our evidence, are essential components in the process of group formation and segregation, and appear in evidence from the Archaic Peloponnese, in a time when the polis identity was being formed, and social groups were segregated in constitutional and political terms.

This paper will focus on specific cases from the Peloponnese, ranging from Sicyon to the theoretical foundation of the Arcadian autochthony and Spartan expansionism. It will examine narratives from the Archaic and Early Classical periods, supplemented, when possible, by other evidence such as distinctive features on material culture, elements of cult, and the visualisation of local narratives in local art.

**Domínguez-del Triunfo, H. ‘Forgotten Memories in Macedonia: Was there Even a Persian Invasion?’**

From the 5th century onwards, the construction of the Macedonian past was based on different elements such as mythology, genealogy, language, and others, which pointed to a shared past with the rest of the Greeks. However, there was another element that has been generally obviated. Beginning with Alexander I and Herodotus’ account, the Macedonians decided to consciously ‘forget’ that their territory was under Persian control.

During the Graeco-Persian Wars, Alexander I played an ambiguous role, offering advice to the Greeks, although he was a subject to the Great King. Even if Alexander, in a turn of events, only attacked the Persian army in its retreat, he promoted actively this action to conceal his previous support to the Persians. Since memory is consciously constructed, some historians (like Herodotus) preferred this narrative, so that Alexander I could be remembered as the ‘Philhellenic’.

Following this tradition, even during the time of Alexander III, the causes of the war against the Persians would revolve around the previous destruction of Greek sanctuaries. Yet, again, contemporary and later sources omitted the desire for vengeance that the
Macedonians had probably nurtured due to the Persian occupation at the end of the 6th century BCE. Elsewhere, a Persian occupation would have spurred strong reactions; one can easily think of Sparta before the 410s when any attempt to approach the Persians would have been prosecuted. However, in the case of the Macedonians, this episode was practically erased from history.

This paper focuses on aspects of the Macedonian identity in the making during the Classical Period. I will argue that the Macedonians, in a way, put aside their honour in the official propaganda. They downplayed Persian occupation of Macedonia to favour their acceptance in the Greek political scene. After all, it is not convenient to stir up certain memories.

**Apostolou, S. ‘Conceptual Landscapes and Collective Identities: The Fluctuating Boundaries of Aeolis, Mysia, and the Troad in Ancient Asia Minor’**

This paper examines the perception of Aeolis in Asia Minor as a geographical entity and conceptual space in ancient textual sources; it investigates the political and social factors that led to different perceptions of the region in Antiquity. Indeed, ever since Herodotus had listed twelve Aeolian poleis on a narrow coastal strip in Asia Minor, ancient sources implied or defined different sizes and boundaries for Aeolis and neighbouring areas.

Instead of merely assuming confusion by ancient authors, I will suggest a different context for the fluctuating borders between Aeolis, Mysia, and the Troad. I will examine how ancient authors applied not only their ideological conception of Aeolis in their works, but also current public knowledge on what Aeolis was and views of political authorities. Discrepancies do not necessarily constitute misunderstandings of ancient authors, but rather reveal attempts to construct aspects of the world under the influence of political conditions and changing worldviews. Political developments, such as the independence of the communities of the Mytilenean peraia and the rise of Rome, introduced new perceptions of the three regions. Divergent views and pressing needs within a dynamic political environment led to fluctuating conceptual sizes for regions, which could expand, shrink, or even disappear from ancient accounts. Back to the actual ground, by responding to exogenous factors, communities in NW Asia Minor could ascribe to a Troadic or Aeolian identity (or both) and forge ties to other communities.

In the end, tracing the fluctuating borders of Aeolis cannot provide a firm response to the question ‘Where is Aeolis?’. Instead, a different approach would be to modify the question to ‘When was Aeolis?’; in order to trace and explain those changing perceptions of geographical space, and consider the temporal aspect of geography.

**Pagkalos, M. ‘At the Service of the Community: Local Histories, Local Historians, and the Transformation of Collective Identities’**

The sheer number of local historians (more than 500 entries in Jacoby’s FGrHist) demands scholarly attention; at the very least, it confirms that the past of the polis was at the forefront of intra- and inter-poleis discussions. This paper examines the role of local history in the creation and consolidation of collective (civic or communal) identities.
As historiography developed alongside polis identity in the Greek world, local histories began to supplement the historical record. From as early as the 6th/5th c. BCE, local narratives, from founding histories (ktiseis) and elegies to epics and chronicles, contained elements of local traditions revealing the active interest local communities had in their past. For Jacoby, the purpose of local history was dual. It was both a way for a polis to secure a place in ‘Great History’, and to correct the mistakes and misrepresentations in the narratives of the ‘great historians’. However, for any locality, local historiography was a means of identity creation and consolidation of co-belonging. Thus, a significant resurgence in local histories and foundation myths occurred during the Hellenistic period. The epigraphic record shows that poleis honoured local historians, and their accounts were trustworthy evidence in arbitrations and petitions. Even ‘Great History’ reflects, at times, the importance of locality in the historiographical account; arguably, Polybios’ Histories were written under the perspective of local history, not of a polis but the Achaian Koinon.

Focusing on examples from the Hellenistic period, I will approach the role of local history as a narrative of continuation and identity and the role of the historian as an agent of identity-formation, complementing similar processes. To this end, I will discuss local history as a response to concurrent civic and political aims, bridging the chronological expanse between the cultural and communicative memories of social groups, and creating new narratives.

Session 3, Panel 9. Teaching Classics with Technology
Chair: tba

Over the past decade, Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and Digital Pedagogies have moved to the forefront of scholarly, pedagogical discussion, as instructors have attempted to employ new technologies in the classroom and to create instructional models relevant to today’s learners. This panel will present some of the ways in which Classics has interacted with ICT, discussing the theoretical foundations of ICT and demonstrating its practical applications. Papers are drawn from both the secondary and post-secondary levels and include learner populations from both the United Kingdom and the United States.

Costa-Veysey will set the stage for the panel and will explore how ICT can be blended with learner-centered pedagogy on the secondary level in order to maximize learner engagement and innovation, as well as linking ICT to strong, foundational pedagogy instead of simply doing ICT because it is ‘in’. Natoli will build on the theme of learner-centered pedagogy and purposeful ICT, exploring the use of 3D Printing and its potential applications in making Classical language and culture accessible to learners with visual or auditory impairments. Grigsby will present a more practical case study on the use of ICT at the University of Warwick, particularly the implementation of Virtual Reality (VR) pedagogy to help promote Classics at both the secondary and post-secondary levels. Finally, Downes will discuss how ICT can help create a more engaging learning environment and atmosphere of critical thinking through the implementation of 1:1 iPad pedagogy at the secondary level.
Through this panel, we hope to provide Classics instructors with both a theoretical foundation for approaching ICT and practical examples of methods through which they can incorporate eLearning principles in their classrooms.

**Costa-Veysey, J. ‘Learner-Centered Pedagogy and Purposeful ICT: Flipping the Latin Classroom’**

Recent works (Hunt 2013; Natoli and Hunt 2019) offer secondary-school Classics teachers guidance in the use of ICT in the classroom. However, although it is clear that technology can be an effective and desirable tool for keeping Latin relevant as a 21st century subject, students are not always responsive to the efforts of Classics teachers to incorporate more ICT. In an attempt to better understand my own struggles using ICT as a secondary Classics teacher, I interviewed two sets of Year 8 students at the Grange Senior School, an independent school in Cheshire, to determine what they perceived to be the advantages and disadvantages of ICT use in the classroom. This revealed negative attitudes toward ICT among many students. Some observed that ICT was often used for its own sake or as a ‘tick box’ exercise for teacher observations and school inspections; others felt frustration at teachers trying to cover up their lack of IT skills; a few even believed that ICT was an obstacle to ‘just getting on with learning’.

The case study I describe in this paper was an attempt to respond to these concerns. I hypothesized that students would be more responsive to applying ICT to learner-centric activities in which they could employ their own experiences of creative computing both in and outside the classroom to produce independent work based on CLC stages. I describe how students seemed to respond better to a flipped-classroom approach in which they could co-design and implement a presentation, game or story using Scratch, a block-based programming language designed by MIT, which they had learned the previous year.

**Natoli, B. ‘Making Antiquity Accessible: 3D Printing and the Instruction of Learners with Visual and Auditory Impairment’**

Over the past decade, interest in the use of technology in Latin and Greek classrooms has increased dramatically, as instructors of Classics on both the secondary and post-secondary levels have attempted to find new and innovative methods of maximizing active learning, piquing learner interest, and supporting critical thinking. Case study upon case study detailing the use of technology from Minecraft to digital word-banking in the Latin classroom has been published in numerous Classics journals. Moreover, book-length treatments such as Bodard and Mahoney (2010) and Natoli and Hunt (2019) have aimed to connect such practical studies to solid pedagogical theory and digital resources.

This paper seeks to illustrate another audience in the Latin classroom which stands to gain much from the use of such technology: learners with visual and auditory impairments. In particular, it will examine two case studies using both ‘high’ and ‘low’ tech curricular designs in two standard Latin courses at Randolph-Macon College, a small, liberal arts college in Virginia, USA. In the first study, a lesson on epigraphic translation using 3D printing technology to help make the Latin material accessible to learners with visual and auditory impairments will be explored. Then, a briefer case study a lesson on meter using physical objects to represent metrical constructs for learners with visual and auditory impairments will be discussed. It is hoped that such case studies will inspire further ideas for using
technology not simply for its own sake or for the appeasement of administrators, but to serve students and making the study of antiquity for accessible to a larger and more diverse pool of learners.

Grigsby, P. ‘Past and the Future: Getting ICT into Schools with the Warwick Classics Network’
ICT plays an increasingly important role in Undergraduate teaching in the Dept. of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Warwick, both for the innovation it allows in teaching and the new perspectives it provides on familiar subject matter.

In our Hellenistic World module, for example, our students have used coding to better understand texts and historical narrative through extreme close reading; while in Prof. Michael Scott’s innovative Global History module, a dedicated website—the Oiko Portal Project—has been specially designed to create an integrated information database of the interconnectedness of the ancient world. With a proposed Antiquities Room in the offing with access to 3D printing technology, our use of ICT in Classics at Warwick is only set to further increase.

While not all of these are easily transferable to school settings, this paper will focus on two of our uses of ICT that are. Firstly, it will discuss the varied uses of VR headsets in our teaching and Outreach, and how these Headsets can be—and have been—successfully used with our local Warwick Classics Network [WCN] schools to both promote Classics and as classroom teaching resources. Secondly, it will examine how the creation of videos—such as those used for student assessment in our module ‘Hellenistic World’—serves a number of pedagogical uses (such as the encouragement of successful collaboration, original research, and the prioritising and communication of information), and how this method of assessment is being successfully integrated into some of our WCN Secondary Schools. In short, it will discuss how ICT can be readily and successfully introduced to the school classroom, and the benefits and fresh perspective ICT can provide both students and teachers in Classics.

Downes, C. ‘iPad Technology and the Latin Classroom’
Whilst I tell my classes that ‘Latin doesn’t change’ I strongly believe that our teaching of it, can, and should, change to develop with the technology available to us. Teaching classics allows us to combine the old and the new in one classroom. When used effectively, technology can add value to the activities and outcomes of a lesson.

As part of my role in a 1:1 iPad school as the ‘Leader of e-Learning’ I have had the chance to incorporate technology into my lessons with all of my classes at some point. I have also been able to assess the value that pupils place on such activities. I do not advocate that we throw out books and pens, but I have seen how pupils can use their iPads alongside the traditional methods to record, analyse and share their learning.

By using the app ExplainEverything, my pupils and I pull together the learning on a whole topic into a revision video which can then be shared with the whole class. The app allows text, audio and photographs to be recorded alongside a series of slides or a video. After we have completed the learning on a particular topic, my classes record short films on the topic
which we annotate with the notes they have made during previous lessons. We have successfully filmed and annotated scenes of Greek tragedies for A Level as well as topics for the Literature and Culture paper for GCSE. My pupils value and enjoy this process and find it useful to review their work in an interactive manner that they can watch at a later date.

16:30–17:30 Round Tables

Round Table: CUCD—Equality and Diversity: The State of Play in UK HE Classics

This panel presents findings from the Council of UK Classics Departments Equality and Diversity project, funded by UCL. The panel will consist of brief presentations by the team behind the project Gesine Manuwald (UCL), Helen Lovatt (Nottingham), Esther Eidinow (Bristol) and Victoria Leonard (RHUL), followed by discussion. Presentations will bring out the most important aspects of the project’s findings: Statistics and policy; Discrimination and barriers to success; Inclusive teaching and curriculum design; Professional environment and journals. The discussion will inform CUCD’s development and promotion of guidance and recommendations.

Questions addressed will include: what are the biggest problems facing Classics as a discipline in encouraging a more diverse staff and student body? Are there different problems for different types of departments or different subject areas in the discipline? Do different minority groups experience different patterns of discrimination and different barriers to success? How much does Athena Swan and other policy developments help and how effectively are these measures implemented? What measures are proving successful in supporting students who come from backgrounds that do not traditionally study classics? What can CUCD as a subject association and Classics as a discipline do to improve its diversity and make our subject as inclusive as possible?

Members of the working group who will contribute to the discussion include Mathura Umachandran (Oxford) and Sukhanya Raisharma (Oxford).

Materials for discussion will be available online in advance, including reports arising from the survey.

Round Table: Ancient Persia on the Curriculum
Convenors: Almagor, E.; Llewellyn-Jones, L.; Musié, M.

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 round table 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.
Sunday 19 April

Session 4: 09:00–11:00

Session 4, Panel 1. **Hand in Hand: of Scribes, Scholars, and Multiple Handwritings in Antiquity and Beyond**

Chair: tba

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.

**Bianconi, M. ‘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?

**Bibliography**


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 stonemason. 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 stonemason. 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.

Bibliography

Cossu, A. From the teacher’s hand to the pupil’s: Glossed manuscripts from the schools of Ferrières and Auxerre in the IXth 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.

Bibliography


Session 4, Panel 2. Regional Epigraphic Cultures Across the Ancient Globe (Part 1 of 2) [under the aegis of the Association Internationale d’Épigraphie Grecque et Latine (AIEGL)]
Chair: Bultrighini, I.

Inscriptions are invaluable sources for our understanding of ancient socio-cultural history. According to their provenance, they can show peculiarities in their linguistic and material characteristics. ‘Epigraphic habits’ result from combining local identities with the plurality of exchanges within as well as among different ancient macro- and micro-regions. Moreover, epigraphic practices could travel from and to geographically distant regions

This panel, organised in in two sessions, aims to explore patterns of regionalism and interconnections in the epigraphic production of the strongly interrelated ancient world from Britannia to India. Papers will focus on processes of cultural influence (Sabaté Vidal); regional features (Sánchez Natalías); glocalization (Butler); writing and cultural identities (Socaciu and Cartlidge); multilingualism and ethnolinguistics (Oreshko); local identities in the Roman Empire (Borgia); trade and cultural interactions (Simmons).

The panel brings together experts of understudied cultures and peripheral regions, comparing Greek and Latin with Iberian, Anatolian, Semitic, and Indo-Aryan languages from the ninth century BCE to the fourth century CE. Employing theoretical concepts such as glocalization, the panel further defines processes of adopting and adapting writing habits and of coexisting identities.
Socaciu, D. and Cartlidge, B. ‘The Roles and Functions of Text in the Urartian State’

The Urartian kingdom, which rose to prominence in the Armenian plateau during the second half of the 9th century BCE, employed rock carved inscriptions to celebrate the kings’ achievements. The monumental cuneiform carvings on building blocks, in rock niches, or on stelae are initially in Assyrian; but the increasing self-confidence of the Urartian state, particularly following spectacular military victories, leads to the use of the native language in most cases. Several bilingual inscriptions were found, which were fundamental for the deciphering of the Urartian language.

The Urartian rock inscriptions would have been illegible for most of the population. Nevertheless, by mapping the distribution of inscriptions and linking their content with their location, we gain new insights into the spread of writing and the development of self-assertive Urartian power structures in the conquered areas. At the same time, however, the use of Urartian on other objects - particularly clay tablets, jars, metal objects, etc. show the gradual development of a richer cultural life on the Armenian plateau involving the development of literacy and a scribal class. They also give us crucial hints about social organisation, agriculture, gender relations and legal issues.

Writing in Urartu therefore displays a trajectory from monumental display to refunctionalisation with the growing sophistication of Urartian society, and charts the evolution of a culturally independent civilisation eager to show itself independent of earlier Assyrian influence. Our paper is designed to show how archaeological surveying techniques (Socaciu) and detailed philological analysis of textual documents (Cartlidge) complement each other in the study of epigraphic documents.

Oreshko, R. ‘Language, Society and Cultural Contact in Lydia in the 5th–4th Centuries BC: an Epigraphic Perspective’

Although the number of known inscriptions in Lydian language is rather modest (about 80 texts of some length) and many of them still present significant interpretative challenges, the corpus as a whole bears invaluable testimony of the sociolinguistic realities of Lydia in the Classical and early Hellenistic period—as contrasted with the sketchy and often fictionalized accounts of Greek authors. There are dozens of personal and a fair amount of divine names attested in the corpus, which in sum gives a rather clear idea of the ethnonlinguistic composition of the Lydian society and offers some clues about the extent and directions of the cultural contact in the region. Furthermore, such formal features of the Lydian inscriptions, as genre diversity, text composition or lexical peculiarities, seen in general, are able to tell us a lot about the language use or even language policy in Lydia. The evidence, however incomplete, provides a unique glimpse of a society which was in some respects amazingly close to that of the Greek city-states and in some other—idiosyncratically different. The Greek texts of the Hellenistic period found in the region both supplement the picture and provide a contrast to it, showing in which ways Hellenization affected the Lydian identity.

The aim of the present contribution is, first, to give an overview of the early epigraphic material from Lydia, both in Lydian and Greek, as a source for the sociolinguistic history of the region. A further aim is to demonstrate the potential of a comparative analysis of the
Lyrian and the Greek corpora from Lydia for improving the knowledge of Lydian—a perpetual desideratum—which I will do offering several case-studies.

Borgia, E. ‘Inscriptions from Hadrian’s Wall in Tullie House Museum & Art Gallery Trust (Carlisle): Local Identities and Roman Influences’

Within the Scientific Collaboration Agreement stipulated between the Department of Classics of Sapienza University and Tullie House Museum of Carlisle, a re-assessment of the Latin—and the very few Greek—inscriptions uncovered on Hadrian’s Wall sites and preserved in the Museum is currently underway. They come from the forts located along the western portion of the wall, or from milecastles and turrets, and hence pertain to a very peculiar and quite unique frontier context. We are dealing mainly with texts related to a military context of soldiers coming from different areas of the Roman Empire but also from ancient Britannia. On the one hand these people bear witness of ‘Roman’ culture and traditions, writing in Latin, venerating Roman gods and using epigraphic formulas widespread in the whole Roman world. On the other hand the inscriptions testify how specific native British civilization and identities influenced various aspects of common life, for instance religious habits. Even soldiers of foreign origins got used to venerate local gods and goddesses, some of which unknown elsewhere (e.g. Belatucadrus, Cocidius, Maponus, Mogons, etc.). One of the quite exceptional Greek texts is an epigram inscribed on an altar dedicated to the Syrian goddess Astarte, probably coming from the same shrine at Corbridge where an altar to Heracles-Melqart was uncovered. Onomastics, even if mostly of Latin type, can also shed a new light on the interaction between native and alien cultures. From this perspective, the epigraphic habits of a peripheral area such as Hadrian’s Wall can perfectly testify the combination of various cultural influences produced by the manifold contacts and interactions of people and cultures throughout the Ancient World.

Simmons, J. ‘Writing from the Waves: Trader Epigraphy from the Ancient Indian Ocean World (100 BCE – 400 CE)’

In studies of ancient Indian Ocean trade, scholars often fixate on iconic items of exchange or the distances traversed by ancient merchants, without taking into consideration just how trading activities were sustained by human actions. While inscriptions in numerous languages (Greek, Latin, Prakrit, and Semitic languages) serve as crucial lines of evidence, their role within the broader communicative strategies of traders remains critically understudied.

This paper investigates various epigraphic traditions of traders during the height of ancient Indian Ocean commerce in order to demonstrate the development of common communicative tactics. It focuses on four corpora traditionally studied in isolation: graffiti of the Eastern Desert of Egypt, the Darb al-Bakrah in Saudi Arabia, the Yemeni island of Socota, and Buddhist monasteries on the Deccan Plateau in India. When viewed together, Indian Ocean trader inscriptions suggest both imitative and dialogic tendencies of their multicultural inscribers, and thus, that these writings were effective forms of communication. Importantly, such messages required some standard of literacy among these operators to be effective, and, in some cases, multilingualism on the part of their inscribers.
Beyond shared roadways of commerce, trader epigraphy abounds in religiously charged spaces throughout the Indian Ocean world. In some cases, such as trader dedications at Deccani Buddhist sites, we can read strategies of integration within local support networks that offered potential boons for economic activities. But actual religious affiliation had benefits as well—at sites like Socotra, traders of different backgrounds could find a shared religious experience, as well as engage in a shared method of communication across languages.

When viewing distinct epigraphic traditions of the broader Indian Ocean world together, we can appreciate the development of a common ‘epigraphic habit’ among diverse populations, who sought not only to sustain commercial networks, but immortalize their activities in spaces of intense human activity.

Session 4, Panel 3. Honour in Athenian Politics and Society (Part 1 of 2)
Chair: Cairns, D.

Honour (timē) was central to the social and behavioural norms of Athenian society. Many studies have understood timē as a one-directional and limited concept. As a result, honour has often been seen exclusively as a scarce resource pursued through zero-sum competition and promoting elitist dynamics. This view has recently been questioned in many studies on honour in ancient and modern societies. These have shown how honour can also foster cooperative values, stability and cohesion within communities (Cairns 1993; 2011; Pollock 2007; Appiah 2010; Canevaro 2018). Important philosophical works have also demonstrated the bidirectional nature of honour. Darwall (1977; 2013) singles out two types of respect (and therefore honour). Recognition respect is the disposition to give one the appropriate dignity regardless of their intrinsic merits. Appraisal respect is instead the respect given to one’s excellence of character or performance (cf. also Stewart 1994 on ‘vertical’ and ‘horizontal’ honour).

This panel aims to engage with various perspectives about the different connotations of timē informing several domains in the life of the Athenian community. It argues that a more nuanced understanding of honour can help us provide a dynamic and historically accurate picture of Athenian politics and society from the Archaic to the Early-Hellenistic period.

Barbato, M. ‘For Themistocles of Phrearrhioi, for the sake of honour’. A New Perspective on Ostracism’
This paper will argue that the Athenian institution of ostracism aimed to enforce appropriate attitudes towards honour within the community. Ancient sources disagree on the rationale of ostracism and fluctuate between political and social motivations. This divergence is reflected in the scholarship on the topic. Ostracism is sometimes seen as an instrument to prevent tyranny ([Arist.] Ath. Pol. 22; Carcopino 1935; Ehrenberg 1950) or preserve democratic equality (Arist. Pol. 1284a-b; Rhodes 1981; Rosivach 1987). Several sources fault ostracism candidates for their luxurious lifestyle (T 1/101–05 Brenne), inappropriate sexual behaviour (T 1/106 and 150 Brenne), or other shameful conduct (Thuc. 8.73.3). Other popular views see ostracism as a weapon against traitors and medizers (T
Because of its relevance to both the political and the social domains, honour provides a comprehensive view of ostracism which encompasses this plurality of explanations. I shall focus on the case study of Themistocles and analyse a series of sources which connect his ostracism with issues of honour. The starkest evidence is an ostrakon directed against Themistocles ‘for the sake of honour’ (T 1/147 Brenne). Demosthenes and Plutarch suggest that Themistocles was ostracised because of his hubristic behaviour and excessive ambition (Dem. 23.205; Plut. Them. 22; cf. also Hdt. 8.124–5). Another ostrakon accuses Themistocles of engaging in passive anal sex (T 1/150 Brenne), a practice often perceived as dishonourable by the Greeks. Through comparison with other relevant evidence, I will show that such a concern for honour was not limited to the ostracism of Themistocles. In fact, ostracism reflected an institutionalised concern for honour and aimed to discourage the Athenians from pursuing honour through excessive and undemocratic means or indulging in dishonourable behaviours.

**Mazzinghi Gori, B. ‘Women’s Honour in fourth-century Athens’**

My aim in this paper is to reassess women’s access to honour in fourth-century Athens. Although, from our own perspective, Athenian women were denied fundamental forms of political and legal recognition, my thesis is that, from an emic perspective, they had access to their own version of *timē* and *timai*, particularly within their *oikoi*. Given the symbiotic relationship between *oikoi* and *polis*, women’s domestic *timē* is far from dismissible as merely private and of no relevance to their public persona.

My analysis will rest upon the notion of honour developed within the ERC project ‘Honour in Classical Greece’ (under the supervision of Prof. Douglas Cairns and Prof. Mirko Canevaro), which defines honour as a complex social mechanism, regulating all sorts of interactions. In the light of this understanding, I propose to offer a reinterpretation of some evidence taken from oratory and funerary inscriptions, such as Melitta’s gravestone, honouring her service as a nurse.

I will also include passages from Menander’s plays, which are particularly revealing in that they enact scenes of domestic interaction. I shall consider, for instance, the case of Krateia in *Misoumenos*, a war captive who resentfully rejects her master and lover, but eventually declares that she wants to marry him. Equally interesting is Pamphile’s opposition to her father’s will in *Epitrepontes*.

What will emerge from this survey is that women could experience pride and articulate their honour in a wider variety of ways than is normally acknowledged. The agency that they had in certain respects enabled them to lay claims to recognition and respect. Their relationships with men, albeit undoubtedly asymmetrical, always comprised a degree of reciprocity which allowed women to negotiate their claims. Either through their economic role, their behaviour, or their interpersonal bonds, women had thus access to their own versions of *timē*. 
Ceccarelli, P. ‘The Athenian chorēgia: Nothing to Do with Honour?’
Ancient Athens was an extremely competitive society, and this is possibly nowhere as obvious as in the way her festivals were organized. Victory in a chorēgia brought timē to the winner, as well as the right to erect a tripod, in the case of a dithyrambic victory. Thus, one might view the exercise of a successful chorēgia as a means to win honour (and a failed chorēgia, by contrast, might imply a loss of esteem). At the same time, chorēgia was closely controlled by the polis: it was, just as other liturgies (e.g. the triērarchia), a service (Wilson 2000; Liddel 2007). There is thus here a tension, whose result is positive philotimia, an ideology of competition designed to enhance social cohesion among Athenians (Whitehead 1983; Osborne 1993; Fisher 2012). In my paper, I want to look at the implications of the various types of liturgies, in terms of both expenses and prestige to be gained, in context: that is, as part of a polis that was structured in diverse ‘communities of honour’ (Deene 2013). This will involve, among other things, contrasting chorēgia to triērarchia, as well as looking at the difference between chorēgia at the level of the polis, chorēgia at the level of the deme (Osborne 2019), and participating in games external to the polis. The model of honour (and shame) proposed by Darwall 1977 (and further developed by Appiah 2010, and by Cairns 2011 for the ancient world) will serve as the lens through which the connection between chorēgia and honour will be evaluated. I will argue that the competition that underwrote most liturgies was in most cases not a zero-sum game, and that the liturgy model that evolved at Athens was designed to bring out willing contributors, while respecting individual honour and implementing cohesion.

Esu, A. ‘How Should an Honourable Athenian Behave? Honour and Shame in Lycurus’ Against Leocrates’
This paper concentrates on the role of timē (honour) of citizens and public officials in Lycurus’ Against Leocrates. The notion of timē encompasses both individual worth and the external respect and the entitlements derived from one’s own worth as recognised by the community (Cairns 2011). Thus, timē involves both ‘recognition respect’ and ‘appraisal respect’ (Darwall 1977), and plays a pivotal role in this speech and in the way the Athenians conceptualised Athenian citizenship.

In 331, Lycurus brought an eisangelia for treason (prodosia) against an Athenian citizen, Leocrates, who had left Athens after Chaeronea (Allen 2000; Azoulay 2011; Harris 2013). Scholars have observed that Lycurus’ account of civic obligations and virtues is highly performative (Liddel 2007) and relies on frequent references to the language of honour and other relevant terms such as aidōs and aischynē (e.g. Lyc. 1.5; 21; 45; 51; 142). Lycurus attacks Leocrates for his shameful, unpatriotic and cowardly behaviour, as opposed to the loyalty and courage (andreia) of his fellow citizens and ancestors. Yet, the performance of the virtuous citizens—as opposed to that of Leocrates—is not seen in terms of ‘appraisal respect’ for excellence, but it constitutes the basic benchmark for ‘recognition respect’ between equal citizens. Through a close reading of the speech and of contemporary epigraphical evidence, I argue that Lycurus represents the exemplary conduct of citizens and officials as the standard behaviour expected of all citizens and, as a result, he morphs forms of appraisal respect into recognition respect. Moreover, Lycurus’ use of eisangelia (Hyp. Eux. 7–8), a legal procedure similar yet not identical to the procedure used to prosecute magistrates ([Arist.] Ath. Pol. 45.2), allows to explore analogous political and social concerns in policing the timē and the relevant behaviour of
Hermann 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.

**Walter, A. ‘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.
Ntanou, E. ‘(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.

Sharrock, A. ‘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.

Abad-del Vecchio, J. ‘quid Odyssea est? The Reception of Ovid’s “Odyssean” Themes in Post-Augustan Literature’
Ovid’s reworking of the Homeric epics (and the Epic Cycle) in the Metamorphoses is a well recognised—if dauntingly challenging—intertextual phenomenon. The main focus of recent scholarship has sought to examine the relationship between the poet’s magnum opus and the Iliadic Trojan saga (among others, Weiden Boyd, 2017; Papaioannou, 2008). Less prominence, however, has been consigned to the ‘Odyssean’ themes that run deep throughout the Metamorphoses (Ellsworth, 1988). In this paper, I aim to scrutinize the response of Imperial authors to these shared leitmotifs pertaining to Ulysses’ saga that are integrated at various junctions in Ovid’s epic, whilst also paying heed to Ovid’s own reactionary stance towards Virgil in his reworkings of Homeric tropes. Flavian poets, and Statius in particular, appear to construct their own polymorphic Odyssean narratives through the simultaneous implementation and alteration of Ovid’s own approach to the Odyssey. With this thematic methodology at the forefront of my examination, we will see
how Ovid continues to be a vital intermediary when it comes to plot, character construction and narrative between the Odyssey and post-Augustan versions of Odyssean chronicles. This Ovidian ‘Odyssean’ landscape thus becomes an essential part of the intertextual discourse enacted by Flavian authors, and continues to shed light on the crucial role of Ovid as literary mediator and predecessor.

Session 4, Panel 5. Greek comic fragments (Part 1 of 2)
Chair: tba

This panel will unite various approaches to the interpretation of fragments of Sicilian and Attic comedy, covering a wide chronological span from Epicharmus until the 3rd cent. BCE. The focus will be on two questions: on questions regarding the exegetical and linguistic analysis of comic fragments and the generic interplay between comedy and other literary traditions as it is documented in the comic fragments.

Scholars who have been publishing for years commentaries on fragmented comedy and scholars who are interested in comedy and/or deal with fragmented texts have been assembled for the panel. Various questions will be posed such as linguistic peculiarities of the fragments themselves, the role and function of the cover texts, and the quotation contexts (authors such as Athenaeus, Pollux, Polybius and Strabo who quote the fragments), and the limits that stem from the reconstruction, production and the reception stages of the fragmentary texts.

The aim of this panel is to investigate interpretive possibilities of fragmentary Greek comedy.

Bagordo, A. ‘Between Aristophanic Comedy and Platonic Philosophy: The Case of Aristyllos’
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 (L. Canfora, La crisi dell’utopia. Aristofane contro Platone, Bari / Rome 2014, 139ff.), 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, Canfora 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 demolish this construction, whose ambition is matched only by the precariousness of its foundations.

Bianchi, F. P. ‘Collecting Comic Fragments and the History of Classical Scholarship’
The aim of this paper is to offer an analysis of the principle collections, starting from the oldest ones (G. Morel and J. Hertel) dating from mid-16th century and including also the
newest, considering causes and aims for the collection of these texts and, moreover, for their translation, as well discussing important points in their history.

While the study of texts transmitted through manuscripts is normal since at least Renaissance Humanism, the process of collecting fragments has a peculiar history which depends mainly at its beginning on the content of the fragments themselves and also on the possibility of their use as an embellishment for the composition of a text. This is the aim of the first collections of γνῶμαι by G. Morel and J. Hertel (16 Century CE), as well as the one by Stephanus (1569); one step further are Hugo Grotius' Excerpta ex comœdiis et tragoediis tum quae extant, tum quae perierunt (1626) which rely on Dirk Canter's Fragmenta Poetarum Graecorum which has never been published but it has been considered by R. Kassel as the first modern collection before Meineke. After the modern development of classical studies, namely Wolf's Altertumswissenschaft, begins the history of the modern collections of fragments (non only comic, of course), with Meineke's (1839–1841) and Kock's (1881–1883) edition; the most recent edition of Kassel and Austin (Poetae Comici Graeci 1983–2001) and the volumes of Freiburg International Project Kommentierung der Fragmente der griechischen Komödie constitute new examples for the collection and studying of the comic fragments.

Favi, F. ‘New' Greek in Old Texts: (Alleged) Regionalisms and Anticipations of koiné in Epicharmus'
A number of linguistic features to be found in Epicharmus’ fragments are only paralleled in later texts. Opinions vary concerning these forms’ origin, i.e. whether they are Sicilian innovations which eventually entered the koiné, or whether these alleged anticipations of koiné may have originally had a wider diffusion than the Greek West. The aim of this paper is to investigate a number of overlooked cases. To start with, the sobriquet Κόλαφος (literally ‘buffet’, ‘slap’) (fr. 1) is commonly regarded as Western Greek, as the loanword colaphus in Latin also suggests. However, the occurrence of Κολαφίδιον on an Attic funerary inscription and the comparison with similar sobriquets suggest that κόλαφος belongs to a ‘colloquial’ register which is rarely documented in extant literature; hence, this word may well have been more widespread in the Greek speaking world than its occurrence in Epicharmus apparently suggests. The second case is πέποσχε (perf. πάσχω) (fr. 9). This form was also used by Stesichorus, and occurs again in Ptolemaic papyri, Imperial inscriptions, and grammatical texts. Though one might prima facie argue that πέποσχα is an innovation originating from Sicilian Greek, it is more likely that such an analogical creation may have developed independently; thus, the convergence between Sicilian authors and later texts is to be deemed incidental. Finally, γαμψώνυχοι (fr. 20) is commonly regarded as a parodic manipulation of Homeric γαμψῶνυξ. However, the occurrence of γαμψώνυχος in zoological literature suggests that Epicharmus’ γαμψώνυχοι, rather than a parodic neologism, may be the first instance of the scientific use of the word. In conclusion, this discussion will contribute to a more nuanced appreciation of Greek vocabulary, of the evidence provided by comic texts, and of the ancient grammarians’ views about the Greek language.

Martin, P. ‘Party Politics in Later Comedy’
This paper argues that the politics of late fourth-century satirical comedians played an important part in both their comedy and its reception. While the extent of comedy’s
political engagement during the fourth century has become more widely recognised in the last decade, one key factor has thus far not been remarked upon, namely the evidence that fourth-century comedians were involved in politics both in and outside of the theatre. For example, Plutarch claims that the comedian Philippides, who attacked the pro-Demetrius-Poliorchites rhetorician Stratocles, was a friend of Lysimachus (Dem. 11); meanwhile the comic poet Archedicus, who mocked Demochares, may have spoken for a motion to honour Antipater (IG II² 402). These comedians’ political activities beyond the stage also help to highlight that the comic mockery of politicians’ religious transgressions parallels the political prosecutions of intellectuals for asebeia. Furthermore, comedians’ political actions played a key role in their reception, as comedians’ social standing and political allegiances were invoked in order to credit, and to discredit, their value as evidence for the character of the butts of their jokes. Through an analysis of both the fragments and their quotation context, I show that party politics played a vital part of the life and afterlife of fourth-century comic politics.

Session 4, Panel 6. Dynastic Politics and Displays of Power in the Age of Diocletian and Constantine
Chair: Flower, R.

The period from the accession of Diocletian in AD 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 and fraternal bonds. Each case study explores topics as diverse as palace-building in the Balkans, military culture, ecclesiastical politics, and imperial administration. 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.

Waldron, B. ‘Band of Brothers: Diocletian and Maximian, Virtutibus Fratres’
In 285 Diocletian co-opted the general Maximian as his co-emperor, and their partnership ensured a period of stability that only ended after their abdication in 305. However, the emperors were not related by blood, and Diocletian did not alleviate this issue by forging a familial bond through marriage or adoption. Rather, the relationship of Diocletian and Maximian was articulated in fraternal terms.

I argue that the emperors themselves promoted the idea that they were brothers, and that their brotherhood is representative of political changes in the later third century. By 285 the armies had become politically dominant, and emperors tended to be military professionals drawn from the officer ranks, such as Diocletian and Maximian. The concept of a frater in arms held meaning for Roman soldiers. I argue that the imperial brotherhood was designed to appeal to the soldiery and perhaps reflected the emperors’ backgrounds.
Miles, R. ‘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.

Ernst, N. ‘Constantine II and the Exiled Bishops: Athanasian Agenda and Political Hegemony’

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.

Baker-Brian, N. J. ‘Maintaining the Legacy: Dynastic Rule in the Constantinian Empire, AD 340–350’

The period between 340–350 has traditionally been viewed from the perspective of fraternal relations between Constantius II and Constans, our understanding influenced largely by jaundiced ecclesiastical sources that tended to accentuate the state of discord existing between the two Constantinian emperors. Much less appreciated is an understanding of the functionality of the Roman empire during the rule of the two Augusti, including an awareness of how power was transacted between the western and eastern halves of the empire in light of the redistribution of territory following the death of Constantine II in spring 340.

This paper develops the concept of the Constantinian “dyarchy” first introduced by Jean-Pierre Callu, in order to analyse interactions between the two imperial courts in the decade
prior to the emergence of Magnentius in 350 and the demise of Constantinian rule in the western empire. The paper considers evidence from constitutions alongside coinage and historiography, in order to arrive at a nuanced appreciation of imperial government during the mid-fourth century, including discussing the role of dynastic rule in facilitating the empire’s qualitative features, for example the re-emergence of ‘usurpation culture’ in the 350s.

Session 4, Panel 7. Dialogue and Genre: Genre in Dialogue
Chair: Wilson, L.

What is dialogue? Defining the boundaries of the genre is extremely difficult because even in some of the earliest surviving dialogues, it is already clear that dialogue is a hybrid genre, incorporating elements from other genres in a similar way to Old Comedy. Ancient literary theory provides few clues as to the poetics of dialogue and this comparative neglect continues in modern scholarship.

This panel, made up of three papers, therefore aims to draw attention to three different aspects of the dialogue genre in antiquity and in its later afterlife in the Renaissance. These papers will consider how a lesser known author of dialogue, Xenophon, uses the genre in his *Hellenica*; how Lucian’s *Dialogues of the Dead* uses playful intertexts with works in other genres, including Homeric epic, Homeric scholarship, and tragedy and, lastly, how dialogues that were themselves acts of reception by later classical authors were themselves imitated and incorporated into some of the most influential (and infamous) dialogues in Cinquecento Italy.

**Harman, R. ‘Dialogue and Dialogism in Xenophon’s Hellenica’**

In this paper we will consider the implications of a shift from impersonal narration to Socratic-style dialogue in Xenophon’s *Hellenica*. At the opening of book 4, Xenophon presents a dialogue in which Agesilaus, King of Sparta, skilfully persuades Spithridates, a Persian who has revolted from the Persian King, and Otys, King of the Paphlagonians, to agree to a marriage between Otys and Spithridates’ daughter. The marriage serves Spartan interests by consolidating Sparta’s alliances in the context of Sparta’s attempt to wrest control of the Asian Greek cities from Persia. The language of Panhellenism in this portion of the narrative allows Spartan actions to be read as benefitting Greeks. The dialogue form works not only to demonstrate the controlling, charming power of Agesilaus’ voice, but to draw the reader into this dynamic. We are invited to identify with Agesilaus as he takes control of his audience. However, the dialogue stands in striking contrast to the surrounding context, which presents a dense, impersonally narrated account of fast-moving events. In the previous sequence we are in Boeotia, where Thebans, Athenians, Spartans and allied Greek communities square off. If in the marriage dialogue it is obvious with whom we are to identify—with the clever and seductive Spartan leader in the successful building of his power against the Persian King—in this earlier narrative the interests of Sparta compete with the interests of other Greeks. Whereas the surrounding context might allow a more critical perspective on Sparta’s pursuit of power, the dialogue encourages a sympathetic and unquestioning attitude towards Spartan actions. Both ways of reading impinge on and undercut each other. Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism, where different generic voices come into conflict and affect each other, producing a hybridised or
“double-voiced” text, is helpful here. Bakhtin argues that dialogism produces a unique political experience, whereby the text clashes together different ideological modes and conceptions which impinge and reflect on each other. Through presenting different ways of telling the story of Spartan action, different ways of understanding Spartan power are offered. The reader is both immersed in an admiring identification with Spartan leaders and reminded of the threatening dangers of Spartan power. Far from imposing a unified and dominant image of the world to which the reader is expected passively to assent, Xenophon’s writing reveals the plurality of expectations of the world which might be possible, and places those expectations in tension with each other.

Wilshere, N. ‘Lucian’s Dialogue on Ajax’s Odyssean Silence’
In Dialogues of the Dead 23 (Macl.), Lucian presents a conversation between the shades of Ajax and Agamemnon. It takes place shortly after Ajax’s meeting with Odysseus during the latter’s katabasis in Odyssey 11, and is set in motion by Agamemnon’s curiosity about Ajax’s reasons for refusing to speak in reply to his ‘fellow-soldier and comrade’.

In this paper I consider how, although their conversation is not even 200 words in length, Lucian makes skilful use of the dialogue form to examine the serious ethical questions raised by events leading up to Ajax’s suicide. Who can be said to be ‘to blame’ for Ajax’s destructive madness (Ajax himself, Odysseus, Thetis, the Trojans, Athena...)? What role should competing concepts of justice, individual kleos, and the community have played in the contest over Achilles’ armour?

In typically Lucianic fashion, however, this philosophising also involves playful intertextual humour: not only does Lucian draw on the reader’s awareness of Homer (and Homeric scholarship), but the points made by these characters rely on the identification of allusions to versions of the story found in other texts (Sophocles, the Epic Cycle). Thus the attempt to assign blame relies on the selection of different versions of the myth—so that one reason why Agamemnon begins the conversation is that, as one possible ‘suspect’, and the mistreater of Ajax’s corpse, he is keen to emphasise variant traditions which allow blame to be placed elsewhere.

Finally, I compare the serio-comic approach in Lucian’s other mini-dialogues inspired by Homeric scenes, notably the post-katabasis conversation of Achilles and Antilochus—Dialogues of the Dead 26 (Macl.)—in which Achilles continues to sulk after death just as Ajax continues his Iliadic bluntness of speech when he speaks to Agamemnon.

Wilson, L. ‘Rethinking Dialogue Models: The Case of the Phaedrus’
In Renaissance studies of the dialogue genre, the general trend when referring to the classical origins of the genre appears to be a tripartite division of dialogues into Ciceronian, Lucianic and Platonic; it is found in Cox (1992), Snyder (1989), Smarr (2005) and others.

While useful when referring to dialogues actually written by Cicero, Lucian and Plato, this paper will argue that such distinctions are unhelpful when considering Renaissance dialogues from a classical reception point of view because the processes of reception, imitation and emulation are far more nuanced than such a schema can adequately explain. Indeed, Seneca’s image in letter 84 of the bee gathering nectar from various different
flowers was often used by Renaissance writers to describe the process of *imitatio*; it describes a more organic method of composition where multiple models could be combined and adapted to produce a coherent whole.

As a demonstration of this, the paper will then examine as a case study the afterlife of Plato’s *Phaedrus*: a dialogue used by both Lucian in his *Hermotimus* and Cicero in his *De Oratore*, a work which inspired Baldassare Castiglione’s enormously influential dialogue *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (published 1528), which was itself, according to Buranello, parodied by Pietro Aretino in his *Ragionamenti* (1534). Using comparative literature methodologies, the paper will explore the interconnections between the works to demonstrate that elements and themes of the *Phaedrus* are not transmitted in an entirely linear way through the different works. It will also draw attention to the roles of other genres and influences on the later dialogues.

**Session 4, Panel 8. KYKNOS: Ancient Narrative (Part 1 of 3)**
**Chair: Repath, I.**

There will be a full day of 11 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. Aspects to be considered include: the relationship of elements of the stories to geographical, material, and historical realia; levels and types of meaning generated by complex allusivity and narrative techniques; and, in particular, the concept and self-definition of ancient novelistic fiction, as expressed through intrageneric intertextuality.

**Jolowicz, D. ‘Aphrodisias and the Greek Novel’**
Energised by Chariton’s claim, at the beginning of his novel, to be a native of Aphrodisias, scholars have, to differing lengths and degrees, pursued the ramifications of such geographical specificity, especially in connection with the emergence (and perpetuation) of the Greek novel as a genre. My aim in this paper is to canvass further lines of enquiry—not least as they relate to the interpretation of Chariton’s *Chaereas and Callirhoe*—with a particular focus on the rich pickings provided by the material remains at Aphrodisias.

In the recapitulation of the novel to the assembled Syracusan demos, Chaereas describes how, during the attempted rescue-mission for Callirhoe, his trireme is attacked and set on fire while anchored off Miletus. In this paper I scrutinise Chaereas’ negative characterisation of the culprits as *Φρυγες λησται* (‘Phrygian pirates’), and suggest that it is connected (firstly) to the traditional nexus of terminology linking Romans, Trojans, and Phrygians, as well as to anti-Roman rhetoric that casts Romans as pirates; and (secondly) to patterns of kinship diplomacy fostered by cities of the Greek east seeking to engineer ancestral links with Rome, and in particular to the repertoire of Phrygian iconography found in Aphrodisias.

**D’Alconzo, N. ‘Continuity in the Novels’ Story-world’**
This paper examines recurrent spaces and objects in order to investigate the story-world of the Greek novels. If read through the Bakhtinian adventure-time chronotope each novel
presents a world immobile and without any potential for evolution: each story begins and ends and leaves no trace. But a kind of continuity, albeit a different, textual one, is demonstrated by numerous studies on intertextuality in the novels. Moving from this premise but looking past story and characters I want to look at special locations (e.g. Alexandria and Ephesus, home of important arcs in more than one novel) and objects (e.g. a Babylonian couch) which may suggest that the novelists were playing with continuity and consolidating the fictional world of their stories.

Jackson, C. R. ‘F(r)ictions of Genre: Receptions of Chariton's Callirhoe in Heliodorus’ Aithiopika and Musaeus’ Hero and Leander’

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 Chariton’s 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 2018, 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 Heliodorus’ Aithiopika and 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. Although Heliodorus likely wrote in the fourth century and Musaeus the sixth, both allude 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. In their new contexts, 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 two texts, despite their generic differences, this paper argues that later writers use Callirhoe’s narrative architecture to explore—and subvert—generic conventions and expectations of novelistic fiction in late antiquity.

Bibliography
Jackson, C. R. 2018. ‘Negotiating Imperial and Late Antique Contexts of Fiction in Heliodorus’ Aithiopika’, precirculated paper at Heliodorus in New Contexts, University of Cambridge.

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

**Bibliography**


**Session 4, Panel 9. Bridging the gap from GCSE to A Level in Classical Civilisation and Ancient History**

Chair: Henderson, A.

This panel will focus on how we teach pupils the skills necessary for A Level Classical Civilisation and Ancient History. It will look at pedagogical methods and techniques that can be used in the classroom to help support our students and develop their understanding of the subject.

**Dixon, J. ‘Reading and Analysing Sources’**

Literary sources are at the core of A Level Ancient History and our pupils need to read, understand and analyse a large amount of varied textual source material. However, this task is often daunting to new A Level pupils who are unfamiliar with the topic and the terminology and who are unlikely to have met such detailed historical evidence before. Moreover, the examination is heavily weighted towards awarding marks for this skill and so it is vital that pupils can analyse these sources and evaluate their reliability. This paper will therefore address how we can help our pupils learn these new skills and develop the ability to read, comprehend and analyse sources. It will also explore pedagogic techniques that can be used to improve pupils’ retention of knowledge and develop their understanding of the source material. Finally, the paper will also examine how we can help pupils to engage with and analyse secondary source material.

**Foster, S. ‘Conceptual Thinking Skills to Support Weaker Pupils’**

The new ‘conceptual’ module of the OCR A Level Classical Civilisation A Level presents challenges in teaching less able students, not least because of their expectations of the course, their innate assumptions, their education thus far and the nature of the prescribed material contained in the specification. Teaching Plato and Seneca to such students requires flexibility and a range of different pedagogic techniques to ensure that the weaker student grasps the concepts and is able to apply knowledge and critically evaluate it in the manner required by the Board.

This paper will examine the barriers to learning such conceptual material for students of a weaker ability using case study experience. It will also evaluate different methods for presentation of conceptual material which will facilitate optimum levels of learning. Furthermore, it will explore the most effective pedagogical techniques employed from
experience. Finally, it will pose questions for further research into the education of weaker students in topics of a conceptual nature at A Level.

**Ball, G. ‘Making the Most of Assessment and Feedback’**
How can we ensure that students are able to meet the demands of essay writing in A Level Classical Civilisation/Ancient History? Can we use assessment, not just to practise essay skills, but rather as a tool to develop them? This session will look at ways of helping students to develop their evaluation and analysis (AO2) skills through assessment and feedback. It will consider ways of slowly introducing and developing new essay skills through structured and scaffolded assessment tasks. It will discuss the impact of modelling those skills in the classroom and supporting them in assessments. It will also discuss the impact of effective feedback on student progress and the importance of supporting students’ self-evaluation through feedback with practical strategies to promote this in the classroom.

**Hopley, R. ‘Rethinking Revision and Retention at A Level’**
This paper aims to give teachers new ideas for revision in A Level Classical Civilisation; both during and at the end of the A Level course. It is tempting to focus on innovative ways to teach and neglect the importance of repetition of key aspects in reinforcing information and skills over a 2-year course. In this way, this paper will bring together different active methods to reinforce knowledge and understanding, that is ways which will force students to retrieve previous knowledge and to group together information without simply creating notes or another essay plan with the class.

Session 4, Panel 10. **Kingship**
Chair: tba

**Wuk, M. ‘A Ruler of his Word? Oath-taking and Oath-breaking in Later Roman Imperial Politics’**
In 532, the emperor Justinian summoned the exiled bishop Severus of Antioch to Constantinople to discuss ongoing Christological schisms. As the bishop had fled to exile due to threats against his person, Justinian swore an oath confirming Severus’ safety. In reply, Severus stated that this oath was unnecessary, as his ruler’s word was enough of a guarantee. Nevertheless, many other individuals did not trust the emperor, even when he took an oath. Also in 532, for example, Justinian’s attempt to quell the Nika riots by swearing not to punish the instigators failed, with his subjects mocking him for being a constant perjurer.

Perceptions of trustworthiness were important in internal political dealings between emperor and subject in Late Antiquity (3rd-6th centuries C.E.). The political landscape of this period was fairly unsettled; uprisings occurred with varying frequency alongside other challenges to imperial rule, such as public unrest and powerful generals who resisted control. Consequently, numerous types of oath were used to tie influential commanders to the regime, to quash civil disturbances, and to persuade defeated rivals to leave areas of sanctuary. These promises were meant to benefit the imperial court by manipulating
interpersonal relationships and the reputations of the swearers. At times, however, these oaths were broken or circumvented, thereby decreasing trust placed in the swearers.

These points raise several questions. Who was involved in the swearing of these oaths and how could these promises be deployed to the emperor’s political benefit? How did the oath-takers circumvent what had been sworn and how was the practice itself manipulated? What were the consequences of breaking these promises and how were violators perceived? Through exploration of these questions, this paper seeks to examine the use and abuse of oath-taking in later Roman political dealings to understand this often-overlooked facet of late antique rulership.

Unruh, D. ‘Kingship by Consent in Isocrates’ Nicocles’
Isocrates has long been viewed as a partisan of absolute monarchy. His ample correspondence with rulers, including Philip II of Macedon, Nikokles of Cypriot Salamis, and Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, earned him the reputation, both in his own time and in current scholarship, of favouring autocratic one-man rule.

Of Isocrates’ extant works, no text seems on first glance more to support this image than his oration Nicocles. This speech is ostensibly written for the young king Nicocles to deliver to his subjects, informing them of their duty to obey him and uphold his authority. The Cypriots are enjoined to obey the king’s orders without question, to consider his interests as identical to their own, and to act at all times as if Nicocles himself is watching them. Such passages certainly give the oration a totalitarian, even Orwellian flavour, and could easily be seen as supporting the image of Isocrates as a champion of unbridled absolutism.

A closer reading of this work, however, complicates this picture. In this paper, I argue that the Nicocles actually presents the king’s subjects as enjoying the deciding voice in the relationship. Nicocles is only able to demand their obedience after he has rationally proven to them both that monarchy is an acceptable constitution, and that he is the best person to serve as their monarch. In essence, Nicocles only enjoys his wide authority because his people have consented to grant it to him, persuaded by his logical arguments.

This image of kingship by consent turns out to be a constant theme in Isocrates’ writings. In his letters to various rulers, his advice on Athenian policy, and his depiction of mythical kings, Isocrates maintains the position that even the greatest monarch’s power rests on the informed agreement of his subjects.

Liney, N. ‘On the Good King according to Statius: Kingship Theory and the Silvae’
Statius’ Silvae, a collection of occasional poems dedicated both to the emperor Domitian and to private patrons, offers some of the most poignant explorations of imperial power and its impact on private life and poetic expression. Whilst scholarship has focused on the role of kingship in Statius’ better-known epic, the Thebaid (Ganiban, Hulls), comparatively little attention has been paid on how the Silvae reflects similar preoccupations, and its relationship with important sources on ancient kingship theory, such as Seneca’s De Clementia, Dio Chrysostom’s Orationes, and Philodemus’ On the Good King According to Homer—as well as Augustan and Neronian poetry’s concern with kingship. Additionally,
scholarship is beginning to acknowledge just how important the cultural memory of Nero was in shaping Flavian poetry’s response to Domitian (Rebeggiani, Ginsberg)—although again, far less so for Statius’ *Silvae*, which explores the memory and legacy of Nero in interesting ways to reflect upon the nature of Domitian’s principate, and his own (poetic) relationship to the political centre. My paper addresses certain poems of the *Silvae*, and attempts to elucidate how kingship theory plays an important role in Statius’ presentation of imperial power, and, reflexively, of poetic power.

**Bibliography**


**Szöke, M. ‘The Emperor’s New Patchwork Family: Imperial Legitimacy and Family Ties in Pliny’s *Panegyricus*’**

The construction of the emperor’s legitimacy in imperial panegyric has received renewed attention in recent works of scholarship (see e.g. Omissi (2018) *Emperors and Usurpers*). This paper draws on these recent insights to take a second look at how the first extant example of panegyric, Pliny the Younger’s *Panegyricus*, which has so far received less attention than its late antique relatives, constructs the legitimacy of the emperor Trajan.

It will particularly focus on what role family ties play in the *Panegyricus*’ creation of imperial legitimacy. As is well-known, Trajan was the first man to be adopted by an emperor as his *de facto* successor without having had any previous blood relation to the imperial family, thus becoming the first of the ‘adoptive emperors’. However, strikingly, in the *Panegyricus*, Trajan’s adoption not only plays a rather negligible role; Pliny also portrays his adoptive father Nerva in quite unflattering terms, as a weak old man. Trajan’s biological father, on the other hand, is extolled for his military prowess.

I will argue that the *Panegyricus*’ peculiar portrayal of this imperial patchwork family has significant implications for our understanding of imperial legitimacy: it implies that, even at the time of Trajan, the emperor’s position was not, primarily, justified by his relationship to the previous emperor, or even by dynastic claims. Rather, Pliny’s unflattering portrayal of Nerva suggests that the emperor legitimised his position, on the contrary, by distinguishing himself from his predecessor. However, as the portrayal of *Traianus pater* shows, the *virtus* of one’s *gens* could still serve to embellish the emperor’s personal prowess. This implies that, even over 100 years after its foundation, the Principate was still largely based on the meritocratic system that had already existed during the Republic.
Sunday 19 April

Session 5: 11:30–13:00

Session 5, Panel 1. Poetic Reception in Late Antiquity
Chair: tba

Nolfo, F. ‘Ovid’s Presence and Gender Issues in Late Antique Poetry’
My paper is dedicated to the reception of Ovid in the late antique poetry of Ausonius, especially in his two epigrams on Niobe (Auson. Epigr. 63 Peip. = 57 Green ~ Epit. 27 Peip. = Epigr. 58 Green). In these epigrams the tragic transformation of Tantalus’ daughter into stone because of her grief at the terrible fate of her children (see Ov. Met. 6.148–315) creates in the story two ecphrastic descriptions (ἐκφράσεις) which combine in a dense manner themes known from the funeral orations (laudationes funebres) and the formulaic rhetorical expressions of self-representation found in Latin epitaphs in which the speaker is the dead person.

The first part of my paper aims to understand more clearly how deeply the literary concept of imitatio/aemulatio was part of the creative conscience of poets who composed their works not only in the classical period but also (and especially) in Late Antiquity. I propose to examine the epigrams mentioned above on the basis of philological, rhetorical, linguistic and stylistic criteria, as well as within the social-historical context of the period during which these texts were composed. The second part of the paper seeks to ask what was the function, in both epigrams, of the first-person discourse of Niobe and what gender-specific elements are attributed to her figure, story and emotions.

Bibliography

Krauss, K. ‘Reading Virgil and Imperialist Erotics in Claudian’s De Raptu Proserpineae’
In Book 1 of his De Raptu Proserpineae, 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 2007). 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 2015). 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.

**Bibliography**


**Session 5, Panel 2. Regional Epigraphic Cultures Across the Ancient Globe (Part 1 of 2) [under the aegis of the Association Internationale d’Épigraphie Grecque et Latine (AIEGL)]**

Chair: Salvo, I.

**Butler, S. ‘Glocal Writing in the Ancient Mediterranean: the Case of Western Anatolia’**

Glocalization is a concept that has its roots in the world of business, where it designates strategies that adapt products with a global range to suit local markets. Along with the more common term ‘globalization’, it is often considered as a purely modern phenomenon. However, over the past two decades, historians and archaeologists have argued that globalization can be found wherever and whenever there is both a high degree of inter-regional connectivity and the social changes it produces.
This paper will seek to insert the spread of alphabetic writing in the Mediterranean world in the 1st millennium BCE into this discussion. I will focus on a subset of the corpus of inscriptions written in native Anatolian languages, namely Lykian, Karian and Lydian. This often-overlooked corpus of a little over 500 inscriptions from western Anatolia, Egypt and Greece provides a particularly fruitful case study for glocalization because the communities of users were in a unique position to adopt and adapt cultural practices from both the Aegean and Near Eastern worlds. In the paper, I will argue that not only is glocalization a useful heuristic tool to understand the similarities and differences in how these communities adapted alphabetic writing, but that this adaptation itself is a sign of the level of globalization in the Mediterranean world at the time. By putting this corpus of inscriptions in the context of the other material, social and political connections of the communities that created it, we can see how writing served as one of several means by which people made statements about their local identity and their inter-regional connections.

Sabaté Vidal, V. ‘Approaching Iberian Inscriptions on Lead Tablets: a Case for “Epigraphic Bilingualism”’
Iberian is an undeciphered language attested in over 2,000 inscriptions, which have been found along the Eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula and date from the fifth century BCE to the first century CE. One of the most salient features of this corpus is the high number of lead tablets, of which it contains more than one hundred. These inscriptions may be among the most difficult to interpret: the texts are relatively long, they display complex syntax, and are full of hapax legomena. The lack of significant bilingual documents and of linguistic relatives of Iberian makes the situation so desperate that, without other archaeological evidence, it has proven impossible to establish even the basic function of most tablets.

Fortunately, Iberian epigraphy developed mainly on the basis of the Greek epigraphic habit, which, for its part, influenced other Mediterranean peoples. Therefore, in order to cast light on the nature of Iberian lead sheets, it is possible to take advantage of ‘epigraphic bilingualism’, which has to be understood here as the phenomenon in which two epigraphies follow similar patterns and can thus be compared. This paper will illustrate some instances of this approach. For example, the layout of Greek lead letters allows us to identify private correspondence in Iberian: at least four documents bear a personal name which was visible when the sheets were folded, and it should be interpreted either as the addressee or the sender. Moreover, the distinctive characteristics of religious lead tablets from the Greek, Oscan and Etruscan corpora (the archaeological context, the shape of the sheet, the formulae) can also be detected in several Iberian inscriptions, such as those from El Amarejo (which may be votive) or those from Cerro Lucena and Tossal del Mor (which could be curse tablets).

Sánchez Natalías, C. ‘Habits within the Habit: the Various Trends in North African defixiones’
Defixiones are among the most peculiar inscriptions in the ancient world, not only due to their material characteristics or for the elusive rituals that accompanied their deposition, but also due to their specific content. Though they were used for over a millennium across a wide geographical area, scholars have tended to describe defixiones in surprisingly homogeneous terms and have sought to fit a diverse range of objects and practices into
neat taxonomies. Such a trend is exacerbated when we turn to ‘provincial’ texts, which are analyzed in light of those from the nuclei of Greco-Roman societies. Nevertheless, it is necessary to realize that these magical-religious artifacts represent a ‘living’ cultural practice: in fact, these inscriptions were not only adopted, but also substantially adapted by various provincial societies from Britain to North Africa and beyond.

While scholars have placed much stress on the Hellenic and Near-Eastern influences on North African curses or the role of ‘Romanization’, this paper argues that this religious technology was taken up by local populations and repurposed to become something new and unique within this particular context. To illustrate the point, I turn to the corpora from Hadrumetum and Carthage and show that the rules for cursing were not written in stone. Even within a single community, we can observe how the cursing tradition evolved along slightly different lines: given the existence of different so-called officiae magicae, we can trace competing conceptions of what defixiones were and how they worked. Therefore, I argue that in the case of these extra-official texts, we cannot even speak of a North African epigraphic habit, but rather must posit multiple coexisting habits not only within the same region but also within the same community.

Session 5, Panel 3. Honour in Athenian Politics and Society (Part 2 of 2)  
Chair: Cairns, D.

Rocchi, L. ‘...καὶ ἔδοξεν ύμῖν τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιῆσαι’: The ἀτίμος/ἐπίτιμος Dichotomy in Athenian Law’

The opposition between the terms ἀτίμος and ἐπίτιμος—in the judicial sphere, normally translated respectively as ‘deprived of civic rights’ and ‘in possession of his rights and franchises’, cf. LSJ 9 s.v.—is rightly regarded as fundamental for the understanding of citizenship and the prerogatives associated to it. Scholars have often gone as far as arguing that, in classical Athens, calling someone ἐπίτιμος ultimately was tantamount to calling him a πολίτης, a ‘citizen’. This assumption, however, rests upon outdated preconceptions on the nature of ‘honour’ (τιμή), seen as a scarce non-material commodity gained through violent competition with other members of the group. In this scenario, then, citizenship—seen as the highest possible honour—and ἐπιτιμία have been perceived as equivalent, and ἀτιμία has been regarded as something which pertained to citizens and citizens only.

This paper will challenge this perspective and reassess the ἀτίμος/ἐπίτιμος relationship in the light of the use of the terms both in the literary and the epigraphical record. Through the analysis of the sources, it will emerge how the term ἐπίτιμος was used routinely in a restorative fashion, to define someone who had been previously struck with ἀτιμία and had subsequently been restored to his earlier status. The language of ἐπιτιμία, in fact, appears to be used only in its contraposition with that of ἀτιμία and, very significantly, is never to be found in the context of citizenship grants. Ἐπιτιμία, then, seems to have been a concept regularly used to refer to the restoration of a previous arrangement: by becoming ἐπίτιμος, the person who had fallen short of the standard of behaviour required of his or her specific status and had become ἀτίμος got a second chance in the ‘honour
arena’ of the Athenian polis.

Duplouy, A. ‘Always be the best and be superior to others. Extent and Limits of Honour Strategies in Archaic Greece’

It has long been accepted that archaic ‘aristocrats’ relied on a gentilician structure to enjoy a life of leisure thanks to their riches and ruled cities for centuries, being the only owners of full citizenship-rights, until the dēmos challenged their right to control every political office and the whole process of decision-making. Enduring class struggle and a slow process of democratization would have been the keys of archaic history. For twenty years or so, I have contributed to revise such presentation in investigating how elites actually elaborated their social position and continuously struggled to maintain their status, rising above the common people... to such an extent that some of them could be excluded from their community. Through a retrospective study of already published papers, I will explore the extent and limits of honour strategies in archaic Greece, especially how such behaviours interacted with the making of citizen communities. Honour ruled everything in archaic Greece, including citizenship. As I insisted in various studies, in archaic Greece, citizenship also rested on a social estimation of honour. Finally, I will address the challenges that such approach of archaic history faces today, especially an unfortunate revival of kinship theories as structuring key of early Greek societies.

Brock, R. ‘Honour, Identity and Social Stability in the Greek Polis’

In Politics VI.4, Aristotle suggests that tolerance of oligarchy in his time is due to the fact that ‘the many desire profit more than honour’; however, that is not entirely easy to square with his account of revolution as caused by the desire of inferiors for equality and the statement that the objects of revolution are kerdos and timē (V.2), not least because the discussion of megalopsuchia in EN IV.3 makes clear that timē is correlated with self-evaluation, in which case all men ought to have some degree of expectations, and will feel slighted, and therefore angry and prone to revolt, if those expectations are not met. In her recent book (2017) Josine Blok has applied the concept of ‘baseline timē’ to Athenian citizenship: I shall extend this idea to poleis in which most of the population were excluded from active political participation and argue that the internal subdivisions of such poleis may have served to provide them with a satisfying identity and a sense of agency sufficient to meet their desire for time and their sense of what was justly due to them, and that this may help to explain the relative political stability on which Aristotle remarks.

Session 5, Panel 4. Between Two Worlds: Ovid Shaping Literary Tradition from Virgil to the Post-Classical (Part 2 of 2) [panel under the auspices of the International Ovidian Society]

Chair: Sharrock, A.

Papaioannou, S. ‘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.

**Popescu, C. ‘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 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.

**Kachuck, A. ‘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 dis 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 5, Panel 5. Greek Comic Fragments (Part 2 of 2)
Chair: tba

Mastellari, V. ‘The Speaker of Mnesimachus’ fr. 7 and a Consideration on Dialects in Attic Greek Comedy’
Mnesimachus’ fr. 7 K.—A., deriving from a comedy entitled Philippos, consists of a boastful speech delivered by an unidentified speaker about his companions’ and his own military superiority. The speaker is depicted as a braggart soldier, claiming that he and comrades can eat swords and pieces of broken javelins, swallow blazing torches, use shields and breastplates for cushions at dinner and crown themselves with catapults. Given the political undertone hinted at by the title of the comedy and several references to historical events in the other surviving fragments, scholars agree that the speaker of this fragment must be either Philip II of Macedonia or Demosthenes, the latter often satirized in Middle Comedy in relation to the Macedonian King. Scholars who identify this speaker with Demosthenes argue that the fragment betrays no linguistic characterization: in other words, if one imagines Philip as a persona loquens, one would expect him to speak like a Macedonian.

This paper aims to reassess this hypothesis by addressing the socio-cultural role of dialects in the extant Attic Comedy, focusing particularly on famous foreign characters on the comic stage. Not only will I suggest that there is no need to expect any dialectal characterization in the case of Philip, but also that the trend in comedy seems the opposite. Only unknown comic characters seem to need this kind of characterization (for instance the Theban in Ar. Ach. 860–958). The best example is Herakles: although he is regularly presented as a Boeotian (both in terms of provenance and attitude, since in comedy Boeotians were commonly mocked for their proverbial gluttony), his speeches are never provided with any dialectal or specific linguistic trait.

Novokhatko, A. ‘4th cent. BCE Comedy and the Developing Vocabulary of Criticism’
The paper will deal with certain 4th cent. BCE comic fragments which contain terms of literary criticism. Comic production during the 4th century BC provides material concerning criticism of poetry, self-referentiality being a characteristic of the genre of comedy. The 4th century inherited a range of common topoi on criticism from Old comedy. However, it was the carefully structured plot of the comedy that was especially emphasised, construction of the plot being a central focus for the poets of Middle comedy. An important example of
comedic criticism is Antiphanes' comedy Poiesis, fr. 189 PCG. The speaker, representing comic poetry and playwrights, complains about the difficulty of writing comedy as compared to tragedy. It is interesting to note that the poet discusses the structure and composition of his play and uses vocabulary from critical analysis (κατειγμένα πρότερον, τά νῦν παρόντα, τίν καταστροφήν, τίν εἰσβολήν, 'what happened before, the present situation, the catastrophe, the opening of the play', vv. 19–21). This fragment will also be discussed in the context of contemporary and later criticism of tragedy and literary criticism (cf. the title of Amphis' comedy Dithyrambos).

A special focus will be given to Xenarchus' comedy Porphyra, fr. 7, where, in a parallel to Antiphanes' fragment, a character complains that poets, instead of saying things new, rearrange the same material, moving it around here and there: οὔδὲ ἐν καινῷ γάρ εὐρίσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ μεταφέρει ἐκάστος αὐτῶν ταῦτ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω. The use of the verb μεταφέρειν will be analysed along with the use of this verb in Pl. Criti. 113a, Arist. EN 1167a10 and Arist. Rh. 1405b6 and the establishment of the noun ‘metaphor’.

Session 5, Panel 6. Heterodox Classics
Chair: tba

This panel has been organized by Heterodox Classics, a group dedicated to viewpoint diversity, freedom of speech, and respectful disagreement in our field. The papers, first, share a common concern in using the ancient past to speak to concerns in the present—and in using modern theories to help us understand the ancient past. Second, we aim to explore the ways in which ancient texts and evidence can be approached fruitfully from a diversity of political and cultural standpoints. Finally, our mission is partly to provide a space in which such issues can be debated in a robust yet civil and civilized manner.

Stewart, E. ‘Professions and Professional Autonomy, Ancient and Modern: How can ancient texts impact on our understanding of the modern workplace?’

This paper will, first, present briefly the results of an ongoing research project that I am conducting on professionalism in the ancient world and, second, suggest how this study could impact on our understanding of the modern workplace.

First, my research to date has been concerned with skilled work and especially practitioners who achieved high social status and income as a reward for their work. Many Greeks viewed skilled work as something that was both highly specialized and also of crucial importance to society. Plato’s Socrates (for one) believed that all kinds of work were best done by experts, that is people who had invested sufficient time in training and practice to become competent in any particular art. On this assumption is founded the principle of professional autonomy, whereby the technites must be trusted to know what is best for his client or patient in his one field of expertise and must be left to work free from the interventions of laymen.

Second, I argue that the concept of professionalism and the professions is not a new idea. Sociologists by contrast have long supposed that professionalism was largely the creation of the Industrial Revolution. There is also a growing consensus that the professions are becoming increasingly irrelevant in the post-industrial workplace, where managerial
bureaucracies seek to limit the autonomy of professionals and regulate their work. An awareness of ancient professionalism, however, allows us to appreciate more fully what professionalism is and why it matters. Rather than a feature of industrial societies that has become obsolete in the post-industrial age, I argue that practitioners are, in all societies, happier, more efficient and more effective at delivering the key services that are their reason for being when professional autonomy and intellectual freedom are safeguarded.

Kierstead, J. ‘Athens and the Diffusion of Greek Democracy’

Scholars used to routinely accord Athens a starring role in the spread of Greek democracy (e.g. Bury and Meiggs 1975). More recently, there’s been increasing skepticism of Athens’ claims. This skepticism has taken two forms: 1. doubts about whether Athens promoted democracy as a matter of principle, rather than simply of pragmatism; and 2. doubts about Athens as a significant causal factor in the diffusion of Greek democracy.

Brock 2009 is a good example of the former tendency, and Robinson 2011 of the latter. Brock relies heavily on the fact that most claims that Athenians attempted to spread democracy in the imperial period come from fourth-century sources like Isocrates. Thucydides, in contrast, stresses pragmatic concerns. Robinson’s strongest argument is that, while there was an uptick in the number of democracies in the Aegean during Athens’ ascendancy, there was a similar uptick in other areas of the Greek world. This suggests to him that Athenian power has limited force as a causal factor.

In this paper, I push back against these two arguments. I argue that scholars have underplayed the extent to which Thucydides’ picture of Athenian motives may be a projection of his own view of human behaviour, which stressed power at the expense of ideological concerns. I also suggest that, even though Athens was not the only factor driving democratization in the classical Greek world, it may still have been one of the key factors in spreading democracy in the Aegean.

I close by wondering whether, as so often, scholars have been influenced by contemporary political concerns: in particular, uneasiness about pro-democracy military intervention in recent times (as in e.g. Balot 2006). These concerns are understandable, but there’s a danger that they lead to an over-correction in our view of the ancient past.

Bibliography

Gold, S. ‘Classics in Flux’

Since 2017 there has been a sea change in our field. Political apathy in the Academy is out of fashion, and the internet is flooded with classical answers to contemporary problems, as well as assertions that the discipline of Classics is the problem—that it upholds white, patriarchal power structures and feeds the rhetoric of the Alt-right. Meanwhile, the debate surrounding these issues is increasingly polarized, with certain scholars even going so far as
to attack the very notion of classical debate (see, for example, Donna Zuckerberg’s 29 August piece for the Washington Post).

Since beginning my graduate education in the United Kingdom, I have been surprised by how few British scholars appear to be aware of the conversations happening in America. And every week, it seems, there are new conversations—conversations that have the power sometimes to improve, sometimes to destroy the field. With my finger on the pulse in both the United States and the United Kingdom, I plan to deliver a comparative account of the state of Classics in the two countries, whatever the state may be in April 2020. I look forward to fostering healthy debate.

Session 5, Panel 7. **Women in Greek Philosophical Dialogues**  
Chair: tba

Ancient Greek philosophy was almost entirely a man’s activity. Yet, despite the overwhelmingly male aspect of Greek philosophy, at certain moments male writers included (limited) female voices in their discussions. This panel turns to look more carefully at three of these moments: Theodote in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* 3.11, Aspasia in Plato’s *Menexenus*, and Cleobulina in Plutarch’s *Symposium of Seven Sages*. These three dialogues feature rare women’s voices in ways that are importantly different: as absent characters whose words are ventriloquized through male speakers (Plato), as present participants who nevertheless stay silent (Plutarch), and, in one unique case, as present and speaking in her own voice (Xenophon). Our panel will investigate both the changing representations of how these voices are used by male authors of dialogues, and the topics about which women’s voices are considered to be ‘expert’.

**Kipps, F. ‘Xenophon’s Theodote: Art, Seduction and Persuasion (Memorabilia 3.10–11)’**

In *Memorabilia* 3.11, Xenophon describes Socrates’ conversation with the courtesan Theodote about her strategies for seducing lovers and their responses, and how she profits from these relationships. At once picturesquely beautiful and expert at convincing displays of affection, Xenophon’s Theodote occupies a unique position at the juncture of the aesthetic and the ethical—at the juncture of art and life, material and immaterial worlds, body and soul, profit and pleasure—through which Xenophon examines the physical and psychological workings of affective interactions. Together with Socrates’ conversations with artists in *Memorabilia* 3.10, Theodote’s case establishes an analogy between artistic imitation, emotional communication, and professional persuasion, where the activities of the artist (perceiving, imitating, embodying and convincing) are akin to the activities of the courtesan, who must correctly recognise and adapt to the particular needs and desires of her audience. This analysis is key to understanding Xenophon’s broader interest in displays of beauty and the building of emotional bonds as strategies in politics, where they enable a leader to gain willing obedience.

**LaValle Norman, D. ‘Aspasia, Dirt and Death in Plato’s Menexenus’**

In the *Menexenus*, Plato follows a familiar pattern from Classical dialogues of only including a women’s voice when ventriloquized through a male participant in the conversation. On this occasion, Socrates recounts a funeral oration that he learned from Aspasia, whom he
claims also taught Pericles the same art. By carefully comparing Aspasia's speech in the Mexeneus and Pericles' oration in Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War, I will show how Plato uses the supposed feminine author of his speech to draw out particularly feminine aspects not usually seen in a funeral oration, matching speaker to topic. Although the funeral oration is typically described as one of the most traditional of genres, by comparing the funeral orations in Plato and Thucydides we can see how a Classical author used a female voice to innovate in important ways. Plato does this by drawing upon the traditional links between women and matter, specifically the maternal earth from which the autochthonous Athenians sprang.

Stamatopoulou, Z. ‘Female Wisdom in Plutarch’s Symposium of the Seven Sages’

Plutarch’s Symposium of the Seven Sages recounts a banquet hosted by Periander of Corinth and attended by a rich cast of characters, including the Seven Sages, Aesop, and Cleobulina, the young daughter of Cleobulus, who is the tyrant of Lindus and one of the Sages. Cleobulina is praised early in the dialogue for her riddles, but also for her philanthrôpia, her political thinking, and her positive influence on her father’s leadership (148c–d). Despite the explicit acknowledgement of her intellectual and ethical excellence, however, Cleobulina remains one of the most understudied Plutarchan characters.

In this paper, I will examine how gender shapes the definition and expression of Cleobulina’s wisdom throughout the text. For this purpose, I will look closely at a few passages that best illustrate Plutarch’s representation of the female sage and invite a comparison to the male wisdom figures populating the dialogue. First, I will look at the introduction of this young female character through a polyphonic male commentary (148c–e); here, the maiden’s exceptional qualities are defined exclusively by men and praised for benefiting primarily men. Subsequently, I will examine how her wisdom finds its way into the convivial conversation, focusing on Aesop’s performance of her riddles (150e, 154a–b) and Cleobulus’ engagement with one of his daughter’s stories in the context of explaining his ideas about wealth (157a–b). Not only do Plutarch’s readers get a limited sample of Cleobulina’s intellectual capacity, but they also engage with her wisdom exclusively through male mediators, given that the maiden refrains from speaking for as long as she attends the banquet.

I hope that my study of Cleobulina in the Symposium of the Seven Sages will shed new light on Plutarch’s ideas about female virtue and wisdom.

Session 5, Panel 8. KYKNOS: Ancient Narrative (Part 2 of 3)
Chair: tba.

Repath. I. ‘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.

**Demerre, O. “Ἅτε δὲ ὡν ἐρωτικὸς: Eros and Narration in Longus and Achilles Tatius’**

Earlier studies have highlighted the role of E/eros in shaping the generic identity of the Greek novels, in accordance with alleged ancient testimonies that single out the erotic component (*e.g.* Jul. *Ep.* 89, 301, b–c). E/eros is as much the god present at the beginning of the novelistic action (*e.g.* Chariton 1.1.3–4) as an emotion that motivates the protagonists’ adventures, and the subject of mono- and dialogues. The novels are thus a production on, of and by Eros. In Longus and Achilles Tatius, however, the presence of Eros is problematic: while the god intervenes directly in the worlds created by Chariton and Xenophon, there is but one occurrence of such a meddling in both Achilles and Longus (Longus 1.11.1). The narrators usually distance interventions of Eros by using various strategies such as embedding them in dreams (Longus 2.27.1) or in secondary or tertiary levels of narration (Philetas in Longus 2.7, the story of Rhodopis in Ach. Tat. 8.12, to some extent Callisthenes’ speech in Sosthenes’ narration in Ach. Tat. 8.17.3), etc., in order, among other things, to provide plausible motives for characters’ actions.

I will argue that in some of the aforementioned passages, the introduction of a distance between the narrator and Eros’ actions in both Longus and Achilles is either a subversion or at the very least a reaction to earlier novelistic practices. This distance as well as other devices as a result denounce a perceived lazy narrative manoeuvre used by their predecessors, namely the direct intervention of Eros. Finally, this is meaningful for our understanding of the erotic development of the protagonists in Longus, and for the characterisation of Clitophon the narrator in Achilles Tatius.

**Norton-Curry, J. ‘Leukippe’s Sacrifice and Amphitheatre Spectacle’**

I will investigate the intertextual relationship between Leukippe’s sacrifice and the horrific Roman practice of executing criminals and prisoners of war in mythic guise for popular entertainment. In including contemporary practices in my intertextual matrix, I follow Leitch’s interpretation of Kristevan intertextuality in which ‘all contexts, whether political, economic, social, psychological, historical, or theological become intertexts; that is, outside influences and forces undergo textualization’. I will suggest that there is more to Kleitophon’s comment about Marsyas’ punishment at 3.15.4 than scholars have previously noticed, and that his commentary on the sacrifice of his beloved is, perhaps, engaging with the mythical staging of executions of *noxii*, the descriptions of these spectacles in the epigrams of Martial, and stone reliefs and mosaics depicting these spectacles. I will argue that this intertextuality creates an equivalence between the voyeurs of Roman public executions and the readers of the novel. I suggest that, in this intertextual interaction, a Roman imperial reader would be discomfited by the substitution of a high-status maiden for a criminal or enemy of Rome.
Lloyd, M. E. and Robson, J. ‘The Battle for Latin: Reports from the Frontline in UK Universities’
Traditionally Latin has been an elite subject taught largely at independent and grammar schools. Over the past generation, however, great strides have been made in opening up the subject to students from all backgrounds. A major hindrance to this initiative though is that the study of classical languages can prove very challenging for students taking up Latin for the first time at university. For example, in the 2012–13 academic year, only 77% of Latin students on ab initio courses passed the beginners’ module (Lloyd and Robson 2018).

This paper reports on a new project that makes an in-depth investigation of the problems of retention and student outcomes in support of the battle to make the study of Latin sustainable and accessible in our universities. By analysing survey responses from 29 or the 31 universities with ab initio Latin modules it brings up to date the results of a similar survey in 2014 (Lloyd and Robson 2018), and explores the importance of factors such as assessment methods, class sizes and contact hours, materials and pedagogy on pass and withdrawal rates. The paper combines statistical data from across the UK with qualitative data collected from a small cross-section of university departments where lesson observations, interviews with students and staff, and student surveys enabled a deeper understanding of the teaching and learning experience. Consideration of the implication of modern foreign language (MFL) learning theories further illuminate observed influences on success and retention. We conclude with examples of successful practice and begin to discuss the development of broader strategies to improve outcomes.

By bringing together pedagogical theory and rigorous qualitative and quantitative analysis, this paper breaks important new ground in building a theoretical understanding of factors influencing student outcomes, and in sharing best practice to tackle the real-world issue of retention on classical language modules and to promote student success.

Bibliography

Rozier, C. ‘From Research to Resources: Modelling Classical Content in KS3 School Curricula’
While we would all like to see an increase in the provision of classical subjects in state schools across the UK, many schools are not ready to take the leap of introducing a new subject without specialist staff. In this session I will share my experiences of integrating classical content into the key stage 3 English curriculum as a way of enabling pupils to access classical subjects within their existing timetables and with incumbent teaching staff.

Since 2018, colleagues from the Classics department at Durham have been working with English and literacy leads from Durham County Council with this aim in mind, and in 2020,
we are working with three schools in the Durham area who are all re-designing their key stage 3 curriculum and scheme of work for English. In all three schools, the aim of the curriculum re-design is to foster an enjoyment of literature which reaches beyond the syllabus, and increases the cultural capital of pupils who may not benefit from a home background where reading and creativity are encouraged. Our role with the schools is to show how classical subjects can be included in the new curriculum to meet those aims—widening pupils’ cultural reference points and introducing them to stories and literatures from places and times beyond their own.

In this paper I will share our progress so far and provide anonymised examples of how classical subjects have been included in the schools’ new curricula. I will provide examples of specific resources which we have created for non-specialist teachers to use in the classroom. I would also like to encourage discussion and feedback on our work so far and how university departments can best work alongside schools which do not teach classical subjects.

Bragg, E. ‘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. In 2017–2018, the Classics department at Symonds launched a new lunchtime 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 various challenges of teaching cine-antiquity to sixth form students, many of whom have never studied the classical world or modern 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?

Beyer, A. ‘New Insights and Methods of Vocabulary Acquisition in Latin Classes’

Learning a historical language is in itself different from learning a modern language in view of emphasizing the work on texts instead of everyday communication. Therefore, not only the expectations and motivation differ, but also the teaching methodology. Whereas learners of modern languages focus on language production, learners of Latin read or translate their texts. Because of the overall low frequency of occurrence of a Latin word or a phrase in this kind of learning environment most students are often unfamiliar with a given word and therefore finally unable to translate the texts. To approach this underlying problem of Latin classes (in German high schools) we are working together in an
interdisciplinary research group of corpus linguistics, Latin pedagogy and computer science at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. In our research project we try to figure out
- whether corpus-based methods are more supportive in vocabulary acquisition than other methods used in teaching languages and
- how corpus-based tasks might be (analogically and digitally) implemented in class. Consequently, we adapt the methodology of data-driven (language) learning as an educational innovation for Latin classes. In this, we reuse various tools from the Classics and the natural language processing community for the development of our corpus-based software. Simultaneously, we carried out intervention studies, in which we already gained some interesting insights, e.g. that the majority of students fail to lemmatize words correctly. Finally, we recently designed a so-called vocabulary unit that presents both an example how to implement to some extent data-driven learning into Latin classes and how to carry out an intervention study within the software.

Session 5, Panel 10. The Hercules Project: The Labours Continue
Chair: tba

The 2020 CA at Swansea will see the launch of the 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 volumes aim to chart and account for the significance in western culture of Herakles-Hercules from late antiquity via the Renaissance to the present day. After an initial conference at Leeds in 2013, the project won an AHRC Network grant, which facilitated development of the volumes via editorial support and a further Leeds conference in 2017; both conferences also had the support of the Classical Association, Hellenic and Roman Societies, and the Institute of Classical Studies. In addition to academic endeavours, the project has 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. Two of the papers proposed here relate to specific volumes (Herakles Inside and Outside the Church, The Modern Hercules), while the third takes advantage of the series editor’s privileged vantage point to present a broader, diachronic overview of two major themes.

Stafford, E. ‘Herculean Labours and Choices: Tracing Themes from the Church Fathers to the Twenty-first Century’
The Hercules Project volumes 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. The Project has been lucky enough to draw on a corresponding range of expertise amongst contributors from a variety of disciplines and across the world. This range makes it possible to trace individual themes in sometimes surprising ways, not just following the lead of the editors—who have of course grouped papers thematically within each volume—but also across the volumes.

In this paper I would like to explore the longevity of two competing strands of Herculean myth: the monster-slaying exemplified by the Twelve Labours, and the more reflective tale
of Hercules’ Choice. The former motif is the earliest aspect of the hero to appear in antiquity and the most widely represented in all types of post-classical media covered by the project: this will come as no surprise, but there is interest in the fluctuating identity of the privileged Twelve, the relative popularity of different exploits, and the extraordinary variety of meaning loaded onto the same story in different political and other contexts. The latter dates only from Prodikos’ first telling in late fifth-century BC Athens, and never achieves the ubiquity of the labours, but has sporadic bursts of popularity e.g. in Renaissance and early modern art and in eighteenth-century musical drama, before resurfacing in the more surprising contexts of twentieth-century film and a modern oratorio. My aim will be not only to trace these two strands but also to offer some thoughts on why certain stories have attracted artists of all kinds across the centuries to create re-tellings for new audiences.

Anagnostou-Laoutides, E. ‘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 Prodikos’ ‘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 Demetrius 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.

Cyrino, M. ‘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.
Sunday 19 April

Session 6: 15:30–17:30

Session 6, Panel 1. Classical Reception and Influence
Chair: tba

Scourfield, D. ‘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.

Broughall, Q. J. ‘Half-built or Half-destroyed? Pursuing the Classical Ruin in the Works of Gore Vidal’

“The ruins”, she said. “That’s what does it, of course. It’s very hard to dream of the future when the past is all around one, reminding one that what has been before will be again, over and over and over...”.


Known primarily as a novelist and essayist, Gore Vidal had a lifelong passion for the classical world, which was expressed in his numerous portrayals of antiquity, such as his
novels Julian (1964) and Creation (1981). As America’s self-appointed ‘biographer’, he often drew comparisons between ancient Rome and his own nation in their allegedly similar rise from republic to ‘empire’. But Vidal also took vicarious pleasure in celebrating the decadence of classical Rome and the United States, remarking that he had ‘always [been] attracted to the ruins of empire’.

Finding in them a powerful symbol of civilisation and decay, classical ruins feature in Vidal’s fiction and non-fiction alike. For instance, in his novel The Judgment of Paris (1952), a character asks in the Roman Forum if ‘the ruins of Madison Square Garden will ever be as impressive?’ Similarly, in his essay ‘The ruins of Washington D.C.’ (1982), he recalls, as a child, his grandfather remarking that the city’s then-half-constructed, neo-classical official buildings would one day ‘make wonderful ruins’.

My paper examines Gore Vidal’s engagement with Greco-Roman ruins, showing how they were often key to his reflections on the transience of power. In particular, it will focus on how he used Washington D.C. as a study of imperial rise and fall. By emphasising its savage origins and predicting its future demise, he undercut the American capital’s contemporary glory with reference to the classical Roman model it took for its layout, buildings and monuments. Uniting ancient with modern, construction with destruction, Vidal’s reflections on ruins endeavoured to show how history’s fragments fit into the whole.

Burke-Tomlinson, H. ‘Roman(tic) Love Elegy: A Comparative Analysis of Byron’s Thyrza cycle and Tibullus’ Homoerotic Elegies’

Byron is often presented as one of the foremost philhellenes of British Romanticism. Increasingly, however, scholarship has sought to revaluate Byron’s relationship with antiquity by analysing his indebtedness to and engagement with Latin, as opposed to Greek, literary precedents. It is a striking and underexamined aspect of Byron’s early poetic output that he composed two Latin poems, one of which is an elegiac threnody titled ‘Edleston’, which laments the death of John Edleston, a choirboy with whom Byron had a relationship at Cambridge. This poem forms part of the Thyrza cycle—a series of elegies composed between 1811–1812 which likewise commemorate Edleston’s death, but which utilise the feminised pseudonym Thyrza in reference to Thyrsis, the singer of Vergil’s seventh eclogue, to conceal Edleston’s gender (Cardinale 2002, 55–66). In ‘Edleston’, Byron mobilises the Latin amatory elegiac mode in order to explicitly address his care puer, which is the only explicit identification of his beloved as male within the Thyrza cycle.

Recent studies have aimed to contextualise the elegy with regards to Latin literary intertexts and other neo-Latin authors (Stead 2016, 200–204; Caines 2018, 133–137). However, little attention has been given to the affinities between this poem, as well as Byron’s other Thyrza elegies, with the Augustan love elegists. Tibullus’ uniquely homoerotic elegies in particular offer an illuminating comparandum, given their shared focus and reflections upon masculinity. This is all the more surprising given Byron’s engagement with the Corpus Tibullianum in his understudied 1806 poem ‘Imitation of Tibullus: Sulpicia Ad Cerintum.’, the only extant pre-twentieth-century literary response to Sulpicia (Skoie 2002, 26). This paper attempts to redress this oversight by engaging in comparative analysis of Byron’s Thyrza cycle with Tibullus’ homoerotic elegies about
Marathus (Tib. 1.4, 1.8, and 1.9), with a focus on the presentation of gender and male bodies in both.

Bibliography

Jackson, P. ‘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 Virgilean 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.

Session 6, Panel 2. ‘Sparsa colligere: Fragmentary Expressions of Female Voices in Roman History, Literature and Society’
Chair: Lovatt, H.

From the widespread #MeToo movement to the recent election of two women as leaders of two EU institutions (Ursula von der Leyen and Christine Lagarde), 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 as 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 at ‘seeking the woman’, but it 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?

Martorana, S. ‘(Ovid’s) Phaedra and the ‘Law of the (step-)mother’: Recovering the Female Voice in Ovid’s Her. 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—i.e., 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 Her. 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, Her. 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.

Bibliography
Women, Memory and Power in 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.

Bibliography

Rallo, G. ‘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.

Bibliography


Horn, J. ‘Levitatis animi: The Alleged Weakness of Women in the Roman World reflected in Roman Legislation of the Late Republic and Early Principate’

Legislation focusing on women existed throughout the Roman Empire, and many norms were more rigorous with regard to women. During the late Republic, women gained more liberties and, later, probably started to participate in economic life (Lamberti 2014). At the same time, women’s freedom was limited in public life (Gardner 1986). Authors like Cicero (Mur. 27) justified gender-based discrimination by stressing that women were the weaker sex.
Legal sources used this alleged weakness (Gaius coined the expression *levitas animi*, ‘weak judgment’; cf. *Inst.* 1.190; Frier, McGinn 2004) as a general justification. To legally limit female rights, jurists qualified women with *infirmitas [...] feminarum* (*D.* 16.1.2.3) and *sexus inbecillitatem* (*D.* 16.1.2.2). Sometimes actual female behaviour encouraged the enacting of certain regulations—according to Ulpian, for instance, Carfania was the reason for prohibiting women from appearing on behalf of others in court (*D.* 3.1.1.5). Roman legislation reflects a male point of view that shapes the ideal woman as being in charge of children and the household; thereby mirroring the ancient idea of the *mater familias* according to the *mores*. Augustan legislation seemingly encouraged women to fulfil this ideal by freeing them from tutelage provided they met certain conditions (Raditsa 1987; Talamanca 2013).

However, legislation does not tell us how women perceived their role in society. In real life, they might have tried to evade those rules. Indeed, in contemporary literature, the ideal woman was confronted with descriptions of women going against the current and challenging traditional roles (cf. GARCÍA DOMÍNGUEZ; MARTORANA; RALLO). This hints at a gap between the ideal according to legislation and real life—and leaves open the question as to whether women accepted the roles imposed on them. By examining legislation, this paper explores the feminine ideal depicted in Roman legislation to compare it with female voices in literature.

**Bibliography**


**Session 6, Panel 3. Dynamic Sanctuaries. The Political and Economic Effects of Religious Centres on Mediterranean Communities**

**Chair:** tba

This panel discusses the role played by sanctuaries in the local economies and political landscapes of various Mediterranean regions during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. It will demonstrate how sanctuaries shaped the everyday reality of neighbouring societies through political advocacy, direct administration and management of resources, and oracular and religious practices.

The first paper focuses on the economic and political role played by sanctuaries in the territories of the Cypriot city-states. They collected and stored resources on behalf of the central administration as well as promoted the authority of the king in the peripheral areas, beyond the places.

The second paper discusses how Herodotos and Nikolaos portray the political role of sanctuaries during Kyros II’s attack. Persian ties with the sanctuaries were not only
facilitated by ‘gifts’; they were planned and executed though an aggressive strategy of subjugation, and military heavy-handedness.

The final paper addresses the relationship of the oracle of Dodona with the local economies of Epirus and neighbouring regions through an analysis of the private queries and oracular answers. By examining the structure and themes of the questions, the paper reconstructs Dodona’s scope of influence over the economic decisions of the supplicants and their communities.

**Pestarino, B. ‘The Socio-economic Role of Cypriot Sanctuaries in the Administration of the Classical City-states’ Territories’**

In this paper, I address the issue of the administration of the territories of the Cypriot city-states in the classical period. Recently, archaeologists assumed that peripheral sanctuaries administrated the territory of the Cypriot polities. As Fourrier pointed out, extra-urban sanctuaries—most of them founded during the archaic period in order to consolidate the power of the Cypriot city-states—played a political role to promote homogeneity in the polities and to legitimate the strength of the king (Fourrier 2013, Satraki 2013, Iacovou 2019). Archaeological surveys conducted in the territories of Paphos and Amathous testify the importance of the role played by local internal landscapes which ‘conditioned the wealth and powers of central authorities’ (Papantoniou Vionis 2018).

Taking into account these data, this paper aims to analyse how the Cypriot sanctuaries managed the resources of the territories and how their administration was connected to that in the capital through the analysis of inscriptions. Most of them are archive documents or dedications on ex-voto objects written in different languages (mostly in Cypriot-syllabic Greek and Phoenician). After a general overview, the paper focuses on the comparison of two sanctuaries in Golgoi—once it lost its independence—and Kition. They most likely collected local goods on behalf of the central administration, recorded and managed by an apparatus of officials in charge of specific tasks. These temples also preserve the power of the sovereigns’ trough ceremonies that enacted the authority of a local elite, close to the king, in the eyes of the devotees.

**Arghandehpour, M. ‘How does Classical Historiography Portray the Political Role of Greek Asian Sanctuaries during Kyros II’s Invasion of Ionia?’**

Shortly after invading Lydia, Kyros sent a detachment to conquer the Greek states of Asia Minor. In the Greek historiographers’ accounts of this invasion, sanctuaries play a notable political role. The main sources used are Herodotos and Nikolaos. According to Herodotos, some states sent for oracles to seek divine solutions to the plight of the pending war and the oracular responses were ominously in favour of the Persian invaders. Herodotos refers to four individual oracles, three of which are related to Paktyes’ state of refuge at Kyme (I.158.1–159.4) and the fourth one is the Delphian oracle for the Knidian moat issue (I.174). The other source is an epitome of Nikolaos of Damaskos, which retells the story of Kyros executing Kroisos, where the priestess of the temple of Apollo at Ephesos figures prominently (FGrH 90 F 67–8).
This paper argues that despite the problems with the reliability of the accounts, they provide ample evidence that gaining the support of these sanctuaries was part of a Persian invasion strategy, and that this alliance was not entirely born of ‘gifts’. If taken at face value, Herodotos’ account strongly suggests that the Branchidai (the family forming the priesthood in charge of Didyma) were helping the Persians capture the rebel Paktyes who was taking refuge at Kyme. Reading through Herodotos’ literary devices reveals that even though most of the oracles are not genuine, the locals preserved a mistrust of the sanctuary up to Herodotos’ own time. These memories of mistrust were strong enough for post eventum oracles to feature in the Histories as genuine ones. Persia’s alliance with Miletos and Didyma’s alleged assistance were a relevant issue of the time, regardless of the authenticity of Herodotos’ oracles. I argue that this alliance, though it happened not long after it was granted gifts by the Persians, was not facilitated by bribes. The political landscape of the region figures strongly in forcing the temple’s hand in this matter. Nikolaos’ account is a historiographical maze; however, it assures us that a link between the Persians and a temple of Apollo besides the one at Didyma did exist before the conflict in Ionia, confirming that Persian attempts at power in the region were at least primarily linked with contacts with religious centres.

Frank, K. ‘The Relationship of the Oracle of Dodona with Local Economies in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods’

Archaeological excavations at the oracular sanctuary of Dodona in Epirus have revealed epigraphic evidence, dated from the 6th to the 2nd c. BC, in the form of inquiries written on lead tablets and presented to Zeus Naios and Dione (Lhôte 2006; Dakaris et al. 2013, 2 vol). These queries, predominantly made by residents of Epirus and neighbouring regions, address a variety of social and economic issues, providing unprecedented insight into the daily life in Northwestern Greece (Eidinow 2007; Parker 2016; Soueref et al. 2017). In this paper, I will focus on the relationship of the oracle with local economies, demonstrating how the tablets can both shed light on the minutiae of economic activities in Epirus and, more broadly, Northwestern Greece, as well demonstrate Dodona’s scope of influence over these issues.

First, I will discuss the topics related to financial matters brought forth by the supplicants by examining the different areas of economic activity and production, broadly classified as trade, agriculture, animal husbandry, and craftsmanship, as well as—where possible—locating them in a geographic context in order to establish the links between Dodona, Epirus, and other Hellenic regions mentioned in the tablets. Secondly, I will explore the extent of the oracle’s influence over the decisions made by the supplicants through an analysis of the formulas employed in the queries and the identified answers provided by the oracle, thus inspecting the level of economic uncertainty that each query carried, the reason behind the consultation, the possible solutions that both the supplicants and the oracle of Dodona came up with, and, ultimately, the role the sanctuary may have had in shaping the local economy.
Makins, M. ‘War or Not-War?: Revisiting the Campus Martius in Lucan (Pharsalia 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 (1.580–81). 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 my 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 out over Caesar’s shoulder onto the corpse-strewn plain and recall the Campus, we perceive 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.

Bibliography
Sanderson, E. C. ‘Carmen In Suos Versus Convertens: Civil War and Intratextuality in Lucan’s Bellum Civile’

In the opening lines of his epic, the Bellum Civile, Lucan proclaims that he will sing of ‘bella…plus quam civilia’ wars…worse than civil wars’ (Luc. 1.1). As the Bellum Civile’s narrative unfolds, we find this promise fulfilled in Lucan’s choice of subject matter (the conflict between Caesar and Pompey of 49–45BC), in his widespread use of paradoxical imagery of self-mutilation and dissolution (Martindale 1976, Lapidge 1979), and in his poetic style which mirrors the ‘divided unity’ associated with internecine strife (Henderson 1987, Masters 1994).

In this paper, I propose that an intratextual reading of the Bellum Civile may help to shed further light on the workings of Lucan’s pervasive representation and discussion of civil war. I will begin by exploring how intratextual echoes of Lucan’s programmatic outline of civil war (Luc. 1.1–7) enable the theme of civil war—not just civil war, but a specifically Lucanian conception of civil war—to function as an ever-present narrative subcurrent throughout the Bellum Civile. I will then turn to consider the effect of these intratexts and suggest that, in directing the reader back to the Bellum Civile’s opening lines again and again, these intratextual repetitions create the effect of a text turning in on its own verses, thus mirroring the process of self-invasion, in sua victirici conversum viscera dextra ‘attacking its own guts with victorious sword-hand’ (Luc. 1.2), by which Lucan characterises his depiction of civil war.

Bibliography

Anagnostou-Laoutides, E. ‘Furious Leaders and Lusty Lions: Lucan on Vergil on Propertius and their Greek Elegiac Models’

This paper argues that Lucan, appreciative of Vergil’s elegiac, particularly Propertian, investment of Dido in the Aeneid (e.g. Cairns 1989, 129–50; Desmond 1994, 31–33; Wyke 2002, 97–99) acknowledged his model’s technique by expanding on it. Therefore, he introduced additional Propertian motifs in his De Bello Civili to characterise Pompey, not only as an overbearing lover, infatuated with his mistress—implied here as political ambition or thirst for ever more power, but, also, as a frenzied elegiac puella. Like the Carthaginian queen who dies a Bacchic death, transformed by her overwhelming passion for Aeneas into a Maenad (e.g. Panoussi 2009, 134–8), Pompey is doomed to fail in his campaign as he fulfils the prophecies of monstrous Erichtho. However, neither Vergil nor Lucan limit themselves to a Roman literary repertoire in their attempt to employ emotional exaggeration as an inherent symptom of femininity and a crippling quality that Roman politicians ought to withstand lest they morphed into tyrants (cf. Anagnostou-Laoutides 2017).
Accordingly, my analysis revisits Vergil’s and Lucan’s engagement with Greek elegiac and lyric poetry, prompted by Vergil’s familiarity with the Horatian corpus (Harrison 2007, 103, 204–6 with n.22), Seneca’s evident use of these genres (Erasmho 2006, 189–193), and the undiminished admiration of the Romans for Solon (the famous Athenian lawgiver and composer of elegies), reflected in Cicero and Plutarch (e.g. Cic. Brut. 27, 39 and Plut. Sol.; Cleom. 18; Phoc. 7). In their Greek models Vergil and Lucan come across several examples of tyrants unable to control their ambition and crucially, the motif of achieving retribution through an avenging spirit which, in my view, anticipates the Vergilian Allecto and Lucanian Erichtho.

Bibliography

Hawkesworth, J. ‘Structural Chaos in Aeneid Book XI’
Heinze once labelled Book XI of the Aeneid as “the one book without an obvious unity”: it is my goal in this paper to demonstrate how this book instead uses form and structure to emphasize the progressive collapse of the Latins’ society, creating a thematic unity. This begins as early as the description of their scattered and disorderly funeral pyres (203–9), but continues until its final lines, when the Latin forces divide into retreating, panicked mobs (883–90), reflected in the narrative structure by a sequence of frantically varied short scenes. This can be seen most clearly, however, in the Council of the Latins (225–445). I analyze the res and verba of these speeches, as well as their transformation from their Homeric origins, to reveal the level of contrast between them and how this reflects the dissolving cohesion of Latin society. Virgil additionally depicts the opposing Trojans as a unified force, further emphasizing Latin discord while definitively stating the need for their transformation into the Roman empire. The effect of this is to illustrate through all aspects of poetry the divisive power of rhetoric, to which the poet himself was witness, and the natural conclusion of the pious statesman simile from Book I.

Session 6, Panel 5. Greek Tragedy
Chair: tba

Blanco, C. and Abbattista, A. ‘Tereus’ Illicit Penetration(s): A New Reading of fr. 581 R.’
In this paper we will show how the complex gender dynamics taking place in Sophocles’ Tereus are consciously built around a chiastic structure. By raping his wife’s sister, Tereus crosses a double boundary. He violates his marital tie with Procne, by penetrating a part of his wife’s family which he could not have access to, and he simultaneously breaks his treaty with his father-in-law, the Athenian king Pandion, thus threatening Athens’ political
boundaries. Determined to punish her husband, Procne cooks and serves their son Itys to Tereus, therefore avenging her sister by means of another illicit penetration—that into Tereus’ body. Thus, on the one hand, she reaffirms the superiority of her paternal house over her barbarian husband, on the other, she stages a gender reversal: Tereus bears the corpse of his own child in his venter. As a consequence of this impious banquet, Tereus abandons his human aspect and turns into a double bird: he begets a hoopoe and a hawk νηδύος ἄπο (581 R, 6), ‘from his stomach/womb’. Such term is significantly ambiguous: it appears indistinctly with reference to the abdominopelvic cavity and in particular it is employed to denote the male ‘womb’ in cases of motherless generation, as found in Hes. Th. 890,899; Eur. Bacch. 527. This paper sets out to provide a close reading of fragment 581 R. We will first analyse the fragment in the light of linguistic and literary evidence, and then move on to utilising the tools of gender and animal studies to show how the final part of the tragedy is closely correspondent to what happens in the first part and built as its reversal. The metamorphosis taking place in the illicitly penetrated body of Tereus is shown as the most fitting form of retribution which Sophocles could have devised.

McPhee, B. “‘The Cause of These Troubles’? Paris at Sophocles Philoctetes 1426”
The characters of Sophocles’ Philoctetes blame a dizzying array of entities for the titular character’s sufferings on Lemnos, but at the end of the play, the divine Heracles identifies a new culprit: Paris, heretofore unconnected with Philoctetes, is to be held accountable as the original cause of the Trojan War (1425–1427). Heracles’ assessment has been defended as a larger, divine perspective on Philoctetes’ destiny (Segal 1981, 356) or as an attempt to bring coherence and closure to his story (Roberts 1989, 173), but many scholars have found the god’s logic specious (e.g., Blundell 1989, 222, Kyriakou 2012, 166), including Quintilian already in antiquity (Inst. 5.10.84). From a different point of view, Kitto has criticized Heracles’ rhesis for developing none of the themes or concerns of the play so far. We hear of Paris, but ‘nothing is said about the Atridae, or Odysseus, or Dikē, or the meaning of Philoctetes’ long agony’ (1956, 137).

In this paper, I explain Heracles’ assignment of blame to Paris and his silence concerning the Greek leadership as interrelated parts of a rhetorical strategy: the god hopes to guide Philoctetes to reintegrate into the Greek army by redirecting his hostility toward the Trojans. I point out that, for a Trojan War play, the Trojans themselves are mentioned with curious infrequency in the Philoctetes. Even where they might naturally come up in such a way as to arouse Philoctetes’ anger, they are elided, as when Neoptolemus speaks of ‘war’ (πόλεμος, 436) as killing Philoctetes’ friends in the army, not the actual enemy. Indeed, in the lead-up to Heracles’ epiphany, the threat of internecine warfare among the Greeks looms large (1241–1243, 1250–1259, 1299–1304, 1404–1408). Heracles’ purpose in blaming Paris is to channel this aggression outward, from Philoctetes’ personal ἔχθροι to his national πολέμιοι.

Bibliography
Lynch, S. ‘Consent and Non-Consent in Greek Tragedy’
The topic of consent has been a contentious one in the study of the classical past. Scholars have debated whether the Greeks had a concept of rape similar to ours, and particularly the role consent played in ancient understandings of sexual violence. Scholars of law (such as Harris 1997, 2006 and Omitowoju 2002) have argued that consent was not an important issue for classical Athenians and played no role in the laws regulating sexual offences, while scholars of drama (Sommerstein 1998, 2006; Gardner 2012; Glazebrook 2015) argue that consent was important to the Athenians, and that the difference between consent and non-consent is regularly recognised in Greek plays. This discrepancy between the perception of consent in the law and the perception of consent in drama arose because Athenian law enshrined the interests of free men, while Athenian drama - and particularly tragedy - gave voice to the perspectives of more marginalised groups: the women, slaves, and foreigners traditionally excluded from Athenian democracy.

Working on the premise that consent, while perhaps not central to the law, was certainly central to those who experienced sexual violence, this paper explores the dynamics of consent and non-consent as they are portrayed in Homeric epic and Athenian tragedy. These genres are particularly fruitful for the study of consent as they offer a wide variety of different sexual scenarios to analyze: adulterous liaisons, forced marriages, relationships between gods and mortals, and sexual slavery, amongst others. The key questions the paper seeks to address are as follows: How are consent and non-consent expressed and conveyed? Who gives consent? Who withholds consent? Who violates consent? How are each of these groups perceived and judged? And what are the repercussions of their actions?

Lucidi, C. ‘When Ideals Meet Reality: the agon between Lycus and Amphitryon in Euripides’ Heracles’
In Ancient Greece, the ideal warrior is usually depicted as a hero or a hoplite who willingly sacrifices himself on the battlefield, in order to protect his comrades, to lead his army to victory, and to save his fatherland. Thus, he is meant to stand among the prómachoi, 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 light-armed troops, that sometimes revealed to be decisive for the victory. In the 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 infantryman, 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 non 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.

Session 6, Panel 6. **Free Speech**
Chair: tba

**Hamnett, G. ‘Making Yourself Heard: Feigned Madness and Free Speech’**
This paper argues that in the ancient world savvy politicians feigned madness in order to make themselves heard in restrictive regimes. Where an individual could not speak freely, or was being ignored, feigning madness allowed the speaker to be heard, either by providing protection against punishment for expressing prohibited views, or by giving the speaker credibility as a vehicle for divine truth (truth which was often unwelcome). It uses case studies from writers in the early Imperial period such as Tacitus, Nicolaus of Damascus and Plutarch, whose interest reflects their contemporary concerns about the loss of freedom of speech under the Julio-Claudians.

The study of madness (as a mental illness) in the ancient world has gained popularity in recent years (e.g. *Mental Disorders in the Classical World*, ed. W. Harris, 2013), but social attitudes towards the mad are challenging to pin down. Cases of feigned madness offer us a new window through which to identify and examine ancient mentalities about madness. Feigned madness has attracted little scholarly attention, but the corpus of cases shows a wide range of individuals (both historical and fictional) faking insanity in order to overcome social conflict or accomplish something transgressive. The paper challenges a well-established scholarly view that madmen were shunned and abused in the ancient world, and that madness brought shame and disenfranchisement on an individual. Instead I argue that madness offered protection and a voice.

Josephus’ *Antiquities* translates the Jewish scriptures for a Greek audience in Rome. In the fourth book he uses the term παρρησία (‘free speech’) to refer to the power of Moses’ laws, when heard in regular assemblies, to inform and correct the behaviour of those who hear them (*AJ* 4.210). The choice of term is striking: παρρησία is a significant term in Greek political thought, usually referring to frank speech to an authority, generally with potential threat to the speaker, who is saying what the authority does not wish to hear. Josephus’ use of this term in connection with the Mosaic code therefore deserves to be interrogated: what does it mean for the laws of Moses to have freedom of speech? This paper will
attempt to explore this question, both what Josephus might have meant, and how it might have been understood by a non-Jewish audience in Domitian's Rome, first by analysing Josephus' uses of the term in narratives elsewhere in his works, and then by considering its usage by contemporary Greek authors such as Plutarch, who devotes an entire essay the identification of flatterers compared to friends (*Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur*), a significant part of which is the παρρησία of the true friend (59B7). Josephus' attribution of παρρησία to Moses' laws reveals a careful engagement with Greek political thought in the context of monarchy, even as he applies it to the Hebrew laws of Moses.

Dainotto, R. ‘The Portrait of a Society. Representation and Manipulation of Historical Characters in *Against Leptines*’
In Athenian forensic oratory, personal interests were overwhelmingly related to the idea that a challenge, whether with private or public concerns, did not just represent a way to display the contenders' own honesty, but also a manner which reflects the polis. Every speech was a messenger of political and ethical communications, and the vote expressed by the Assembly constituted a lesson for the whole community and not exclusively the resolution of a quarrel. In my proposed presentation, I will discuss a specific speech from the Demosthenic corpus: *Against Leptines*. It concerns the ateleia, an exemption from the performance of further services in the polis and a prestigious award intended as an honour for notable men who distinguished themselves. I would address my attention to the way in which Demosthenes, in order to corroborate the validity of this bestowal against the adversary's attempt to abolish it, mentions several distinctive characters belonging to a more or less recent past, who had justly obtained the reward. The account of their histories wants to be exemplary for contemporary Athenians, in this way creating a bridge between past and present.

My aim is to emphasize how these references are not just commemorative but, also, are didactical proof of value, skilfully used to persuade the audience and create a table of common morality with the wish to perpetuate specific conduct. Words, thoughts, personal stories show extreme elasticity through shreds of evidence and deep inter-connection. To enhance my argumentation, I will display how they assume an irreplaceable importance through the narrativization of the past which has the power to develop an empathy between the plaintiff and the audience, which occurs when a story belonging to someone else is perceived as and felt by the listener. Thus, examples become a guide for the society and its political strategies.

Session 6, Panel 7. Emotion Metaphors in Graeco-Roman Literature and Art
Chair: tba

Lakovian cognitive semantics has inspired a new wave of studies of figurative language and thought in ancient culture, focused especially on metaphor. With its claim that all concepts are based, directly or indirectly through metaphorical extension, on cognitive structures that emerge from human bodily experience, this new research programme has been particularly vigorous in elucidating how members of Greek and Roman society conceptualised the emotions. However, this work raises several important theoretical
questions regarding the role of embodied conceptual metaphor in ancient understanding of emotion, and its cognitive status: For instance, what is the relation of metaphor to metonymy in the structuring of emotion concepts? Is it possible to pick out culture-specific dimensions of ancient emotional experience from more human-universal ones via metaphor analysis? By what mechanisms does metaphor actually convey affective content through the text? If metaphors operate in the conceptual (and not merely linguistic) system, in what ways can they be expected to play out in non-linguistic forms of symbolic representation, especially through visual imagery? This panel will bring together a number of different disciplinary perspectives—linguistic, literary, art historical, and anthropological—to confront these questions and to push scholarly discussion of metaphor and emotion in new directions.

Bibliography

Short, W. M. ‘A Metaphor Complex: Latin’s Animus Concept between the Universal and the Cultural’
In its commitment to the hypothesis that all cognition is grounded, directly or indirectly through metaphorical extension, in human sensorimotor capacities, cognitive semantics has emphasized universal aspects of conceptualization. Consequently, classicists have also tended to highlight metaphors in Greek and Latin that manifest common patterns of figurative understanding. However, this approach easily accommodates an anthropological perspective sensitive to variation in metaphorical conceptualisation cross-culturally. In this paper, I take Latin speakers’ understanding of courage in terms of animus as emblematic of how categories may actually be built up through complex, layered systems of mappings at several different levels of conceptual structure, from the more humanly- to the more culturally-determined. As I argue, the animus concept exhibits at least three levels of figurative structure. At one, courage is construed as a substance that ‘fills’ a person, or as ‘burning’. As these are metaphors that recruit images of physiological experience capable of referring generically to many kinds of psychological and emotional phenomena, this represents the level of structure probably most determined by human embodiment. At another, courage is metaphorized through a set of images grounded in the autonomic physiological reactions and stereotyped bodily behaviours associated with ‘fight-or-flight’, in particular UP(RIGHT)NESS, WHOLENESS, VISIBILITY, and LIVELINESS—images corresponding to perceptible increases in height, size, and stability, and general bodily preparation for action,
that accompany ‘fight’ scenarios. Whilst these metaphors may be based on experiences shared by presumably all people, a comparative perspective reveals that their privileging in conceptualization is in fact a cultural choice. Finally, courage can be construed as ‘sharpness’, ‘proximity’, and ‘giving (an object)’. As probably no situation of human experience includes all the dimensions required to simultaneously motivate these metaphors—and they do not often recur in other languages, even those otherwise borrowing heavily from Latin—they appear to be highly culture-specific.

Devereaux, J. ‘Emotional Intelligence: Rethinking Seneca’s Style’
The author of *On the Sublime* observes: ‘There is an indefinite multiplicity of emotions and no one can even say how many they are.’ Nevertheless, the study of ancient emotion has centred on studying emotion terms, that is, instances of emotion which are lexicalized. To launch a new direction of inquiry in the field of ancient emotion studies, this paper moves from an examination of the explicit lexicon of emotion to identifying patterns of expression derived from transhistorically stable bodily experiences. Attending to the bodily basis of the metaphors that underpin numerous narratives, it picks out culture-specific rather than human-universal dimensions of ancient emotional experiences related to anger.

Words like *ira* and *indignatio*, as well as conventionalized figurative expressions for anger, like *bilis* and *excandesco*—and the kinds of contexts in which they tend to occur—have been well studied. But how do we recognize emotions when authors do not explicitly identify them by name? And how might the identification of these instances expand our knowledge of Roman literature and culture? Tracing bodily metonymies associated with *bilis* and *excandesco* through a variety of classical texts, I present a network of ‘simulated’ expressions of emotion: that is to say, textual representations of emotional experiences expressed through the fine-grained, readily accessible bodily experiences (perceptions and actions) that ground language and mental processes of all kinds. The existence of such networks suggests that authors relied on the emotional understanding of their readers more frequently than previously recognised. I explore this suggestion through a case study of anger representations in Seneca, arguing that embodied simulations of emotion illuminate not only a panoply of culturally-situated emotional experiences, but also the degree of fidelity Seneca’s compositional style has to Stoic thought, particularly as pertains to desire, epistemology, and the senses.

Horn, F. ‘The Metaphoricity of Θυμός in Early Greek Poetry’
Conceptual metaphor theory and the claim that all concepts are based, at some level, on cognitive structures that emerge from human bodily experience has led to renewed interest in how speakers of Ancient Greek conceptualized their emotions. Greek emotion metaphors often employ the concept of θυμός, whose precise meaning is highly elusive and has been discussed extensively but inconclusively by scholars of Greek literature. The usage of θυμός exhibits numerous inconsistencies and in certain contexts it appears to be interchangeable with other terms such as ψυχή, ἑτορ, κραδία/καρδία, φρήν/φρένες, or μένος, which has caused confusion and presented philologists with interpretive problems. Above all, debate has centered on whether θυμός should be considered (prototypically) a physiological and/or a psychological entity. The ambiguity in Greek phrases has only been complicated by comparable uncertainties of our own conceptual system which can
variously and interchangeably translate them as ‘mind’, ‘heart’, ‘soul’, or ‘spirit’ without any loss of intelligibility.

After considering readings which discounted the importance of metaphor and attempted to interpret θυμός literally, this paper offers several observations on the usage of this seemingly ambiguous physiological or psychological term. On the basis of emotion metaphors in early Greek poetry, especially the Homeric epics, I argue that occurrences of θυμός (as well as several related terms) are often governed and determined by metaphorical conceptualizations rather than literal, consistent notions of biological reality. While commentators have usually operated under the assumption that these common and ubiquitous terms have stable and clearly defined literal meanings, and unsuccessfully attempted to recover these, assuming different, but coherent underlying conceptual metaphors can account for varying instantiations without having to propose a lack of order or arbitrariness on the part of the poets. Furthermore, this metaphoricity may also explain the lack of emotion metonymies employing a concrete bodily image of θυμός.

Räuchle, V. ‘Metaphors in The Making: Eros as Embodied Desire in Early Greek Art’
Metaphors play a crucial role in the communication of emotional experience and the formation of emotion concepts. Although they are rooted in universal physiological components of affective experience, their concrete manifestation also largely depends on cultural factors. Therefore, emotion metaphors are an indispensable source for reconstructing the specific phenomenology of emotions in ancient cultures.

While the analytical category of (emotion) metaphors has been widely applied in the primarily text-oriented Classics, its potential has only rarely been exploited by archaeological and art historical studies, mainly due to different designation practices: Metaphor in the strict linguistic sense does not exist in visual imagery; art historians usually operate with terms such as ‘symbol’, ‘allegory’ or ‘personification’ that are better suited to the specific affordances of visual imagery but fail to differentiate between mere conventional codes and those engrained in human experience. Conceptual Metaphor Theory, by contrast, treats metaphor as a universal mechanism of human understanding and thus affords the possibility of transferring the term to other media such as the visual arts. At the same time, such a transference runs the risk of neglecting the specificities of different forms of (artistic) expression.

This paper takes the iconography of Eros in images of the Archaic and Classical period as a case study to address some of the methodological challenges that may arise from the application of cognitive metaphor theory to the analysis of visual images. Following Gombrich’s, albeit fragmentary, theory of visual metaphor, the paper identifies various types of figurative operations in images of Eros (e.g. allegory, simile, metonymy) and traces their origins and development over time. The analysis will show that visual emotion metaphors can be considered as universal yet historically enriched modes of expression that not only shed light on the bodily experience of but also on the changing attitudes towards erotic desire.
Kruchiō, B. ‘Thermouthis and the (w)asp: Multiple Meanings and Gallows Humour in Heliodorus 2.20’

In the second book of Heliodorus’ Aethiopica, the bandit Thermouthis is bitten by an asp and dies. The proposed paper explores the role of multiple meanings in this scene: there are various connections that can be established between the outlaw’s end and the kind of snake involved. This coexistence of meanings is achieved by different kinds of semantic ambiguity, various intertextual references (to the Iliad, the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, and arguably to Aristophanes’ Wasps), and an intratextual connection. Engaging the reader in semantic and hermeneutic games, Thermouthis’ death scene can be interpreted in both moralising and humorous ways. The coexistence of such different concerns in a compact passage has wider implications for our understanding of the Aethiopica, as it suggests that Heliodorus’ literary project should not be reduced to an exclusively serious or playful one.

Panayotakis, C. ‘Hermeros the “Interpreter” (Petronius, Sat. 37–38)’

Having established the thematic and contextual parallels between Trimalchio’s house and Virgil’s Underworld, Petronius has provided a foundational intertextual relationship between “Dinner at Trimalchio’s” and Aeneid 6. In this paper I will explore how, with the wealthy freedman’s home having been shown to be a satirical Underworld, with Trimalchio the ruler of this personal Hades, and with his household slaves as agents of the shadow realm who guard its entrances and exits, Petronius plays with the reconfiguration of other epic characters via linguistic and thematic parallels, and recasts the guests as various inhabitants of a post-Virgilian dystopian Underworld.

It has already been pointed out by several scholars that Trimalchio’s guests are presented as souls in the Underworld, and Newton (1982, 317) has even remarked that the guests who frolic in Trimalchio’s bathhouse (§73) are ‘poor substitutes’ for the fallen heroes of Troy found in the Groves of the Blessed (Aen. 6.637–659). Even before this episode, however, the guests are presented as counterparts to other inhabitants of the Elysian Fields. When Hermeros, a fellow-guest at the banquet, points out to Encolpius, the protagonist of the Satyricon and Petronius’ anti-Aeneas, the freedmen-guests in attendance, his speech contains several (so far as I know, hitherto unnoticed) linguistic markers which align the freedmen undistinguished guests with the souls of Roman heroes who, awaiting reincarnation by the shore of the River Lethe, are pointed out to Aeneas by Anchises. In my paper I will point out how Encolpius the narrator has transformed his Virgilian hypotext, I will discuss the implications of Hermeros’ portrayal as an epic ‘interpreter’ within a satirical episode, and I will contextualise the scene of his speech as part of the overall framework of Encolpius’ katabasis into a social circle he cannot cope with.

Bibliography


Costantini, L. ‘Re-framing the Festival of Laughter (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.32–3.11)’

The episode of the so-called Festival of Laughter (Apul. *Met.* 2.32–3.11) 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.

Earlier scholarship on this episode has mainly 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, by stressing Lucius’ role as a ritual scapegoat. A lacking perspective, however, has been the assessment of typically Greek customs in the Festival of Laughter. The ongoing work on the GCA III has enabled me to cast new light on the literary and cultural context of the episode, which blends together Roman and Greek traditions, 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 and their use of olive branches to present themselves as suppliants (ἱκέτιδες). This paper aims to address the following questions: how should we understand references to Greek phrases and customs in this episode? What kind of effects were they meant to elicit from Apuleius’ original audience? Could they possibly be traced back to Apuleius’ lost Greek model?

Bird, R. ‘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.

Session 6, Panel 9. **Beyond the Classics Classroom: Myth, Pedagogy and Promise**

Chair: tba

Young people in the twenty-first century increasingly express feelings of isolation and uncertainty in a world that is fast-changing and politically volatile. This panel aims to consider ways in which innovative pedagogical programmes centred around classical myth can be utilised within the wider scheme of education, both thereby promoting classical studies and improving educational, social and life skills more widely in the contemporary world with all its challenges. The first two papers examine how myth can be used imaginatively by exploiting the content of myth to enable student growth, firstly in the context of a mythology project implemented with a group of autistic children in Israel and secondly in that of some recent experimental myth-based projects from Poland. Formal education is the focus of the final two papers, that examine how myth can be used outside of the traditional classics classroom, to improve reading skills, focussing on two recent British case studies. As a whole, the panel demonstrates that the popularity of Greek mythology among youth, together with the universal themes and ideas inherent in the tales, can enable myth to be utilised valuably in ways that go far beyond their literary or cultural content, and, in fact, help young people develop and face the challenges of the twenty-first century.

**Maurice, L. ‘Using Mythology in the Autistic Classroom: A Case Study from Israel’**

In this paper I wish to present a new Israeli initiative that utilises Greek Mythology within the autistic classroom. Building on the work of Susan Deacy of Roehampton University, as part of the Our Mythical Childhood project, a programme has been developed which is now being piloted with a class of autistic youth in a school in Tel Aviv. This programme uses the stories of classical myth in order to help the participants develop and improve skills related to complex emotions, an area that provides some of the most difficult challenges for those on the autism spectrum.

Designed as a game, the programme is centred around an interactive story, in which the children progress step-by-step through the quest, learning the mythological stories related to each of the characters they meet. At each stage, they carry out activities that relate to specific emotions, and delve into the emotional and human dilemmas raised by the stories. These activities are heavily experiential, combining imagination, play, movement, creativity and discussion, and place strong emphasis on group work, with each student contributing his or her special ‘heroic’ abilities to the group.

During this paper the programme will be presented in detail, and an analysis given of the lessons learned over the course of running the activities, particularly considering how the scheme has deepened our understanding of autism. Finally other ways are suggested in which the activities could be utilised, both for those with special needs and those without
these challenges, in a study of a means by which the study of mythology can go far beyond content of the tales, and can also become a tool for developing life skills in young people.

**Strycharczyk, B. and Pearson, H. ‘Antiquity as a Key to Interpreting Reality: A Case Study from Poland’**

For several years, our school has been collaborating with the Faculty of ‘Artes Liberales’ at the University of Warsaw, and a few other Polish high schools, in carrying out interdisciplinary projects within the ‘Our Mythical Childhood’ programme. We believe that understanding of antiquity, particularly mythology

- inspires us to understand reality through the prism of the experience of our ancestors. It acts as a constant incentive to seek the answer to the question Why?
- is a source of creative inspiration for pupils and teachers, e.g. the use of mythology in advertising, finding inspiration for one’s own creativity by drawing on the motifs, symbols, and events of Antiquity,
- is a key and aid to understanding, analysing, and interpreting content hidden within school reading texts,
- contributes to our understanding of not only global, European and national, but also local cultural heritage. We believe that this has a considerable impact on forming a civic mindset.

In our presentation we wish to show how our experimental curricula, and our collaboration between the school and academic milieus through interdisciplinary projects, contribute to broadening of the young people’s horizons, which make them better prepared to the global and local challenges of the present times.

**Holmes-Henderson, A. ‘Classical Myth and Oracy: Promoting Classics to English Teachers’**

This paper charts the expansion of the study of Classical myth in British schools via English teaching. With many schools choosing to focus on speaking and listening, now commonly referred to as ‘oracy’, the Cambridge School Classics Project Classic Tales materials provide an ideal package of storytelling resources to help students boost their speaking and listening skills while learning about Classical literature and mythology. Drawing on research conducted with English teachers using the materials with pupils aged 11–14, Dr Holmes-Henderson will evaluate what makes these resources such an ‘easy sell’ to teachers, school leaders and pupils. She will discuss the support available to teachers wishing to introduce Classics via English and will share some success stories where myth was just the beginning....

**Hunt, S. Bacchus and Ariadne: Picture, Text and Talk.**

Beck, McKeown, and Kucan (2013) posit that vocabulary can be classified as Tier 1 (common, everyday words), Tier 2 (words that are used across the content areas) and Tier 3 (content-specific vocabulary / terminology). This short talk explores how teachers might use historical paintings alongside original literature to encourage learners to develop the Tier 2 vocabulary which supports the skills of observation, description, critical analysis and personal reflection.

Taking Titian’s painting of Bacchus and Ariadne and Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* VIII and Catullus 64 as examples, I intend to show how the teacher can plan a lesson which helps develop the
essential Tier 2 vocabulary which every learner needs before they start to use the subject-specific Tier 3 vocabulary and terminology. I show that modelling Tier 2 vocabulary is vital in this process but is often done indifferently, without forethought or sometimes barely at all, with the result that students flounder in their often more secure use of Tier 3 vocabulary, using it inappropriately or superficially. Tier 2 vocabulary modelled in this way is very much transferable to authentic texts or translations of classical mythology and helps to transform learners’ precision in their use of spoken and written language in discussions of the artifice of original author, modern translator and artist.
Monday 20 April

Session 7: 09:00–11:00

Session 7, Panel 1. Late Antique Commentaries
Chair: tba

Hanigan, D. R. ‘(Mis)Quoting Homer: Reading Greek Poetry with Clement of Alexandria’

Clement of Alexandria is routinely lauded as an expert appreciator of non-Christian Greek literature. Proceeding from the observation that his extant writings are strewn with references to Plato, Homer, Solon, Euripides, and others, scholars have painted a picture of Clement as a tactful reader set on refashioning the classical canon to serve the cause of promulgating Christian theology. However, this view of Clement is complicated by the fact that he seems regularly to quote lines of poetry out of context, thereby wholly misrepresenting their original meaning. These apparent instances of ‘misquotation’ pose the question: is Clement’s treatment of Greek literature really as clever and calculated as it might seem, or is it actually opportunistic and clumsy? In this paper, I offer an answer to this question by setting Clement against the backdrop of two roughly contemporary reading manuals: Plutarch’s How to Study Poetry and Basil’s Address to Young Men on Greek Literature. These texts exhort their readers to see through the mere aesthetics of poetry to the moral, ethical, and philosophical truths hidden beneath the surface. In order to uncover these concealed lessons, however, it is first necessary to identify and discard any unsavoury or immoral poetic embellishments—even if this means amending unacceptable lines to do so. I suggest that it is precisely this hermeneutic that Clement applies to Greek poetry in order unearth its theological truths. When positioned within this interpretative milieu, his apparent ‘misquotations’ emerge not as ham-fisted errors, but rather as the considered results of a clear and programmatic approach to reading and interpreting poetry.

Bibliography:

Domaradzki, M. ‘Homer’s Litai: Figurative or Literal? Heraclitus the Allegorist and Clement of Alexandria on the Prayers’
The purpose of this presentation is to examine two diametrically opposed interpretations of the Homeric Prayers that were put forward by Heraclitus the Allegorist and Clement of Alexandria. Both these interpreters are well known—perhaps even notorious—for their
willingness to unveil the hidden meanings of the texts they read. Interestingly, they offer mutually exclusive interpretations of the Λιταί: Heraclitus perceives them as allegories of specific human emotions and praises the poet for his ability to vividly depict the experience of the suppliants, whilst Clement takes the Prayers to be literal goddesses and derides the naïveté of the heathen deities. Naturally, these divergent interpretations reflect the conflicting interests of their authors: Heraclitus seeks to demonstrate the greatness of Homer, Clement—the greatness of Christianity. Most critically, however, these interpretations illustrate a significant difference between a pagan and a Christian attitude to the literal-figurative dimension of personifications.

For Heraclitus, the value of a story does not primarily depend on the actual existence of the characters and concepts embodied by them, but rather on the logical consistency and moral acceptability of their description. Thus, his apologetic approach may at times strike us as somewhat cavalier with regard to the literal-figurative distinction, because Heraclitus sees no major difficulty in characterizing the Homeric personifications as both poetic fictions and divine beings so long as his interpretations yield desirable results. For Clement, on the other hand, the literal-figurative distinction is of paramount importance, because the idea that God's name could be employed merely figuratively is for him tantamount to blasphemy. If God's actions seem logically inconsistent or morally unacceptable, then this can be easily accounted for: God transcends the human categories of rationality and ethicality. What can never be explained in a monotheistic religion is that the name of God could be used solely figuratively.

Foster, S. ‘Commenting on the Commentators? Use or Abuse in the Earliest Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni’
The Earliest Latin life of Saint Gregory the Great was written at the monastery of Whitby in Northumbria in the early eighth century by an anonymous author of unspecified gender. It is one of the most important testimonies to the conversion of the English to Christianity and to the development of the cult of Saint Gregory in England. Many critics have compared this Vita to other contemporary works such as Bede and found it seriously wanting; the author's command of Latin has been variously described as ‘blundering’, ‘crabbed’ or ‘ungrammatical.’ One critic has even called the author ‘illiterate’. Others however have described the author's Latinity in more positive terms, analysing it as key evidence of the level of Latinity at the time. Furthermore, the author's understanding of theological concepts and patristic exegesis has been greeted with admiration and with contempt in equal measure.

This paper will examine how the anonymous author uses the commentators upon which he or she draws in a bid to create a favourable and ‘truthful’ image of the famous saint. It will illustrate how the author has modified the sources to achieve his or her aims. The paper will also examine the comfort and competence with which the author manipulates both the language and the sources. It will explore to what extent the author understood the sources employed and how successfully his or her aims are achieved. The paper will conclude with a reappraisal of the anonymous author and of a work that has perplexed, baffled and bewildered for so many decades.
Fear, A. ‘Commentary or Corpus? Porphyry’s Cave of the Nymphs’
As well as a significant neo-Platonic philosopher, Porphyry was also an important commentator on literary texts. His Cave of the Nymphs occupies a curious mid-way point between these two interests as it offers a detailed, philosophical commentary on a small passage in Odyssey 13. This paper explores Porphyry’s combinations of interests and examines how he both uses, and at times significantly does not use, the techniques of literary criticism he deployed in his exegeses of other Homeric texts, especially his dogma, Homeron ex Homerou safenizein. It also looks at why Porphyry chose this rather obscure passage from the Odyssey rather than a more well-known part of the Homeric corpus to write in depth upon. From there it goes on to ask whether we should see Porphyry as genuinely holding that Homer shared his underlying philosophy of the world or whether he is co-opting Homer for a neo-Platonic project both for support and, more particularly, as a recruiting sergeant for his cause. In short should we see the Cave of the Nymphs as a genuine piece of Homeric exegesis, a commentary, or should we rather regard it as part of the corpus of neo-Platonic philosophical works.

Session 7, Panel 2. Conversion of Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity
Chair: tba

Debates remain vigorous about how and when ancient religious spaces around the Roman Empire were converted to Christian use in Late Antiquity. Many scholars are sceptical of 19th-century (and enduring popular) assumptions of continuity in religious spaces such as temples and sanctuaries, while value judgments about decadence or decline in traditional polytheistic Mediterranean religions continue to color the study of Late Antique conversion. Violent struggles over religious spaces are well known, however, for certain cities like Athens, Alexandria or Antioch, supported by the prolific literary production of Libanius, Neoplatonic philosophers and Church Fathers. Outside of these cities and authors, however, there is much to be learned from new studies of non-literary texts and archaeological evidence. This panel addresses questions such as: Did Christians more often grapple violently for possession of temples and sanctuaries, coexist and compete alongside them, or move into ruins bereft of worshippers or even religious symbolism? How long did organized or informal worship of the ancien gods continue? Why did the Christians build churches where they did? New archaeological evidence and interpretations can aid in clarifying the motivations, mechanisms and chronology of conversion to Christianity in Late Antiquity.

Brown, A. R. ‘Competition and Conversion at the Panhellenic Sanctuaries’
In the Roman province of Achaia, modern southern Greece, the agents, mechanisms and chronology of the transition from traditional Hellenic religion to widespread Christianity remain significant questions. Most ancient sanctuaries of the historic heartland of Hellenism were still spaces treated as a source of pride and identity to those who lived and worshipped there into the 4th century. The Olympic Games or Oracle of Apollo at Delphi were also central symbols of Hellenic culture throughout the Roman Empire. However, the sharp decline in ancient textual and archaeological sources after the 2nd century, and modern historiographic and archaeological practices (and biases), mean that Late Antique phases are poorly understood at most Panhellenic sanctuaries. The construction of a fortification wall in the Altis of Zeus at Olympia has been placed anywhere from the 3rd to
6th centuries, yet the conversion of Pausanias’ Pantheon (once the workshop of Phidias) into a church is undeniable. Churches were also built in close proximity to temples at Nemea, Delphi and Epidaurus. Archaeological evidence and epigraphy, and comparison with the better-attested conversions of religious spaces on the Athenian Acropolis, however, suggest that competition over sacred spaces, and wider Hellenic heritage, was present throughout southern Greece in Late Antiquity.

van ’t Westeinde, J. ‘The Curious Case of Sardis: Use and Appropriation of (Religious) Space’
Late Roman Sardis offers an excellent case study to question the transition of Hellenic to Christian forms of worship. The city’s archaeological biography could question such alleged processes. In Sardis, two excavated buildings stand out: the gymnasium-bath complex, and the Temple of Artemis. The gymnasium-bath complex incorporated various religious spaces. It could be suggested that multiple religious groups met parallel, rather than chronologically successive. Second, the Temple of Artemis had attached to it a Christian chapel, almost as a niche. There is no firm evidence the Artemis cult had fallen out of practice. If it had: the Christians do not seem to have (violently) converted the entire space. Might they simultaneously have been associated with the Artemis cult? It follows that for Sardis, one ought to explore to what extent multiple associations would allow for a continuation of tradition whilst also embracing new forms of worship, such as Christianity.

Avdokhin, A. ‘Spiritual and Career Ladders: Converting Officials’ Virtues in Greek Epigraphy’
In this paper, I will explore how much the shifts taking place in the late antique discourse on the laudable virtues of officials can be traced in the contemporary epigraphic output, and which religious and social trends can be discerned behind these processes. Publicly displayed honorific epigraphy as part of late antique urban spaces in Asia Minor will be the databank for my research. I will build on the studies of Roman and Hellenic officials’ epigraphic record as ‘civic mirrors’ (O. van Nijn) of their ethical code, the incipiently Christian ‘municipal virtues’ in Latin officials’ inscriptions (E. Forbis), as well as the recent insights into the Christianization of high-standing administrators’ values in late antique literary and philosophical writings (R. Whelan). I will combine these methodologies to explore Greek epigraphy as evidence for the increasingly Christian self-representation of officials.

Brand, M. ‘From the Sphinx Tutu to the Apostle Mani: Religious Change in fourth-century Kellis (Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt)’
Recent excavations at modern Ismant el-Kharab (ancient Kellis), located in the Dakhleh Oasis in the Egyptian western desert, have brought to light papyrological, archaeological and epigraphical evidence for multiple religious traditions. Egyptian priests of the sphinx-god Tutu continue until the first decades of the fourth century, contemporaneous with ‘Catholic’ priests and Manichaean catechumens. This paper will highlight the visibility and invisibility of religious affiliation and change in the papyrological and archaeological finds. In Kellis, boundaries drawn in theological controversy and cosmological speculation appear distant, as Christians, Manichaean and ‘others’ lived in close proximity. Most interactions dealt with the mundane issues of domestic life. Religious language and practices are only occasionally visible. By analyzing where, when and why religious identifications were
considered relevant, we will further our understanding of individual ‘religions’, and develop a sophisticated framework about how religious differences became part of local situations in the day-to-day lives of ancient villagers.

Session 7, Panel 3. **Violence and the Senses in Latin Literature**  
Chair: Scourfield, D.

This proposed panel brings together four researchers from the University of Nottingham currently working on issues of violence and sensory perception in the Roman world. Recent years have seen a ‘sensory turn’ within Classics, culminating the publication of the Routledge series *The Senses in Antiquity*, edited by Mark Bradley and Shane Butler (2014–18). Similarly, the study of the role of violence in Roman history and literature has seen a renewed interest from classicists, with recent edited volumes from Gale and Scourfield (2018) and Pimentel and Rodrigues (2018) highlighting the varied potential methodological approaches that can be utilised in understanding this central aspect of the Roman psyche. This panel seeks to unite these two emerging fields by considering the multisensory nature of violence in imperial Latin literature. While previous work in this area has focused primarily on the visual, violence is an inherently multisensory experience and by expanding the focus to include the other senses, we hope to show how all depictions of violence are in some way synesthetic. In doing so we aim to highlight the importance of violence and sensory perception across the core conference themes of ancient narrative literature (Batty, Chhibber, Myers), Augustan poetry (Batty), civil war literature (Chhibber, Myers), and the literature of disgust (Lawrence).

**Myers, M. ‘The Sound of Violence: Some ‘Soundscapes’ in Tacitus’**

This paper will examine the intersection of space, sound, and violence in Roman historiography. Recent studies have highlighted the importance of space in Latin literature and there has been an increased focus on the cultural importance of violence in both Roman history and literature in recent years. However, these studies have usually approached these ideas from a visual perspective, examining the use of *enargeia* and visual description in the creation of violent literary spaces. This paper attempts to expand upon this work by shifting the emphasis to the aural characteristics of these spaces.

The paper takes as its case study scenes of violence depicted in the works of Tacitus, a historian memorably described by Racine as ‘the greatest painter in antiquity’ due to his particularly vivid visual scenes. The paper will demonstrate how this vividness is achieved not only by appealing to the reader’s sense of sight, as is traditionally thought, but through the inclusion of complex aural descriptions that work alongside the more traditional visual aspects of *enargeia*. I argue that in including such aural descriptions Tacitus constructs literary ‘soundscapes’ in which space and sound interact and are dependent on each other for meaning. Thus, the space in which a sound occurs can dramatically affect the emotional response of both the characters depicted in the scene and of the reader, just as sound can alter our understanding of the space itself. I argue that such manipulation of space and sound is central to Tacitus’ moralising narrative of violence, both in Rome under the Julio-Claudians and on the Italian battlefields of the bloody civil war of AD 69. By placing a greater emphasis on the role of sound I hope to supplement previous visual interpretations.
and reach a more complete understanding of Tacitus’ complex approach to violence and the landscape.

Batty, R. ‘Sound, Silence, and Song: Violent River Similes in Virgil’s Aeneid’
The role of sound in the ancient world has been a topic of recent debate in Classics, culminating in the publication of the edited volume Sound and the Ancient Senses in 2018, which includes Shane Butler’s chapter on the role of sound in the opening storm of the Aeneid. In this, he argues for the role of sound in establishing a text’s ‘vocal claim’, briefly touching on how the earth and its elements are the dominant sonic feature in the storm scene. However, this does not adequately address the role of water in the creation of Virgil’s poetic sound, particularly throughout the Aeneid as a whole. My paper addresses the issue of poetic sound in the Aeneid, with special reference to the sound of rivers and their metapoetic implications. Specifically, I will be looking at the river similes used to describe the Greek invasion of Troy in book 2, with comparison to river similes used to describe Turnus later in the Aeneid, in order to show how the association of river similes and their sound with the enemies of Aeneas has a metapoetic connection, emphasising the role of sound and silence in interaction with the audience. I will argue that the sound of the rivers in particular indicates broader metapoetic themes of listening, echoing, and transforming, through the destruction and renewal inherent in the sounds of river similes. By closely examining the sonic aspects of river similes describing Aeneas’ enemies, this paper sheds new light on how the sound of the environment interacts with the creation of metapoetic meaning in the Aeneid.

Chhibber, A. ‘Words of Peace, Visions of War? Sight and Sound in the Persuasive Speeches of Statius’ Tydeus and Jocasta’
From his initial introduction as an exiled fratricide brawling with Polynices outside of Adrastus’ palace, to his final act of feasting upon the severed head of a fallen foe, the character of Tydeus in Statius’ Thebaid is defined by his violence and thirst for blood. It is therefore unsurprising that, as an ambassador from Argos to Thebes, his peace-making mission ends in the declaration of war. Moreover, when Jocasta later urges her sons to re-open negotiations, and encourages Polynices to return to Thebes and look upon his native city before laying siege to it, it is Tydeus who dismisses any chance of peace. When Tydeus acts as a messenger of peace, he indicates his role with an olive branch (akin to that later carried by Jocasta), but as a messenger of war, he revels in the gruesome sight of being covered in blood; while Jocasta finds her pleas for reasonable peace-talks derailed by her increasingly irrational appearance. Drawing on scholarship on vision and spectatorship in Latin epic, such as Leigh (1997) and Lovatt (2013), this paper will analyse the importance of sight and sound, and particularly of the speaker’s physical appearance, in these exhortations to war and peace from Tydeus and Jocasta. It will explore the value placed on different kinds of sensory evidence and their utility or inadequacy in persuasive endeavours, within the wider context of a civil war initiated by the blindness of Oedipus and the failure of his sons to co-operate in shared rule.

Lawrence, T. ‘Asking for it: Scent and Consent in Martial’s Epigrams’
Bodily odour in antiquity, much like today, carried with it an array of powerful associations. Many of these were exploited by ancient writers in order to conjure up vivid and morally loaded images of bodies and people. Such olfactory characterisation was perhaps most
extensively and gleefully exploited by the keen-nosed Martial, whose epigrams abound with both foul and fragrant odour, and run the gamut of (often obscene) bodily functions. In particular, Martial makes pungent use of odour’s connections to sexual behaviour and misbehaviour, above all in his depictions of women and of effeminate men. Using Martial as a case study, this paper examines the ways in which the scents given off by the body indicated the sexual proclivities and activities of its owner, and thus invited (or conversely discouraged) sexual advances or even sexual violence. Sexual violence is a pervasive element of much of Roman literature, and one which has received much scholarly attention. In addition to scenes explicitly characterised as assault, much of the discourse surrounding sexual interaction relies heavily upon domination and coercion; in Ovid’s Ars Amatoria, for instance, women are prey to be caught, whose protestations are to be ignored: they prefer to be coerced. This paper will explore the ways in which the extremes of odour often attached to stereotypically lascivious groups such as vetulae and pathic men signalled a sexual availability that gave license for the exercise of sexual violence upon their bodies. It will also explore the ways in which the wearing of perfume, itself often connected with sexual activity, seduction, and prostitution, compounded this assumed sexual invitation. To what degree did the odour of the body in itself constitute consent?

Session 7, Panel 4. Philosophy and Satire
Chair: Soldo, J.

Philosophy and satire have always held a curious fascination for each other: what would Socrates be without his irony or Horace’s satire without its philosophical commonplaces? Together, they form an unexpected yet amusing symbiosis.

The panel will analyse the different ways in which philosophy and satire are intertwined, to what aim satire mocks philosophers and philosophy and how philosophical texts borrow the strategies of satirical writing. Examining a wide range of authors, the papers will investigate the different shapes and literary forms the fusion of philosophy and satire can take. Two papers (Kachuck and Goh) will discuss the influence philosophical thought has had on the Roman satirists Persius and Lucilius, tracing their respective allusions to in Cicero and Lucretius. The two other papers (Bronowski and Soldo) will look at how philosophers are ridiculed, in particular at Lucian’s mockery of philosophy’s impracticability and the dialogue and Fronto’s critique of philosophical satire itself.

Soldo, J. ‘Satirizing a Satirist—Fronto and Seneca’
The most prominent orator in Antonine Rome and teacher of rhetoric, Fronto discusses linguistic subtleties, the correct use of the Latin language and good writing style with his student Marcus Aurelius, the recipient of a long thought lost correspondence. It emerges from his letters that he has a bone to pick with Seneca, whom he criticizes harshly for his exuberant style and meandering argumentation. My paper will argue that Fronto’s criticism of Seneca goes beyond stylistic matters. I will show that Fronto ridicules Seneca’s moralizing tone and Stoic rigour by way of adapting the philosopher’s mannerisms in one of his letters (De Feriis Alsiensibus 3). Thus, Fronto manages to satirize Seneca’s often satirical writing and to dismiss his addressee Marcus Aurelius’ strict Stoicism.
Bronowski, A. ‘Lucian on the Philosophers: if you can’t beat them, mock them’
In a number of satirical dialogues, Lucian of Samosata ridicules philosophers because, against all circumstantial evidence, they resolutely hold that philosophy is a reliable guide to the best life.

By subverting the dialogue form into the live enactment of real-life situations, crucial questions concerning everyday life show how the philosophers fail to find solutions.

The strength and subtlety of the satire relies on three main points: (i) the unmasking of the imposter-philosopher; (ii) a general disenchantment with philosophy: there is no rational and logical solution to everyday life’s problems; (iii) the invention of an intermediate literary form between dialogue and comedy, setting out the formal requirements for a tragic realism, melding together the comicality of (i) and the gravity of (ii). And yet, the satire leaves an aftertaste of bitterness and resignation which itself constitutes a moral lesson, turning the satire into a philosophical stance.

Goh, I. ‘The Virtue in Satire: Lucilius Once More, With Added Lucretius’
Much debate surrounds 1196–208 Warmington = 1326–38 Marx, the longest extant fragment of the first canonical Roman verse satirist, Gaius Lucilius. These verses, addressing an Albinus, purport to define *virtus*. Scholars are divided over the philosophy espoused—Stoic (Görler 1984, McDonnell 2006) or Roman (Raschke 1990, Scholz 2000)?—and its seriousness (Terzaghi 1934; Dutsch 2014) or otherwise (Hass 2007). Several have noted materialistic aspects (Goldberg 2005, Damon 2018); the addressee emerges as an enemy of Lucilius’ friend Scipio (Grillo 2018, following the commentators). We can accept this identification owing to the primacy of the 155 BCE philosophers’ embassy, when that individual, Aulus Postumius Albinus, was praetor, as a turning-point for Lucilius’ satire (Goh 2018a, 2018b).

Several of the fragment’s elements require pressing, especially the lines after the anaphora on *virtus* ceases. I examine the ambiguous vocabulary of 1205 Warmington = 1335 Marx, with its odd *contra*, and the next line’s triple demonstrative pronouns. Continuing the historical approach reaps dividends: the philosophers’ troupe, which was representing Athens in seeking to annul a Roman fine, and thus participating in diplomatic negotiation, may be alluded to at 1207 Warmington = 1337 Marx about the role of country. I adduce a distich (1194–5 Warmington = 1119–20 Marx), which is closely allied with the *virtus* fragment (N.B. *virtutis* in the first line) and has to do with electioneering (*ambitio*), to argue that the Peripatetic Critolaus is being critiqued alongside his colleagues Carneades and Diogenes.

Moreover, we can look to Lucretius, another philosopher-poet of hexameter verse of an arguably satiric bent (Gellar-Goad 2012), for comparison. While *virtus* is a trait more associated with the Stoics, I find illuminating surprises amid the word’s infrequent appearances in *De Rerum Natura* alongside those of another key term from the penultimate line of Lucilius’ *virtus*-fragment, *commoda*. 
Bibliography


Kachuck, A. ‘Persius’ Paradoxes’

Persius’ Satires teach poets how to do things with philosophy, and with philosophers, tasks for which Roman satirists were, perhaps, uniquely suited: as Isaac Casaubon put it in the Prolegomena to his 1605 commentary, ‘Both satire and ethical philosophy treat of mores’, but Persius’ Satires, Casaubon goes on to say, go above and beyond officium’s call: Persius is ‘more philosophical’ (φιλοσοφικότερος) than Horace (and, by extension, Horace’s satiric predecessor, Lucilius) but he is also a more stable support for the Stoic porch than Chrysippus, or even Zeno, the school’s founder, himself!

Casaubon had particular reasons for painting Persius as Stoic hero, but he was not off the mark, especially as regards the so-called stoic paradoxes: although these made periodic appearances in the satires of Horace, and perhaps Varro before him, in the works of Persius they are what hold the poet’s scattered satiric persona, and poetic corpus, together, from puzzling start to quizzical conclusion, and are central to his poem’s ‘paradoxical capability’, designed, like A. A. Long’s Hellenistic philosophers, ‘to challenge and intrigue and undermine complacency’.

This paper, linking the too-often divided magesteria of Latin literature and philosophy, opens with a summary account of the positive philosophical content of Persius’ paradoxes by way of a coordinated reading of Cicero’s Paradoxa Stoicorum. It then demonstrates how
paradoxes inflect the total structure of Persius’ Satires, and, in particular, their beginning and end. As a whole, these explorations move from the philosophical at the beginning towards the more allusive literary-philosophical at the end.

Session 7, Panel 5. Greek Dramatic Fragments
Chair: tba

Bini, F. ‘Aristotle’s testimonia on Agathon’s Works’
Aristotle mentions Agathon ten times in the works known to us.

In particular, in Poet. 1452b, treating the theme of the tragic plot, he reports that in the tragedy entitled Antheus no character is linked with mythical tradition. Then the tragedian is mentioned three times in Poet. 1456a. From the first reference we know Aristotle’s disappointment at Agathon’s attempt to compose a tragedy like an ἐποιουκόν σύσθημα. The second one is probably a paraphrased quote from a drama. The last one informs us about an important innovation attributed to Agathon: the introduction of embolima, choral interlude unlinked to the plot.

In Rhet. 1392b and 1402a, in Eth. Nic. 1139b and 1140a, and in Eth. Eud. 1230a, instead, Aristotle gives us brief quotations, remarkable for the rhetorical structure and for the lexical choices, which deserve to be deepened, due to the evident links with the contemporary sophistic culture.

Finally, in Eth. Eud. 1232b he tells us an anecdote related to the famous orator and politician Antiphon, by which we can see Agathon in the difficult political context of Athens at the end of fifth century BC.

This paper aims to find an answer to the following question: is it possible to reach an overall vision of Agathon’s figure in Aristotle’s corpus? This attempt is certainly arduous, especially because of the heterogeneity of the contexts, but worthy of being tempted, because it could give us very important elements in order to understand something about Agathons’ works.

Landriscina, L. ‘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:
- meaningful is the adverb φοράδην (5), used in the same sense of two Euripides’ passages (And. 1166 and Rhes. 888). If we suppose that the body transported is Ino’s one, it would be possible to identify a thematic link between this tragedy and Euripides’ Andromache: both tragedies would have been similar because of the theme of women’s jealousy in relation to their husband’s extra-marital relationships, and above all, by the hatred nourished for the children born from such relationships.
- I propose the conjecture πηύλας instead of πηέλας at 8: it seems unlikely that such a precise spatial reference as προ δηζωμάτων would be close to a vague term such as πέλας.
Finglass thinks that the body is Learchus’ one, mentioning, among other reasons, the adjective μικρόν. Yet the adjective μικρόν would not be indicative about the heaviness of the load, but would be rather functional to create opposition with ἀλγεῖνόν. This opposition expresses the perception of the incommunicability of pain and incapacity by the man of total identification in the others.

γυμνοῦτε, δείκνυτ’ εἰο φάος πίο could be completed by πύλας βλέπειν, in accordance with the hypothesis at 8. The construction is similar to Soph. El. 1458–59: also, in these lines a veiled body is brought on the scene.

Berardi, P. ‘The Cold Case of Aeschylus’ Bassarai’

Among the fragmentary plays of Aeschylus, the Lycurgeia has been attributed a prominent importance by scholars of all ages, for it has been unanimously recognized as the literary archetype of Dionysian tetralogy which Euripides was inspired by in composing his Bacchae. However, the number of its extant fragments is so exiguous that a secure reconstruction of each play’s plot is almost impossible to outline. In recent years, particular attention has been drawn to Bassarai, the second play of the tetralogy, which probably dealt with the contrast between Orpheus and Dionysus, ending with the former ruthlessly slaughtered by the latter’s acolytes. Given the scarcity of its surviving fragments (Aesch. frs. 23–25 R., TrGF III 138–40), the majority of the conjectures about its salient themes relied on the information provided by a chapter of Ps.-Eratosthenes’ Catasterismi (Ps.-Eratosth. Catast. 24, pp. 73–76 Pàmias I Massana-Zucker). In this passage, Aeschylus is expressively mentioned as a source, although contamination with other authors is very likely to have been carried out in the constitution of the narrative.

Therefore, after a brief introduction about the whole structure of the Lycurseia, the main purpose of my paper will be trying to shed new light on this controversial testimony by investigating its manuscript tradition, its compositional technique, as well as its relevance to the reconstruction of Bassarai. I shall attempt to demonstrate how the larger excerpts preserved in several branches of its manuscript tradition must be deemed as genuine and play a significant role in outlining the plot of this Aeschylean play, despite their authenticity has been constantly questioned by the most recent editors. Plus, on the grounds of a brilliant conjecture made by Richard Kannicht in 1957, I will propose a new critical text of Aesch. fr. 23 R. by combining it with trag. adesp. fr. 144 Kn.–Sn. (TrGF II 56), in the attempt to offer new perspectives on a crucial scene of this obscure (yet, fascinating) play.

Mura, A. ‘The Commentary in P. Oxy. 2737 and Three Fragments from Aristophanes’ Amphiarao’s’

Ancient scholarship on Aristophanes has been a matter of study for a long time. Findings of papyri containing commentaries on Aristophanic plays allowed scholars to improve knowledge on Aristophanes’ lost texts. P. Oxy. XXXV 2737 is a peculiar case: its commentary is related to a lost and unidentified play of Aristophanes. Although identification proposals indicated mainly Aristophanes’ Anagyros, no ultimate results have been reached. This depends on the scanty adherence of the extant fragments from Anagyros involved, as the reaction of many scholars has vigorously underlined. The aim of this paper is to propose a new ascription of the commentary to a comedy, namely to Aristophanes’ fragmentary Amphiarao. The purpose will be pursued by taking into account the main theory and discussing it. Moreover, three fragments (23, 31 and 34 K.–A.) from
Amphiaraos will be analyzed in order to show that their affinity with the commentary is stronger than that of the fragments from Anagyros. The discussion will involve both the content and the metrical features of the fragments.

Session 7, Panel 6. Identity
Chair: tba

Bozia, E. "Ἐλληνι δοκεῖ τε καὶ ἔναι" (D. Or. 37.25): Being not Becoming in the High Roman Empire
The most remote of the Scythians, who pass their life in the far north, eat human flesh and subsist on the nourishment of that food, and are called ἀνθρωποφάγοι, or 'cannibals' (AG 9.4).

Anacharsis, on the other hand, could not be expected to see a compatriot in Toxaris, who was dressed in the Greek fashion, without sword or belt, wore no beard, and from his fluent speech might have been an Athenian born. (Luc. Scy. 3)—aiming to achieve one thing at the cost of all else, namely, not only to seem Greek but to be Greek too. (D. Or. 37.25)

So where does the truth lie? Modern discussions have focused on ethnic pluralism during the Empire and suggested the existence of Roman political authority alongside Hellenic cultural authority. This paper makes the case for a dynamic constituency of citizens who manipulate their national belonging through culture and language.

More specifically, I study the idea of nativeness and otherness and the concept of belonging at the time of the Empire. I begin with Pliny, Juvenal, and Aulus Gellius and their conception of foreigners. Strange customs and stories of dangerous faraway tribes grace their literary oeuvres—ideas of barbarous modus vivendi and uncultured people still being predominant in the imagination of native Romans even at the time of the Empire's geographical expansion. Conversely, the time of the High Empire has given us the account of those 'barbarous others' too. So Lucian of Samosata, Favorinus of Arelate, and Apuleius among others argue for their complete naturalization and ability to be the 'nativized other', while Claudius himself makes the case for a Roman-Galatian Senate.

To sum up, this presentation argues that the Roman Empire demonstrates ethnic inclusiveness. Bestowing Roman citizenship on members of the provincial elite further complicates the concept of identity and makes geography a rather notional sense of belonging beyond boundaries, physically unstructured, culturally eclectic, yet substantially structuring the entirety of the 'Roman' cosmos within.

Grigolin, C. ‘Claiming Seleucid Origins in the Seventh Century AD: the Case of Karka de Beth Selok in Northern Mesopotamia’
This paper looks at the foundation myth of the city of Karka de Beth Selok ('the fortress of the house of Seleucus', modern Kirkuk) in northern Mesopotamia as it was transmitted in the Syriac Chronicle of Karka written by an anonymous East Syrian Christian hagiographer in AD 600. As the story has it, Sargon, king of the Assyrians, lays the foundations of Karka; he is followed by the Achaemenid Darius III who fortifies the walls and settles some of the population; finally, comes Seleucus I who endows the settlement with the status of a city by
providing it with streets, markets, fortresses, a royal palace, as well as noble families (Moesinger, *Monumenta*, 2, 63; Bedjan, *Acta*, 2, 507–511). Richard Payne who mostly focused on the figures of Sargon and Darius argued that this story was used by the Christian landowning elite of Karka to justify social and cultural disparities between Iranian and non-Iranian elites in the Sasanian Empire (Payne 2012; 2015). In this paper I reflect on the image of Seleucus I, and read the myth in the context of the Christological controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries. These led to a permanent division within Syriac Christianity and the establishment of two rival Churches, the Church of the East and the Syrian Orthodox Church. I contend that the claim of Seleucus as a founder and the association of his image with those of the Assyrian and Achaemenid kings was made by the hagiographer of Karka to assert the cultural distinctiveness of his community from his Syrian Orthodox Christian rivals, who were employing a similar foundation story for Edessa, the main centre of Syrian Orthodox Christianity, but were embedding the image of the Seleucid king in a narrative centred on Alexander the Great, Macedonia, and Syria (Chabot, *Chronique*, 4, 639).

Bibliography

Avaliani, E. ‘Hybrid Cultural Identities in the Late Roman Empire: Empress Ulpia Severina’s Inscription and Image from Caucasian Iberia’
The interaction between the local and the global can lead to the emergence of new, hybrid cultural identities and traditions which was so much characteristic of the Late Roman Empire. Oriental cultures adapted and interpreted Roman global products, taste, and images in terms of their own local cultures and experiences, and in this process, they created hybrid cultural objects and forms whose meanings vary with local circumstances. The Roman Empire accepted local traditions, replicated the original objects from the hybrid cultural communities in order to confer credibility to this relationship and to a successful interaction.

The paper aims to highlight the cultural biography of a gold signet-ring with a reddish carnelian gem-intaglio in the collection of the ‘Archaeological Treasury’ at the Georgian National Museum (inventory number 01-6-X-1611). The paper explores the significance of an intaglio gem with an inscription of the Roman Empress, conferring authority upon the seal as an individual or state signature employed in legal, political and personal exchange.
The present author presumes that a Greek inscription written with capital letters [ΒΑϹΙΛΙϹϹΑ ΟΥΛΠΙΑΝΑ(Ζ)ΙΑ ᾗβασίλισσα Ούλπια ναξία / ‘Queen Ulpia from Naxos’ (as deciphered by T. Kauchtschischwili); / ΒΑϹΙΛΙϹϹΑ ΟΥΛΠΙΑΝ ΑΣΙΑ (Ἀσία) (as deciphered by E. Avaliani)] and the female portrait interrelated with the Roman Empress Ulpia Severina. The Roman Empress represented in the Hellenistic style with a mixture of oriental features and garments. The artifact was made circa AD 274–275, in the last year of the reign of Aurelian or immediately after the murder of Emperor when Ulpia herself became Empress. This is a unique portrayal of the Roman Empress in oriental garments which is uncommon and different from few iconographic images where she is depicted as ‘the soldier empress’.

Nguyen, K. ‘Refugeehood and Empire-making in Julius Caesar’s De Bello Gallico’

Previous scholarship on refugees have focused on the Greek world or on the late antique period of the Roman world. The period of the mid-Republic to the early Imperial period therefore comprises a lacuna that has been overlooked. Yet, this period constitutes a pivotal moment in which Romans are simultaneously exploring their refugee history and inheriting established institutions, practices, and discourses from the Greek east regarding refugees. How does a state whose identity is rooted in refugee history in turn treat refugees? This paper will explore this question by assessing the refugeehood of displaced persons in Julius Caesar's Commentarii de Bello Gallico. Caesar offers a particularly illuminating case study since he claims descent from Aeneas and Ascanius, and therefore from refugees. Yet, at the same time, he militarizes refugee groups to justify his Gallic campaigns and to construct his identity as a powerful, merciful leader in defense of Rome. By investigating how Caesar portrays and politicizes these refugee groups, as well as how he treats these refugee groups (e.g. whether as suppliants deserving of aid or as invaders threatening the security of Rome), this paper examines how he negotiates the tension between his own refugee ancestry and his exploitation of foreign refugees.

Bibliography


Session 7, Panel 7. Explore the Unexplored: New Readings of Underexploited Papyri
Chair: tba

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 enormous P.Berol. 9782 (BKT 1905), analysed by Ms Antola, contains a different beginning of Plato's Theaetetus which has been ignored by the most recent edition of the Platonic text; 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.

Alexandrou, M. ‘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.

Antola, M. ‘Some Considerations about P.Berol inv. 9782: ἄλλο προοίμιον of Plato’s Theaetetus’

P.Berol inv. 9782 (LDAB 3764, MP3 1393) is a fragmentary *volumen* made of papyrus that preserves a commentary of Plato’s *Theaetetus* dating back to the 2nd century AD. Amongst the many features that make it unique (i.e. it is the only exemplary from Middle Platonism extensively preserved), there is the fact that at col. 3 ll. 28–34 it quotes ἄλλο προοίμιον, ‘another prologue’ of the dialogue, a variant that inexplicably has not been taken into account in the latest edition of the Oxford Classical Texts. This paper will focus on the peculiar omission of this variant, a unicum in relation to Platonic dialogues, overlooked without reason in an already generally underexploited text, which will prove to be essential to reflect on the process of composition and on the reception of the *Theaetetus*.

It is well known that Platonic dialogues can be either dramatic or narrated, or a mixture of the two (DL III, 50). The *Theaetetus* proves to be once more a peculiar case, given that in its dialogic frame the form that the internal dialogue could be written into is openly discussed (143b–c). At the same time, in the commentary we are considering (P.Berol inv. 9782) we find the only alternative version of a προοίμιον concerning a text of the Platonic corpus, in what would seem to be a different dialogic frame. By exploring the papyrological evidence on the προοίμιον of the *Theaetetus* (i.e. *P.Ant.* 2 78, LDAB 3830), and by comparing it to the text transmitted by the manuscripts and the commentary on papyrus, this paper will shed light not only on the techniques of composition and on the reception of the *Theaetetus*, but it will also allow a more in depth study on the textual changes that have given pause to both Plato and his epigones.

Berardi, R. ‘*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 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.

Delucchi, M. ‘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 7, Panel 8. Defining and Defying Frames of Rulership
Chair: tba

This panel looks at the ways in which rulers have been formed and rulership defined in the ancient world. Drawing on their interests in mythology, theatre, and historical figures, these papers will explore the ways in which rulers are formed, in terms of the education and mentoring they are given; how they are defined, particularly within conversation with idealised mythological figures; and how women, assumed to be powerless outside of their own sphere, are able to wield power and influence rulers, if not taking on aspects of rulership themselves. In covering a range of sources and figures, this panel will also be able to demonstrate how idealised rulership changed over time, in response to societal and cultural influences, and how it was subverted for differing purposes.

Clarke, A. ‘Teaching Rulership: Cheiron as Tutor and Exemplar’
This paper will consider how Cheiron the centaur acts as a tutor to generations of heroes within ancient Greek epic, and what talents exactly he teaches in terms of how to be a successful warrior and prince/king. Justina Gregory, in Cheiron’s Way, argues that the education he offers is not always successful, and that his tutoring does not always ‘take’—
Achilles, for example, does not demonstrate that Cheiron’s lessons have been absorbed. Nevertheless, in ancient texts and reception, Cheiron is the foremost tutor to heroes, and his longevity means that he is a stable referent in the mythological tradition. He is a liminal figure, on the boundary between man and beast, mortal and immortal, and for this reason, he is a perfect mentor to adolescents needing initiation into adult, noble behaviour. This paper will also consider some key reception texts, and how the aspects of tutoring that Cheiron offers is maintained or altered: to offer two extremes, Machiavelli in *The Prince* uses Cheiron as an exemplar for combined the beast and the man, and advising a prince to use whichever nature is required whereas Madeline Miller in *The Song of Achilles* promotes Cheiron’s lessons about healing, which have a profound and lasting effect upon Patroclus. The conclusion will offer thoughts about how much of rulership is portrayed as being taught, the balance that is struck between nature (or lineage) and nurture, and the role of Cheiron within the process of turning boys into ruler warriors.

**Cassell, B. ‘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. 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 conceptualized. 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 Attidographers 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 temporalities.

**Homer, G. ‘Aristophanes *Lysistrata*: Ancient “Otherness” to Modern Leadership’**

It is interesting that in a world where women were marginalized and included within a wider group of ‘otherness’ that there are so many portrayals of women, in Ancient Greek drama, where they arguably wield power. This paper will examine Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* in order to tease out the fundamental aspects of her ability to rally power through commonality and how these ideals enable her story to become Aristophanes’ most adapted comedy. Maurice (2017) argues that ancient comedic productions have the capacity to be modernised, capturing pop culture and contemporaneous issues for significance. The *Lysistrata* has been
adapted to represent many cultural identities, from religious war in *Le Source des Femmes* (2011) to American gang culture in *Chi-Raq* (2015). The paper will explore these two receptions, looking at how the ‘underbelly of society’ (Maurice 2017, 226) in Ancient Greece adapts into modern productions, particularly in light of how marginal members of an ancient community are inherently different to social structures today, and affectively become leaders within their own community.

Stott, R. ‘How far do the surviving material remains suggest that Agrippina the younger was breaking convention in regards to women holding a political position in Rome?’

In elite Roman society throughout antiquity, power rested with men. They held all the positions of political power both within their own household and in the running of the Roman state. This paper will focus on Agrippina the Younger, the fourth wife of the emperor Claudius and the mother of Nero, a figure who was felt by the sources in antiquity, to go against the conventions and cultural script of her time by the extent of political power they felt she had. The paper will explore a range of contemporary material remains, to investigate whether they suggest that Agrippina was indeed breaking conventions as a female holding and using political power. Examples will include; the sculpture reliefs which were found at the Sebastieon at Aphrodisias where Agrippina was portrayed holding Claudius hand in a manner which suggested political equality, and also where she is shown ‘crowning’ her son Nero, on his rise to emperor. A wide range of coins will also be explored and discussed, to suggest they support the argument that Agrippina was holding and using power, against the cultural script of her society. Modern scholarship will also be explored, to include R. R. R. Smith, J. F. Drinkwater and A. A. Barratt, to gain a modern evaluation on the surviving material remains and to investigate the political message which they were conveying. An argument will be made that the material remains, which were created contemporary to life of Agrippina, show that she was very much breaking conventions as a women holding and using political power in the male dominated society in which she lived.

Session 7, Panel 9. Intermedial Classics in Our World
Chair: Kleu, M.

This panel draws together diverse case studies from literature, digital sources, and the arts, to explore the ways in which audiences might encounter classical antiquity, considering what uses it has been put to, and asking what influence it exerts over cultural production. Even though references may pass us by, classical antiquity supplements our ongoing experience of culture. Understood as a vast depository, classical antiquity offers artists an inventory of imageries. And it is not only canonical art that exerts its influence, but also popular entertainment which sets the framework for the canon of the future. On the occasion of the forthcoming volume *Intermedial Classics in Our World* (R. Cole, P. Kolovou, and M. Stachon [eds.], in preparation for Brill, 2020) that investigates how our past makes its presence known in 20th and 21st century media, the editors, along with performance poet and architect, Phoebe Giannisi (University of Thessaly), and under moderation of Dr. Michael Kleu, an expert of Classical Receptions in Sci-Fi, Horror, and Fantasy, explore a series of case studies that highlight where and how classical reception works within contemporary cultural production, encouraging us to recognise how various media substantiate a protean cultural memory of classical antiquity. Foregrounding comparative
close-readings and interdisciplinary approaches, this panel invites for constructive follow-up discussions, with regard to the supplementary effects of classical antiquity on cultural artefacts that remain inescapably part of our world.

**Cole, R.** *Total War: Gaming Rome in the 21st Century*

*Rome: Total War* (2004–, The Creative Assembly), is one of the most critically and commercially successful strategy game franchises of all time. Individual instalments have covered the full span of Roman history, from the early republic to late antiquity, and presented gamers with the opportunity to challenge the outcome of historical events, replay significant battles, and generally operate a counterfactual history. This alternative past, however, is continually framed as historically authentic, with the context of each game not only established ahead of play, but also during play, with hyperlinks to a massive online encyclopaedia of facts, explanations, and details of events/figures accessible at any point via the gaming menu. This paper is interested in how the *Total War* series mediates ideas of Roman history to a worldwide audience of millions, while at the same time selling our past as a protean space made changeable through the idea of play.

**Kolovou, P.** *An Ongoing Conversation in Images: Jean Harambat’s Graphic Novel Ulysse. Les chants du retour*

Taking the form of a *living* graphic novel, Jean Harambat’s *Ulysse. Les chants du retour* (2014) embraces the world of Homer and its afterlife. The fascination of this work lies in the pedagogical potential stemming from its structure. The story of Ulysse’s return to Ithaca is interrupted by various episodes in which real persons enchanted by mythologies, as well as historians, architects, film-directors, archaeologists, journalists, librarians, and children, elaborate on the narrative of the *Odyssey* and its paratexts, thus illuminating the perception and renarrativation of the poem. The nested analyses produced by these figures—be it Jean-Pierre Vernant, Lawrence of Arabia, or a teenager in Ithaca in 2014—urge the reader to consider the ongoing impact of the ancient material from within various discourses. This paper discusses not merely the translation of the *Odyssey* into images, but rather the conservation of classical antiquity as a conversation in progress.

**Stachon, M.** *Composers Playing with Lesbia’s Sparrow*

Although it never generated popular or commercial success, classical literature has often featured as a foundational motif in Western classical music (cf. J. Draheim, *Vertonungen antiker Texte vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart*, Amsterdam 1981). This explicit presence has continued into the 21st century. Since 2011, four song cycles based on the Latin text of Catullus’ poems have been performed and published: David Glaser’s *Catullus Dreams* (2011), Ian Assersohn’s *Songs of Catullus* (2012), Christopher Corbell’s *Catullus II and V* (2013), and Michael Linton’s *Carmina Catulli* (2014). With an explicit focus on ‘carmen 2’, where Lesbia plays with her pet sparrow, this paper explores how the composers mirror their reception of Catullus’ oeuvre onto their musical settings. Despite being based on the same lyrics, it turns out that all four adaptations are completely different from each other.
Monday 20 April

Session 8: 11:30–13:00

Chair: Manuwald, G.

With the rise of classical reception studies, our understanding of the representation of the classical world in later cultural environments has developed at a startling rate. Both more modern portrayals of the ancient world in music and film, for example, as well as earlier Neo-Latin transformations of classical literature have been fields of growing interest for scholars. Similarly, the interaction between these various ‘layers’ of historical reception has also emerged as a topic of considerable interest to researchers.

Despite the advances in these overlapping fields, however, the specific role of renaissance and early modern Latin literature in mediating later representations of the classical world has remained little studied. Better-known examples of this ‘layered’ mediation of the classics have, naturally, received attention: Ezra Pound’s reliance on a 1537 Latin translation of Homer for his Canto I represents a well-studied example (cf. Hickman and Kozak (eds.), The Classics in Modernist Translation (2019): Chp. 1, 33–43). But the character and extent of this often-intricate form of classical reception through Neo-Latin literature is still far from well-understood.

This panel addresses some of the open questions presented by the field. It offers three papers on the reception of classical literature mediated by Neo-Latin literature designed to vary widely in their temporal, geographic and generic focuses. By considering eighteenth-century British responses to late antique poetry as seen through French Neo-Latin, twentieth-century images of Scipio Africanus (among other figures) through Italian renaissance epic and the modern-day representation of classical theatre by way of Jesuit drama respectively, the panel hopes to offer a wide-reaching and inclusive overview of current work in the field.

Barton, W. 'Eighteenth-Century British Reception of the Pervigilium Veneris through a Neo-Latin Lens'
In 1721 the infamous London printing house of E. Curll on the Strand published an anonymous, rather zesty poem entitled ‘The Pleasures of Coition; or, The Nightly Sports of Venus. A Translation of the Pervigilium Veneris of the celebrated Bonnefonius’. Curll’s press was so well known among contemporaries for its lewd material that the term ‘Curlicism’ had been in use as a name for literary indecency since 1718. Moreover, the publisher was similarly recognised for his controversial releases of translated French material, again often on explicit themes. But that the book’s title page should connect this anonymous English poem with the celebrated late-antique Pervigilium Veneris through the name of respected
French Neo-Latin poet Jean Bonnefons (1554–1614), would certainly have represented something of a novelty for an early modern British audience.

In offering a study of this intriguing moment in the literary reception of the *Pervigilium Veneris*, this paper will first attempt to position Curll’s publication within the history of the wider renaissance and early Modern responses to our late antique poem. Turning more specifically to Bonnefons’ earlier Neo-Latin engagement with the piece and the form it would eventually take under the English title ‘The Pleasures of Coition’, this contribution aims to better our understanding of the layered transformations of the late antique original, both on a literary level as well as in the context of the wider cultural ideas that the poem had carried with it since its re-discovery in the late fifteenth century.

**Smets, S. 'A Layered Renaissance: 20th-century Reception of Neo-Latin Authors involving the Classics'**

The fifteenth-century *condottiere* Sigismondo Malatesta supported the development of humanist culture at his court in Rimini. The best known and most prolific author of this milieu was Basino da Parma, who wrote an astrological treatise, an epistolary novel in elegiac verses and his *magnum opus*, the epic poem *Hesperis*. Despite singing the praise of Malatesta, who can be considered a local ruler, the epic abounds in what we could call with an anachronism ‘Italian nationalism’. References to Roman antiquity serve to underpin this pan-Italian stance and Malatesta is identified with ancient heroes such as Scipio Africanus.

At the end of the nineteenth century, a couple of biographies of Malatesta were published. Consequently, in the first half of the twentieth century, there was considerable attention from poets and playwrights for this figure and his surroundings. Gabriele D’Annunzio wrote a bundle of Italian poems titled *Isotteo*, referring to Basino’s epistolary poems on the love affair between Malatesta and Isotta. Henry de Montherlant wrote a tragedy about Malatesta, in which he mocks the humanist authors Basino and Porcellio while referring throughout to classical authors such as Seneca and historical figures like Pompey and Scipio Africanus. Finally, there is Ezra Pound’s *Malatesta Cantos* which quote abundantly from Pope Pius’ Latin invective against Malatesta. *Canto 82*, on the other hand, hints at Basino’s habit of quoting Greek sources in the margin of his autograph version of the *Hesperis*.

Confronting the different approaches of these three authors (who all shared a telling and outspoken sympathy for the fascist cause) towards the Malatestian court, this paper will not only shed light on their respective reception of Neo-Latin literature but also on how this Renaissance Latin literature served as a prism through which they perceived ancient authors in distinct ways and vice versa.

**Maciejewska, M. 'The Classics and Modern Staging of Jesuit Plays on Japan'**

Education was a central concern for the Jesuit order from the outset and shortly after the society was approved by the pope in 1540 they began founding numerous new schools. These Jesuit colleges were quickly recognised for their focus on Latin learning as their curriculum prescribed extensive reading of the Roman authors including Cicero, Vergil, Ovid, Horace, and Livy. Another way for students to gain proficiency in Latin was participation in the staging of an original Latin drama written by their teachers, primarily based on the classical tradition and often influenced particularly by Senecan tragedy.
The Jesuits were also, of course, a missionary order and brothers traveling overseas sent frequent letters offering accounts of their evangelical work. These stories inspired Jesuit authors at home and many of them decided to set their dramas’ narratives in the remote lands of South America or Asia, along with Japan, which became a famous place of martyrdom, and converted itself thereby into a popular setting.

Our present-day academic environment has recently observed increasing interest in the staging of Jesuit plays, including those composed on Japan. This paper will treat recent performances of Jesuit dramas on a Japanese topic and aims to trace a shift in the objectives these performances among contemporary actors and audiences. Given the special character of the Jesuit reception of classical authors in particular, my contribution focuses especially on the transmission and transformation of ideas about ancient theatre through the modern staging of Neo-Latin plays.

Session 8, Panel 2. **Character and Context: A Panel on Claudian**
Chair: Öhrman, M.

This three-paper panel brings together ongoing work on multiple aspects of Claudian’s poetry, highlighting coherence and disjuncture used for literary effect across invective, panegyric, and epic, as well as intratextuality across Claudian’s works. The panel demonstrates the range of approaches necessary to assess in-depth the Claudianic corpus and its reflections of Claudian’s relations to the imperial court. Literary and historical contextualisation and close readings are cornerstones of all three papers, but each speaker’s focus is different, covering character (Ware), metapoetics (Parkes) and sensory context (Öhrman).

**Ware, C. ‘We Need To Talk About Alaric’**
Claudian’s villains are arresting creations: Rufinus the foster-child of Hades, Gildo the Atreus-like tyrant of Africa, Eutropius, the ape tricked out in silken robes. Each is the subject of an invective or epic, each meets a satisfactory downfall. The exception to this catalogue is Alaric. He survived four engagements with Stilicho, despite Claudian’s assurances of defeat; he would outlive Stilicho and take Rome in 410. Although the Goths are a threatening presence in many of the poems and take centre stage in *De bello Getico*, Alaric never acquires a memorable sustained persona as do the earlier villains. He is intertextually identified with Hannibal and Turnus, but for the most part, he can be characterised only as ‘The Invader’, his Hannibal or Brennus being the shadowy opponent to Stilicho’s Fabius or Scipio or Camillus. This paper will look at Claudian’s Alaric in the corpus as a study of a work in progress, and an analysis of how Claudian as poet and panegyrist created character.

**Parkes, R. ‘Fractured Aesthetics in Claudian’s *De Raptu Proserpinae*’**
This paper approaches the aesthetics of late antique Latin poetry through the lens of Claudian’s mythological epic, the *De Raptu Proserpinae*. The idea that the poem lacks an organic coherence in form has often underpinned positive and negative criticism (witness Gruzelier’s reference to Claudian ‘stringing together descriptions and speeches’, 1993, xxiv) and has been linked to wider poetic trends (so the poem is used by Roberts 1989 as one of
the examples of fragmented ‘jeweled style’ and so Formisano 2018 situates its disruptiveness as a characteristic of late antique aesthetics). This paper considers formal instances of fracturing and disruption (such as mark the poem’s progress) together with thematic material (such as in the depiction of the abduction). It links aspects of the poem’s style to the specific individual circumstances of Claudian as a poet working for the Roman general Stilicho and the imperial household in the uncertain and tumultuous years at the end of the fourth century CE. Arguing against an oversimplified ideal of a late aesthetic ‘norm’, which can gloss over individuality and attribute an unwarranted passivity to texts, it posits the De Raptu’s conscious exploitation of instability on multiple levels.

Bibliography


Öhrman, M. ‘Before Proserpine: Weavers in Claudian’s Panegyric Poems’

Claudian’s panegyric on the consulship by the young brothers Olybrius and Probinus contains two descriptions of textile work: their mother’s involvement in the preparation of the gold-decorated consular trabeae (1.177–182), and Ilia’s weaving of a cloak for Tiberinus (1.224–225). These passages enhance the celebration of the new consuls by connecting them to women exhibiting traditional Roman female virtues, while placing them in a geographic and literary allusive network which reaches back to the foundation of the city. This paper focuses on the allusions to the sensory experience of textile crafts that unite both passages, drawing on research on ancient textiles and experimental archaeology, as well as Guipponi-Gineste’s earlier work on textile work in Claudian. 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. Conversely, the weaving soundscape evoked by Claudian’s phrasing in the short episode of Ilia’s weaving brings to the fore her rhytmical and effective work. The use of sensory allusions to ancient craft practice underline the intratextual connections between the passages and sits within a wider context of highly varied, well-informed, and effective Claudianic references to textile work.

Bibliography


Session 8, Panel 3. **Women in tragic and comic fragments**  
Chair: tba

The panel aims to investigate a number of submerged female characters in Greek tragic and comic fragments. Compared to the well-known women in the extant plays, such figures are largely neglected in scholarship, especially because of the uncertain nature of the evidence, which makes any comparison extremely difficult.

Considering female characters in fragmentary plays broadens the exploration of the Greek notion of femininity across different genres and authors. Major differences that will implicitly emerge in the papers concern the diverging atmospheres and environments in which female characters operate—predominantly serious in tragedy, more light-hearted in comedy—or the different models of characterization deployed by each dramatist.

A number of insights can potentially be gained from this analysis. Tragic and comic women, and their language, can be exploited as an end to themselves in order to shed light on specific aspects of the individual plots (e.g. choral identity and characterization), or as means to highlight the skills of the individual dramatists in shaping different plots from the same story, or as vehicles to compare rival dramatists. Overall, a better understanding can be reached on the ever-changing representation of women on stage and its complex relations to Athenian fifth-century society.

**Catrambone, M. ‘A Cortège for Astyoche? Choral Identity and Female Speech in Sophocles’ Eurypylus’**  
Within the panorama of Sophocles’ fragmentary plays, *Eurypylus* offers fascinating and yet frustrating evidence. The play dramatizes the tragic end of one of the last defenders of Troy, Eurypylus, shortly before the city’s final destruction, but no convincing reconstruction of its plot has been hitherto offered by scholars despite the high amount of surviving fragments (ca. 120). The longest of these, fr. 210 R., includes two parts of a messenger-speech reporting Eurypylus’ death. That speech is interspersed by a short lyric dialogue (fr. 210.30–46) between two speakers. While the former can be identified with Astyoche, Eurypylus’ mother, about the latter we can only infer it was the chorus of the play. But which one?

The paper argues that the chorus was quite certainly formed by women (not men, as repeatedly argued by scholars), and that they might have been Trojan citizens, e.g. wives (and/or widows) of the soldiers engaged in the war against the Greeks, rather than Astyoche’s maidservants from Mysia (as traditionally argued). A major methodological point in the paper is that this choral identity may be inferred socio-linguistically, by the observation of the gender-specific features of the chorus’ language.

First, the plot of the play is briefly discussed, including its setting and *dramatis personae*. Second, the *status quaestionis* on the identity of the chorus is surveyed, and the shortcomings of the previous proposals assessed. Third, a revised text of the (very lacunose) fr. 210 R. is presented. Fourth, the text is scrutinized in search of linguistic features suggesting the female identity of the two speakers, with statistical surveys
whenever appropriate. Fifth and finally, the resulting evidence is compared with the data on choral identity in the extant and fragmentary plays of Sophocles.

**Bibliography**


Ozbek, L. ‘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 characterization 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 *Phryxus* I and II (whose differences and modern reconstructions will be thoroughly analyzed), 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 a story which ends nevertheless without bloodshed.

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 later 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 metapoetic connotation: Ino’s complex verbal and practical strategies mirror Euripides’ mastery of theatre and dramaturgy.

**Bibliography**
Morosi, F. ‘Like a Natural Woman: Female Characters in Extant and Fragmentary Old Comedy’
As is known, women are one of Old Comedy's favourite subjects. However, their depiction is far from rigid, and scholars have been wavering between opposite paradigms: women as prostitutes, or women as devoted wives? Women as objects of desire, or women as actively involved in sexuality? Answers to such questions, of course, entail wider issues, such as, for instance, the role of family in an Athenian woman's life and in Athenian society, and the free-will of women. So far, scholarly discussion of this topic has been mostly limited to the eleven plays of Aristophanes for which we possess a complete text, whereas the evidence coming from fragmentary plays has been largely overlooked. Yet, the analysis of fragmentary plays is fundamental in order to reach a better understanding of the ways in which women were portrayed on the comic stage.

By going through both extant and fragmentary plays, this paper tries to reassess some of the central views on the performing of femininity in Old Comedy, in order to show that the picture of comic women and Athenian families was far more complex than we tend to think. To do so, this paper will examine some of the most relevant fragments of Old Comedy featuring women (e.g. Pherekrates' Graes, Ipnos, Korianno, and Tyrannis; Ameipsias' Moichoi; Eupolis' Kolakes and Marikas; Theopompos' Stratiotides), and compare them with some of Aristophanes' extant female comedies (in particular, Lysistrata and Ecclesiazousai), trying to give an overall interpretation of some of the most interesting themes of comic women—sexual desire, family life, and power.

Bibliography
De Vos, B. ‘Platonism in the Pseudo-Clementines’
The *Pseudo-Clementines* is the traditional title of a unique, Jewish-Christian philosophical novel (Grundschrift, 220–230), transmitted in several versions of which the Greek, Latin and Syriac versions are the most extensive ones. This novel presents Christianity as the true philosophy in many theological-philosophical dialogues and disputes between the main characters Peter and Clement and their opponents such as Simon Magus, Appion (who is represented as a Sophist) or the Epicurean Athenodorus. The Pseudo-Clementine novel lets those characters claim truth and argue about true culture, education, and epistemological methodologies such as the roles Greek philosophy, mythology, astrology and revelation were thought to play in cultural identities.

My contribution will deal with an interesting paradox: (a) Greek philosophy will be explicitly rejected in the *Pseudo-Clementines* as epistemological and rhetorical relativistic, Sophistic pseudo-knowledge. (b) However, the *Pseudo-Clementines* will use adapted Platonic references in order to support their claim of Judeo-Christian truth.

I want to focus on the adaptation of the Cave-allegory and its implications for the claim of Christianity as the true philosophy in the Pseudo-Clementines. This focus will make clear the aforementioned paradox. ‘Greek philosophy’ is refuted as moral and epistemological Sophistry (filled with Epicurean and Stoic arguments) and Greek philosophers are represented as rhetoricians, and non-truth loving ‘philologoi’ (this is already a Platonic discourse). The adapted Allegory of the Cave is then used in order to distinguish the ideal, revelatory Christian discourse from the one of the ‘Greek philosophers’. Combined with concepts from Middle-Platonic topics and discussions (Begotten, Unbegotten, demiurge, ...), Plato’s comments on education (*Republic* 379a–381e), or the soul as wax (*Theaetetus* 191c) in relation to the theory of knowledge and memorisation, the Pseudo-Clementines reveal an adapted Platonic and Middle-Platonic discourse in setting forth the Christian discourse. This will offer us more insight into the contemporary, Middle-Platonic context of the Pseudo-Clementines and how this particular literary-philosophical corpus situates itself in such a context.

Freer, N. ‘Poetry, Philosophy, and Power in Virgil’s *Georgics*’
The poet’s capacity to make a difference to society was widely acknowledged by Roman authors of the late Republic and early Empire. The Augustan ideal of the *vates*, in particular, encapsulated ‘the belief that the poet has a serious contribution to make to the progress of
his society, and that poetry and music have a regulatory and civilising effect’ (Hardie 1986, 16). While Virgil at times also celebrates the importance of the poet’s task, these passages are frequently offset by others that appear to cast doubt upon the value of his art (see e.g. Putnam 1970; Johnson 1976, 99–114; Boyle 1986; Perkell 1989).

This paper argues that Virgil’s shifting representation of the poet in the Georgics was informed by Epicurean views on poetry, and by the writings of Virgil’s Epicurean teacher Philodemus in particular, who questioned the moral utility of poetry and its efficacy as a mode of didaxis. Focusing on the Virgilian narrator’s relationship to Octavian, Virgil’s portrayal of the archetypal poet Orpheus, and the poet’s self-representation in the sphragis at the end of book 4, the paper aims to shed new light on Virgil’s conception of the nature and function of poetry. In the process, it reasserts the significance of philosophical intertexts for our understanding of the Georgics, while contributing to the ongoing debate about the relationship between form and function, message and medium in Virgil’s didactic epic.

**Bibliography**


**Irarrázabal Elliott, M. ‘Anger, Agency, and Tragedy in Seneca’**

It has been often noticed that the breach between Seneca’s philosophy and drama is such, that it is difficult to understand how they can pertain to the same author. Beyond the problem of how to draw moral lessons from his plays, or if they accommodate to any didactic agenda at all, the debate has also extended on the question of how to see Stoic ontology, cosmology and ethics reflected in them. This paper discusses some aspects of Seneca’s conceptualisation of anger in the *De Ira*, paying special attention to his theory of action. It argues for the importance of elucidating between the necessary and the adjacent features of anger as defined in *De Ira* in order to discuss the articulation of Clytemnestra’s emotional state, and how it can be coherently understood in the light of the theoretical standards set by Seneca. The distinction between necessary and adjacent features of anger sheds light on the dramatisation of anger in the *Agamemnon* at a descriptive level, and this distinction is fundamentally informed by Seneca’s theory of human action.

The question about the coherence between the articulation of a dramatic emotion and the theorization about that emotion is different, though not entirely independent, from the question about the extent to which that dramatic articulation can be considered part of Seneca’s philosophical and pedagogical agenda. Since Seneca’s theory of human action is deeply rooted in his system of ethics, it is fundamental to understand the relation between the two to have an account of this emotion in terms of its psychological structure while at the same time understanding Seneca’s intention to set the standards or moral principles to provide a coherent rationale for their validity. While it is not the intention of this paper to
set a unitary way of understanding anger in Seneca’s drama and philosophy, it points to certain elements that indicate a relationship between the two.

Session 8, Panel 5. Later Latin
Chair: tba

Arthur-Montagne, J. “‘Low” Learning and Disreputable Genres in the Historia Apollonii regis Tyri’
The Historia Apollonii regis Tyri, a late Latin romance of unknown authorship, presents readers with a paradoxical portrait of its hero. On the one hand, the eponymous protagonist is defined by his learning, depicted a ‘very clever man’ (viro prudentissimo, HA 23) who ‘investigates wisely’ (sapienter scrutatus, 4). But in scenes where Apollonius reveals or applies his learning, he consults texts and performs genres that were widely dismissed as ‘low’ in literary merit among the Imperial elite, such as Chaldean riddles and pantomime plots. Prior scholarship on the Historia has interpreted the inclusion of these elements as evidence of story’s appeal among popular audiences (Lana 1975, Archibald 1991, and Panayotakis 2012). This paper, in contrast, proposes that the author(s) placed conspicuously low genres in the hands of their learned hero in order to mount a metaliterary defense of literature outside the canon. I present this paper in three parts. The first introduces the Historia and demonstrates how its author(s) signal their elite education with explicit allusions to Homer and Virgil. I then conduct close readings of two ‘low’ elements in the Historia: Apollonius’ consultation of Chaldean riddle books (6) and his performance of pantomime in Cyrene (16). The paper concludes by analyzing the conflict between the author(s)’s reliance on canonical models and Apollonius’ reliance on ‘low’ genres. This imbalance, I argue, represents a deliberate effort to disrupt the hierarchies of literary merit and the prejudices of the cultural elite. As Apollonius survives and prospers with his ‘low’ learning, the Historia communicates that the measure of paideia is not the purity of one’s literary tastes but the erudition with which one interprets the text.

Bibliography

OKell, E. ‘Dictys Cretensis, Contracts of Fictionality and the Cultivation of the Suspicious Reader’
Dictys Cretensis’ eye-witness account of the Trojan War is now recognised as one of the three most prominent examples of pseudo-documentary fiction (Kemezis 2014) but scholarly interest has mainly focused on its effects on the reader’s view of Homer as a foundational and authoritative part cultural heritage (Kim 2010) or its extraordinarily rich paratext and place in establishing/perpetuating the Beglaubigungsapparat motif (Horsfall 2008–2009).

While the paratext has been shown to foreground the fictional contract with readers, simultaneously adding substance to that fictional belief and emphasizing its self-conscious fictionality (Kemezis 2014), Dictys’ strategies for maintaining this balance between belief in
his autopsy and suspicion that it is fiction have not been analysed within the main body of the work.

Starting from the question ‘How does Dictys know?’ the paper will identify the strategies used to allay reader suspicion (generally held to follow the model of the historiographical fetishization of the eyewitness, consisting of source identification and copious detail; Kemezis 2014, Clark 2011), before focusing on when these suspicion-allaying strategies are used, revealing that Dictys is conscious of the readers’ developing suspicion and even deliberately raises it, e.g. by introducing direct speech and then delaying identification of its source until the reader has reached the point of asking ‘But how can Dictys know this?’.

Dictys’ undermining of his own strategy of self-authorisation is, therefore, in keeping with not only the fictional contract of the paratext but also with his assumed identity as an eyewitness who, as a Cretan, is a proverbial liar, suggesting a sophisticated authorship and readership for the work.

**Bibliography**


**Bonaventura, M. ‘Rationalising Homer in the Second Sophistic: Dio Chrysostom and Dares Phrygius’**

Second Sophistic authors, such as Dio Chrysostom (*Trojan Oration*), Lucian (*Rooster 17*), and Philostratus (*Heroicus*), demonstrate a keen interest in correcting Homer’s account of the Trojan War with supposed eyewitness testimony. Similarly, the Latin texts attributed to Dares Phrygius (5th cent.) and Dictys Cretensis (4th cent.) also claim to present eyewitness accounts of the Trojan War. While papyri have confirmed a Greek original of Dictys’ text (1st/2nd cent. AD), it is unclear whether Dares’ text was originally composed in Greek.

This paper will examine Dio’s critique of Homer in his *Trojan Oration* and whether it may have influenced Dares’ *Historia*. First, it will discuss the claims to historical authenticity in both texts, which in both cases depend on eyewitness testimony. Then, it will analyse Dio’s broad criticism of Homer’s Trojan War narrative, including his portrayal of the gods, anti-Trojan bias, use of verse, and failure to narrate events chronologically, as well as his many objections about individual implausible aspects of the conventional Trojan War narrative. Dio’s approach will then be compared to the rationalised Trojan War narrative in Dares’ text. While Dares’ *Historia* rectifies Dio’s broad criticisms of Homer, more importantly, it consistently alters the conventional Trojan War story in a way which avoids many of the individual objections Dio raises about Homer’s account, suggesting a potential correlation between the texts.
Accordingly, this paper will argue that the author of Dares’ text was likely influenced by sophistic criticism of the conventional Trojan War story, particularly Dio’s *Trojan Oration*. If true, this could shed light on the original literary context of Dares’ *Historia*, supporting the notion that Dares’ text, like Dictys’, was initially composed in Greek during the Second Sophistic, since the author’s narratorial choices seem to indicate an awareness of contemporary sophistic criticism of the Trojan War narrative.

Session 8, Panel 9. **Classics in the Marketplace: Being a Classicist in Public**  
Chair: Gloyn, L.

Panel speakers: Draycott, J.; Gloyn, L.; Musie, M.; Morley, N.

This panel offers an opportunity for PhD students and early career academics to begin thinking through how to shape a public profile for themselves that lets them connect to colleagues and promote their work whilst creating a comfortable space for doing so. More senior colleagues are also welcome to come and share their experience, as well as pick up some new hints and tips. The speakers on the panel have experience of popularising the ancient world across a broad range of platforms and bring expertise on a diverse spectrum of topics in antiquity. Each speaker will talk for about ten minutes about their own experience of using social media and other venues, the choices they have made in creating their public profile, and the consequences of their decisions.

The remainder of the session will be used for guided discussion to cover some key topics around being a classicist in virtual public spaces, including:

- Identifying motivations for maintaining a public profile
- Changes in priorities for a public self over time
- Digital networking
- What works and what doesn’t about sharing the ancient world
- Possible venues for doing public classics
- Social media and the collapse of hierarchy
- The risks of being on the internet and what you can do to mitigate them
- Managing activism online

Since this panel will be operating on a slightly different timescale to other panels, attendees are welcome to join and leave the discussion whenever they wish.

**End of Conference**

Please note that abstracts in this booklet have been lightly edited and copy-edited for consistency.