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This map predates the construction of the Radisson; the hotel is located on the bank of the Wear opposite the Gala theatre (in the upper centre-right part of this map). From the railway station to Collingwood the best solution is a (shared) cab; alternatively, walk until the bus station and take the number 5 or 5A bus, running every 15 minutes from Durham Bus Station and stopping outside the college.
Durham University Science Site
How to get to the Calman Learning Centre

Footpath between Science site and Grey + Collingwood Colleges

Grey College

Footpath between Science site and Grey + Collingwood Colleges

Collingwood parking

Collingwood College
Lower floor (down one flight of stairs): bookstalls and conference bar
Ground floor: from left, Dining Hall (coffee breaks and posters), Senior Common Room, Bailey Room, Weardale (here: Dales suite).
First floor (stairs besides reception): Penthouse A and B, Penthouse Boardroom, Penthouse C and D.
GENERAL CONFERENCE INFORMATION

Welcome to the 2011 Classical Association Conference at Durham! All the information you need about the programme and conference practicalities should be contained in this booklet, but if you have any problems the Durham team will be happy to help:

- **Durham organising committee**: Paola Ceccarelli (Coordinator); Jennifer Ingleheart, Sarah Miles, Ivana Petrovic, Justine Wolfenden, Mark Woolmer.
- **Student helpers (wearing coloured badges)**: Paola Bassino, Mirko Canevaro, Zara Chadha, Lilah-Grace Fraser, Louise Hodgson, Lauren Knifton, David Lewis, Nikoletta Manioti, Donald Murray.

**Conference desk**: the Conference Desk is located in the entrance hall of Collingwood College. The Desk will be staffed each day and is the place to go for registration, information about the conference itself and the locality, or assistance with any problems. Any messages for participants will be posted on the electronic noticeboard in the entrance hall of Collingwood College.

**Name badges**: please have your name badge with you at all times. This is necessary, as we have to ensure that only conference delegates are allowed access to the Colleges, the Calman Centre and the receptions.

**TRANSPORT**

**Parking**: car parking is available on site at Collingwood College; parking is free for participants at the Conference.

**Buses**: the number 5 bus runs on weekdays c. every 15 minutes from the bus station to the colleges, and has a stop close to the Marriott. The ‘Cathedral bus’ runs every 20 minutes from the Railway station to the Cathedral (*via* the Bus station - the stop is just outside, on the North Road) and back.

**Getting around in Durham**: the main conference venues, Collingwood College, the Holgate room in Grey College, and the Arnold Wolfendale Theatre in the Calman Centre, are all on the Science Site of Durham University, and situated very close to each other. The train station is a 15 to 20 minutes’ walk; the Cathedral and the city centre are at approximately five minutes walk; the Radisson Blu Hotel, where the conference dinner will take place, is at approximately 10 minutes walk.

**MEALS AND REFRESHMENTS**

**Tea and coffee** in the breaks will be available in Collingwood Dining Hall.

**Lunches**: self-service lunches for all delegates will be served in Collingwood Dining Hall from 1pm. For those who do not want to have their lunch/dinner in College, there is a pub (the ‘New Inn’) down the road; otherwise, there are pubs and sandwich bars in Durham city centre.

For those going on the excursions to Gibside and Binchester on Saturday, please note that there is only half an hour for lunch before the buses are due to depart from Collingwood College; it is possible to register for a lunchbox (ask at the registration desk on arrival).

**Dinners**

A self-service dinner will be served in Collingwood Dining Hall on Friday and Saturday.

After the dinner on Saturday, once Collingwood Dining Hall is cleared, there will be a ceilidh, with the Northern Lights Band playing.

On Sunday evening there is a Reception at the Radisson Hotel in Durham, which is open to all. The Reception will be followed by the Conference Dinner, held in the Radisson Blu Hotel, for which you will need your ticket. The price of the dinner includes wine. Please specify with the waiting staff if you need a vegetarian or other dietary option.
For those not signed up for the conference dinners, there is a wide range of restaurants to choose from in Durham city centre (for suggestions see the various guides in the conference packs).

**Receptions**
There will be two Receptions, on Friday, at the Calman centre, and on Sunday, at the Radisson Blu; they are open to all conference delegates. Please wear your name badge to ensure access to these events. The two receptions are sponsored by the Faculty of Arts & Humanities of Durham University and by the following organizations:
- Cambridge University Press (on Friday)
- Oxford University Press (on Sunday).

**Conference meeting bar**
The bar of Collingwood College (on the ground level, close to the bookstall) is the designated conference meeting place. Delegates will have exclusive use of it.

**CLASSICS CONFIDENTIAL**
Classics Confidential (Jessica Hughes and Elton Barker) invite you to come and record an informal five minute interview about any aspect of your research into the ancient world, to be posted on their website, www.classicsconfidential.co.uk. You can find them in Collingwood Penthouse C on Sunday between 10am and 5pm.

**BOOKSELLERS AND AMENITIES**

**Bookstalls**
The following publishers and booksellers have stalls in Collingwood College, on the ground level, one flight of stairs below Collingwood Dining Hall, and next to the Conference bar:
- Bloomsbury Academic
- Cambridge University Press
- Classical Press of Wales
- Classics Bookshop
- Walter De Gruyter
- Gazelle Books
- IB Tauris
- Oxford University Press
- Routledge
- Wiley Blackwell

**Computer and wifi internet access**
To use a Durham networked computer, or the Durham wifi system, a Durham login is necessary; you will find a login and password in your registration pack. There is a computer room with networked computers on the ground floor of Collingwood College.

**EXCURSIONS**
Three excursions have been arranged for delegates on Saturday afternoon.

**Binchester Roman Fort and Escomb Saxon Church**
Binchester Roman Fort (ancient Vinovium or Vinovia) was probably established around AD 79 to guard the crossing of the River Wear by Dere Street, the main Roman road between York, Hadrian’s Wall and Scotland; it is one of the largest forts of the North-East. The troops stationed in Vinovia are likely to have included the *cuneus Frisorum Vinovienium* and the *equites catafractarium*, mentioned in inscriptions from the site; part of the *Legio VI Victrix* might also have stayed here at some point in its history. Remains of the commanding officer’s house, with the best preserved Roman military bath house in Britain, and a stretch of Dere Street have been excavated to date; a four-year new
programme of excavations began in June 2009, resulting from a partnership between Durham Council, Durham University, Stanford University (California), and the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Northumberland and Durham; Dave Petts (Durham), one of the archaeologists in charge of the new excavations, will lead the visit. This will be followed by a visit to Escomb Saxon Church, one of the finest examples of early Christian architecture in Northern Europe; much of its stonework came from the remains of the Roman Fort of Binchester.

Palladian England: Gibside and the Penshaw Monument
Spanning 182 hectares (450 acres), Gibside is a ‘grand design’ of spectacular vistas, winding paths and grassy open spaces. This impressive landscape forest garden was created in the 18th century by the Bowes family. At key points there are decorative garden buildings, such as the Palladian chapel, the Column to Liberty, the Georgian stables, greenhouse and ruins of a bathhouse and hall. The tour will continue to the Penshaw monument, a half-sized replica of the temple of Hephaistos at Athens designed by John and Benjamin Green. From its position on top of Penshaw Hill, the monument, built in 1844 in honour of the first Earl of Durham, John George Lambton, dominates the landscape. Edmund Thomas (Durham) will lead the tour.

Durham Cathedral and Cosin’s Library on Palace Green.
Durham Cathedral, begun in 1093 and largely completed within 40 years, is a masterpiece of Norman architecture; together with the Monastery and the Castle, which faces it across Palace Green, it has been described as ‘one of the great experiences of Europe’. Among other things, the Cathedral houses the remains of St. Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne from 685 to 687; and Bede’s remains, probably transferred to Durham Cathedral in the 11th century. After the battle of Dunbar, Oliver Cromwell used the cathedral as a prison for Scottish troops; of the ca. 3000 imprisoned there, some 1700 died because of the terrible conditions. After the Restoration, Bishop John Cosin repaired the damages made to the cathedral, furnishing it with extraordinary woodwork. He also founded in 1669 a Diocesan library: Cosin’s library, with its collection of medieval manuscripts, is still located on Palace Green.

The excursion to Gibside will begin at 1.40pm; the excursion to Binchester Roman Fort will begin at 2pm. Packed lunches will be available on demand (esp. for the Gibside excursion). Coaches will leave from Collingwood College, and they will return there by 5.30pm. Delegates taking the guided tour of Durham Cathedral meet at the Cathedral at 2.30. For further details on these excursion venues, see the links on the Conference website. Note that the booking fee includes travel (where applicable) and entrance fees.

ACADEMIC PROGRAMME
Conference papers
Papers have been arranged into a programme with 8 parallel sessions; there will also be 2 poster sessions. With so much on offer you may well find that there are a few clashes between things which interest you, but we hope you will understand that it is impossible to cater for all combinations of tastes, and will enjoy the abundance of choice. The arrangement follows the model established over recent years, with 20-minute papers followed by a 10-minute period for discussion. Participants are encouraged to move between rooms and panels at the end of individual papers if they wish. Please note that although we have tried to keep alterations to a minimum there have been a few changes to the programme since the hard copy version was circulated in January. Any last-minute changes (caused e.g. by a speaker being taken ill) will be advertised on the Conference noticeboard.

Message for chairs and speakers: Please remember that we have slightly more than 200 papers to get through in fewer than three days! We would ask speakers to keep strictly to their 20 minutes (no more), and chairs of sessions to enforce this punctiliously.
CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Friday 15th April
From 1.30pm **Registration**, Collingwood College
1.30-3.30pm CA Finance Committee, Collingwood Penthouse Boardroom
3.30-5.30pm **Posters** on display, Collingwood College, Dining Hall
3.30-5.30pm CA Council Meeting, Collingwood Penthouse Boardroom
3.30-4.30pm **Q&A Session** with Helen Thomas of the Higher Education Academy at York, organized by Catherine Steel and Sarah Francis (HEA Subject Centre for History, Classics and Archaeology), Collingwood Penthouse A
3.30-5.30pm Coffee/tea, Collingwood College Dining Hall
5.45pm Opening of conference by Prof. Andrea Noble, Deputy Head of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities (Research), Durham University followed by **Plenary Lecture**: Prof. Richard Hunter (Cambridge), ‘Homer and Plato’ Arnold Wolfendale Theatre, Calman Centre
6.45pm Reception sponsored by Cambridge University Press, Calman Centre, fourth floor (Kingsley Barrett and Derman Christopherson)
7.45pm **Dinner**, Collingwood Dining Hall

Saturday 16th April
9am-11am **SESSION 1**: 8 four-paper panels, Collingwood & Grey Colleges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grey Holgate Main</th>
<th>Grey Old Library</th>
<th>Collingwood Penthouse A</th>
<th>Collingwood Penthouse B</th>
<th>Collingwood SCR</th>
<th>Collingwood Bailey</th>
<th>Collingwood Weardale</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CA-APA panel: Cicero on Civic Unity</td>
<td>Houses &amp; Housing in the Classical World</td>
<td>Greek law 1: Athenian laws and legislation</td>
<td>Ancient Receptions of Virgil</td>
<td>Greek Tragedy</td>
<td>Greek Historiography</td>
<td>Reception, Translation, interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auctoritas in the late Roman Republic</td>
<td>Blame and praise</td>
<td>Greek Epigraphy I: fifth century and before</td>
<td>Sex, Grief, and Death</td>
<td>Aristophanic Comedy</td>
<td>Gods and Landscape in Flavian Epic</td>
<td>Linguistics and Interpretation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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11am-11.30am Coffee/tea, Collingwood Dining Hall
11.30am-1.30pm **SESSION 2**: 4 three-paper panels, 4 four-paper panels, 1 poster session, Collingwood & Grey

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grey Holgate Main</th>
<th>Grey Old Library</th>
<th>Collingwood Penthouse A</th>
<th>Collingwood Penthouse B</th>
<th>Collingwood SCR</th>
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<th>Collingwood Weardale</th>
<th>Dining Hall</th>
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<td>Auctoritas in the late Roman Republic</td>
<td>Blame and praise</td>
<td>Greek Epigraphy I: fifth century and before</td>
<td>Sex, Grief, and Death</td>
<td>Aristophanic Comedy</td>
<td>Gods and Landscape in Flavian Epic</td>
<td>Linguistics and Interpretation</td>
<td>Poster Session</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From 1pm Self-service lunch, Collingwood Dining Hall
1.40pm-5pm **Excursions**:
1. Binchester Roman Fort (and Escomb Saxon Church). Pick up 2.00pm from Collingwood College. Return: drop-off at Collingwood College, e. 5.30pm.
2. Gibside (and Penshaw Monument). Pick up 1.40pm from Collingwood College. Return: drop-off at Collingwood College, e. 5.30pm.
3. Guided tour of Durham Cathedral and Palace Green. Meets at Durham Cathedral entrance, 2.30pm; tour ends at c. 4.30pm.

6pm **Plenary Lecture**: Prof. Amanda Claridge, ‘Virgil, Pliny, and the Emperors on the Laurentine Shore’, Arnold Wolfendale Theatre, Calman Centre
7.15 pm **Dinner** Collingwood Dining Hall
9pm-12pm **Ceilidh** with the Northern Lights Band, Collingwood Dining Hall
Sunday 17th April

10am-5pm: interviews with Classics Confidential, Collingwood, Penthouse C

9am-11am SESSION 3: 8 four-paper panels, Collingwood & Grey Colleges

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<th>Grey Holgate Main</th>
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<th>Collingwood SCR</th>
<th>Collingwood Bailey</th>
<th>Collingwood Weardale</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seizing the Means of Production</td>
<td>Modern Receptions of Virgil</td>
<td>Homer</td>
<td>Greek Epigraphy 2: 4th century and after</td>
<td>Roman Historiography and its Reception</td>
<td>New Comedy and Its Reception</td>
<td>Roman Elegy</td>
<td>Non-Roman Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Heslin</td>
<td>Burbidge</td>
<td>Kahane</td>
<td>Abbott</td>
<td>Simon</td>
<td>Cinaglia</td>
<td>Weinlich</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Heath</td>
<td>Korzeniewski</td>
<td>Boyd</td>
<td>Lambert</td>
<td>Pausch</td>
<td>Caston</td>
<td>Steenkamp</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Stoneman</td>
<td>Pollio</td>
<td>Sardi</td>
<td>Liddel</td>
<td>Hodgson</td>
<td>Pezzini</td>
<td>Chadha</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Britton</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bowie</td>
<td>Bayliss</td>
<td>Makins</td>
<td>Demetriou</td>
<td>Cann</td>
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11am-11.30am Coffee/tea, Collingwood Dining Hall

11.30am-1.30pm SESSION 4: 4 three-paper panels, 4 four-paper panels, 1 poster session, Collingwood & Grey

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<th>Collingwood Bailey</th>
<th>Collingwood Weardale</th>
<th>Dining Hall</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greek Music Out of the mind</td>
<td>Herodotus’ reception of the artist</td>
<td>Identity of the Artist</td>
<td>Greek Epigraphy 3: outside Athens</td>
<td>Roman Politics</td>
<td>Akkadian Outreach panel</td>
<td>Poster Session</td>
<td>Posters</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>D’Angour</td>
<td>Stern-Gillet</td>
<td>Rood</td>
<td>Rubino</td>
<td>Ellis-Evans</td>
<td>Morris</td>
<td>Newington</td>
<td>Fernandes</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Agocs</td>
<td>Manolea</td>
<td>Zali</td>
<td>Knifton</td>
<td>Mack</td>
<td>Phillipo</td>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>Bragg</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td>Phillips</td>
<td>Makrinos</td>
<td>Priestley</td>
<td>Mestre da Costa</td>
<td>Noon</td>
<td>Imber</td>
<td>Stevens</td>
<td>Ryan</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:00</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>De Bakker</td>
<td>Roche</td>
<td>Pistellato</td>
<td>Haubold</td>
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From 1pm Self-service lunch, Collingwood Dining Hall

2.30pm-4.30pm SESSION 5: 8 four-paper panels, Collingwood & Grey Colleges

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<th>Collingwood Penthouse B</th>
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<th>Collingwood SCR</th>
<th>Collingwood Bailey</th>
<th>Collingwood Weardale</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creating memory in the Greek city</td>
<td>Roman Religion</td>
<td>Hellenistic Poetics</td>
<td>Classics and Ecclesiastics</td>
<td>Memory in archaic Greek epic poetry</td>
<td>Late antique constructs</td>
<td>Ancient Near East</td>
<td>Tending the soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:30</td>
<td>Shear</td>
<td>Pandey</td>
<td>Saoulidou</td>
<td>Thomson</td>
<td>Zekas</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>Ulanski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Paga</td>
<td>Beer</td>
<td>Kanellou</td>
<td>Billotte</td>
<td>Harrisson</td>
<td>MacLachlan</td>
<td>Zjeba</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Luraghi</td>
<td>Wolfenden</td>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>Matzner</td>
<td>Fraser</td>
<td>Leonard</td>
<td>Woolmer</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Oliver</td>
<td>Mackey</td>
<td>Tome</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Williams</td>
<td>Kim</td>
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4.30pm-5pm Coffee/tea, Collingwood Dining Hall
5pm-6pm Classical Association Annual General Meeting, Collingwood Penthouse A
6pm Presidential Address: Prof. Christopher Rowe, ‘Classics and the Life of Plocrates’ Arnold Wolfendale Theatre, Calman Centre
7.15pm Reception sponsored by Oxford University Press, Radisson Blu Hotel
8.00pm Conference Dinner (optional), Radisson Blu Hotel, Durham
Award of CA Prize
### Monday 18th April

**SESSION 6: 8 four-paper panels, Collingwood & Grey Colleges**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Goff, Berra, Vekselius, Dillon, Erickson, Eastall, Kuznetsov, Kalkanis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Mlambo, Monella, Maurizio, Kosmin, Almagor, Foegen, Grove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Slumate, Dunn, Rimell, Eidinow, Ramsey, Hausburg/Gaertner, Rameli, Gustavsson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Weiden-Boyd, Mahony, Zalorozhnyy, Van Noorden, Meeus, Pardo, East, Cooper</td>
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11am-11.30am **Coffee/tea, Collingwood Dining Hall**

### SESSION 7: 4 four-paper panels, and 4 three-paper panels, Collingwood & Grey Colleges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Fowler, Swithinbank, Beecroft, Higbie, Hammond, Raynor, Reddoch, Marchand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Kenens, Crane, De Kreij, Westwood, Ingleheart, Chrabasik, Bassino, Karlsson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td>Konstantinou, Shannon, Sotiriou, Lucchesi, Mottazi, Day, Tamiolaki, Kotlinska-Toma</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:00</td>
<td>Langerwerf, Hadjimichael,</td>
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</table>

From 1pm **Self-service lunch, Collingwood Dining Hall**

1pm-2.30pm **CA Council Meeting, Collingwood Penthouse Boardroom**

**End of Conference**
DETAILS OF PANELS, SPEAKERS, AND PAPERS
(The titles of panels are listed in alphabetical order.)
(An asterisk (*) next to a panel title indicates that the panel has been specially organised for the conference)

* Akkadian Sources for Classicists
Chair: Mark Woolmer (Durham)
Sam Newington (St. Andrews)
Donald Murray (Durham)
Kathryn Stevens (Cambridge)
Johannes Haubold (Durham)

Panel Convenor: Johannes Haubold (Durham)
Feasting upon the Divine
Reframing the Barbarian – Greeks in Achaemenid Akkadian Inscriptions
Babylonian Scholarship and Hellenistic Intellectual Culture
Elephants, Bulls and Mosquitoes: Reflections on a Cross-cultural Fable

* Anabasis: The Translation of a Concept
Chair: Eran Almagor (Jerusalem)
Benjamin Raynor (Oxford)
Boris Chrubasik (Oxford)
Simon Day (Oxford)

Panel Convenor: Boris Chrubasik (Oxford)
An Heroic Proving Ground – “The East” to Alexander the Great and his Early Successors
Going into the East – The Anabasis of Seleukid kings
Eastern Commands and Roman Notions of the “East” in the Late Republic

Ancient Greek Mythography
Chair: Andrej Petrovic (Durham)
Robert Fowler (Bristol)
Ulrike Kenens (Leuven)
Ariadne Konstantinou (Jerusalem)

Panel Convenor: Boris Chrubasik (Oxford)
The Kerkopes: Herakles’ Rump, Iambos and Mythography
Greek Mythography At Work. The Story of Perseus from Phercydes to Tzetzes
Hestia and Eos: Mapping Female Mobility in Greek Myth

Ancient Near East and Greece
Chair: Kostas Vlassopoulos (Nottingham)
Krzysztof Ulanowski (Gdansk)
Lucja Zieba (Basel)
Mark Woolmer (Durham)
Hyun Jin Kim (Sydney)

Panel Convenor: Boris Chrubasik (Oxford)
The Absorption of Phoenician and Assyrian Religious Beliefs and Motifs on Cyprus in the Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Archaic Periods
Slave Trade in the Odyssey: First Literary References to Connections Between Greeks and Phoenicians
The Horns of Amon: Apotropaic Appendages on the Prows of Phoenician and Punic Ships
The Impact of Persian/Near Eastern ‘Ethnography’ on Greek Ethnography and Greek Identity

Ancient Receptions
Chair: Malcolm Heath (Leeds)
Jason Reddoch (Cincinnati)
Paola Bassino (Durham)
Melina Tamiolaki (Crete)
Donncha O’Rourke (Oxford)

Panel Convenor: Malcolm Heath (Leeds)
Heraclitus and the Polemics of Allegory
Lucian and the Lives of Homer
Satire and Historiography in Lucian’s De Historia Conscribenda. The Reception of Classical Models and the Construction of the Author’s Persona
Thucydidus under erasure in Lucretius’ account of the Athenian plague

Ancient Receptions of Virgil
Chair: Gail Trimble (Cambridge)
Nikoletta Manioti (Durham)
Yi-Chieh Chu (St Andrews)
William Gladhill (McGill)

Panel Convenor: Gail Trimble (Cambridge)
Venus the Fury and Family Ties in Flavian epic
Seneca’s Medea and Lucan’s Erinco
The Cave of the Winds in the Roman Forum: Chaos, Control, and the Aeneid in Statius’ Silvae 1

* Ancient Space, Linked Data and Digital Research
Chair: Simon Mahony (KCL)
Valentia Asciutti (KCL)
Elton Barker (OU), Leif Isaksen (Southampton), Eric Kansa (Berkeley)
Mike Jackson (Edinburgh), Gabriel Bodard (KCL)
Jo Walsh (Edinburgh)

Panel Convenor: Gabriel Bodard (KCL)
Mapping Roman Inscriptions from Britain
Google Ancient Places (GAP): Discovering historic geographical entities in the Google Books corpus
Supporting Productive Queries for Research (SPQR): the Semantic Web and Ancient Datasets
Connecting Historical Authorities with Linked Data, Contexts and Entities (Chalice)
Aristophanic Comedy
Chair: Matthew Wright (Exeter)
Sarah Miles (Durham)  Gods and heroes in comic space. A stretch of the imagination?
Florence Yoon (Oxford) Aristophanic artistry: the anonymous protagonist and the mirrored structure of Thesmophoriazusae
Katerina Mikellidou (UCL) The Intruder-scenes in Aristophanes
Marcel L. Lech (Copenhagen) Politics, Cockfights & Comic Cognition. Conceptual Metaphors in Aristophanic Comedies

*Auctoritas in the Late Roman Republic
Chair: Stephen Oakley (Cambridge)  Panel Convenor: Catherine Steel (Glasgow)
Valentina Arena (UCL) Auctoritas populi
Catherine Steel (Glasgow) Auctoritas and the Senate after Sulla
Federico Santangelo (Newcastle) The auctoritas of Priests in the Late Republic
John Bollan (Glasgow) The pontifex maximus as auctor

Blame and Praise: Rhetorical Constructs
Chair: Phillip Horky (Durham)
Ivo Volt (Tartu) Aspects of Inveotive and Denigration: Attic Orators and the Characters of Theophrastus
Trevor Fear (Open University) The Orator, the Mistress and the Poet: Cicero, Roman Elegy and the Road to Fame
Jakob Wisse (Newcastle) Humour in the Pro Caelio: Comedy or Capers?

Catullus and his Influence
Chair: Peter Heslin (Durham)
Kate Hammond (Open University) ‘Frailty, thy name is woman!’ Exploring Stereotypes in Catullus’ Portrayal of Lesbia
Jennifer Ingleheart (Durham) Speaking Names: the Significance of Naming in Catullus
Seb Momtazi (KCL) The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche: Apuleius’ Use of Catullus 64

*Cicero on Civic Unity
Chair: Catherine Steel (Glasgow)  Joint panel of the Classical Association and the American Philological Association; Convenor: Elizabeth Asmis (Chicago)
Peter Wiseman (Exeter) Cicero and the Body Politic
Ingo Gildenhard (Durham) Coping with Caesar
Joy Connolly (New York) The Dynamism of Republics
Erich Gruen (Berkeley) Cicero and the Alien

* Classics and Ecclesiastics: Classical Antiquity and Contemporary Christianity
Chair: John Moles (Newcastle)  Panel Convenor: Sebastian Matzner (KCL)
Stuart Thomson (Oxford) Between Aristotle and the Druids: Classics and the Writings of Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Canterbury
Katie Billotte (RHUL) Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople: The Greek Bishop of the New Rome in Turkey
Sebastian Matzner (KCL) Ut Christiani et Romani Sitis: Pope Benedict XVI and the Classical Tradition

Classics and the Land: African and American Receptions
Chair: Joanna Paul (Liverpool)
Barbara Goff (Reading) Niobe of the Nations: classical metaphors in the writings of nineteenth century West African nationalists
Obert Mlambo (University of Zimbabwe) The dialectics and ethics of land redistribution in ancient Rome and contemporary Zimbabwe
Nancy Shumate (Smith College) “We Know How to Work and We Know How to Pray”: Roman Agrarian Discourse in American Country Music
Barbara Weiden Boyd (Bowdoin college) The Memory of Odysseus on Madison Avenue
Collections and the Organization of Museums
Chair: Jessica Hughes (Open University)
Emmanouil Kalkanis (Durham)  Re-constructing and de-contextualizing the Antique: The Cultural Transformation of Classical Art in the Course of the Late Eighteenth Century
Jennifer Grove (Exeter)  The Greek and Roman sexual artefacts collected for the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in the early twentieth century
Anna Gustavsson (Göteborg)  Etruscans, other non-Romans and the creation of a common past in the Museo Nazionale in Rome
Kate Cooper (Cambridge)  Displaying the Greek and Roman world at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

* Creating Collective Memory in the Greek City
Chair: Robin Osborne (Cambridge)
Panel Convenor: Julia L. Shear (American School of Classical Studies)
Julia L. Shear (American School of Classical Studies)  The epitaphios and the construction of Athenian collective memory
Jessica Paga (Princeton)  The Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the contested memory of war
Nino Luraghi (Princeton)  Set in stone: making memory in Hellenistic Athens
Graham J. Oliver (Liverpool)  Epigraphical memory-change and the useful presentation of the past

Displays and Culture
Chair: Caroline Vout (Cambridge)
Johan Vekselius (Lund)  Public tears – the case of Paulus and Perseus
Ida Östenberg (Gothenburg)  Murder on display. Speech, body and emotions at Caesar’s funeral
Victoria Rimell (Rome)  The bathhouse in Seneca’s Letters: theatre, poetry, self-scrutiny
Alexei V. Zadorozhnuy (Liverpool)  Libraries and Imperial Intellectuals: kudos or copout?

Forggeries, Ancient and Modern
Chair: Phillip Horky (Durham)
Alexander Kuznetsov (Moscow)  Titulus Aemilii Regilli Reconsidered
Thorsten Focgen (Durham)  Concepts of Authorship and Forgery in Roman Technical Literature
Ilaria Ramelli (Milano)  A Pseudepigraphon Inside a Pseudepigraphon? The Seneca-Paul Correspondence and the Letters that Were Added Afterwards
Katherine East (RHUL)  Forging Cicero: how Forgeries Helped to Craft the Literary History of Cicero

Funerary Display and Identity
Chair: Graham Oliver (Liverpool)
Fabienne Marchand (Oxford)  Death and the Priestess: Temple Keys on Boiotian Funerary Monuments
Sandra Karlsson (Gothenburg)  The Correlation Between Image and Text in Hellenistic Funerary Art
Agieszka Kotlinska-Toma (Wrocław)  Is Ending a Wretched Life Pardonable? Attitudes toward Suicide in Greek Funerary Epigrams

* Gods and Landscapes: Cosmos in Flavian Epic
Chair: Victoria Rimell (Rome)
Beverly Scott (Liverpool)  ‘Mysterious Island? Peuce in Valerius Flaccus’ Argonautica
Dalida Agri (Nottingham)  Rising against the gods: Hannibal vs Capaneus. Gigantomachy and intertextuality.
Danielle Frisby (Nottingham)  ‘Drowning in poetry’: Hippomedon, Achilles and the river battle in Statius Thebaid 9

* Greek Epigraphy, 1: Three Papers on the Fifth Century and Before
Chair: P. J. Rhodes
Panel Convenor: P. J. Rhodes (Durham)
Peter Haarer (Oxford)  Writing Directions
Robin Osborne (Cambridge)  The Epigraphic Character of the Fifth Century BC
Polly Low (Manchester)  Boundaries, Territory and Power in the Athenian Empire

* Greek Epigraphy, 2: Four Papers on the Fourth Century and After
Chair: P. J. Rhodes
Panel Convenor: P. J. Rhodes (Durham)
Terry Abbott (Manchester)  Who were ‘the other secretaries’ of IG II 120?
Stephen Lambert (Cardiff)  Inscribed Athenian Decrees Honouring Athenians to 321 BC
Peter Liddel (Manchester)  Athenian Decrees Honouring Athenians in the Literary Record, 403–321 BC
Andrew Bayliss (Birmingham)  Demetrius of Phalerum: Improver of Democracy or Loathsome Tyrant?
* Greek Epigraphy, 3: Fourth-Century Epigraphy Outside Athens
Chair: Graham Oliver (Liverpool)
Aneurin Ellis-Evans (Oxford)
William Mack (Oxford)
Chris Noon (Oxford)

Panel Convenor: Aneurin Ellis-Evans (Oxford)
IG XII (2) 526: A Reassessment of the Tyrants Dossier from Eressos
L Priene 361-3: A Stele from the Other Thebes: The View from a Minor Community in Asia Minor
Script, City, and Identity in Late Fourth-Century Cyprus

Greek Historiography, Thucydides to Diodorus
Chair: Tim Rood (Oxford)
Thomas Beasley (Yale)
Daniel P. Tompkins (Temple University)
Christopher Farrell (KCL)
Shane Wallace (Edinburgh)

Panel Convenor: Brenda Griffith-Williams (UCL)
The Rhetoric of Evidence in Thucydides
The Language of Pericles
Approaching Xenophon as Rhetor: envisioning a more just Athenian hegemony
'The Freedom of the Greeks' in Diodorus Siculus' Narrative of the Successors (Books 18-20)

* Greek law, 1: Shape and uses of Athenian Laws and legislation
Chair: Mike Edwards (ICS)
David M. Lewis (Durham)
Edward M. Harris (Durham)
Mirko Canevaro (Durham)
Miklós Könczöl (Durham)

Panel Convenor: Mirko Canevaro (Durham)
Substance and Procedure in Solonian Law
Substance vs. Procedure in Athenian Law
The procedure of nomothesia and the authenticity of Dem. 24.20-3 and 33
Fairness, Definition and the Legislator's Intent: Arguments from ἐπιθέσεις in Aristotle and Hermogenes

* Greek law, 2
Chair: Edward Harris (Durham)
Christopher Carey (UCL)
Brenda Griffith-Williams (UCL)
Christos Kremmydas (RHUL)
Mike Edwards (ICS)

Panel Convenor: Brenda Griffith-Williams (UCL)
Drakon and the Athenian Law
Violence in court: law and rhetoric in Athenian and English assault cases
Law and rhetoric in Athenian paragraphai and graphai paranomōn
Rhetoric and the law at Demosthenes 29.29

Greek Lyric
Chair: Peter Agócs (Cambridge)
Alexander Beecroft (South Carolina)
Mark De Kreij (Heidelberg)
Margarita Sotiriou (Peloponnese)
Theodora A. Hadjimichael (UCL)

Panel Convenor: Oliver Thomas (Oxford)
The Sound of Silence: Pindar's Ἡσύκhia and the Aeacids in Pythians 8
The Catalogue of Ships and Ibycus' Ode to Polykrates: μέν as a Marker of Narrative Steps
Bacchylides Behind his Metamorphoses: The Poetic Identity of a Lyric Narrator in the Late 5th Century BC
From Song to Library Text: Diffusion and Transmission of Lyric

* Greek Music
Chair: Ahuvia Kahane (RHUL)
Armand D'Angour (Oxford)
Peter Agócs (Cambridge)
Thomas Phillips (Oxford)
Oliver Thomas (Oxford)

Panel Convenor: Callimachus' landscape: an ideologically-charged view of the world
Listening to Greek Music: the Sound of the Orestes Fragment
The Hyporcheme: Another Look
Singing the Dolphins: a Re-examination of PMG 939
When is a Tortoise Sexy? Gender in Greek music, especially the Homeric Hymn to Hermes

Greek Tragedy
Chair: Sarah Miles (Durham)
Efstathi Papadodima (Peloponnese)
Robin Mitchell-Boyask (Temple)
Benjamin D. Keim (Cambridge)
Styliani Papastamati (UCL)

Panel Convenor: Conceptions of dikē in Attic tragedy
Jokasta the What?
Negotiating Honour in Antigone's Athens
Kalos thanatos: the ethical and the aesthetic aspect of death in Euripides' Hecuba

Hellenistic Poetics
Chair: Ivana Petrovic (Durham)
Pavlina Saoulidou (Edinburgh)
Maria Kanellou (UCL)
Kristina Tome (Ljubljana)
Charles Campbell (Cincinnati)

Panel Convenor: Imagery Re-imagined in the Hellenistic Epigram
Drinking Poets: Water, Wine and Callimachean Inspiration
Near Writing: Antipater of Sidon and the Stylistics of Drunkenness
**Herodotus’ Reception in Antiquity and Beyond**

*Chair: Robert Fowler (Bristol)*

**Panel Convenor: Vasiliki Zali (UCL)**

- Herodotus’ Proem: Reciprocity and the Origins of International Relations
- Myth as political argument in Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon: the case Of Athens
- An Unexamined Life: Biographical Traditions about Herodotus
- Border nor Breed nor Birth. Evaluating ‘West’ and ‘East’ in pre-modern Historiography

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**Homer**

*Chair: Johannes Haubold (Durham)*

- Ahuvia Kahane (RHUL)
- Timothy Boyd (Buffalo)
- Francesca Sardi (Milo)
- Angus Bowie (Oxford)

**Panel Convenor: Marcello Nobili (Berlin)**

- Homer’s “Modernity”? Social Order and the Structure of Social Roles
- Lieder ohne Musik? Reconstructing Early Homeric Performances
- When pharmaka “pass the barrier of the teeth”. Considerations on a unique expression in Odyssey X. 328
- Enough of fairies and monsters: why we should read the second half of the Odyssey

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**Houses and Housing in the Classical World**

*Chair: Edmund Thomas (Durham)*

**Panel Convenor: Marcello Nobili (Berlin)**

- Francesca Boldrighini (Rome)
- Marcello Nobili (Berlin)

- Some aspects of the development of Imperial Palaces on the Palatine Hill
- Martial 10.51 and the Names for Houses and Villas in the Roman World

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**Identity of the Artist**

*Chair: Victoria Rimell (Rome)*

- Carl Rubino (Hamilton College)
- Lauren Knifton (Durham)
- Joana Mestre da Costa (Aveiro)
- Paul Roche (Sydney)

**Panel Convenor: Nino Luraghi (Princeton)**

- ‘And I Became a Man’: Gender Fluidity and Closure in Perpetua’s Fourth Vision
- Ephraim, the Speaker of Silence: Aspects of the Identity of the Artist
- The Gothic who fell out of a window, and other reliable witnesses
- Not Naming Names: Leander and Hero as Reflections of Exile

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**Late Antique Constructs**

*Chair: Helen King (Open University)*

- Barbara K. Gold (Hamilton College)
- Rosalind Maclachlan (Birmingham)
- Victoria Leonard (Cardiff)
- Michael S. Williams (Maynooth)

**Panel Convenor: Helen King (Open University)**

- ‘And I Became a Man’: Gender Fluidity and Closure in Perpetua’s Fourth Vision
- Eunapius on his own experience in the Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists
- Not Naming Names: Leander and Hero as Reflections of Exile
- The Gothic who fell out of a window, and other reliable witnesses

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**Linguistics and Interpretatio**

*Chair: Thorsten Foegen (Durham)*

**Panel Convenor: Nino Luraghi (Princeton)**

- Annemieke Drummen (Heidelberg)
- Athina Papachrysostomou (Patras)
- Amy Coker (Liverpool)
- Sandro La Barbera (Pisa)

- Counterfactual conditionals and unattainable wishes in Greek and Latin poetry
- Οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην: pathos through syntax in Euripides
- Aithρολογία: some aspects of the vocabulary of vulgarity in ancient Greek literature
- Wandering Hexameters

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**Memory in Archaic Greek Epic Poetry**

*Chair: Angus Bowie (Oxford)*

**Panel Convenor: Nino Luraghi (Princeton)**

- Christos Zekas (Athens)
- Juliette Harrisson (Birmingham)
- Lilah-Grace Fraser (Durham)

- Remembering Aegeus: Aspects of Divine Memory in Homer’s Odyssey
- Culturally Remembering the Mycenaeans in the Homeric Poems
- The Fable of the Hawk and the Nightingale: Hesiod’s Didactic Method

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**Memory, Oblivion, and the Construction of the Past**

*Chair: Nino Luraghi (Princeton)*

- Carolyn Higbie (Buffalo)
- Guy Westwood (Oxford)
- Michele Lucchesi (Oxford)

- Clisthenes of Sicyon and the Invention of Tradition
- Cimon’s Vanishing Act: Paradigms, Politics and Memory in Demosthenes and Aeschines
- Images, Memory, and Forgetting about the Past at Sparta in Plutarch’s Lives
Modern Receptions of Virgil  
Chair: David Scourfield (Maynooth)  
James Burbidge (Oxford)  
Andy J. Korzeniewski (Pittsburgh)  
David M. Pollio (Christopher Newport)  
The Carmen de Flattingue Proelio and Vergil's Aeneid  
Livy, Dante, and Vergilian Hope  
Charles Thomson, Vergil, and the Great Seal of the United States

New Comedy and its Reception  
Chair: Stanley Ireland (Warwick)  
Valeria Cinaglia (Exeter)  
Ruth Rothaus Caston (Michigan)  
Giuseppe Pezzini (Oxford)  
Chrysanthi Demetriou (Leeds)  
Aristotle and Menander on Character, Ethics and Human Relationships  
Power and Rivalry in Terence's Adelphoe and Seneca’s Thyestes  
The Metre of Terence  
‘Witty’ Terence: Aelius Donatus on Humour

Non Roman Italy  
Chair: Federico Santangelo (Newcastle)  
Kathryn Lomas (UCL)  
Julia Armstrong (Cambridge)  
Massimiliano Di Fazio (Pavia)  
Barbara Leone (Università del Salento)  
Inscriptions and Public Display: Cultures of Literacy in Pre-Roman Italy  
Time and Cultural Memory in Ancient Italy: the Etruscs  
Memory and Oblivion in Foundation Stories

* Out of the Mind: Madness in Ancient Greek tradition  
Chair: George Boys-Stones (Durham)  
Suzanne Stern-Gillett (Bolton & Manchester)  
Christina-Panagiota Manolea (Patras)  
Antony Makrinos (UCL)  
Poetic Mania Transformed: From Plato to Proclus  
Possessed and Inspired: Hermas on Divine Madness  
Madness in Byzantium: Eustathius’ Appropriation of Mania

* Outreach panel for CA 2011  
Chair: Eleanor O’Kell (Leeds)  
Eugénie Fernandes (Queen’s School Chester)  
Ed Bragg (Havant College)  
Cressida Ryan (Oxford)  
Ancient Languages: Schools and Universities  
Tridents, Omnibus, and ostracising Katie Price: the teaching of A level Ancient History in a 21st century sixth form college.  
Why do we (need to) give schools’ talks? The value of one-off outreach interventions

Prophecy and its Limits  
Chair: Emma Stafford (Leeds)  
Matthew Dillon (Armidale)  
Lisa Maurizio (Bates College)  
Esther Eidinow (Newman University)  
Helen Van Noorden (Cambridge)  
“Orpheus’ head, dwelling in Lesbos, lived in a cleft in the rock and gave prophetic utterances in the hollow earth”: prophetic limitation in ancient Greek divinatory beliefs  
The Memory of Wisdom: Delphi and Heraclitus  
Contested Models of the Future  
Sibylline Visions of Destruction

Reception, Translation, Interpretation  
Chair: Jennifer Ingleheart (Durham)  
Joanna Paul (Liverpool)  
Adam Foley (John Carroll University)  
Craig Hannaway (Durham)  
Vayos Liapis (Open University Cyprus)  
The Vanished Library: The End of the Classical World in Alejandro Amenábar’s Agora  
Mutilated Texts: Euripides’ Bacchae and the Dionysian Poetics of Hölderlin’s Übertragungen  
Housman on Euripides L.A. 5-6: scholarship, science, and literature  
Greek Tragedy, History, and Identity in George Seferis

* The Roman Civil Wars of the 40s BCE: Literary Representations  
Chair: Anton Powell  
Richard Westall (Rome)  
Eran Almagor (Jerusalem)  
Panel Convenors: Eran Almagor (Jerusalem), Richard Westall (Rome)  
Rethinking the Relationship of Appian to Pollio  
Plutarch’s Portrayal of Pompey’s Fall  
The influence of the historian’s point of view: the case of Nicolaus of Damascus’ Julius Caesar
Roman Elegy
Chair: Trevor Fear (Open University)
Barbara P. Weinlich (Texas Tech University)
Johan Steenkamp (NWU)
Zara Chadha (Durham)
Rebecca Cann (Open University)
What’s in a Birthday? Elegy 3.10 and Propertius’ programmatic puella
I Will Swear I Have Been Faithful For Twelve Days: Jilted Witches and Unfaithful Lovers in Propertius 3.6 and Theocritus Idyll 2
Tibullan roads

Roman Historiography
Chair: Jakob Wisse (Newcastle)
Christopher M. Simon (Yale)
Dennis Pausch (Gießen)
Louise Hodgson (Durham)
Marian Makins (Pennsylvania)
Original Etymologies and Roman Historiography
Instruction or entertainment? Livy narrates the reign of Romulus
A Call to Arms: Sallust’s Presentation of the Creation of the People as a Political Unit
Pax and Concordia in the Works of Sallust and Velleius Paterculus.
How to Remember What You’d Rather Forget: The Purpose of Battlefield Aftermath Scenes in Roman Literature

Roman Historiography and Politics
Chair: Matthew Peacock (Durham)
Hannah J. Swithinbank (indep. scholar)
Andrew Crane (Kent)
Kelly Shannon (Oxford)
Lydia Langerwerf (Nottingham)
A Call to Arms: Sallust’s Presentation of the Creation of the People as a Political Unit
Pax and Concordia in the Works of Sallust and Velleius Paterculus.
Livy’s Gossus and Augustus, Tacitus’ Germanicus and Tiberius: A Historiographical Allusion
From Catiline to Spartacus: Rebel Daring in Greek and Latin Historiography

Roman Politics
Chair: Clemence Schultze (Durham)
Jason Morris (Wellington)
Mark Phillipo (St Andrews)
Margaret Imber (Bates College)
Antonio Pistellato (Venezia)
Surveying the World of the Dictator: Decidius Saxa, Cicero, and Caesarian Rome
Mutiny on the Sucro: an examination of Scipio’s treatment of his troops in 206 BC
Controlling Precedents: The Trials of Gaius Rabirius
Gaius Sentius Saturninus, between memory and politics

Roman Religion
Chair: Steven Green (Leeds)
Michael Beer (Exeter)
Justine Wolfenden (Durham)
Nandini B. Pandey (Wooster)
Jacob L. Mackey (Stanford)
‘Guess who’s coming to dinner?’: the origins and development of the lectisternium
Epicurean expansure: Lucretius’ appropriation of terminus in De Rerum Natura
Reading Resistance into Augustus’ Palatine Complex
Roman ‘Legalism’ Reconsidered: The Augural Law between Priests & Magistrates

* Seizing the Means of Production: Open Access and the Classics
Chair: tbc
Panel Convenor: Peter Heslin (Durham)
Peter Heslin (Durham)
Malcolm Heath (Leeds)
Richard Stoneman (Exeter)
Greg Britton (J.P. Getty Trust)
Who stole Homer?
Don’t forget to seize the means of distribution, too!
Selection, protection and distribution: the role of traditional publishing
Putting the “Public” in Publication

* The Seleukids: New Approaches
Chair: Boris Chrubasik (Oxford)
Panel Convenor: Kyle Erickson (Trinity St David)
Kyle Erickson (Trinity Saint David)
Paul Kosmin (Harvard)
Gillian Ramsey (Leicester)
Alexander Meeus (Leverhulme Visiting Fellow at University of Wales TSD)
Sex and the Seleukids: The deification of Stratonike
Diaporic Imperialism: The Abandonment of Macedonia in Seleukid Ideology
Power Networks & Political Agency among non-‘Official’ Local Leaders
Seleukos in Diodorus XVIII-XX, Quellenforschung, and Seleukid historiography
* Sex, grief and death: the reception of classical women in the eighteenth-century visual art  
Chair: Paula James (Open University)  
Panel Convenor: Anastasia Bakogianni (OU)  
Katie McAfee (Cambridge)  
Anastasia Bakogianni (Open University)  
Catherine Tite (Regina, CA)  
The sexy statue: Venus’ body through eighteenth-century eyes  
Mourning becomes her: the reception of female classical figures in the eighteenth-century visual arts  
Looking at Niobe: aesthetic originality, classical imitation and eighteenth century representations

* Teaching and Publication of Classics in the Age of Internet  
Chair: Gabriel Bodard (KCL)  
Panel convenor: Simon Mahony (KCL)  
Aurélien Berra (Paris Ouest)  
Paolo Monella (Palermo)  
Stuart Dunn (KCL)  
Simon Mahony (KCL)  
A Digital Edition of Athenaeus: Defining a Rationale  
Authorship Acknowledgement in Ovid and Martial, or How to Rethink Copyright in the Digital Age  
Reception reconsidered: communicating material culture in the Internet age  
Digitizing and Enriching a Teaching Image Collection for Classics

Tending the Soul: music and medicine  
Chair: Malcolm Schofield (Cambridge)  
Jay Kennedy (Manchester)  
Tosca Lynch (St Andrews)  
Matthijs Wibier (St Andrews)  
E. Georgopouliou (Peloponnese),  
E. Kalerante (Western Macedonia),  
S. Nikolidakis (Peloponnese)  
The Musical Structures of Plato’s Dialogues  
Aulos Imagery in Plato’s Symposium: Socrates as αὐλητής and the Expulsion of the αὐλητρίς, simply a Platonic Contradiction?  
Mixed Constitution as Medical Metaphor in Plato’s Laws  
Medicine before Hippocrates: Medical Terms in the pre-Socratic Philosophers
## Details of Poster Sessions

**Saturday 16th April, 11.30-13.00, Collingwood Dining Room:**

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<td>Heba Abd-El-Gawad (Durham)</td>
<td>“Is our king manipulating us?”: Ptolemy II-Philadelphus as the Face of Ptolemaic Royal Media</td>
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<td>Anca-Cristina Dan (Paris - Athens)</td>
<td><em>Lieux de Mémoire in Lieux d'Histoire</em>: the topography of the Thracian Bosporus in Dionysius’ <em>Ἀνάπλους</em> and the <em>De Bosporo Thracio libri tres</em> of Petrus Gillius</td>
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<td>Irina Darchia (Tbilisi)</td>
<td>Memory in Plato’s Dialogues and Mystery-Religions</td>
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<td>Pia De Simone (Salerno)</td>
<td>The relationship between magic, initiation into the mysteries and knowledge in Apuleius’ <em>Metamorphoses</em> and Celsus’ <em>Alethes Logos</em></td>
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<td>Chris Ann Matteo (Loudoun County Public Schools, Virginia, USA) and Graham J. Oliver (Liverpool)</td>
<td>Teaching Inscriptions in School: Video Conferencing and the <em>Res Gestae</em></td>
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<td>Mariangela Morelli (Genova)</td>
<td>An Athenian <em>epikleros</em> on the stage: Krobyle’s ὑβρις</td>
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<td>Matthias Korn (Saxon ministry of Education)</td>
<td>Neolatin Literature in the classroom</td>
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<td>Vasiliki Kousoulini (Athens)</td>
<td>Οὐδὲ τι μαψιδίως γλυκῆα κῆνα (Alcman 3,63 PMG): The praise of the beauty of chorus leaders in Alcman’s <em>parthenia</em> and its purpose</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eleanor OKell (Leeds)</td>
<td>The End of Epic: Of Lucan’s End and Ovid’s Met., of English Verse and Kings</td>
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<td>Lindsay Powell (independent scholar)</td>
<td>Restoring a lost Roman hero: Drusus the Elder</td>
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<td>Edmund Stewart (Nottingham)</td>
<td>Travellers from Antique Lands: Wandering Poets and Players in the fifth and fourth centuries BC</td>
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<td>Nereida Villagra Hidalgo (Barcelona)</td>
<td>Authorship vs. authority in the <em>Tragodumenae</em> of Asclepiades from Tragilos</td>
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**Sunday 17th April, 11.30-13.00, Collingwood dining room:**

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<td>Benjamin Biesinger</td>
<td>Roman decadence-discourses in context (2nd c BC – 2nd c AD)</td>
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<td>Erika Cappelletto (Heidelberg)</td>
<td>Urbanization in the Western Provinces in the time of Emperor Claudius: an example in the Spanish provinces</td>
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<td>Leonardo Gregoratti (Udine)</td>
<td>Parthians in the Roman Empire</td>
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<td>Wolfgang Havener (Konstanz)</td>
<td><em>Imperator Augustus</em>. The discursive development of the Roman Emperor’s military role in the 1st century AD</td>
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<td>Inga Mantle (Open University Scotland)</td>
<td>Women of the Bardo</td>
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<td>Saskia Roselaar (Manchester)</td>
<td>Roman military training: literary evidence and practical reconstruction</td>
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<td>Aimee Schofield (Manchester)</td>
<td>Reconstructing Vitruvius’ Scorpion</td>
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<td>Heather Rae (Glasgow)</td>
<td>The politics of monstrosity</td>
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<td>Vanesa Toscano Rivera (Madrid)</td>
<td>Delphi’s memory: from the second to the first millennium B.C</td>
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<td>Marina Veksina (Berlin)</td>
<td>Visualization of Metre in Greek Inscriptions</td>
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<td>Robert J. Woodward (Sheffield)</td>
<td>Doric Temples and Polis Identity in Archaic and Classical Attica</td>
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Posters will be set up on the afternoon of Friday 15th for the first session, taking place on Saturday 16th, and on the evening of Saturday 16th for the second session, taking place on Sunday 17th; they will remain in place during the tea / coffee breaks.
**A-Z GUIDE OF SPECIALLY ORGANISED PANELS**

We include here abstracts for specially convened panels where a separate abstract for the panel as a whole was provided. Individual papers are listed in the alphabetical list of speakers.

**A-Z by panel title**

**Akkadian Sources for Classicists**  
**Panel convenor: Johannes HAUBOLD (Durham)**  
In the wake of seminal studies by Walter Burkert, Amélie Kuhrt, and Martin West among others, classicists are increasingly drawing on Akkadian sources for the study of ancient Greek literature, history and culture (e.g. *Gilgamesh*, sources about Alexander the Great). To date, much of this work has remained unknown outside a narrow circle of specialists, partly because its benefits have not always been disseminated as widely as they deserve, and partly because the relevant materials are not readily accessible. This panel aims to address both issues: first and foremost, we offer three case studies from different periods (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman), and involving different types of evidence (historiography, scholarly writings, popular wisdom literature). The aim is to illustrate, at a very practical level, what difference Akkadian sources make to our understanding of Greek literature, history and culture; and to invite classicists to take part in this exciting line of research. Beyond that, we also aim to explore the longer-term possibility of publishing a sourcebook of Akkadian texts for classicists. The panel is presented by the Centre for the Study of the Ancient Mediterranean and the Near East (CAMNE).

**Anabasis: The Translation of a Concept**  
**Panel convenor: Boris CHRUBASIK (Oxford)**  
Although it was Xenophon who, in his description of the *anabasis* of Cyrus the Younger, created the semantics of a march into the East, it was with the campaigns of Alexander III of Macedon that the concept was intrinsically linked with a successful and charismatic military leader. This panel seeks to investigate the development of this concept in the centuries which followed. B. Raynor’s paper will firstly establish a framework for the concept by examining the active development of the mythology and grandeur of eastern conquest (especially in India) by Alexander the Great’s court historians, and the rapidity and enthusiasm with which this image of the East was deployed for the political purposes of Alexander’s early successors. B. Chrubasik’s paper will pick up from this point and will analyse the development of the concept in a kingdom, which on the one hand nominally included the eastern parts, but on the other hand made significant use of the value of the “march into the upper satrapies” for the inner politics of the empire. Thus, this paper will place the concept in a new semantic framework. Finally, S. Day will consider whether this concept was translated within the different political system of the Romans in the late republic. This will involve searching for a specific concept of the “East” among Roman campaigns in general and also investigating whether individual commanders were able to appropriate notions of the “East” for political purposes. Some of the questions we hope to raise include why symbols of eastern conquest held such high political capital since Alexander the Great, how such symbols were utilized and how they were translated between cultures and systems of governance. The individual analyses will illustrate the change of semantics of an ancient concept and its adaptation for political needs according to time and space.

**Ancient Space, Linked Data and Digital Research**  
**Panel convenor: Gabriel BODARD (KCL)**  
This panel brings together four papers that take different approaches to the question of applying digital methods and technologies to the study of ancient geographical space. These methods range from automated identification of place-names and locations through pattern-matching and natural language processing, to recording and exploiting Semantic Web technologies and Geographic Information Science to enrich spacial datasets. These methods enhance research in several ways:

1. making editorial decisions and interpretative claims explicit and machine-actionable;
2. surfacing implicit relationships between publications with overlapping subject matter (places mentioned in texts, recorded archaeological find places, places of origin of persons);
3. using detailed markup for resource discovery and exploitation;
4. exploiting structure of data resources to address large-scale questions;
5. statistically mining large datasets for patterns and relationships not accessible to the human eye.

The papers and the discussion in this panel will introduce this variety of approaches to ancient space, and we hope will help to initiate new conversations and collaborations to improve our understanding of the political and physical geography of the Greco-Roman worlds.

**Auctoritas in the late Roman Republic**
*Panel convenor: Catherine STEEL (Glasgow)*

Power in the Roman Republic was formally held by the people and its magistrates, its main expression through *imperium*. But alongside was *auctoritas*: the capacity to gain assent in the absence of formal power, based on prestige, moral strength and prior experience and achievement. *Auctoritas* is a key concept in understanding how the Roman Republic worked. The four papers in this panel explore the concept in a range of different spheres: religion, popular politics, and the Senate. Our unifying concern is to understand what bestows *auctoritas*; how it is maintained and lost; and what it can accomplish.

**Cicero on Civic Unity**
*Panel convenor: Elizabeth ASMIS (Chicago)*

This is a proposal for a panel sponsored jointly by the American Philological Association and the Classical Association of Great Britain. The panel will focus on Cicero’s contribution to the issue of civic unity. Peter Wiseman’s “Cicero and the Body Politic” raises the question of how Cicero could justify the murder of Romans such as Tiberius Gracchus and Caesar. He suggests that Cicero was influenced by the notion of a “body politic”. Ingo Gildenhard will follow up in his paper “Coping with Caesar”. He will examine Cicero’s letters to see how Cicero conceptualized the political preeminence of Caesar. Among the questions that Gildenhard will address is: to what extent did Cicero view Caesar as prefiguring the rule of the emperors? In her paper, Joy Connolly views civic concord, as proposed by Cicero, “not as a static ideal but a dynamic arrangement”. She places the formation of civic unity in the context of practices that harbor antagonisms. Last, Erich Gruen will examine Cicero’s attitude toward “the other”. He suggests that his practice of both denigrating and praising non-Romans serves to reinforce a set of values that are quintessentially Roman.

**Classics and Ecclesiastics: Classical Antiquity and Contemporary Christianity**
*Panels convenors: Katie BILLOTTE (RHUL) and Sebastian MATZNER (KCL)*

It is hoped that the papers and their subsequent, contrastive discussion will illuminate how the classical tradition continues to be a shared and yet also divisive heritage, for both defenders and critics of the faith.

The relationship between Christianity and the legacy of pagan antiquity is both intricately intertwined and fraught with suspicion and animosity. Augustine of Hippo and Basil of Caesarea are exemplary exponents of the perennial debate on whether Christians should or should not engage with classical literature and thought: the former chastising himself for having wept over Vergil’s account of Dido’s death where he should have cried over the state of his soul, the latter arguing that one must “become first initiated in the pagan lore, then at length give special heed to the sacred and divine teachings”.

In our own day, advocates for both Christianity and classical antiquity struggle to uphold their claim that these continue to be the two pillars of European civilization – but do these two traditions still interact and engage with each other? The papers of this panel will examine selected writings of three contemporary leaders of Christianity (Archbishop Rowan Williams, Patriarch Bartholomew and Pope Benedict XVI) in order to elaborate how classical antiquity features in contemporary, public theological debates. Which classical texts are drawn upon? What is the discursive and argumentative status of classical references? How is the choice of texts and authors motivated – theologically, aesthetically, politically?
Creating Collective Memory in the Greek City
Panel convenor: Julia L. SHIEAR (American School of Classical Studies)
In the late twentieth century, memory turned into an obsession for contemporary society. Under this influence, remembrance and forgetting also became critical issues for contemporary scholarship across a wide range of disciplines. Scholars frequently juxtaposed individual with collective or social memory, while they also stressed that remembering was fundamentally a social activity. More recently, the transition from individual remembering to the memory of the collective group has been seen as problematic and this intersection has been described as the ‘central challenge for the study of memory’s social dimensions’ (Cubitt 2007: 133). Through four case-studies, this panel examines the creation of collective memory in the ancient Greek world and particularly the relationship of individual to collective memory. Papers discuss how these dynamics might work in the context of monumental architecture (paper 2), commemorative monuments (paper 4), the assembly (papers 1, 3, 4), inscriptions (papers 3, 4), and ritual (paper 1). These studies bring out the difficulties in constructing these social memories and the ways in which the processes can be taken over by sub-groups within the polis. Since remembering also involves the possibility of forgetting, the destruction of memory is also in play in a community’s remembering and particularly in the transition from the individual to the group. Together, these papers bring out the ways in which collective memory must be continually (re-)constructed and the roles of the individual and the group in these processes must repeatedly be renegotiated as the participants individually and collectively remember and forget.

‘Gods and Landscapes’: Cosmos in Flavian Epic
Panel convenor: Danielle FRISBY (Nottingham)
Studying cosmological aspects of epic has been important since the earliest criticism of Homeric epics. As a result, later epic poets needed to consider the landscape in which their story is set, its geography and how the gods are (or are not) involved, in order to engage with a variety of earlier literature, across a range of genres. The papers of this panel specifically consider the three Flavian epic poets’ use of intertextuality, in the way they overturn the epic landscape to reflect the turmoil of their poetry. We will discuss how the Flavian poets innovatively rework and blend common literary motifs with their own unique styles, to create compelling texts that reflect their political and poetic ideas.

Greek Epigraphy (1): three papers on the fifth century and before
Panel convenor: P.J. RHODES (Durham)

Greek Epigraphy (2): four papers on the fourth century and after
Panel convenor: P.J. RHODES (Durham)

Greek Epigraphy (3): Fourth-Century Epigraphy outside Athens
Panel convenor: Aneurin C. ELLIS-EVANS (Oxford)
Our panel looks beyond the well-documented case of fourth-century Athens to the changing uses made of epigraphy by Greek communities in the rest of the eastern Mediterranean. Our case studies from Eressos on Lesbos, Thebes at the eastern tip of Mt. Mykale, and the emerging poleis of Cyprus show how Greeks from these communities used epigraphy to articulate identity, defend privileges, and interact with their more powerful peers.

Greek law (1): Shape and uses of Athenian laws and legislation
Panel convenor: Mirko CANEVARO (Durham)
It has often been claimed that the main aim of the Athenian laws was not to provide rules shaping the conduct of individuals in daily life, but rather to provide procedures for taking to court private feuds so as to avoid violent outcomes of elite competition. The papers in this panel survey legislative procedures, scope and aims of Athenian laws, and their use in rhetorical theory, working together to tackle these assumptions from various angles. David Lewis’ and Edward Harris’ papers, through close analysis of a wide set of Athenian laws, show that Athenian legislation, from Solon to the fourth century, had always been concerned with setting rules of individual and social conduct, that is with substance rather than procedure. Mirko Canevaro’s paper reconstructs the procedure for enacting new laws in the fourth century. The aim of the procedure was that of double-checking any change in the rules of the Athenian
state, making them stable and not subject to daily political agenda. The paper also shows that the law at Dem.24.20-3, the main evidence for the procedural arrangement of the Athenian laws, is a forgery. Finally Miklós Könczől analyzes the use of laws in rhetorical discourse, from the orators to stasis theory, showing how later rhetoricians conceived of arguments for justice ‘beyond the laws’ mainly by interpreting the legislator’s (moral) intent.

Greek Law (2)
Panel convenor: Brenda Griffith-Williams

Greek Music
Panel convenor: Oliver Thomas (Oxford)

Herodotus’ reception in antiquity and beyond
Panel convenor: Vasiliki Zali (UCL)
The popularity of Herodotus’ Histories, with its fluent style and diversity of narrative material, has long been attested. Copious literary evidence suggests that Herodotus’ work was widely familiar and recognized not only in Halicarnassus, his homeland, but also in several other places. In terms of literary reception, Herodotean influence has been traced more or less explicitly in numerous texts and various literary genres. This panel aims at exploring some well-known and neglected aspects of Herodotean reception from antiquity to Byzantine and modern times. Rood discusses the reception of the prologue of the Histories in Aristophanes’ Acharnians and in modern scholarship and suggests a different line of interpretation which unveils further complexities of Herodotus’ narrative. Zali engages with the use of Athenian myths by Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, arguing for similar treatment in Herodotus and Xenophon which reflects comparable narrative strategies and historical outlook. Priestley turns her attention to the Hellenistic period and looks at the importance of biographical traditions about Herodotus for the exploration of diverse reception contexts, closely connected with regional interests. De Bakker considers pre-modern historiography; drawing upon material from Islamic and Byzantine historiography, he investigates the possible influence of the collapse of the Graeco-barbarian divide in Herodotus on the way these later writers view the opposition between ‘East’ and ‘West’.

Houses and housing in the classical world
Panel convenor: Marcello Nobili (Berlin)

Out of the mind: madness in ancient Greek tradition
Panel convenors: Christina-Panagiota Manolea (Patras and Hellenic Open University) and Suzanne Stern-Gillet (Bolton and Manchester)
Plato dealt with the theme of madness in both the Ion (533c-536d) and the Phaedrus (244b-245a, 265b-c). In the latter work he clearly distinguished the symptoms of human illness from the divinely caused madness, which actually reverses the human customary ways of behaving. He then distinguished four types of divinely-inspired madness, each of them being attributed to a certain god. Given Plato’s views on poetry, the association of madness with poetical inspiration is stimulating in itself. Moreover, the madness of the seer is a theme developed extensively in the Platonic tradition. In the panel the following subjects will be discussed: First, the reception of the Platonic discussion of madness by the Neoplatonist Hermias (5th cent. A.D.) who accepted the Platonic views, but enriched them with Neoplatonic elements in the fields of psychology, logic and metaphysics. Secondly, the way in which the Neoplatonist Proclus (411-485) adapted Plato’s concept of poetic inspiration to the Neoplatonic metaphysical framework and the further transformation brought to the Platonic and Neoplatonic concepts by Marsilio Ficino, the Renaissance humanist and philosopher. Thirdly, the ways in which Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica (12th cent.) appropriated the different forms of mania in relation with issues of Christian morality.

Outreach panel
Panel convenor: Cressida Ryan (Oxford)
Ed Bragg (Havant) focuses on primary work, while Eugénie Fernandes (Queen’s School Chester) discusses the potential for universities to collaborate with schools over language teaching. These two
both discuss sustained initiatives, while Cressida Ryan (University of Oxford) turns to examine the value of the one-off intervention. The aim of this panel is to reflect on the broad picture of Classics outreach with respect to the British education system. What challenges do we face, what is needed, and how are these criteria changing? Such questions have become particularly important with the advent of a new government and a heavy recession, and we hope to present some suggestions for ways forward.

The Roman Civil Wars of the 40s BCE: Literary Representations
Panel convenors: Richard Westall (Rome) and Eran Almagor (Jerusalem)
Traditionally the Roman civil wars of the 40s BCE are represented either as the end of the Republic or the beginning of the Principate, and only rarely is the subject approached for its own sake. Such teleological interpretations have resulted in uneven treatment (e.g. Syme 1939) or unhelpful chronological divisions (e.g. CAH 9-10) even in the most brilliant and standard works addressed to those subjects. One consequence has been comparative neglect of the period’s historiography. While recent work upon Caesar (Cairns and Fantham 2003, Riggsby 2006), Plutarch (Pelling 2002), and Appian (Bucher 2000, Carsana 2007) points to a renewed interest in the sources for this period, more specific reassessment of the historiography is required if the traditional paradigm is to be abandoned. Elucidating how this period is constructed in examples furnished by specific texts, this panel aims to illustrate the gains to be had from applying methodological advances in textual analysis to the surviving literary sources. Narratological and structural analysis highlight the fact that Plutarch’s focus upon the character of Pompey is informed by the idea that the general’s Life could also be seen as a metaphor for the demise of the Republic. Linguistic and structural analysis provide new insights into the creation of the Bellum Alexandrinum and its reliance upon Thucydides as a literary model. An analysis of Appian’s references to the figure of Pollio results in a clearer understanding of the limited use that this Imperial historian made of his Republican predecessor.

Seizing the Means of Production: Open Access and the Classics
Panel convenor: Peter Heslin (Durham)
Classicists sometimes pride themselves on being au fait with technological developments, at least compared to some areas in the humanities. It is true that Classics, with a relatively small and well-defined canon of texts and objects, was an early adopter of digitisation. This early enthusiasm has not, however, been matched by an equal interest in ensuring that these artifacts and the products of our research on them should be as widely available as possible. The Open Access movement is dedicated to ensuring that primary sources and secondary scholarship are available for all to use freely. This panel will try to start a discussion about what Classicists can do to ensure that our common cultural patrimony and our publicly funded research are freed from unnecessary, unfair and unethical restrictions.

Four speakers will address the issues around Open Access from diverse angles. Peter Heslin, who has for many years distributed free, open source Classics software, will speak on the importance of moving to textual and visual primary sources distributed with Open Access licenses. Malcolm Heath, who has written and spoken widely on the subject and has been involved in the AHRC’s deliberations over Open Access, will speak on the topic of self-archiving and the ways that scholars can ensure the widest dissemination of their own work. Richard Stoneman, the immediate past president of the CA, who has a vast amount of experience in the publishing industry, will speak about the value added by publishers and the ways that traditional publishing models may need to adapt in response to the changing expectations of readers. Greg Britton will present his experience at a non-commercial press.

The Seleukids: New Approaches
Panel convenor: Kyle Erickson (Trinity Saint David)
The interaction between the Near Eastern and Greek worlds has come under increasing academic scrutiny in recent years, and the Seleukid empire provides one of the more interesting vehicles for this area of study. Their territorial empire, created piecemeal in the aftermath of Alexander’s death, relied on interaction between the Graeco-Macedonian elite and the various native populations which they came to rule. Seleukid dominance had significant implications for the local political and religious structures which were forced to adapt to new leadership. This panel will explore the networks and structures that were
created or absorbed in the creation of Seleukid space. The papers will combine literary, historical and archaeological evidence to explore how the Seleukids created, maintained and lost their empire.

Sex, grief and death: the reception of classical women in the eighteenth-century visual arts
Panel convenor: Anastasia BAKOGIANNI (The Open University)
The long eighteenth-century (1688-1832) is an important watershed in the reception of Graeco-Roman culture. The impact of the growing popularity of classical antiquity in this period was felt across all sections of European society. The excavations at Herculaneum (1738) and Pompeii (1748) stimulated interest in ancient material culture, while at the same time art critics and theorists promoted the idea that the best way to produce art was by the imitation of ancient models.
This panel focuses on gender in the eighteenth century and the subtle ways in which the issue is tied up with changes in the appreciation of the ancient visual arts. The representation of classical women in the visual arts of the period propagated contemporary gender identities and roles. On the surface it reinforced the divide between the sexy Venus and the devoted Penelope. At the same time these categories proved both problematic and unstable. This panel will explore the representation of gender in eighteenth century with a particular focus on the dialogue between the classical and the modern.
Katie McAfee will discuss eighteenth-century opinions about ancient visual representations of women, while Anastasia Bakogianni will look at contemporary visual representations of ancient women, and Catherine Tite will combine both approaches. The emphasis will be on perceptions of gender at that time and how this is linked with developments in art and art appreciation in this period.

Teaching and Publication of Classics in the Internet Age
Panel convenor: Simon MAHONY (KCL)
This panel brings together scholars with an interest in using digital approaches and technologies to address issues in teaching, publication and the dissemination of Classical texts and materials. They each explore different ways in which new technologies and the opportunities offered by the Internet and the Web encourage new ways of thinking about traditional research as well as addressing new issues that the use of these technologies themselves raise. The Web 2.0 and social media facilitate the possibilities of new relationships between user and content, viewer and object, reader and text. How does this affect the way we work and the way we relate to the objects of our study? What can it mean for an edition to be fully digital and really critical? In what way is the traditional sense of how culture is transmitted and understood changed when it is transmitted digitally and more broadly by means of the Web? How might the users of an image collection be able to shape and enrich it to better suit their needs? Can the framework of the sophisticated Roman literary world be used to model a support network for acknowledgement, dissemination and support of text in the digital age?
PAPER ABSTRACTS

Terry ABBOTT (Manchester)
Who were ‘the other secretaries’ of IG II¹ 120?
IG II¹, 120, the decree on the inventory of treasures stored in the Chalkotheke (353/2 BC) is unusual for several reasons. Firstly, it contains both the designations *grammateus* of the *boule*, and *grammateus kata prytaneian*, two designations that are believed to refer to the same official, and that are nowhere else used within the same inscription to refer to the same man. Secondly, it contains an unusual level of detail, describing the complex procedure of documenting the treasures stored in the Chalkotheke, and the various officials who are charged with stages in this process. Among the officials recording these treasures are the *grammateus* of the *boule*, a public slave (*demosios*), and ‘the other secretaries in charge of state documents’ (*τοὺς άλλους γραμματέας τοὺς ἐπί τοῖς δημοσίοις γράμμασιν*), whose precise identities and official designations are uncertain. It is the combination of level of detail and variation or imprecision in official terminology in this inscription that makes the text both exciting and potentially problematic.
With reference to other inscriptions and ancient sources, this paper attempts to answer the question of who these ‘other secretaries’ were, and what their duties comprised.

Peter AGÓCS (Cambridge)
The Hyporcheme: Another Look
Late testimonia show that the Alexandrian editions of Bacchylides and Pindar each contained a book of odes known as *hyporchēmata*, ‘songs for dancing’. A few fragments of these survive. The term, which seems to have been current in the song culture, seems to imply an elaborate song-dance performance of a lively, masculine character. The testimonia describe performance in sacred contexts, but at least one Pindaric hyporcheme (fr. 105-6 S-M) was a praise-poem. But it is difficult to disentangle a notion of genre from the sparse fragments and testimonia. This paper will examine why this is, suggesting possible avenues of interpretation. Building on earlier discussions and recent scholarship on other lyric *eidē*, this paper will survey the evidence for the hyporcheme, concentrating especially on the reasoning which led Alexandrian critics and modern editors to assign particular poems and fragments to this genre.

Dalida AGRI (Nottingham)
Rising against the gods: Hannibal vs Capaneus. Gigantomachy and intertextuality.
In this paper, I will discuss Statius’ passage in which Capaneus challenges Jupiter in *Thebaid* 10 and his Flavian intertextual counterpart, Hannibal, whose assault on Rome, in Silius’ *Punica* 12, is viewed as a war waged against the Roman father of gods. Both Statius and Silius Italicus are believed to have written their epic more or less at the same time. It is also probable that they were aware of each other’s work through public readings of their poetry. Thematic and verbal similarities between the two passages under study present gigantomachy, poetic madness and *virtus*-based heroism as sites of intertextual oppositions, contests or endorsements. The aim of this paper is to explore how these interactions shape each poet’s re-writing of the models lurking behind their respective character, potential readings of the character’s (un)conscious relationships with his own models and metatextual strategies. Each character threatens to overturn the cosmic order, and is associated with the gigantomachic imagery so important in Hardie’s reading of the *Aeneid*. Capaneus and Hannibal, therefore, offer an opportunity to reflect on Statius’ and Silius’ geopolitical engagement with Vergil.

Eran ALMAGOR (Jerusalem)
Plutarch’s Portrayal of Pompey’s Fall
Shortly after Pompey celebrates his third triumph in 61 BC, Plutarch intervenes and asserts (*Pomp.* 46.1) that it would have been better had he ended his life then, up to which point he had enjoyed the good fortune of Alexander. This juncture, presented by Plutarch as Pompey’s *acme*, opens another phase in his life, one of decline, defeat, misfortune and fall (chapters 46-80). While this section has been treated by a few scholars, the several threads treated in the *Life*, such as Pompey’s inability to contain his passions (48.8-12), his ambition (57.7-8, 66.6, 67.7-9, 68.3, 70.6) and the role of fortune in
his downfall (53.8-9, 75.4-5) have not yet been taken together to create a comprehensive picture of the man and his political situation. The link between his internal character traits and political habits in the city has yet to be fully explored. This paper studies the way a later Imperial Greek author portrays Pompey’s defeat in conjunction with the changed constitution and political framework of Rome and seeks to explore the possibility that the depiction of Pompey’s self-destruction and eventual fall are shown, if not explicitly stated, to be a political metaphor for the demise of the Roman Republic.

Valentina ARENA (UCL)

Auctoritas populi

The phrase auctoritas populi can refer to the people as a whole (becoming almost coterminous with maestas populi) or to a section of the population distinct from the senate (often as an oratorical appeal for support). However, the notion of auctoritas populi also appears in legal texts, where it is applied with a distinctively clear juridical force. This paper will review the situations where auctoritas populi appears to confer legal validity and then assess how and in what ways its operation can be understood. The results of this investigation will clarify our understanding of auctoritas and its role within the ideological traditions of Rome.

Julia ARMSTRONG (Cambridge)

Orientalizing Picenum: the (un)importance of imports in the case of Matelica

In the late-19th and early-20th centuries, ancient Picenum, located along the mid-Adriatic coast of Italy, was viewed by scholars as a cultural backwater. The apparent lack of Greek contacts and imports in this region during the Early Iron Age led to the characterization of Picenum as uncivilized. While more recent studies have shown that the Adriatic was indeed frequented by Greeks, a relatively low number of foreign imports remains one of the most intriguing aspects of the area. Increasing pan-Mediterranean contacts throughout the Early Iron Age resulted in a 7th-6th century BC elite Orientalizing koine. Burial evidence from Matelica in Picenum reveals that the site was an active member of this koine, but that almost every ‘foreign’ object found is a locally made imitation, suggesting that Matelica remained part of a Mediterranean-wide elite culture with scarce evidence for direct foreign contact. By reflecting on the site’s local interpretation of the pan-Mediterranean Orientalizing koine, and by comparing it with contemporary sites in Picenum and Italy, this paper will consider what the example of Matelica suggests about the nature of foreign trade and commodity consumption in Early Iron Age Italy.

Valentina ASCIUTTI, Stuart DUNN (KCL)

Mapping Roman Inscriptions from Britain

With this paper we shall combine epigraphic, iconographical and geographical data in order to fully analyze the metrical texts from Britannia, trace their history of discovery and pose questions relating to the status of literacy in Roman Britain. Despite their paucity, the inscribed poems from Britannia vary a lot from each other in terms of findspot, date, type and metre. Our analysis traces the history of discovery of the texts, illustrated by a set of maps that show the different stages and locations of the texts throughout time. Thus we analyze the texts as well as “draw” the history of their discovery through the creation of maps. The texts are geo-tagged by linking the tables containing the transcriptions to an output table of the GeoNames database (http://www.geonames.org/). This automatically ascribes both a unique ID to each entry, and also latitude-longitude coordinates. The resulting relational dataset is easily exportable to KML, where further visualizations and (non-semantic or linguistic) analysis is possible. This paper outlines some high-level research problems arising from epigraphic research on Roman Britain, and suggests how a richer understanding of this material can be gained by geographically tagging and representing it.

Anastasia BAKOGIANNI (Open University)

Mourning becomes her: the reception of female classical figures in the eighteenth-century visual arts

The portrayal of female grief was a popular motif in the visual and decorative arts of the long eighteenth-century (1688-1832). Scenes of mourning featuring classical female figures proved both
popular and commercially viable in eighteenth-century art. Women were viewed as creatures ruled by their emotions during this period. Scenes where they display powerful emotions such as grief and love abound in the visual arts of the time. This pattern was reinforced by the cult of sentimentality that sought to draw in the spectators and to involve them emotionally in the plight of the female protagonists depicted.

In 1772 the British Museum enlarged its classical antiquities collection by the purchase of 730 antique vases. Their acquisition helped to improve the understanding of British scholars of the material culture of the ancient world. Their display at the museum and their reception by the artists of the eighteenth century played a significant role in the Greek revival and its impact on contemporary British culture. Using representative case studies this paper seeks to explore the appropriation of ancient motifs and its impact on the portrayal of female grief in the visual and decorative arts of the long eighteenth-century.

Elton BARKER (Open University), Leif ISAKSEN (Southampton), Eric C. KANSA (Berkeley)

Google Ancient Places (GAP): Discovering historic geographical entities in the Google Books corpus

Google has so far digitized over 12 million books in over 300 languages, most of which were previously available only in major libraries. The amount of data now available to the researcher is enormous, but frankly bewildering.

Google Ancient Places (GAP) aims to mine the Google Books corpus for classical material that has a geographic and historical basis. Current services are extremely powerful in their extent but have a high rate of false positive and negative matches due to the problems of toponymic homonyms and synonyms (different places that share names, and single places with multiple names). We believe that leveraging services such as GeoNames and Pleiades, along with metadata such as the location of other places in the text, should significantly reduce misidentifications.

This paper will explore the use of GAP in two specific research domains, archaeology and Classics. It will show how GAP can be a utility both for the scholar whose research has a historical or geographical basis, and for the tourist, for instance, wanting to download information on an ancient location to their smartphone – a case of literally putting knowledge into people’s hands.

Paola BASSINO (Durham)

Lucian and the Lives of Homer

In this paper I shall analyse the treatment of the Homeric biographies in Lucian, True History II, 20, with special attention to the claim that Homer was Babylonian and his original name was Tigranes.

By making Homer a Babylonian, Lucian alludes to the school of Crates of Mallos (Georgiadou and Larmour 1998), according to which Homer was a Chaldaean (Sch. ad A 591 and Ψ 79b Erbse). By ridiculing also Aristarchus (who was himself involved in the biographical debate on Homer, see sch. ad N 191) this passage becomes a parody of ancient Homeric scholarship more generally and of the biographical debate itself. More specifically, I argue that the name Tigranes is coined on the model of Melesigenes, Homer’s ‘real’ name in many ancient biographies. In these texts, Homer was said to have been born on the banks of the river Meles in Smyrne, and consequently to have been named Melesigenes. The name Tigranes recalls the river Tigris: the ‘new’ real name of Homer is connected to the river flowing by his ‘new’ birthplace, Babylon.

True History II, 20 exemplifies Lucian’s awareness of and attitude towards the ancient biographies, and assumes equal knowledge and sophistication in his readers.

Andrew BAYLISS (Birmingham)

Demetrius of Phalerum: Improver of Democracy or Loathsome Tyrant?

Demetrius of Phalerum claimed that he had ‘improved democracy’ during his decade-long spell (317–307 BC) as Cassander’s ‘manager’ (epimeletes) of Athens. Contemporary Athenians (most notably the Arthdopgrapher Philochorus) disagreed, accusing Demetrius of ‘overthrowing the demos’, and dismissing his reign as that of a tyrant. Modern commentators have traditionally followed the views of Demetrius’ opponents, casting Demetrius as a puppet ruler for a
Macedonian imposed oligarchy. But in the last decade there have been two major attempts to paint Demetrius’ regime as democratic.

The epigraphical output of Demetrius’ regime is central to these two recent attempts to defend Demetrius’ regime: on the strength of the small number of extant decrees from Demetrius’ regime, it has been argued that the basic democratic procedures remained unaltered, and that these decrees bear none of the ‘irregularities’ we would expect from an oligarchy; a deme decree from Aexone honouring Demetrius has been employed as evidence that Demetrius was not imposed on the Athenians by Cassander, but rather that the Athenians themselves selected Demetrius as their ‘manager’; and epigraphical evidence has even been found to support the contention that Demetrius did not abolish liturgies.

This paper will re-examine the key epigraphical material relating to Demetrius’ regime, and a small number of inscriptions from the democratic regimes that preceded and followed it, in order to reappraise Demetrius’ regime. It will be contended that the extant decrees have significant ‘irregularities’ that are incompatible with democracy, that the Aexonian deme decree confirms Demetrius’ extraordinary role as Cassander’s puppet, and that the epigraphical evidence should be seen to indicate that Demetrius did in fact abolish liturgies. Consequently, this paper will contend that, contrary to recent claims, Demetrius’ regime was decidedly oligarchic.

Thomas Beasley (Yale)
The Rhetoric of Evidence in Thucydides
This paper argues that a consistent and idiosyncratic logic underlies Thucydides’ use of τεκμήριον and σημεῖον in the Archaeology. Thucydides subsumes these terms into the same aural / visual antithesis which he uses to differentiate the works of the poets/logographers from his own history. Previous studies have generally been unable to detect a coherent system governing Thucydides’ use of evidential terminology. However, by limiting the investigation to the Archaeology, a clear pattern emerges. Thucydides uses τεκμήριον and τεκμηριόω of aural evidence exclusively, and σημεῖον for visual proofs alone. This usage extends to the passage following the Archaeology (1.20-21), where Thucydides continues to characterize τεκμήρια as aural (εἰρημένων) and σημεῖα as visual (ἐπιφανεστάτων). This antithesis coincides meaningfully with Thucydides’ treatment of the reliability of his evidence. Although in the passages bookending the Archaeology Thucydides employs both terms comprehensively of the Archaeology’s evidence, he reserves τεκμήριον for expressions of doubt or qualified trust, and uses σημεῖον only at the moment of greatest evidential confidence. Thucydides’ rhetoric of evidence can thus be seen to operate according to a polemical logic not unlike the way he defines his own achievement: not a competition-piece for the immediate bearing, but an eternal possession.

Alexander Beecroft (South Carolina)
The Sound of Silence: Pindar’s Hésukhia and the Aeacids in Pythian 8 in Political Context
The reading of Pythian 8, composed in honor of the Aeginetan wrestler Aristomenes, which can be fairly securely dated to 446 BC, and thus happens to represent the last datable work by Pindar, has been the site of contention between structuralist and political interpretations of Pindar. The situation of this ode at the culmination of the first Peloponnesian War, and at the signing of the Thirty Years’ Peace with Sparta suggests that the political context of this ode will be more than usually significant. There is evidence to suggest that Aegina may have briefly slipped out of Athenian control, neglecting to pay tribute; for the first time since the Athenian takeover, Aegina was also able to send youths to compete in the Panhellenic athletic competitions. By the time that the victory ode would have been performed in the fall, this brief period of change and instability seems to have come to a close. The performance context, in other words, seems ripe for a political interpretation of the poem, a tendency reinforced by the poem’s opening invocation of Tranquility, Hesychia. Less explored has been the possible political dimension of the immediately following passage, the famous priamel, which raises the mythological topos of the Aeacids, only to disclaim it, citing a lack of leisure (skholê) to discuss this long story (makragoria). Building on existing work on the role of silences and omissions in lyric, I argue instead that Pindar’s avoidance of the Aeacids in this poem is intended to mediate between Athenian and Aeginetan mythical
allegiances, and to subsume local traditions within a Panhellenic narrative suitable for an era of proclaimed peace.

Michael BEER (Exeter)
‘Guess who’s coming to dinner?’: the origins and development of the lectisternium.
It has been suggested by some scholars that the ritual of the lectisternium, the supplicatory ceremony that involved a banquet dedicated to the gods, was merely a development of the Greek procedure of theoxenia, and was but an example of cultural plagiarism and the gradual and increasing Hellenisation of Roman culture. It is the contention of this paper that such a view distorts the true nature of this ritual, which, although displaying some signs of Greek influence, had definite roots in Latin religious experience, and is sufficient to deem the lectisternium a significant Roman religious phenomenon in its own right. The paper will consider the introduction of the ritual as a specific response to emergency circumstances (rather than a demonstration of the gradual encroachment of Greek culture), its similarity to autochthonous Roman cultural practices and the elements of the ritual that rendered it a separate and dissimilar entity to the Greek phenomenon. This will demonstrate that the lectisternium was no mere transplantation of Greek forms of worship into a Latin context and was, in fact, a Roman aboriginal phenomenon; a clear landmark in the development of Roman religious consciousness.

Aurélien BERRA (Paris-Ouest) and Matteo ROMANELLO (KCL)
A Digital Edition of Athenaeus: Defining a Rationale
The scholars who study and influence the shape of digital things to come often see our period as an incunabular stage. Such a reference to the beginnings of print evokes the spirit of Renaissance textual scholarship, an age of explorations which set the ground for current philological practices. As scholars, libraries and publishing houses grope towards new models and work-flows, the deeply codified process of preparing a critical edition has to be adapted and in many respects reinvented. The purpose of this paper is to discuss some crucial issues of this renewed process in terms of method, updatability, collaboration, transparency and accessibility: what can it mean for an edition to be fully digital and really critical? This reflection stems from a survey of existing projects and explores initial choices for a digital edition of Athenaeus’ Deipnosophists, which potentially enables a better handling of this composite text, a different evaluation of its manuscript tradition, quantitative and automatic analyses, and an efficient approach to embedded speeches and intertextual phenomena. Other central concerns are the evolution of the critical apparatus, the applicability of the Text Encoding Initiative models, the linking of resources and the problems of dual and open source publication.

Katie BILLOTTE (RHUL)
Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople: The Greek Bishop of the New Rome in Turkey
While the 1989 hit “Istanbul (Not Constantinople)” claims that the change in Istanbul’s nomenclature is “nobody’s business but the Turks,” there are plenty of non-Turks concerned about the city on the Bosporus. The Patriarchate of the Greek Orthodox Church is a remnant of the time when Istanbul was Constantinople and serves as a reminder of what that city’s long and complicated history means in the present. Patriarch Bartholomew I and his church see themselves as heirs to and guardians of not only the heritage of ancient Christianity but also the legacy of Hellenic civilisation in Asia Minor. Appeals to the Classical past have proven particularly important in the Patriarch’s rhetorical support of both these claims. This paper will focus on the use of Classical references in the letters, encyclicals, and sermons of Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople and seek to understand how these references are used for both ecclesiastic and secular politics. I will examine the various contexts in which the Patriarch utilises Classical themes and explore how this pattern of deployment reflects his dual role as the spiritual leader of Greek Orthodox Christianity as well as the ethnarch of the 2,500 ethnic Greeks still living in Turkey.
Francesca BOLDRIGHINI (Rome)

Some Aspects of the Development of Imperial Palaces on the Palatine Hill

My paper explores some aspects of the historical and political development of the most important imperial mansions built on the Palatine Hill in Rome: from Augustus’ private house, fairly modest and relatively small in size, to the palace projected by the architect Rabirius for the Flavian emperors. It will be shown how these buildings represent both a “synthesis” of the private architecture of that age, and a model for nearly all the later public palaces, not only in Roman times: the Domus Flavia, the first residence we know to show a clear separation of the public area from the private dwelling sector, was used as a model for the residences of the aristocracies up to recent times. It is especially meaningful to follow the evolution undergone by the Latin name of the hill, Palatium, that, perhaps already in the early Augustan era, came to be referred to any imperial or public palaces, not only those on the Palatine Hill. The last section of my paper will try to elucidate the meaning of a few special names that the tradition attributes to parts of such houses - there seems to be evidence for a Syracusae in Augustus’s house, and perhaps a Sicilia in the Domus Flavia - and to understand their connection with their architectural setup.

John BOLLAN (Glasgow)

The pontifex maximus as auctor

According to Varro, Quintus Mucius Scaevola (pontifex maximus from 89 – 82 B.C.) held that the word pontifex derived from posse and facere. Scaevola’s favoured etymology implied, if not outright power, then at least the ability to act in a way that others could not. His power flowed from his office: but its use depended on the holder and on circumstance. Perhaps more so than any other office in the late Republic, the pontificatus maximus underwent a series of transformations – some at the instigation of the chief priest himself, others in response to the vicissitudes of city politics – which mirrored the changes affecting the state as a whole. This paper will explore the nature of the auctoritas of the late republican pontifices maximi, arguing that these custodians of Rome’s religious law changed the grammar of the ‘rituals, assumptions and performances’ of power (Hölkeskamp 2010: 55) and became the authors of newly-coined language – fresh compounds of sacro-political actions.

Angus BOWIE (Oxford)

Enough of fairies and monsters: why we should read the second half of the Odyssey.

This is a contribution to the gradual rehabilitation of this part of the poem lie. It focusses on the composition of complex scenes, not so much by theme or type-scene which have been much discussed, but by what one might call ‘compositional nuclei’, simple ideas which either link the narrative through being repeated in a variety of different guises in significant places, or generate the power of the scenes where they are employed when repeated in a smaller compass. Aesthetics as well as composition will be involved therefore. The paper shows how these simple elements are combined to create scenes of psychological depth, pathos, comedy etc. It will combat the notion that the long episodes and conversations which give the second part its leisurely pace are strung out unnecessarily.

Barbara WEIDEN BOYD (Bowdoin College)

Odysseus’ Return on Madison Avenue

The tradition of ancient epic associated with nostos mines a rich vein of human longing to stabilize one’s place in the world and affirm one’s identity. The desire to return, a powerful emotion in a world of contingent realities and shifting identities, has long been exploited by the modern advertising industry, using the past, and the memories associated with it, to anchor the present in nostalgia.

The critically successful television series Mad Men simultaneously exploits and deconstructs the trope of nostalgic advertising: the series depicts a past that is both a perfect and a problematic simulacrum of an era embracing modernity and its alienating effects in the aftermath of war. The past isolates Mad Men’s central character, the advertising executive Don Draper, who finds himself, like Homer’s Odysseus, a status warrior in peacetime. In his search to create a stable reality for himself, Draper hides his true identity from almost everyone he meets; as with
Odysseus, Draper’s lie is the source of his success in competition with rivals, but also has the potential to destroy him.

This talk considers *Mad Men* as a contemporary reception of the *Odyssey*, focusing on the intersection of *nostos* and identity in the characters of Odysseus and Draper.

**Timothy BOYD (Buffalo)**

**Lieder ohne Musik? Reconstructing Early Homeric Performances**

In Book 8 of the *Odyssey*, the singer, Demodocus, performs on a number of occasions: singing first (75-91), about a quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus, second (266-369), about the snaring of Aphrodite and Ares by Hephaistos, third—presumably—(370-380) accompanying two Phaecians in a dance, and last (492-520), once more singing, this time about the making of the Trojan Horse. It has long been customary to assume that this is a portrait of the makers of the *Odyssey* itself, aoidoi or rhapsodes, but, prompted by the second and third musical occasions, I would suggest that Demodocus may represent something different, the equivalent of a kind of medieval minstrel, who, on the one hand, can produce lyric, but, on the other, can strike up a tune for a dance. His song about Aphrodite and Ares, for example, is not a straight narrative—like the *Odyssey* itself—but what appears to be choral song, perhaps in the style of those folk dances in which one singer/dancer sings the verses and all join in with the repetitive chorus (8.262-265). If this is the case, then the verses we read would be a dactylic “translation” of what Demodocus is actually doing, turned from lyric to epic narrative form to match the rest of the poem. And, if this is so, might we then see Demodocus’ first and last performances in the same way, not as epic narrative, but originally as lyrical versions of stories, of the sorts told by Sappho in the fragment of the wedding Hector and Andromache, or Pindar in many of his odes?

With this as premise, this paper looks at epic narrative performers not as men with lyres, but as men like Ion in Plato’s dialogue, elaborately dressed reciters, using material from epic cultures around the world and through time to try to see not what Demodocus is doing, but how the singer narrating Demodocus’ songs may be singing (or not) Demodocus’ performance.

**Edward Bragg (Havant College)**

**Tridents, Omnibus, and ostracising Katie Price: the teaching of A level Ancient History in a 21st century sixth form college.**

The teaching of A level Ancient History to large, mixed ability classes poses a range of challenges to a teacher in a modern sixth form college. How does one prepare students for AS exams in 9 months who have little to no knowledge of the ancient world? How does one teach the essential skills of thematic essay writing to students, who though they have attained a grade C or above at GCSE English, have never written an essay before? How does one create a learning environment which allows over-stimulated teenagers to read and analyse a tricky section of Thucydides quietly and uninterrupted for 15 minutes? How can lessons be organized for large, mixed ability classes that challenge both potential Oxbridge candidates and those students just hoping to achieve a pass at AS level? Teachers in sixth form colleges are, above all, finding themselves immersed in the ongoing quest to find a balance between ensuring the students cover the requirements of the A level syllabus and taking on board the drive from senior management teams and advanced practitioners to enliven the ‘leaner environment’ with ITC and other modern techniques. My paper aims to address some of these challenges and provide a few practical solutions. It will also explain how tridents, the journal Omnibus, and the ostracism of Katie Price can invigorate lessons without dumbing down.

**Greg BRITTON (J.P. Getty Trust)**

**Putting the “Public” in Publication**

Scholars, librarians, and publishers can agree on one central premise: to be relevant scholarship must be made accessible. Open Access promises to provide a way to meet that shared objective, but achieving that goal is not so simple. Scholars hope for wide dissemination, influence, and permanence. Librarians wish for good metadata, one-stop shopping, low costs, and access without restriction. Publishers have traditionally offered these — but for a price. Each of these stakeholders brings something to the equation. There are real costs associated with publication, however, and
traditionally, these have been offset by sales revenue. What happens when that disappears? Is it possible to dispense with publishers entirely?

In spite of these challenges, Open Access has gained traction among scholarly publishers in the United States. As reading habits, technology, and expectation change, how can publishers, scholarly institutions, and funding agencies adapt their business models in ways that allows open access to be truly open?

James Burbidge (Oxford)
The Carmen de Hastigae Proelio and Vergil’s Aeneid

The Carmen de Hastigae Proelio is an eleventh (or possibly twelfth) century Latin poem, written mainly in elegiac couplets, 835 verses in length. It is regarded by many as the earliest surviving source for William the Conqueror’s invasion of southern England in 1066; consequently it has been of great interest to historians. But its literary qualities have attracted little attention, and certainly less than they deserve. I shall briefly introduce this unfamiliar text, and try to demonstrate why it is worthy of attention as a work of literature. In particular I shall examine its allusive relationship to Vergil’s Aeneid. Vergil’s influence on the Carmen has been recognized ever since its composition; but the dynamism of the medieval poem has not been sufficiently acknowledged. The Carmen’s appropriations of Vergilian material contribute both to its artistic texture and to its ideological thrust. I shall be especially concerned with the latter. I shall demonstrate how the Carmen strategically deploys allusion to the second half of the Aeneid, and explore the panegyrical significance of these allusions (which serve to align William with the great conqueror and nation-founder Aeneas). I shall also consider whether such allusion imports something of the ethical complexity of the Aeneid into the Carmen.

Charles Campbell (Cincinnati)
Neat Writing: Antipater of Sidon and the Stylistics of Drunkenness

The second-century BC Greek epigrammatist Antipater of Sidon composed an extraordinary number of epigrams—some fifteen or more—about famous poets of the past. Previous scholarship on these epigrams has grouped them according to the poet or genre of poetry they involve (Chirico 1981, Barbantani 1993, Bolmarcich 2002). In this paper, I propose instead to read them all together as a cohesive group with, moreover, a coherent programmatic purpose. Through a comparison of the epigrams with (very roughly) contemporary prose treatises on literary and oratorical style, I will attempt to establish a parallel between Antipater’s poet-epigrams and the systems of stylistic categorization developed by Hellenistic critics and rhetoricians. Antipater’s poet-epigrams, then, create a kind of matrix of poetic or, more precisely, stylistic possibilities. Within this matrix, Antipater aligns himself with the archaic lyricist Anacreon, whose “drunken” style Antipater seeks to distill (if you will) and recreate in his own poetry. I will conclude by relating this poetic stance of Antipater’s to those of his predecessors—particularly Callimachus—and his most famous successor, Meleager.

Mirko Canevaro (Durham)
The procedure of nomothesia and the authenticity of Dem. 24.20-3 and 33

The paper argues that the laws quoted in Demosthenes’ Against Timocrates (24.20-3 and 33) are post-classical forgeries that do not provide reliable information about fourth-century nomothesia. A reconstruction of this process is drawn instead from Demosthenes’ accounts of the procedure in this speech and in that Against Leptines. Nomothesia has been surveyed in recent years by MacDowell 1975, Hansen 1980 and 1985 and Rhodes 1984. There is no consensus however about the procedure. The disagreement is due to the difficulty of fitting the evidence of the two laws quoted in the Against Timocrates with the information provided in the speeches. The authenticity of these documents has not been disputed since Drerup 1898.

In this paper I take a fresh look at Dem. 20.89-94 and 24.20-35, and show how their accounts of nomothesia are sensible and consistent. Their evidence combined allows us to single out a procedure starting in the Assembly with a preliminary vote on whether allowing new proposals and ending before the nomothetai after contradictory laws have been repealed. The documents are altogether
inconsistent with this account, and a study of their specific features, and a close comparison with contemporary inscriptions, points to the hypothesis of post-classical forgeries.

Rebecca CANN (Open University)

Tibullan roads

Roads are a recurring motif in Tibullan elegy. They appear first in I.1 as an apparent threat to the life of the rusticus, and again in I.7 as an appropriate tribute to the achievements of Messalla. By exploring the way in which Tibullus engages with the idea of the road, I will argue that we are given a more nuanced understanding of how this symbol of Rome’s power is shown to bring both positive and negative elements into Roman life. The notion of a road which is either bad or good is only the simplest level on which the elegies work. Tibullus sets in motion a labyrinthine negotiation of the place of the road in the Roman psyche. The threat which the roads appear to pose in I.1 could, on a second reading, be viewed as a more appealing option to the ego, drawing him away from the poverty of his country estate, whereas the road presented as a tribute to Messalla takes weary countrymen back to their farms but is also clearly associated with ideas of empire. This reading will embrace the conflict and tension which permeates the corpus and is at the heart of Tibullus’ agenda.

Christopher CAREY (UCL)

Drakon and Athenian law

The Athenian narrative on the origin of their lawcode is clear and consistent. Drakon gave the city its first written laws late in the seventh century and Solon revised the system early in the sixth. Solon abandoned all of Drakon’s laws except those on homicide. Despite its lucidity, this narrative conceals as much as it reveals. Research on homicide law has shown that Drakon’s provisions were supplemented in the classical period, even if his laws were (probably) left unchanged. But it is equally untrue (though less obvious) that all of Drakon’s provisions outside of homicide disappeared. There were far more relics of the Drakonian code in classical Athens than the Athenians chose to recognize. If we step back from Solonian myth, Drakon’s influence can be seen in the shape of the lawcode and in specific areas of procedure. This paper takes procedures for summary arrest as a test case and argues for a direct and recoverable line linking geometric with fourth century Athens. Drakon gave formal recognition to provisions he inherited and Solon in turn retained (and rebranded) Drakon’s provisions within his own lawcode.

Ruth R. CASTON (Michigan)

Power and Rivalry in Terence’s Adelphoe and Seneca’s Thyestes

This paper explores several unnoticed parallels between Terence’s Adelphoe and Seneca’s Thyestes. To begin with, the beginnings of both Terence and Seneca’s plays contrast benevolent and tyrannical rule in a way that combines familial and political concerns. In Terence, a discussion primarily about parenthood uses political language. In Seneca, Atreus’ argument about a king’s dominion over his subjects cannot hide the underlying rivalry with his brother. Both plays raise the question of whether it is better to be loved or feared, a topic relevant to political discussions (cf. Machiavelli’s The Prince, ch. 17). But the plays concern not just rivalry and dominance but also the ties of affection that bind family members. There are also similarities in the structure of both plays and their use of characterization. Both plays depict brothers who are associated with either country or city and characterized by distinct dispositions. Their roles are not static throughout the drama, however: a reversal undermines the triumphant brother at the end of each play. I argue that these similarities can be explained by the mediation of Accius’ Atreus, which we know was a source for Seneca. Given the close relations between tragedy and comedy in the middle Republic, Terence may have been an influence on Accius.

Zara CHADHA (Durham)

I Will Swear I Have Been Faithful For Twelve Days: Jilted Witches and Unfaithful Lovers in Propertius 3.6 and Theocritus Idyll 2

In Propertius 3.6, the narrator desires to discover the “true” nature of his mistress, from whom he has been estranged for twelve days. The elegy is a monologue performed by the elegiac narrator
which includes an embedded central speech ostensibly delivered by the puella, but in fact imagined by her lover. Propertius presents two conflicting portraits of the puella in 3.6: the first, envisioned in the lover’s words, portrays her as a virtuous matron; the second, constructed through the puella’s monologue, as a shameless witch. It is this second view which the narrator hopes displays his mistress’ true spirit. This paper proposes that Propertius 3.6 purposefully inverts the structure and narrative of Theocritus Idyll 2. The elegiac narrator incorporates specific aspects of the love-magic of Theocritus’ Simaetha — correspondences hitherto unremarked upon by scholarship on either Propertius 3.6 or Theocritus Idyll 2 — into the central monologue to legitimise the “true” image of his mistress as a practising witch. The recollection of the structure and wider narrative context of the Theocritean model, however, undermines the elegiac narrator’s preferred image of the puella and his claims of fidelity to her. Instead, the allusions to Theocritus Idyll 2 illuminate the elegiac lover’s motives for connecting his mistress with witchcraft, challenging his credibility as a narrator, and ultimately revealing more about his own character than that of his puella.

Yi-Chieh CHIU (St. Andrews)
Seneca’s Medea and Lucan’s Erictho
In the reign of Nero, there are two iconic poetic figures, Seneca’s Medea and Lucan’s Erictho. Seneca gives an innovative portrait of the heroine, by showing her using witchcraft as a means of vengeance. The playwright uses Medea’s magic preparation to parallel the construction of the whole play. Lucan on the other hand uses the necromancy to introduce the climax of the Battle of Pharsalus and also to accentuate his epic’s deviation from the Vergilian tradition. The witchcraft scenes in both works are similar in several respects. Both scenes are built up with catalogues and cosmic disorder. They are full of theatrical language specifically related to spectacle and amazement. Moreover, the grotesque scene of the sorcery metapoetically illustrates the both authors’ engagement with their poetic composition. In this presentation, I propose to show that the study of Medea can help us observe how Lucan moves from the conventional Augustan prophecy through Medea’s theatrical performance into his new rite. Although Seneca has employed the transgressions of the poetic limitations the madness of vates, these poetic themes increase their destructive power largely in the episode of Erictho. This presentation will overall demonstrate that the Senecan model helps us appreciate the construction of Lucan’s magic landscape as well as his idiosyncratic poetics.

Boris CHRUBASIK (Oxford)
Going into the East – The Anabaseis of Seleukid kings
The anabaseis of Seleukid monarchs have been investigated so far from two perspectives. Firstly, they are interpreted as military campaigns to re-pacify the eastern territories and as good opportunities to raise revenue. Secondly, it is argued that the expeditions were probably perceived, and maybe even conceived, as an imitation of the anabasis of Alexander the Great. It is the aim of this paper to suggest that the idea of marching into the upper satrapies was motivated by the political conditions in the western Seleukid territories. Seleukos II had lost his claims to Asia Minor against his brother before moving east, while both Antiochos III and his son Antiochos IV marched into the upper satrapies after their defeat by Rome. If the campaign was successful and the monarch was able to return into the western parts of his kingdom, often charisma was ascribed to the military commander and it was this image which the ruler employed to legitimise his kingship. While all Seleukid monarchs who ventured east fought campaigns against enemies, the decision to embark on this campaign did not have to be motivated there.

Valeria CINAGLIA (Exeter)
Aristotle and Menander on Character, Ethics and Human Relationships
This paper argues that Menander and Aristotle reflect an analogously complex understanding of the interplay between cognitive or rational understanding and character or emotion and of the role that interpersonal relationships play in this context. For instance, in Menander Dyskolos, the old Knemon has lived outside the community, he has cultivated his misanthropic disposition and it is difficult for him to change his way of life even when he progresses in ethical understanding. Conversely, the young, inexperienced Sostratos relies in others to advise him on the right way to
behave and, only then, he seems to improve his character. In Aristotle, building up a consistent character means achieving a sound ethical understanding and educating one’s emotional inclinations accordingly in the form of consistent ethical dispositions. In order to cultivate these dispositions, we should share and exercise them in the context of human relationships: it is by confronting other people and situations that one’s practical understanding is sharpened and inclinations are trained. The paper also suggests that the examples of various degrees of ethical understanding in Menandrian comedy represent an important part of the ethical debate that Aristotle considers indispensable in the life of every civic community.

Amy Coker (Liverpool)

Aischrologia: some aspects of the vocabulary of vulgarity in ancient Greek

This paper has its origins in a large manuscript on aischrologia left unfinished by David Bain (Lecturer and later Professor of Greek at the University of Manchester, 1971-2001) at his death in 2005. Drawing on the principles Bain defined (cf. Bain 1991, ‘Six Verbs of Sexual Congress’ CQ 41, 51-77) and using some of the material he had collected, the paper explores some of the methodological problems inherent in discussing words which may be classed as ‘vulgar’ or ‘base’ in Greek, that is which apparently belong to the lower registers of the language. By way of example, a short case study of words which denote ‘buttock(s)’ in Greek is offered, e.g. γλουτός, πυγή, ἐδρος, δορος, φίκις. The distribution of these words within literary and documentary sources of many kinds is investigated, suggestions are made as to how far each of these words for essentially the same body part was conceived of as crude or vulgar, and the theoretical basis upon which such statements can be made is also discussed. The paper also touches on how such words are to be translated, since truly vulgar words convey much more than their simple semantic meaning alone and are, in a sense, untranslatable. Overall, this brief outline serves as an introduction to future work on aischrologia and Bain’s legacy in particular.

Joy Connolly (New York University)

The dynamism of republics

In a chapter that appalled his contemporaries, Machiavelli writes that it was “due to the disunion between the plebs and the senate” that Rome became a great republic (Disc. 1.2). To Quentin Skinner, Machiavelli here adopts a position “completely heterodox” from the republican tradition of political thought (Foundations of Modern Political Thought, 181). What Machiavelli repudiates in the Discourses, Skinner concludes, “is nothing less than the Ciceronian vision of the concordia ordinum” (“Pre-humanist origins of republican ideas,” in Machiavelli and Republicanism, 136). In this paper, I argue that the view of Cicero’s concordia ordinum espoused by Skinner and many contemporary political theorists is flawed. A proper understanding of it sheds new light on the role of internal conflict in Cicero’s conception of the republican and republican libertas. Analyzing key passages in Cicero’s Pro Sextio, De Republica, and De Legibus, and keeping in mind the highly ideologically charged atmosphere around the cult worship of Concordia from the second century BCE, I argue that Ciceronian concordia represents not a static ideal but a dynamic arrangement whose formation through antagonism (normally through managed conflicts between elite speaker and people, and sometimes through violence) renews and strengthens the polity. Cicero lays out an ensemble of institutions, practices, and dispositions that channels the violence potentially arising from antagonism into less destabilizing forms of engagement, but these do not depoliticize antagonism nor do they resolve its cause: the antagonistic dimension of the conflict between senate and people (or haves and have-nots) is permanent. Instead advocacy, adversarial and often aggressive in nature, emerges as a crucial political strategy for strengthening republican legitimacy. Cicero’s De Republica and De Legibus suggest that one solution to the question rests in the figure of the advocate, institutionalized in the office of the tribunate—a solution developed further in Cicero’s rhetorical writings, where the orator-advocate emerges as the ideal citizen. Concordia’s power-sharing arrangement is not stable, but demands constant re-legitimization in public. Concordia thus suits the temporality of republican electoral politics, where power shifts and flows yearly and from assembly to senate and back again without permanently settling. I conclude that the significance of antagonism in Ciceronian thought challenges the current neo-republican tendencies (notable in Philip Pettit’s Republicanism, for example) to minimize the role...
of popular action in contemporary republican politics and to misrepresent Cicero’s res publica as a static, narrowly law- and institution-bound state.

**Kate COOPER (Cambridge)**

**Displaying the Greek and Roman world at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge**

The museum is one of the most public arenas of engagement with Classical antiquity, but a balance must be struck between displaying ancient material culture attractively and accessibly, and using it to reflect current debates in the Classics discipline itself. Too often current research in antiquity is reflected only in temporary exhibitions not in permanent displays. Museums and universities must adopt a more interdisciplinary and collaborative approach to using and displaying antiquities collections. New permanent displays, such as the Ashmolean Museum (2009) and the Acropolis Museum (2009) have responded to the challenge. But it is the Fitzwilliam Museum that has used its position as a university museum to address this problem explicitly. The newly refurbished Greek and Roman Gallery (January 2010) is underpinned by a formal collaboration between the Fitzwilliam’s Antiquities Department and members of the Cambridge Faculty of Classics in a three-year research project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. This innovative funding initiative aims to encourage a greater cross-fertilisation of academic and museum ideas.

As the Postdoctoral Research Associate on this project I discuss the process behind the creation of this permanent display and the issues, both practical and research-led, that shaped this particular interpretation of the classical past.

**Joana MESTRE DA COSTA (Aveiro)**

"Hic est quem legis ille… Martialis" – The identity of the artist through his works of art

Marcus Valerius Martialis, by accomplishing through his *opera* the kaleidoscopic representation of life in the *Caput Mundi* of the first century A.D., ended up sketching his own life. The author himself enlarged (and above all enriched!) his myriad of characters, becoming the one whose identity is more intensely revealed. Accepting the invitation suggested through Martial’s work, we aim to comprehend how that revelation takes place before the readers and before the author’s own eyes, while the artist brings his art to light – a very special light indeed: “*Hic est quem legis ille, quem requiris, tuto notus in orbe Martialis argutis epigrammaton libellis*”!

This identity marker with which the poet coined his epigrams, contributing to the complicity climate established with the reader, is, in fact, one of the most significant tributes of Martial to the formal revolution he worked over epigrammatic poetry and, consequently, a crucial impetus of a unique production. In Martial’s poetry the intimate connection between the artist and his work of art dictated that the success of the first would be in the triumph of the last (and vice versa!) and thus were accomplished his prophetic words: “*condere uicturas temptem per saecula curas et nomen flammis eripuisse meum*”.

**Andrew CRANE (Kent)**

**Pax and Concordia in the Works of Sallust and Velleius Paterculus**

In *The Roman Revolution* Sir Ronald Syme stated that “the word ‘pax’ can seldom be divorced from the notion of conquest…It was Rome’s imperial destiny to compel the nations to live in peace”. This has continued to be the standard summation of the peace of Rome. *Pax* is not a co-operative construct, but merely another weapon in the imperial armoury. This version of *pax* has great implications not only for what we believe the Romans thought of peace, but also how they perceived foreign enemies and subjects.

This paper will consider Syme’s hypothesis of *pax* in relation to Velleius Paterculus, a historian who took great pride in his own military career and that of the Emperor, and Sallust - often noted for his obsession with *concordia* - who claims to have rejected a political and military career on moral grounds. Their contrasting use of *pax* suggests that Velleius and Sallust had different attitudes to foreign enemies. Further, it will be shown that Sallust’s more inclusive attitude in the usage of *pax* is mirrored in his use of *concordia* and *amicitia* when compared to their use by Velleius.
Armand D’ANGOUR (Oxford)
Listening to Greek Music: the Sound of the Orestes Fragment

The single longest fragment of ancient musical notation appears to preserve a melody of the classical period, usually thought to have been composed by Euripides himself, of a passage from the chorus of his Orestes. It has regularly been studied in conjunction with a detailed account by Dionysius of Halicarnassus of the melodisation of another passage from the Orestes. What can these sources, direct and indirect, teach us about the kinds of effect intended by the specific melodic settings of the words? Scholars have been understandably hesitant to make aesthetic or interpretative judgements about the music, in view of the wide gap between the cultural assumptions about auditory and musical effects between ancient and modern times. Yet given that it is now possible for us to hear with some degree of certainty how the melodic line sounded if performed on instrument or voice, it may also be feasible to offer something akin to a genuinely musical interpretation of the words’ setting. Such an interpretation may in turn be used to explore in more depth ways in which the melodisation of words by Euripides may have been related to his reputation for being part of the New Musical avant-garde of the late fifth century.

Simon DAY (Oxford)
Eastern Commands and Roman Notions of the “East” in the Late Republic

This paper will seek to determine whether a specific Roman idea of “eastern conquest” existed in the late republic which differed from notions of Roman conquest of other geographical regions. Whilst the glory of an anabasis was developed by Hellenistic monarchs, its utilization and translation for commanders at Rome would have to take place within an anti-monarchical society. Indeed, Roman military campaigns were bound up with the traditions and micropolitics of the political system at Rome. As a result, an individual command may be viewed differently in three areas: i) the initial assignment of the command at Rome; ii) the execution of the command abroad; and iii) the post factum portrayal and perception of the command.

There was, for example, an overarching geopolitical concept of campaigning along the boundaries of the orbis terrarum, which could be applied to both East and West. Yet it would have also been possible for individual commanders to influence how their command was represented in the field when temporarily away from the reaches of senatorial control and on their return to Rome. Using the eastern commands of Sulla, Lucullus and Pompeius against Mithridates VI and the later commands of Caesar and Antonius, I shall investigate whether an independent notion of the “East” was constructed and, if so, how it compared to conquest in the West. It will be shown that Roman conquest could be represented by commanders in a variety of ways in different spheres and that the East certainly had high political value, but that there was an underlying and all-encompassing concept associated with the empire of the populus Romanus which was not restricted to the “East.”

Mathieu DE BAKKER (Amsterdam)
Border nor Breed nor Birth. Evaluating ‘West’ and ‘East’ in pre-modern Historiography

In his proem Herodotus distinguishes ethnically between ‘Greeks’ and ‘Barbarians’, but the more we progress in his work, the more he breaks down this distinction, to the degree that it looks as if he systematically undermines any attempt at fixed categorisation of a world in Greek and non-Greek peoples. It looks as if he is engaged in a polemic with contemporaries who conceive of their ‘Greek’ identity by placing themselves in an uncompromising and stereotypical opposition to the ‘Barbarian Other’. Whereas Herodotus’ critical stance on ‘West’ vs. ‘East’ stereotyping has been discussed in scholarship, its development in the subsequent historiographical traditions has yet to be charted in full. Research on this should be conducted from an Eurasian perspective rather than a merely European one, and include samples of Islamic as well as Byzantine historiography. The potential that both areas offer, especially from a comparative perspective, has so far been left largely unexplored. In this paper I will deal with a selection of passages from Greek, Byzantine and Islamic historiography and analyse them from a comparative literary angle. How did premodern historiographers from these traditions respond to contemporary stereotypes related to ‘West’ and
Mark de Kreij (Heidelberg)
The Catalogue of Ships and Ibycus’ Ode to Polycrates: μέν as a marker of narrative steps
When reading what is left of Ibycus’ Ode to Polycrates, the similarities with the Catalogue of Ships are immediately apparent – perhaps most notably the claim that the poet could not possibly describe them. On closer inspection, however, Ibycus turns out to avail himself of a very personal vocabulary, albeit clearly influenced by Homer.
Even though the connexion with Homer is not as strong as in Stesichorus’ simile of the poppy, still this part of the ode recalls the Catalogue of Ships. I argue that this is partially due to the structure of the song and that insight in the Catalogue may improve our understanding of Ibycus’ Ode.
I will focus mostly on the last three of the four extant epodes. Contra Hutchinson (2001: 243), I believe three instances of μέν in these epodes should not be taken as ‘primarily emphatic’, but rather as structuring the ode by marking steps in the narrative. They may be compared to many instances of the particle in the Catalogue of Ships (such as Il. 2.636, an instance that Hutchinson regards as another example of ‘emphatic’ use).

Chrysanthi Demetriou (Leeds)
‘Witty’ Terence: Aelius Donatus on Humour
Donatus’ commentary on Terence, although primarily concerned with the study of Terence at the grammarian’s school, marginally discusses Terence’s techniques of plot composition and characterisation, while simultaneously mirrors earlier and contemporary theories on theatre and comedy. The commentator also points to the elements which, according to his interpretation, contribute to the entertainment of the audience and create humour. The purpose of this paper is to examine selected scholia from Donatus’ Commentum Terenti which point to humorous situations found in Terence’s comedies and thus outline the commentator’s treatment of humour. The commentator seems to distinguish between two different ways of creating laughter: (a) by incidents that happen against the audience’s expectations, and (b) through comic characters who adopt an attitude which contradicts their nature. The paper argues that Donatus’ scholia on humour reflect the theory of ‘incongruity’, aspects of which were already found in Greek and Roman scholars and were later expressed by modern philosophers. In conclusion, the Commentum Terenti is a valuable source that illuminates Terence’s techniques of creating laughter, while it simultaneously contributes towards the study of the nature and unique sense of humour found in New Comedy.

Massimiliano Di Fazio (Pavia)
Cultural Memory in Ancient Italy: the Etruscans
The topic of cultural memory and time has been explored for the Greek and Roman cultures, but it has never been carried out for pre-Roman Italy. My research concerns the ways in which the Etruscans selected, reinforced and transmitted their own cultural memory. This purpose can be traced in different aspects of Etruscan society.
Although the remains of Etruscan written culture are poor, it is possible to obtain some useful information from Greek and Roman writers. Moreover, the archaeological and iconographical records show how widespread the relationship with the past and the ancestors was in Etruscan culture. It is sufficient to think of the painted wall-tombs, in which historical and mythical scenes are represented, and the frequent presence of statues representing the ancestors, placed both on the roofs of main palaces and in aristocratic tombs. The strengthening of the collective memory was pursued also through funerary rituals, which were the occasion to remember the deeds of the dead and of his family. Through this commemoration the community had the opportunity to reinforce the collective memory and to perpetuate it.
Matthew DILLON (Armidale)
“Orpheus’ head, dwelling in Lesbos, lived in a cleft in the rock and gave prophecies in the hollow earth”: prophetic limitation in ancient Greek divinatory beliefs.

On an Athenian red-figure cup the torso-less head of Orpheus floats mid-air and delivers a prophecy, while the god Apollo intercedes to call a halt to the proceedings. Phineus, granted the art of mantosyne (divination) by Apollo, abused his gift, publicising far and wide Zeus’ sacred will.

These two myths reflect the nature and practice of Greek divination in that outside of the mythic realm it was regular and ‘predictable’, practised by relatively untrained individuals within specific socio-cultural contexts. Diviners claimed descent from the legendary diviner Melampous, but they did not appropriate his powers. Inspired frenzied prophecy, provoked by the onset of crisis, did not exist in Greece: Kassandra, its sole practitioner, was met with an incredulous response.

Rhythms of divination in the Greek world were regular; the means of divination routine - even mundane. In a crisis, entrails were consulted without recourse to diviners manic, frenzied or possessed. Greek divination was prescribed and limited in the nature of its practitioners’ inspiration and their tone of delivery. Did this make divination more plausible? Why was ecstatic prophecy not part of Greek religious practice? Does the ‘contained’ nature of the Greek divinatory experience explain the wide acceptance of the mantic art?

Annemieke DRUMMEN (Heidelberg)
Counterfactual conditionals and unattainable wishes in Greek and Latin

The constructions of counterfactual conditionals and unattainable wishes show some striking similarities, in both Greek and Latin (see e.g. the ambiguous cases E. Andr. 293 and Sen. Octav. 639). How can the use of moods and tenses in both constructions be explained? How is possible ambiguity between the two readings solved? Insight into these questions may improve our interpretation of the passages concerned.

Regarding the first question, I will argue for an explanation in which the hypothetical meaning of the past tense is considered as an extension of an original meaning ‘past’ in specific contexts. As for the moods, the puzzling Greek indicative can be explained by the fact that this is the only mood with a past-tense marking.

A corpus investigation of about 400 hypothetical verb forms reveals how ambiguity between counterfactuals and unattainable wishes is avoided. In Greek, formal markers are usually present to indicate the intended reading: the modal particle ἂν, the wish particle εἴθε, or the verb ὀφείλω. In Latin, ambiguity can be removed by the wish particle utinam, the type of negation, a conditional subclause with a past subjunctive, or preceding and/or following counterfactuals.

Stuart DUNN (KCL)
Reception reconsidered: communicating material culture in the Internet age

Museums, of course, have historically played a key role in the transmission of Greco-Roman antiquity to wider audiences. Amongst the most famous examples are the free display of the Parthenon Sculptures by the British Museum since 1817, which aimed to, according to the Earl of Elgin, ‘improve the arts of Great Britain’. However, despite ubiquitous use of the Internet, including so-called ‘virtual museums’, there have been relatively few attempts to connect these long established means of understanding reception in the traditional sense with how culture might be understood to have been transmitted digitally. It has been alluded to in passing, for example by James Cuno, in his 2009 study, Who Owns Antiquity. But such passing references merely highlight that a updating of the concept of ‘reception’ for the Internet age is needed. This paper will argue that that recent studies of the application of social simulation (Agent-based modelling) methods to historical situations are proving very promising for such a process updating, and a brief demonstration of how ABM might be applied will be attempted in relation to data recently gathered as part of the Motion in Place Platform project, on the Imperial Roman occupation in southern Britain.
Katherine East (RHUL)
Forging Cicero: how forgeries helped to craft the literary history of Cicero.
In 1712 the Irish-born radical John Toland composed a proposal for a new edition of Cicero’s works. He explained this proposition in terms of the shortcomings of existing editions and scholarship, and explained how he would rectify these problems. In the fifteenth chapter of the treatise this discussion turns to the spurious and forged works associated with Cicero which he intends to include in this edition. Toland dismisses some texts as simply too spurious to even be worthy of consideration, such as the Tironis notae Tachygraphicae. This raises the question of how Toland was judging these works. What made a forged or spurious work too forged or spurious? He also uses the chapter to articulate the benefits he expects to be gained from considering those works either deliberately or mistakenly falsely attributed to Cicero. His words therefore offer an intriguing insight into the value placed on forged and spurious works of classical authors in the early eighteenth century, together with eighteenth century views of how such works had been handled in the preceding generations of classical scholarship.

Mike Edwards (ICS)
Rhetoric and the law at Demosthenes 29.29
Douglas MacDowell, in his excellent but sadly last book Demosthenes the Orator, with his accustomed acuity defends the authenticity of Demosthenes 29, Against Aphobos. During his discussion of his guardians’ failure to lease his father’s estate, Demosthenes says (§ 29) that ‘the laws order it’. Since it is clear that the laws did not order guardians to lease the estates over which they had charge, but permitted them to do so, this remark has been taken to show that the speech is not genuine, because Demosthenes must have known the legal situation. MacDowell concentrates on the meaning of the verb keleuō, translating it as ‘provide for’ or ‘authorize’ instead of ‘order’, but this seems to me an incomplete remedy. I would prefer to take this as an example of rhetorical exaggeration of a kind that is frequent in the orators, as they refer to and interpret the wording of laws to their advantage.

Esther Eidinow (Newman University)
Contested Models of the Future
How do we understand Greek attitudes to the future—can we access their implicit beliefs? One approach, suggested by cognitive anthropologists, may be to analyse cultural discourse in order to try to trace the relevant ‘cultural models’, cognitive structures that provide a culturally learned and shared system for describing the world.
This paper argues that we find a variety of cultural models of the future across ancient Greek literature. Familiar images and figures may recur (e.g., tyche, moira, the gods), but the particular emphases these receive will vary according to their context.
This paper examines examples of contested models of the future, across three different genres. These may include models of the future in: Sophocles’ Oedipus, the Melian dialogue in Thucydides’ History, and finally, some of the common models of the future found across the Hippocratic treatises. It suggests that Greek attitudes to the future were structured by a set of shared understandings, and that these could shape, but were also shaped by, the context of their use, and the rhetoric of persuasion in which they played a crucial part.

Aneurin Ellis-Evans (Oxford)
IG XII (2) 526: A Reassessment of the Tyrants Dossier from Eressos.
Until the publication of Andrew Heisserer’s Alexander the Great and the Greeks (1980) it had been thought that the two halves of IG XII (2) 526 originally constituted a single stone inscribed over a period of thirty years from the trial of the tyrants Eurysilaos and Agonippos in 332 BC to the correspondence with Antigonus Monophthalmus in c. 306-301 BC. Heisserer instead argued that the two halves were two separate inscriptions which had been inscribed over time, and this conclusion has gone unquestioned ever since. However, following examination of the stone itself at Skala Eressou on Lesbos and of the squeezes made by Charles Newton, William Paton and Werner Peek (none of which were available to Heisserer), I find his epigraphical grounds for this conclusion questionable. It seems more likely that the two halves of IG XII (2) 526 belonged to a
single stone, inscribed all at once at some point following the latest dateable text in the dossier, the *diagraphe* of Antigonus. Far from being a mechanically generated archive, the inscription is an artfully contrived dossier of texts which contributes to our understanding of how the small city of Eressos responded to the advent of Hellenistic kingship.

**Kyle ERICKSON (Trinity Saint David)**
**Sex and the Seleucids: The deification of Stratonice in the Seleucid Empire,**
Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes, was passed as wife from Seleucus I to Antiochus I in an act that many historians see as an overtly political move which secured and recognised Antiochus I’s right to rule. On the other hand, Appian tells the story of Antiochus’ consuming desire for his mother-in-law and the deceit of his father by his physician which led to the union of the couple. However Antiochus is not the only lover with whom Stratonice is connected in antiquity. According to Lucian her guardian denied himself to her by self-castration and Pliny tells us of a painting by Ctesicles which depicts her with a fisherman. Far from distancing itself from these amorous representations of Stratonice, the Seleucid court appears have advanced them. At Smyrna she received cult as Stratonice-Aphrodite and as Kosmin has recently shown her title in the Borsippa Cylinder can be translated as ʾIstar-ʾAštarte/Aphrodite-fornicating. This paper will explore Stratonice’s sexual role in the creation of a cult for her within the early Seleucid empire and raise questions on how women were able to assert their power in the post-Alexander world.

**Christopher FARRELL (KCL)**
**Approaching Xenophon as Rhetor: envisioning a more just Athenian hegemony.**
Transcending Xenophon’s conventional classification as a historian and philosopher, this paper examines Xenophon’s purpose in writing alongside Attic oratory. Although contemporary Athenians would not have viewed Xenophon as an orator or political leader, it is argued that the literary persona he adopted fulfilled both roles and did so most explicitly in an Athenian context within his final work, *Poroi*. There, he distills advice recurring across his oeuvre to benefit the democracy, revealing that for Xenophon not only were Socratic and democratic understandings of civic virtue and leadership compatible, but also that his works cannot be understood solely as mirrors for tyrants and princes. As we understand Xenophon to have written principally for an Athenian audience, particular attention is paid to the question of Athenian rule, itself acclaimed or condemned within Athens as kingly or tyrannical. I apply Xenophon’s advice for avoiding and/or transforming ‘tyrannical’ behavior - best exemplified within Xenophon’s *Hiero, Anabasis*, and *Cyropaedia* - to parallel passages within *Poroi* intended to enhance the sovereignty of the demos. Thus Xenophon did not oppose Athenian hegemony, but sought to legitimize and restore Athens’ reputation and leadership after the Social War by the most just rather than the most expedient means.

**Trevor FEAR (Open University)**
**The Orator, the mistress and the poet: Cicero, Roman Elegy and the road to fame**
One might not expect that the worlds of Cicero and Roman Elegy had much in common. The politically engaged orator and the apparently asocial and alienated world of Roman Elegy would not seem to be ready bed-fellows. Yet, in one area at least, these two worlds do share a common interest, and that is in the sphere of self-promotion and its aim at enduring fame and commemoration. In Cicero’s discernible validation of the commemorative potential of literature, and in his ardent desire to take advantage of this same potential himself, a certain affinity emerges, both in language and ideology, between the sentiments expressed in his oratory and letters and the rhetoric of fame and memory that also permeates Roman Elegy. Cicero’s desire for commemoration causes him to argue strenuously for the general commemorative power of literature and for his own particular claim to be suitable materia to be used by the talents of others. This in turn is replicated in the elegists’ use of the commemorative potential of literature to ostensibly seduce objects of their desire at the same time as using these same constructs of desirable woman as instruments for their own aspirations for fame.
Eugénie FERNANDES (Queen’s School Chester)
The study of languages, ancient and modern, has declined dramatically in both schools and universities. I would like to address two broad questions: first, what role could and should universities play in providing access to the study of Greek and Latin to school students who would not otherwise encounter them? How might universities support the teaching of Classical languages in schools that offer them, or would like to offer them? In-house, in-school, and summer school are three possibilities: what works best? Viability in terms of time and money, and sustainability, are key issues here. My second question is this: given that most universities no longer require a language qualification as a condition of entry for Classical subjects, and that many universities offer Classical subjects with no compulsory language element at all, is the promotion of Classical language teaching in schools a good use of resources? What is to be gained from an early exposure to Latin and Greek? And does the survival of Greek and Latin depend on schools, or on universities?

Thorsten FOEGEN (Durham)
Concepts of Authorship and Forgery in Roman Technical Literature
It is the aim of this paper to analyse the concepts of authorship and forgery in Roman technical literature of the first century A.D., in particular Vitruvius, Columella and Pliny the Elder. Most ancient technical writers emphasise their high scholarly as well as ethical standards. In this context they often discuss the appropriate use of sources, which includes the problem of plagiarism and the proper form of criticism. For example, Vitruvius and Pliny the Elder present some of their predecessors as authorities who are to be thanked for the fact that they have unstintingly transmitted their observations and their learning to posterity. The hiding of knowledge, on the other hand, is interpreted as a deliberate attempt to impede the development of a society. Plagiarism is severely condemned. Writers who mercilessly criticise others without offering any original approach themselves are also censured.

It will also be demonstrated in this paper that the discussion of authorship and forgery in ancient technical literature has certain social and political implications and that it is partly used to support official ideologies.

Adam T. FOLEY (John Carroll)
Mutilated Texts: Euripides’ Bacchae and the Dionysian Poetics of Hölderlin’s Übertragungen
The Swabian Romantic poet Friedrich Hölderlin is known for his bizarre German translations of Greek choral lyric. In addition to his famous “interlinear” translations of Pindar and Sophocles, he translated one scene from Euripides’ Hecuba and the first 24 lines of the Bacchae. It is the contention of this paper that the figure of Dionysus in Euripides’ Bacchae occupies a central role in the poetics of Hölderlin’s theory of translation. With his binhörrende Verfahrungsart, “method of listening intently,” to the audible properties of the Greek language, Hölderlin imitates the formal, audible properties of Greek lyric. This includes an exact replication of Greek syntax and idiomatic expression. Hölderlin thus cloaks German in Greek garb, replicating Dionysus’ return home to Thebes in the guise of a stranger. By making German “speak Greek,” ordinary German syntax must be violated, distorted and “foreignized” (verfremdet). Hölderlin thus sees translation as the opening up of a space for the advent of the gods in an age destitute of divinity. In the process of what translation theorist Lawrence Venuti calls “foreignization,” the translated text itself becomes the alienated refuse of divinity. With the tortured translation of the Bacchae, Hölderlin performs a ritual σπαραγμός, not of Pentheus but of the German tongue itself, thus rendering it “holy.”

Robert FOWLER (Bristol)
The Kerkopes: Herakles’ Rump, Iambos and Mythography
The Kerkopes were pranksters whose career came to an ignominious end when they met Herakles, he of the hirsute posterior. The story must have a bearing on Archilochos fr. 178W, ‘take care you don’t meet the blackrump’, though the reference there is to a species of eagle: the poem is from the fable of the fox and eagle, and the (white-tailed) eagle (Lykambes) is warned that one day he will meet his better. The Kerkopes, however, would have been perfectly at home in the
world of iambos, as several considerations suggest, not least their name. They formed the subject of a pseudo-Homeric epic and duly survived into the comic tradition. This paper explores, first, the implications of this situation for understanding Archilochos’ poem. Secondly, in the mythographer Pherekydes (fr. 77) the Kerkopes were punished by petrifaction. This is normally reserved for serious offences, and suggests an altogether different atmosphere. Iambos had its serious side too, and that could still be Pherekydes’ source; or he might be drawing on local tradition, or the archaic epic. I argue that we learn something here also about the working conditions and methods of early mythography.

Lilah-Grace FRASER (Durham)
The Fable of the Hawk and the Nightingale: Hesiod's Didactic Method
The fable of the Hawk and the Nightingale (Works and Days 202-12) provides precious insight into Hesiod’s didactic poetics. I will argue that this ambiguous episode is an excellent illustration of the kind of interpretive effort the poet expected his addressee to contribute. The tendency in scholarship has been to choose one interpretation of the fable and criticise everything that does not fit with it – or to emend the text. Whether one takes the hawk to represent the kings, Zeus, or ὑβρις, and the nightingale to symbolise Hesiod, the kings, Perses, or δίκη, or whether one brands the whole thing as a negative paradigm of animal behaviour, none of the proposed interpretations resolves all the difficulties. In this paper, I argue that Hesiod uses this episode to warn all his addressees (kings, Perses, the whole Iron Race), and it is the ambiguities and inconsistencies which enable multiple identifications: whether one identifies with the hawk or the nightingale, one must decode the story and get advice from the poet. Hesiod does not require his addressees to be passive, but rather expects them to solve problems and think for themselves (ἀνωγα φράξεοθι 367, 403, 687): to ‘work’ for their lesson.

Danielle FRISBY (Nottingham)
This paper considers landscape representing the overarching theme of conflict, and subversive treatment of previous literary traditions within Statius’ Thebaid. Specifically it deals with the events in Thebaid 9 where Statius alludes to Achilles’ battle with the river Scamander in Iliad 21. Through various allusions Statius complicates the reader’s perception of both the protagonist (Hippomedon) and the river Ismenos itself in the episode, which allows it to be read metapoetically as a comment on the epic genre and many others among Statius’ predecessors, including Callimachus, Vergil, Lucan, Ovid and Aeschylus who came between the Iliad and Thebaid.

In modern literature on epic the importance of landscape in interpretation is clear, in allegorical readings of Homer or in Philip Hardie’s Cosmos and Imperium (Oxford 1986) for Vergil. In other ancient literature, rivers are used as metapoetic devices, as in the case of Callimachus who compares the ‘pure stream’ of his own compositions to the ‘tumid swollen river’ of cyclic epic, to demonstrate his opposition to that style of poetry. A consideration of Statius’ manipulation of Iliadic motifs in his poem will help us to see how, through the symbolic use/subversion of Homeric landscape, the Thebaid’s message is made clearer to its readers.

Efstratia GEORGOPOULOU (University of Peloponnese), Evangelia KALERANTE (University of Western Macedonia), and Simeon NIKOLIDAKIS (University of Peloponnese)
Medicine before Hippocrates: medical terms in the pre-Socratic philosophers
Pre-Socratic philosophy fragments which have been retrieved, as well as related texts on the fragments, allow us to ascertain the existence of a vocabulary set which in most circumstances is lexically or semantically related. What is more, it seems to reveal the general tendency of that age for a turn toward the study of human physiology. In the course of our analysis we will examine extant archeological findings, which make reference to the pre-Socratics and we will attempt to isolate vocabulary items which relate to instances of illness or any disorder of the normal functioning of the human body. Furthermore, we will attempt to place our study into a more specific framework, which will allow us to make
comparisons of similar terminology amongst the pre-Socratics. This will be implemented by means of semasiology and of the interpretative process in the investigation of the meaning of balance, as it was conceived by the pre-Socratic philosophers during an early but critical period of inquiry into human maladies. We will also draw on a subset of the vocabulary in question, which will constitute a representative sample of the spirit of that time, in order to attempt to ascribe it linguistically to contemporary philosophers and to integrate it into our current reality. Finally, we will make reference to the specific sources of our material and we will evaluate it with the intention of proving the incessant continuation of medical terminology in ancient Greek and Roman philosophy.

Ingo GILDENHARD (Durham)
Coping with Caesar
The period between Caesar’s crossing of the Rubicon in 49 and his assassination five years later proved crucial in shaping the political system of the Roman empire, the so-called principate, which would come to dominate the ancient Mediterranean for the next few centuries—both because Caesar, after a hiatus of half a millennium, re-introduced an autocratic form of government at Rome and because the disempowered ruling elite managed to exorcize this type of government one more time with their daggers. During this period Cicero wrote c. 300 letters, about a third of the total correspondence that has survived to and from him—a unique source by any standards, for which it is difficult to find the proper superlatives. Among much else, Cicero’s letters demand attention as a special medium of political commentary, reflection, and intervention. More specifically, in his correspondence from these years we find prefigured, with a unique degree of insight and sophistication, virtually all of the key themes that should come to define the cultural imaginary of imperial Rome, dominated as it was by the precarious paradox of having a monarchic regime at the center of a political culture profoundly shaped by republican principles and memories. The entire literature of the principate, from the Augustan poets to Lucan, Seneca, Tacitus and beyond, is ultimately an elaboration on the issues first formulated and explored by Cicero—not just in his letters, of course, but also the large body of philosophical writings he completed during this period and the three speeches he delivered before Caesar. But the letters uniquely combine documentation and interpretation, recording a story of personal and societal disintegration and an ensuing shift towards monarchy by a participant-observer deeply committed to a Platonic version of Roman republicanism. The paper will offer some soundings across this thematics, with a focus on metaphors and realities of societal disintegration; the problem of how to conceptualize Caesar and his omnipotence; political choices in potentially despotic regimes or, more generally, possible reactions on the part of the disempowered oligarchy to the autocratic reconfiguration of Rome’s socio-political space; and the coping mechanisms (rationalizations, ethics, emotions) of historical losers.

William GLADHILL (McGill)
The Cave of the Winds in the Roman Forum: Chaos, Control, and the Aeneid in Statius’ Silvae 1
The encomium to Domitian in Silvae 1 contains an allusion to the first simile of Aeneid 1. The allusion shows how Statius comments on the influence of poetic and monumental memory of Augustan Rome on Domitian’s equestrian statue and Statius’ poetry. By adding Aeneid 1 to Silvae 1 Statius’ encomium reveals a darkened Roman state in which monumentality not only becomes a marker of foreign conquest, but a veiled threat of violence against Romans themselves. Statius’ statement that invat ora/ tueri mixta notis, bellum placidamque gerentia pacem (1.15-16) can be read metaphorically for the poem as a whole, that the text is marked by a mixed semiotic system in which encomiastic poetics also criticize the imperial state. Statius’ Silvae 1.1.63-5 (it fragor et magnae vincit vaga murmura Romae) alludes to Aeneid 1.124 and 1.154 (interea magno misere murmure pontum/ sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor). While fragor and murmure are normally found in storm scenes (Luc. DRN 1.275-6, Var. Geo 1.358-9, Pliny NH 18.360.5, Quint. DM 4.16.22, Italicus Pun. 12.604-5, 14.60), Statius first uses them to describe the clamor and murmure of the Roman people in the Forum Romanum in their response to the mechanicist noise produced from the building of Domitian’s statue. The allusion invokes the first simile of the
Aeneid where Neptune’s mollification of the winds is compared to a statesman calming a riot in a forum. Silvae 1 invites the reader to consider the interplay between the forum of Domitian and its fragar and the “falling” fragar of the Aeneid. The Vergilian backdrop to the erection of Domitian’s equestrian statue results in an echo effect between the Augustan past and the Flavian present, between the Aeneid and the Silvae, the nature of chaos and order in imperial poetry, and the problem of monumental and poetic memory in Roman culture.

Barbara GOFF (Reading)
Niobe of the Nations: classical metaphors in the writings of nineteenth century West African nationalists
Nineteenth century missionary education in West Africa taught English to many pupils but also offered Latin and Greek to selected African boys. Edward Blyden of Liberia, and James Horton of Sierra Leone, were among the West African leaders who turned their classical learning to highly politicised account. Hegel had stated that Africa had no history, and British colonial sources assumed that West Africa would be occupied by Europeans for centuries, but West African intellectuals resisted these tenets by constructing a discourse in which Africans claimed a history for their continent, and proposed a future for Africa without European incursion. While much of their rhetoric was cast in terms drawn from the Bible, references to classical antiquity are also very important in their various writings.
I shall briefly introduce the figures of Horton and Blyden before rereading some of the references to classical antiquity in their works. I shall show how such references helped to construct the writer’s authority, but also to undercut European pretensions, to rewrite European history, to reassess the relations between Africa and Europe, and to imagine a non-colonial future for West Africa.

Barbara K. GOLD (Hamilton College)
‘And I Became a Man’: Gender Fluidity and Closure in Perpetua’s Fourth Vision
Perpetua was martyred in Carthage in 203 C.E. A remarkable text survives her, said to have been written in her own hand while she was in prison awaiting execution. It raises many questions about authenticity, historical context, early conditions of martyrdom, and gender. Her tale contains four visions. In the fourth, Perpetua fights against a large male Egyptian in the amphitheater. During their fight, Perpetua says “I became a man”: facta sum masculus (10.7).
Although Perpetua’s sex remains unchanging and is called into question only here, her gendered qualities fluctuate throughout — in the language used, in her behaviors and qualities (courage, self-possession, leadership, and willingness to abandon her family and familial roles), and in her transgressive roles in the text. I investigate Perpetua’s transgressive behavior, its relation to the asceticism and virginal behavior ascribed to women in this period, and the way in which the framing narrative of Perpetua’s martyr tale adds both narrative closure and closure to the gender fluidity we find in Perpetua’s own tale, and sets her back into normalized conventions of gender.

Brenda GRiffITH-WILLIAMS (UCL)
Violence in court: law and rhetoric in Athenian and English assault cases
In classical Athens there was no police force, public prosecuting authority or legal profession. The victim of an assault was personally responsible for bringing the prosecution and presenting the case in court. After a street fight between two rivals for the attentions of a young male prostitute, the older of the two men considered prosecuting his opponent, Simon, but kept quiet to avoid the embarrassment of a trial. Four years later, though, Simon decided to prosecute him. So the reluctant defendant engaged a professional speechwriter, Lysias, who produced the speech we know as Lysias 3 for him to deliver in court.
In this paper, after briefly comparing the Athenian and English laws on assault, and the procedures for prosecuting offences, I examine how Lysias constructed the case for his client’s defence. Focussing on his attempt to turn the tables by blackening Simon’s character and portraying him as the real perpetrator of the offence, I conclude that, despite the considerable
differences between the ancient and modern jurisdictions, Lysias’s rhetorical strategy has much in common with the approach a modern advocate might take in a similar case.

**Jennifer GROVE (Exeter)**

*The Greek and Roman sexual artefacts collected for the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in the early twentieth century.*

The modern collection of sexually related Classical antiquities has been well documented, the best-known collections being those now in Naples and the British Museum. This paper presents a collection of such material, from lamps and vases with explicit scenes to phallic amulets and statuettes, yet undocumented in Classical scholarship, put together in the early twentieth century by the pharmaceutical giant and millionaire Sir Henry Wellcome for his Historical Medical Museum. Wellcome’s collection allows a new approach in considering the modern reception of this type of material. Scholarship has focused almost exclusively on its suppression within ‘secret’ areas of museums as part of the history of censorship. My research has revealed that Wellcome purposefully acquired over a thousand such objects from antiquity and other cultures as part of a project to illustrate the history of humanity through the history of human health. Wellcome’s anthropological approach saw a broad definition of ‘medicine’ as a fundamental and universal human experience. Wellcome did not give these objects an ‘artificial’ category of ‘pornography’ as per the standard accounts of censorship, but instead categorised and displayed them according to what he understood as their ‘original’ context, often connected with religious or superstitious approaches to health.

**Erich S. GRUEN (Berkeley)**

*Cicero and the Alien*

Cicero’s comments about foreigners are notoriously caustic and disparaging. They are regularly cited as exemplary of Roman attitudes toward Asian peoples like Phoenicians, Syrians, Jews, Phrygians, Carians, and Cappadocians, not to mention Egyptians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans. As one eminent scholar recently put it, “if there is any group of provincials Cicero admired, I am not aware of it.” Did Cicero, in fact, regularly denigrate non-Romans, find foreigners offensive and degenerate, or, worse, construct them as barbaric aliens in order to call attention to those qualities that defined the Romans’ own identity and their superiority over other peoples of the Mediterranean?

This paper seeks to show that a closer scrutiny of the contexts and circumstances of Cicero’s pronouncements on “barbarians” discloses a more shifting, ambiguous, and variable quality, often dictated by forensic requirements in the speeches and argumentative points in the philosophical treatises. Cicero holds firmly to a belief in the superiority of Rome over the nations. But it is not a superiority founded on ethnic differences. The Romans excel rather in piety and acquiescence in the divine governance of the universe.

**Anna GUSTAVSSON (Göteborg)**

*Etruscans, other non-Romans and the creation of a common past in the Museo Nazionale in Rome*

Following the unification of Italy in 1861 and the announcement of Rome as the new capital a decade later, the State used museums and the new discipline of Archeology to create a national identity. This was not an easy task in a country with strong regional cultures. The purpose was not just to unite the nation, but also to glorify the new capital. The focus of the museum displays in Rome—yesterday and today—on the Romans and the Roman Empire is therefore not surprising. The issue of the local pre-Roman cultures is, however, more ambiguous. Which roles were the pre-Roman cultures given in the creation of the past from a political and museological point of view? Why is there a specific Etruscan museum in Rome?

The aim of the paper is to address these matters through a case study of the early history of the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia in Rome. It was founded in 1889 as one of two sections of the original archeological Museo Nazionale, together with Museo delle Terme, in the baths of Diocletian. Today they are separate institutions, each belonging to different archeological authorities. The paper is based on studies carried out in archives in Rome.
Peter HAARER (Oxford)

Writing Directions
During the archaic period Greek inscriptions were written in a variety of directions. “Retrograde” is the term commonly used to describe writing from right to left, but conjures up connotations of writing backwards. This is not only unfair, as it is the Greeks who wrote the wrong way round relative to the system of writing from which their alphabet was derived, but it also evokes notions of orthodoxy in a period when there were none. More importantly, however, the term is used in the epigraphy of other scripts (for example, Egyptian Hieroglyphs) to describe a letter or letters which are reversed within the prevailing direction of writing. Through a number of case studies taken from Jeffery’s *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* I shall illustrate the occurrence of this feature and explore its significance.

Theodora A. HADJIMICHAEL (UCL)

From song to library text: diffusion and transmission of lyric
The process by which the products of the archaic Greek song-culture found their way to the library at Alexandria remains a puzzle. The move from oral to written dissemination is often perceived as a single monolithic process, undifferentiated by time and location. However, both common sense and the limited evidence at our disposal suggest that this evolution was most probably more complex than contemporary scholarship generally supposes. A complex interplay of factors – the nature of each genre, possibilities and difficulties of diffusion of poetry both as oral culture, primary performance and re-performance, the nature and circulation of texts before and after the advent of the book-market, the role of geography – is at work.
This paper will explore the way in which lyric song became text. It will look at the role played by performance copies in a world without copyright, the nature of texts in existence at different periods in the fifth and fourth centuries, the advent with the Peripatetics of the era of the written text as focus rather than as medium of preservation and of the consolidated collection, and the role of poleis other than Athens. It will argue that no single model will account for the diverse ways in which lyric became and circulated as written works and that even into the early Hellenistic period availability was often sporadic and that this impacts on the sequence and pace of classical scholarship in antiquity.

Kate HAMMOND (Open University)

‘Frailty, thy name is woman!’ Exploring social stereotyping in Catullus’ portrayal of Lesbia.
The tendency for people to stereotype has long been a subject of study for psychologists. Traditionally, this has been explained as limited cognitive resources leading inevitably to perceptual shortcuts such as categorisation. Social Identity Theory argues that as we derive social identities (and the status that goes with these) from groups, we are motivated to accentuate similarities within groups and differences between them, creating social ‘ingroups’ and ‘outgroups’.
More recently, discursive approaches to social psychology have emphasised the constructed, context-dependent nature of groups and how status levels are permeable and subject to challenge and negotiation.
Applying this thinking to Catullus’ portrayal of Lesbia, I shall consider the categorisations available in contemporary discourse, and, given the performative nature of discourse, view what functions his selections may provide. Secondly, a notable linguistic repertoire that Catullus adopts is ‘amicitia’. This has a range of performative functions, such as signifying friendship and/or political alliance. Given the choice of this non-marital repertoire in discussing his relationship with Lesbia, and the context-dependent nature of discourse, I shall consider how what we know of Lesbia’s probable identity (i.e. one of Clodius’ sisters) may affect our interpretation of the performative possibilities of such a term.

Craig HANNAWAY (Durham)

Housman on Euripides I.A. 5-6: scholarship, science, and literature
‘Philologians who lie snug in bed … may continue to indulge their sloth without any fear that [Professor Harry] is stealing a march upon them either in the science of astronomy or in the art of
interpretation.’ Thus A.E. Housman begins his note on Euripides I.A. 5-6 (where Agamemnon asks the Old Man, ‘What can that star be?’), the only note his biographer quotes in full for its ‘magisterial’ tone. Actually, the tone is sarcastic and facetious. In the context of the changes in classical studies in late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century England, what it declares, sub-textually, is ‘I am a tough professional; I do not have to be polite and broad-minded like my liberal-humanist predecessors.’ Since his own poetry threatened precisely this scholarly stance, he belittled it in public, calling it ‘this stuff’, and kept literary considerations well out of his scholarly work.

What I want to argue in this paper is that a broad literary and humanist interpretation of Euripides I.A. 5-6 may actually do better justice to the passage. Housman says the star mentioned by Agamemnon is not actually a star, but a planet, on the grounds that a Greek general would not need to ask about the positions of constellations. However, in ancient times Sirius rose earlier than today, attending what the Greeks called the dog days of summer, so its presence was thought to be a bad omen. In terms of the internal dynamics of Euripides’ play, the star mentioned must be Sirius, and its ominous connotations also have a mythical dimension. That Housman fails to see all this is the result of a particular scholarly stance that insisted on the separation between scholarship and literature; however, this is a stance that misses the point where the scientific, the literary and the mythical confirm each other.

Edward M. HARRIS (Durham)
Substance vs. procedure in Athenian Law
Several scholars (e.g. Todd, Osborne, Gagarin, Hansen) have claimed that Athenian laws were mostly concerned with procedural matters and that laws were organized according to procedural criteria. On this view the primary aim of an Athenian statute was to get a dispute into court. This essay shows: 1) when the orators discuss categories of laws, they generally group them by substantive content, 2) when they name a law, they usually refer to its substantive content (i.e. “law about murder” or “law about agreements”), not its procedural content, 3) the laws cited in the speeches of the Attic orators are generally more concerned with substantive rather than procedure matters (though the emphasis varies from one area to another), 4) in the laws preserved on stone, much more space is devoted to substantive than to procedural matters, and 5) Athenian laws often define key substantive terms but never define key procedural terms. This evidence shows that the aim of an Athenian statute was not just to get a dispute into court and provide rules about how to resolve a dispute, but to control the conduct of officials and private individuals in daily life.

Juliette HARRisson (Birmingham)
Culturally Remembering the Mycenaeans in the Homeric Poems
This paper explores how the society of the Mycenaean period is remembered in the Homeric poems and how these memories shape the cultural identity of the poet’s contemporaries. The theoretical vehicle for this investigation is the concept of cultural memory, as developed by Jan Assmann. The relationship between the epic poetry attributed to Homer and the ancient kingdoms of the Mycenaean period has long been a source of debate. We have moved beyond the days when Schliemann believed it possible to discover historical evidence of Homer’s Troy, but there is no consensus concerning what elements of an older society, if any, may be represented by the poems. There are certainly some limited elements of the culture of the Mycenaean period which can be found in the Homeric poems – important cultural centres correctly identified and weapons accurately described. This paper explores certain central questions concerning the cultural memory of Mycenae evident in the Homeric poems. Which elements of Mycenaean culture are remembered and why? What does the cultural memory of the Mycenaean age expressed in the Homeric poems tell us about the period of the poems’ composition? The paper will also make reference to the memory-centric nature of orally derived poetry.
Johannes HAUBOLD (Durham)
Elephants, Bulls and Mosquitoes: Reflections on a Cross-cultural Fable
This paper revisits the fable of the mosquito and the bull (or elephant), which is attested in several Greek texts from the Roman Period. The fable has an Akkadian antecedent, often seen as a source for the later Greek versions. I want to make two points in my paper: one about the nature of intertextuality, and one about the close reading of Greek and Akkadian texts.
1. The Akkadian fable is an early product of a narrative tradition which straddles linguistic and cultural boundaries. That tradition is already multiform when we first encounter it: a Sumerian saying about the bull and the fox reads like an embryonic version of our fable. The wider context here is the malleability of the fable as a popular genre, and a tendency in the ancient world to equate certain animals (e.g. bull = elephant).
2. However, even when considering cross-cultural equation such as the bull/elephant parallel it is important to pay attention to the specificity of each text. I argue that the Akkadian version of our fable has been misunderstood precisely because of the Greek parallels: for example, we now know that the Akkadian text does not feature a mosquito.

Bianca HAUSBURG and Jan Felix GAERTNER (Leipzig)
Thucydidean Motifs and Caesarian Diction in the Bellum Alexandrinum
In the past, the pseudo-Caesarian Bella have been primarily used to reconstruct historical events after the battle of Pharsalus. Their literary technique, however, has received little attention. We will explore the literary background of the dramatic account of a sea battle in the harbour of Alexandria in B.Alex. 13-16. Previous scholars interpreted the episode as an imitation of a similar battle description in Caesar’s Bellum Civile (2.4-6). We shall demonstrate that the links with the Bellum Civile only concern the linguistic surface and that a far closer model is Thucydides’ account of the Sicilian Expedition (especially 7.69-71). This fusion of Caesarian diction and Thucydidean motifs stands in stark contrast to the later portions of the Bellum Alexandrinum. There, echoes of Caesarian diction are extremely rare, and both Caesar and the historical events are not presented in a Thucydidean fashion but along the lines of ‘tragic’ Hellenistic historiography. These observations force us to question the conventional attribution of the work to a single author. Moreover, the Bellum Alexandrinum mirrors the contemporary debate about how to write history and attests both to the popularity of Thucydides and to the immense influence of Hellenistic Greek historiography in Rome.

Malcolm HEATH (Leeds)
Don’t forget to seize the means of distribution, too!
Scholars are producers and consumers of research. We need to read what others have written; we want others to read what we have written. So access is doubly crucial. The good news: IT has radically reduced the intrinsic costs of distribution and access. The bad news: we are trapped by an inherited system which recovers costs by limiting access. It’s crazy! Universities pay academics to produce research; academics give it away to publishers, who make it more expensive; then universities buy it back. But this is a time of deep cuts in university funding: increasingly, they won’t be able to afford it. Potential readers who don’t have access to well-resourced academic libraries were locked out already. The shape of a long-term solution remains unclear: but you can help to make things better now. Self-archiving is easy, legal, and in everyone’s interest. So why aren’t you doing it?

Peter HESLIN (Durham)
Who stole Homer?
Would you buy an edition of an ancient text that had no indication of what manuscripts it was based upon, nor what readings are conjectural? Well, you already do. You or your institution quite probably subscribe to several expensive databases of ancient texts that have been stripped of their apparatus. You may object those e-texts are based upon printed editions which make be consulted for what the electronic version lacks. But do you do that? Do your students? So long as electronic editions were seen as awkward and burdensome objects that were only useful for the kind of tasks that were once served by concordances, these limitations were not very important. But as students increasingly turn first to their computer rather than to a bookshelf to seek out
texts, we will find that our electronic editions are grossly unfit for the new purposes to which they will be put. We try to teach our students to read with the apparatus in mind, yet in their native digital medium we provide them with texts that are functionally pre-modern. The technical limitations that contributed to the original state of affairs have long been overcome, and the current stalemate has been prolonged by the workings of power, money and the law. Our e-texts represent a dead-end, for they do not offer a clear path to scholars who want to improve them. The status of critical editions as intellectual property is a delightful legal paradox: an editor may abandon the paradosis and give brilliant play to her own ideas, but she only does so under the claim that the product of her creativity is in fact what someone else wrote. So whose property is the conjecture? Is the collation of a manuscript an original work? What about a digital edition of a text? The way to cut this Gordian knot is for us to create from scratch fully critical digital editions of texts and of visual material which are licensed in a way that ensures that they are perpetually free for all to use, modify, augment and improve.

Carolyn HIGBIE (Buffalo)
Clisthenes of Sicyon and the Invention of Tradition
Clisthenes of Sicyon appears only twice in Herodotus, both times incidental to the major themes of his Histories. Clisthenes is portrayed as a figure who knows the power of performance, the importance of epic in public life, and the need to manipulate public memory. He successfully changes Sicyon’s public and religious life, if the endurance of the tyranny after his death indicates Clisthenes’ abilities.
In modern scholarship, Clisthenes of Athens has overshadowed his grandfather, but recent anthropological scholarship and work on the importance of the heroic past in Greek life reveal what the tyrant of Sicyon identified as threats to his power, ways to overcome them, and how to continue his dynasty. Eric Hobsbawm, in his introduction to The Invention of Tradition, suggests that invented traditions may appear in a culture in response to events which hasten change in a society or even threaten it. The power of Argos, reflected in its physical destruction of Asine and its construction of the Argive Heraion, certainly threatened Sicyon. How Clisthenes invented or manipulated traditions which not only enabled the city to survive, but also kept the Orthagorid tyranny in power for decades may reveal yet another way in which the past was a source of power.

Louise HODGSON (Durham)
Appropriation and Adaptation: Caesarian Idiom at RG 1.1
This paper will investigate the use of Caesarian and Ciceronian idiom in the opening sentence of Augustus’ Res Gestae. Augustus’ claim to have restored the oppressed state to liberty has interesting affinities with Caesar’s BC 1.22. The shifts in terminology are telling: whereas Caesar claims to liberate the Roman people, Augustus appeals to a broader audience by liberating instead the less politically problematic res publica. Nor does Augustus defeat Caesar’s faction of the few, but rather the domination of a faction – a change that raises his unnamed enemies to more explicit levels of rhetorical unpleasantness. Augustus’ use of Caesar will be contrasted with his exploitation of Ciceronian idiom in the preceding clause, where he claims to have liberated the state privato consilio et privata impensa – a formula reliant on Cicero’s rhetoric at Phil. 3.5, which sought to excuse the young Octavian’s illegal army-raising by casting him as a privatus saviour of the state. The appropriation and adaptation at work in RG 1.1 provides a paradigm for Augustus’ self-promotion: I shall argue that it shows the princeps drawing on the political discourse of the late Republic to disguise the illegalities that characterised his early career.

Margaret IMBER (Bates College)
Controlling Precedents: The Trials of Gaius Rabirius
We should consider the Rabirian affair not simply in terms of Cicero’s consular year but within a broader context of late republican politics and litigation. Political trials recapitulated the participants’ versions of the republic’s history and offered constitutional exempla for future generations. Rabirius’ opponents, accordingly, did not simply compel Cicero to defend the constitutional legitimacy of the senatus consultus ulimum against Saturninus. They also forced Cicero to defend the provocatio as a political practice central to the Roman constitutional system.
The optimates had used political trials to suppress dissent within the ranks of the political elite since Sulla’s day (Sall. Bell. Cat. 39). Rabirius’ opponents dramatized the tension between republican notions of the provocatio as the citizen’s bulwark against magisterial abuse and the post-Sullan practice of the quaestio as a mode of regulating the political success of popular politicians. The Rabirian crisis, perhaps ironically, but certainly deliberately, made Cicero an advocate of the assembly’s power over the authority of the Senate and the magistrates. No mere prelude to Catiline, the Rabirian affair invites us to consider how Roman politicians debated the role and value of litigation within their political system after Sulla.

Jennifer INGLEHEART (Durham)
Speaking Names: the Significance of Naming in Catullus
Names and naming matter in Catullus. Many of the poems have a named addressee as their incipit or in their opening lines, and Catullus names individuals in order to honour or shame them. Yet Catullus’ use of proper names has not been fully explored to date; despite a move away from autobiographical interpretations of Catullus’ poetry, the corpus is still often viewed as an authentic record of Catullus’ lived experience. This paper contends that this reading practice has led to the significance of names in Catullus being overlooked.

Taking the poems as a literary construct, this paper offers a new interpretation of names in Catullus by exploring Catullan invective in the light of the theory that the victims of archaic Greek iambic poetry are stock characters with significant names. The paper places Catullan iambic in its historical and contemporary literary context and goes on to treat some named targets of Catullus’ invective, arguing that Catullus’ use of speaking names in poems which overtly signal their debt to archaic iambos asserts Catullus’ place in the iambic tradition. Throughout, the paper emphasizes Catullan creativity and play in his use of names.

Mike JACKSON (Edinburgh), Gabriel BODARD (KCL)
Supporting Productive Queries for Research (SPQR): the Semantic Web and ancient datasets
The SPQR project (http://spqr.cerch.kcl.ac.uk) addresses the integration of heterogeneous datasets relating to Classical antiquity. SPQR is evaluating Semantic Web and Linked Data technologies to solve problems identified by the LaQuAT (Linking and Querying of Ancient Texts) project. LaQuAT concluded that using a relational database model to integrate such datasets does not provide an intuitive way for researchers to explore the integrated data as a whole. We describe our work on exposing EpiDoc XML datasets as Linked Data. Datasets are automatically converted into Linked Data. Candidate links are identified, both between the datasets and to relevant third-party Linked Data resources, including the Pleiades gazetteer of ancient places, archaeological reports and museum collections. From our datasets and links we evolve an ontology which represents an agreed vocabulary for both datasets and links.

We envisage linking this to the Europeana Data Model. A portal will host the converted datasets which will allow researchers to navigate through the integrated data, run queries over the data and perform free-text searches.

We aim to demonstrate that Linked Data allows researchers more readily to understand enriched Classical datasets and exploit these to the benefit of their research.

Ahuvia KAHANE (Royal Holloway)
Homer’s “Modernity”? Social Order and the Structure of Social Roles.
This paper considers aspects of the relationship between social order and the structure of social roles in Homer, with specific reference to questions of “symmetry” and “reciprocity” (Levi-Strauss, Sahlins, Blau; Lyotard, Bauman, Castoriadis, etc.). Antiquity often links social stability to fixed “a-symmetrical” social roles. In Aristotle’s Politics, for example, stability in the oikos, is based on a fixed (“natural”) division of gendered dominant/subject positions. The disruption of such stable asymmetry, imagined in such tragedies as Agamemnon, Medea, Bacchae, etc. is often portrayed as catastrophic. In contrast, in Homer there are examples of social structures that incorporate flexible, indeterminate, or outright inverted social roles (Odysseus and Penelope, the Phaeacians, etc.). What is less often discussed are the implications of such portrayals for our overall
characterization of Homer, especially in relation to the history of ideas and histories of social order. The paper argues that in Homer we find the kernel of “alternative” conception which allow for flexible or even symmetrical roles, yet portray potentially stable social structures. Such models are more-often associated with “modern” rather than with “ancient” consciousness. The paper thus offers a possible argument for Homer’s “modernity.”

Emmanouil KALKANIS (Durham)
The Reception of Classical Art in the Making of the Eighteenth-Century Classical Culture
The aim of this paper is to engage with the cultural field of collecting ancient vases in Southern Italy during the second half of the eighteenth century. By focusing on the conceptual and critical framework that surrounded the reception of Sir William Hamilton’s vases (1730 – 1803), this paper explores the different ways ancient objects have been aestheticized and received (whether they were appreciated as valuable art or just as prestige holdings). Throughout the text, the focus is primarily on objects and the influence they exerted on eighteenth-century artists’ lives as well as on the cultural and contextual stories that the biographies of the artefacts involve and the role they played in securing their own fame and aesthetic significance. However, in order to create a story in which material culture, artistic practice and collecting habits could plausibly be united, a biographical approach to things themselves is crucial for the delineation of the main particularities of material culture; the ones which are responsible for transforming things from classical past into objects d’art.

Maria KANELLOU (UCL)
Imagery Re-imagined in the Hellenistic Epigram
One of the basic characteristics of the epigram is the combination of tight spatial constraints with the development of a vocabulary of images. The analysis of these images has been, so far, only incidental and there is a lacuna in research concerning their use as a generic aspect of the epigrams. The paper covers in part this gap. Nautical imagery is selected as the basis for study, and a number of issues are analysed. Nautical images are examined as a conscious narrative strategy. It is suggested that their use maximizes the potential for narrative economy, since their associations facilitate a multi-faceted presentation of the topic of an epigram. In erotic epigrams, close analysis shows that the way the epigrammatists chose between different strands of the same ‘image family’ allows them to express different aspects of the erotic experience. This goes hand in hand with a certain flexibility in the use of images (e.g. within the same epigram different kinds of ships are employed, with different semantic values). Moreover, the inherited associations allow the creation of ambiguities between external circumstances and the lover’s internal state (e.g. the outdoors wind versus the inner gale of love).

Sandra KARLSSON (Gothenburg)
Correlation between image and text in Hellenistic funerary art
Several of the Greek cities of western Asia Minor experienced an economic revival in the Hellenistic age and their flourishing economy and cultural life is vividly expressed in the thousands of tombstones that have come down to us from this period. In order to fully understand the meaning of this important category of original sculpture, we need to consider not only the images and epitaphs separately, but also in conjunction with one another. The aim of my paper is to examine the correlation between text and image and their degree of conformity. For the majority of monuments, the epigrams have been inscribed with the purpose of enhancing or giving a clue to the understanding of the figured scene, but this is not valid for all monuments. In the latter case the epitaphs could equally well be inscribed on tombstones without figures; vice versa, the reliefs lacking these epitaphs would still fulfil their function as tombstones. However, even where the complete lack of correlation is established, the epigrams widen the scope of these tombstones, a fact which may not be apparent at first. Curiously enough, the mere presence of the poetry, however non-specific, impersonal and detached from references to specific character traits of individuals, does infuse some personal connotations into the relief. Not only do many epigrams contain the names of the deceased honoured by the memorials; in most cases they also identify a figure in the relief composition. The survivors clearly meant to enhance the significance of the
tombstone by the addition of an epigram, and however general and conventional its content might seem, at least at first glance, a thorough analysis reveals a complex pattern, and the interplay between image and text has indeed much to reveal.

Benjamin D. KEIM (Cambridge)

Negotiating Honour in Antigone’s Athens

Recent considerations of Sophocles’ Antigone devote scant attention to the discourses of honour interwoven throughout the play. Although the remarks of Knox (1964: 91-3) and Hester (1971: 21-2) are cited occasionally, scholarly movement away from firmly heroic readings has resulted in the abandonment of this particularly rich furrow. Here I demonstrate (1) the integral role played by ὁμή in the text and narrative of the Antigone; (2) that honour is not a heroic fetish but a concern of every character, of the entire Theban ‘cultural order’; and (3) that these dramatic negotiations may contribute to our broader understanding of honour in democratic Athens.

I begin by reviewing Sophocles’ unparalleled usage of ὁμή. Antigone contains twenty-four instances of ὁμή-vocabulary, concentrated within those programmatic passages that set out characters’ identities, perspectives, and disagreements. I then examine the social, negotiatory aspects of honour by interpreting extended passages from across the play. I conclude by moving from the stage to the polis where this play enjoyed a remarkable Nachleben. By examining honour within Antigone, Antigone within the honour-laden festival ceremonies, and these ceremonies within their polis, the negotiatory aspects of honour can, as witnessed on stage, come to inform our understanding of the Athenian discourses of honour.

Ulrike KENENS (Leuven)

Greek Mythography At Work. The Story of Perseus from Pherecydes to Tzetzes

The scholarly study of myth extensively draws from mythographical writings that, unlike the imaginative creations of poets, simply paraphrase myths to capture their essential plots. Recently, there has been a striking revival of interest in this genre of ancient mythography. However, since most scholars are particularly concerned with source criticism, the overall dynamics within this genre are often underestimated and rather little attention is paid to the influence of Hellenistic scholarship, the existence of numerous collections now lost and the compilatory technique of mythographers.

This paper illustrates the relevance of such broader perspectives by analysing the Perseus myth as transmitted by various mythographical sources, from the early logographer Pherecydes over the imperial mythographer Ps.-Apollodorus to the Byzantine scholar Tzetzes. It is shown that mythographers of all ages not only abridged, but also contaminated their sources with external information originating from e.g. Hellenistic commentaries and previous compendia. Hence, this case-study sheds new light on the overall complexity of the mythographical genre in which literary sources, Hellenistic scholarly treatises and previous mythographical writings are continuously being epitomized, blended and contaminated. Conversely, such broader perspective contributes to a better understanding of the nature of individual mythographers and of their position within mythographical tradition.

Jay KENNEDY (Manchester)

The Musical Structures of Plato’s Dialogues

Kennedy (2010a) presented several lines of evidence that Plato had imposed stichometric structures on each of his dialogues, and showed that these should be interpreted as embedded musical scales. In Kennedy (2010b), close readings of the Symposium and the Euthyphro showed in detail that these musical structures serve to unify those dialogues. After briefly reviewing these arguments, I turn to some newer developments, in particular Andrew Barker’s clarification of the kinds of scales involved.
Hyun Jin Kim (Sydney)
The Impact of Persian/Near Eastern ‘Ethnography’ on Greek Ethnography and Greek Identity

The issue of Greek identity and the othering of the Barbarian in Greek literary discourse have received a fair amount of scholarly attention in the past three decades. The peoples whom the Greeks called barbarians were overwhelmingly the inhabitants of the Near East, the conquered subjects of the Persians, and the Persians themselves. Many scholars have already noted that it was the Greek experience of the Persian Wars and the unexpected Greek triumph in those conflicts that triggered the rise of Greek ethnocentrism vis-à-vis the ‘Barbarian’. However, although the military dimension of Greek-Persian interrelations and the following cultural exchanges during the 5th century BC have received ample attention, little has been done to highlight the possible Persian/Near Eastern impact on Greek ethnography in the 6th century BC.

This paper will highlight the prevalence of what could be termed ethnographic and geographical inquiry in the Near Eastern world in the 6th century BC. It will also argue that Persian imperial ‘ethnography’ and ethnocentrism and Near Eastern geographical inquiry heavily influenced the Greek/Ionian representation of the world in the late 6th century and that this had a direct impact on the formulation of the rhetoric of Greek-Barbarian antithesis and was also instrumental in the articulation of a Panhellenic Greek identity.

Lauren Knifton (Durham)
Not Naming Names: Leander and Hero as Reflections of Exile

This paper will examine how the figure of the exiled author is reflected in mythological characters from Heroides 18-19. In these two epistles, posed as a correspondence between Hero and Leander, the key themes of anonymity, mastery (or lack thereof) of the sea and poetical composition play important rôles in developing associations between the mythical characters and their author, Ovid, who has been exiled from Rome and relegated to Tomi.

Rimell’s (2006) study of the ‘double’ Heroides focuses on Her. 18-19 as an expression of Ovidian erotics; my paper aims to develop her work by looking at these epistles in terms of the author-persona relationship, with a particular focus on the relevance of the author’s exile. I argue that the anonymity of Her. 18-19 is a key component in relating the mythical characters to Ovid, as the ambiguity over the identification of the narrator creates uncertainty in the external reader when attempting to identify the speaker. After examining the ways in which Leander reflects the exiled author as he composes elegiac epistles, I move on to discuss how Leander’s drowning can be interpreted as an allegory for verse composition and the contribution that this makes towards the myth of poetic decline often attached to Ovid’s relegation to Tomi.

Miklós Könczló (Durham)
Fairness, Definition and the Legislator’s Intent: Arguments from ἐπιεικεία in Aristotle and Hermogenes

In my paper I first discuss arguments from ἐπιεικεία as described in Aristotle’s Rhetoric. I am going to argue that while part of what is traditionally interpreted as his discussion of fairness cannot be linked to any evidence of contemporary forensic oratory, the description of ἐπιεικεία in the NE and the example in the Rhet. may show the way for making a plausible argument for ‘justice beyond the law’ in judicial speeches.

To reconstruct this kind of argument, one has to take into account the topic of definition, which immediately precedes fairness in the discussion of ‘judicial’ arguments. I shall attempt to show the links between definition and the legislator’s intent, a topic often used to argue for a ‘fair’ interpretation of law.

Secondly, I am going to discuss the structure of arguments from the legislator’s intent as described by Hermogenes in his Peri staseon. Unlike earlier authors of stasis theories, Hermogenes seems to be aware of the interconnectedness of definition and intent. Consequently, I seek to explore his sources and the possibility of Aristotelian influence on this part of his doctrine.
Ariadne Konstantinou (Jerusalem)
Hestia and Eos: Mapping Female Mobility in Greek Myth

Greek tragedy abounds in statements regarding the gendered division of space. Starting with the vexing question of whether these statements represent social ideology or social practice in Greek culture, I will discuss the interrelation and bipolarity of the goddesses Hestia and Eos.

Hestia, the goddess of the hearth, is a virgin goddess. She is physically immobile and represents the stable, fundamental, and cohesive central location of the oikos as well as the social decorum of endon menēn (‘staying inside’). The goddess Eos, the personification of the natural phenomenon of Dawn, on the other hand, moves perpetually, rides a chariot, is regularly depicted as a winged goddess, and plays an active part in the seduction of several young mortal men, among them Tithonos.

This paper will present Hestia and Eos as embodiments of two contrasting poles in an ultimately more extensive spectrum of female mobility in Greek myth, alluding alongside to key questions such as: in what ways can mythic narratives shed light on the social construction of Greek gender? What is the correlation between myth and Greek social ideology? Is it constructive to study Greek women and women’s mobility through the lens of myth?

A.J. Korzeniewski (Pittsburgh)
Livy, Dante, and Vergilian Hope

While the relationship between Dante and Vergil has been study extensively, Dante’s relationship with Livy has often been overlooked. This attitude is no doubt inspired by the fact that Dante himself employs Livy as a source for his Roman material repeatedly throughout his writings, although he does so with little acknowledgment. Nevertheless, Dante’s affiliation with Livy deserves some attention as the parallels between the two can be used to make a statement about Dante’s understanding of Vergil and how one reading the Aeneid can find in the poem Vergilian hope for the future. As this paper shall demonstrate, both Vergil and Livy share a similar fondness and proclivity for a return to republican ideals and heroics, which have been usurped by Augustus’s imperial rule. Dante too will espouse republican daring and virtue; only he will place these republican attributes in an imperial shell to create, if you will, a quasi-republican-imperialism. Vergil does a similar feat during the underworld prophesying of Aeneid 6, wherein Vergil comes across as peculiarly congenial with Dante in that for all the historical events he reports, he comes across as chiefly concerned with their meaning for Rome as a permanent reality, such as it was from the beginning and forever (Aen. 1.278f.). Indeed, the chief obstacles which Aeneas faces are in overcoming his own will and desires, and his greatest victories arise not in battle but when he triumphs over them and sees past the fury of the fight to some higher end of unity and harmony. Livy, however, contrasts the great figures and deeds of Rome’s republican past with a discernable skepticism about the Augustan Age and the feasibility of its immediate reform. Livy’s history expresses that there is little optimism for the present to be found. For such optimism, Dante turns to Vergil.

Paul J. Kosmin (Harvard)
A Diasporic Kingdom: The Abandonment of Macedonia in Seleukid Ideology

In this paper I shall examine the changing meaning of “Macedonia” within the royal ideology of the first two rulers of the Seleukid kingdom. In 281 BCE an elderly Seleukos I Nikator, already ruling from India to the Hellespont, embarked on an expedition to conquer and incorporate Macedonia. Our main source for the campaign, Memnon of Heraclea Pontica (FGrH 434 F1 8.1), suggested that Seleukos was motivated by a pothen for his homeland (Briant). Alongside this, a cuneiform Babylonian Chronicle (BCHP 9), contemporary with the expedition, also portrays Seleukos Nikator as a Macedonian going home (ina matššu). I argue that this convergence between two such culturally-distinct and geographically-separated historiographical traditions indicates that both sources are independently reproducing official Seleukid discourse. That is to say, Seleukos Nikator publicly characterized his imperial ambitions as homesickness.

Seleukos was killed in 280 BCE as soon as he landed in Europe and the extension of his empire to Macedonia was aborted. In response to Seleukos’ failure and the establishment of an independent and initially hostile state within the former homeland (the Antigonid kingdom), the second
Seleukid ruler, Antiochos I, transformed Macedonia from a loss into an absence. Official court historiography (Primo 2009) depicted the abandoned homeland as a forbidden space, a strategy which naturalized the kingdom’s borders. The “Seleukos Romance”, a posthumous novelistic biography of Seleukos Nikator (much like the Alexander Romance), incorporates oracular utterances that explicitly prohibit a return home. More importantly, various episodes from Seleukos’ childhood and service in Alexander’s army are made to suggest that his ascent to monarchy will require the renunciation of Macedonia.

Agnieszka KOTLINSKA-TOMA (Wrocław)
Is ending a wretched life pardonable? Attitudes toward suicide in Greek funerary epigrams.
In Greek ethics as well as in the religious and philosophical thought one can easily notice a marked difference between the noble and ignoble suicide. The chasm between these two kinds of self-slaughter is immense and based on the motivation of the act. The aim of this paper is to present the various acts of taking one’s own life voluntarily and intentionally as presented in the Greek funerary epigrams. A positive attitude toward noble suicide can be observed in several literary epigrams from the Greek Anthology. Worth of poetical commemoration is of course the death to escape disgrace (mythical Ajax, a crippled soldier, women who take their lives to avoid rape or slavery). There are though also some examples of unusual suicides or, more precisely, unusual reasons to commit one, which cannot be categorized as justified suicides. The reason why these epigrams have been written in the first place is a special predilection of Greek epigrammatists to depict peculiar and odd situations, such as the death for customary or philosophical reasons or death of unbearable grief. In this paper I analyze in detail literary and customary backgrounds of all these epigrams.

Christos KREMMYDAS (RHUL)
Law and rhetoric in Athenian paragraphe and graphe paranomōn
Paragraphe (“formal objection”) and graphe paranomōn (“public action for proposing an unconstitutional proposal”) were two Athenian legal procedures meant to protect individuals and the state from illegal actions. Paragraphe was established in 403/2 after the democratic restoration and the proclamation of the amnesty (see Isokrates 18.2). Through this private procedure, a defendant in a trial could claim that the charge brought against him was inadmissible and a new trial was to decide the legal question of inadmissibility. Although litigants in both procedures had to base their pleas on some legal technicality (e.g. to prove inadmissibility of a charge in a paragraphe or that a proposal was paranomōn, in a graphe paranomōn), the rhetorical scope was always extended beyond the strict legal questions.
In this paper, I shall be focussing on two fourth-century forensic speeches (Demosthenes 22, delivered in a graphe paranomōn, and 35, delivered in a paragraphe) in order to examine the range of rhetorical strategies employed, the role of law in the speakers’ argumentation, and the extent to which the rhetorical strategies may be determined by the legal procedure and the respective legal positions of the speakers.

Alexander KUZNETSOV (Moscow)
Titulus Aemilii Regilli reconsidered
Livy (40.52) cites a laudatory inscription put over the doors of the shrine of Lares Permarini vowed by L. Aemilius Regillus in 190 and dedicated in 179 BCE. A copy placed in a temple of Iuppiter in Capitolio is presumed to be a source for an exemplary saturnian (Ps.-Bassus 6.265.25 Keil), and it is generally believed that the Regillus’ Titulus was in saturnian. Three variants of the starting words are to be considered: the manuscript text of Livy: duello magno regibus dirimendo caput subigendis pacis ...; the saturnian: duello magno dirimendo regibus subigendis ..., upon which the doctored saturnian text of Gottfried Hermann is founded: duello magno dirimendo, regibus subigandis caput, patrandae pacis ... The last became a starting point for various emendations. I argue that the saturnian is unreliable and that the Titulus Aemilii was a prose text influenced both by early Roman eloquence and the poetical diction. As far as the saturnian is concerned, it is a forgery made from the genuine stuff of the prose text. Three other ‘triumphal saturnians’ cited by the grammarians
(Ps.-Bass. 6.265.29, Fortunat. 6.294.1 = Diomed. 1.512.20, Ps.-Censorin. 6.615.8) appear to be of similar origin.

**Sandro LA BARBERA (Pisa)**

**Wandering Hexameters**

It has often been observed that Greek and Latin prose writers avoided using the so-called *clausula berna*, i.e. giving their prose some hexametrical flavour by closing sentences with such metrically recognizable epic manner. But it is not so rare to run into that *clausula*, and, though more rarely, even complete hexameters may be uncovered as they were fed into prose contexts.

Our first task is to find out those hexameters and validate their metrical status. We will afterwards try to understand whether such metrical structures are accidental, or if they were deliberately inserted, and highlighted by writers in some way. This analysis will then prompt us to discuss issues of contextual pertinence: are they to be considered only as attempts to make a given passage loftier? Or are they relevant also as they give more information about contents, purposes and genre affiliations?

Furthermore, in some cases it could even be argued that the ‘hidden’ line can be rather traced back to previous literary sources.

Examples under review range from Greek to Latin to Byzantine prose texts, including both known and new cases, e.g. (ps.-)Hippocrates, Caesar, Augustus, Heraclitus, Planudes and others.

**S. D. LAMBERT (Cardiff)**

**Inscribed Athenian Decrees Honouring Athenians to 321 b.c.**

By far the most common type of inscribed Athenian decree was that bestowing honours, usually on foreigners (individuals or cities), but from the 340s also regularly on Athenian citizens. The project to revise *IG ii* has produced a step-change in our knowledge of the decrees honouring Athenians, stimulating the publication of several new examples, as well as extensive work on those already known. From the *ca. 12* examples that can be found in the pre-321 decrees section of *IG ii* (several of which have been transformed by joins or other significant epigraphical progress), the total number that will be included in the equivalent section of *IG ii* has risen to over 30. We now have a critical mass of this type of inscribed decree, and this has stimulated historical and archaeological analysis of them as a group. This paper will review these advances, and seek to progress our understanding of this genre of decree further, taking in topics such as the physical formats and locations of these monuments; the types of office-holding and the virtues honoured; the socio-economic profile of the honorands; points of contact (or lack thereof) with honours attested in the literary record, especially the orators.

**Lydia LANGERWERF (Nottingham)**

**From Catiline to Spartacus: Rebel Daring in Greek and Latin Historiography**

This presentation explores the use of words for courage and daring in the historiography of the Early Empire. In particular, it investigates a possible connection between the valuation of courage (esp. the courage of rebels) on the battlefield and the ideology of slavery. Questions are revisited such as ‘Were slaves considered less able to demonstrate courage?’ and ‘How did Roman citizens deal with the danger and fear of slave revolts?’. I will counter argue the usual answers to these questions with a discussion of what was expected and valued in citizen soldiers and officers. Use will be made of a variety of historiographical sources, charting the development and different instances of representations of rebel daring from Sallust’s account of Catiline’s conspiracy down to Plutarch and Appian’ account of Spartacus revolt. How are words for courage used by ancient historians to demonize/heroize their protagonists? Through my concentration of ancient vocabulary and use of tropes the presentation has a strong literary, narratological component. Its aim is however historical. The dynamics and versatility of meaning of Greek and Latin words for courage and daring reflect, I will argue, changes into how people organized and understood their societies.
Marcel L. Lech (Copenhagen)
Politics, Cockfights & Comic Cognition. Conceptual Metaphors in Aristophanic Comedies
This paper will show how jocular and non-jocular metaphors in Aristophanes are part of a greater conceptual system, and how Aristophanes uses these conceptual metaphors to structure not only his episodes but his choral odes in particular.
Using the theories on metaphors developed by cognitive linguistics (especially Lakoff and Johnson) I will present a range of conceptual metaphors prevalent in the Athenian society of the late fifth century such as war is dance (and vice versa), politics is cooking, politicians are slaves, etc. I will then give some examples from Knights, and show how conceptual metaphors structure the choral odes. In Knights as in other comedies conceptual metaphors also help the playwright and the audience to visualise the performance through metaphors; thus, the slaves are drinking and masturbating (this is conceptually and jokingly at least what slaves are doing) and politicians get buggered, politicians are after all (in Old Comedy) pathics.
But how does such prototypicality refer to reality? Many metaphors have often been taken by classicists at face value. Though conceptual systems tell us a lot of how the Athenians perceived their world, metaphors are not bound by truth, and should as such be studied with caution.

Victoria Leonard (Cardiff)
Nefarious Acts and Sacrilegious Sacrifices: Live Burial in the Historia adversus paganos
This paper is concerned with the spectacle of live burial in the Historia adversus paganos, a seven-book History written by Paulus Orosius in the early fifth century AD. The representation of pagan religious practice in Christian apologetic will be considered, with specific attention to the leitmotiv of live burial and its function within the text. In Plutarch’s Life of Numa the description of the live burial of a Vestal Virgin prompts the reflection that ‘No other spectacle is more appalling, nor does any other day bring more gloom to the city than this.’ (10.3) The Historia sees live burial as a punishment most frequently enforced upon the Vestal Virgins for the sins of ‘defilement’ and ‘pollution’. The connection between the custom of live burial and the city of Rome is recurrent. But it is also more widely connected in myth and history with ‘unnatural crimes’ such as parricide and incest, and most notably, the practice of pagan sacrifice and theatrical performances. This paper seeks to demonstrate the pejorative yet subtle rhetoric of depredation enacted against the pagan in the polemical discourse of the Historia and how this contributes to the construction of paganism in the text.

Barbara Leone (Università del Salento)
Memory and oblivion in foundation stories
Studying Greek Colonisation, a modern historian can face two sides of the same coin: sometimes literary sources seem to ignore how or even when a settlement was planted; in other instances, we have plenty of versions of the so-called “foundation story”.
How is this possible? This paper will aim to explain, giving some examples, how a historian tries to distinguish genuine ‘memories’ from outcomes of later ‘past-reconstructing’ processes.
We will examine stories of mixed-colonies and their ‘forgotten’ mother cities (e.g. Kyme, Naxos, Gela); stories of ‘humble’ or shameful origins of the apoikoi (e.g. Taras, Syracuse); stories about the choice of a name for an apoikia (Gela, Argilos). A first step to take when dealing with several versions for the foundation of the same colony, is to read each passage of an author keeping in mind when and where it has been composed. Indeed, sometimes it is possible to detect a very ‘practical’ reason – often a political one – for later traditions, though, as we will see, they should not be dismissed as totally faultless. To say the least, they tell us how important the past and its memory – or its oblivion – were for the self-defining process of a polis.

David M. Lewis (Durham)
Substance and Procedure in Solonian Law
The character of ancient Greek legal systems has divided scholars in recent years: were they primarily interested in procedural matters, i.e. making sure the feuds of individuals were channelled into the courtroom through legal procedures (thus avoiding self-help and violence), or
were they more interested in substantive issues, i.e. establishing rights and duties for the entire community to follow in everyday life? The debate has primarily focused upon Classical Athenian law, but less attention has been paid to Greek laws from before 450 BCE, and M. Gagarin’s claim that early Greek law was overwhelmingly procedural in orientation has received little challenge. This paper re-examines the issue in relation to Solonian law. Recently, Gagarin has argued (on analogy from Drakon’s homicide law) that the surviving fragments of Solonian law, mainly substantive in scope, were probably accompanied by a larger body of procedural rules. By comparing the fragments of Solonian law to early legal inscriptions, this paper shows that Drakon’s homicide law is atypical and thus an unsafe basis for generalisation; a reassessment of Solonian law demonstrates that early Athenian laws were directed at far more than channelling disputes into court. Instead, they show a pronounced interest in substantive issues.

Vayos LIAPIS (Cyprus)

Greek Tragedy, History, and Identity in George Seferis

George Seferis shared with most Greek poets of his generation a programmatic ambition to redefine Hellenicity as part of a modernist worldview. Breaking away from the stilted nationalism of the dominant discourse, Seferis (and the rest of the so-called “Thirties’ Generation”) rediscovered and valorised aspects of traditional culture that had been under-represented or marginalised.

Seferis gave pride of place to the re-appropriation of ancient Greek myth—especially Greek tragic myth—as a Greek cultural marker par excellence. As well as a widely accessible medium allowing him to reach an international public, tragic myth became for Seferis a central interpretive tool, which he used to superimpose a coherent tragic worldview on events that might otherwise seem too disparate, disconnected or chaotic.

Seferis’ re-appropriation of Greek tragic myth dates back to the early 1930s, when his main focus was Aeschylus’ Órestea, and extends until quite late into his career, when Seferis moved to subtler means of further developing his poetics of Hellenicity. This paper explores the various textual devices by which Seferis integrates Greek tragic myth into his poetry; it discusses the historical contexts against which the poems in question need to be viewed; and it hints at the fascinating ways in which events and characters from Greek myth morph into emblematic images embodying some of Seferis’ most heartfelt and pressing concerns.

Peter LIDDDEL (Manchester)

Athenian Decrees Honouring Athenians in the Literary Record, 403–321 b.c.

The public bestowal and receipt of civic honours was a central aspect of Athenian political culture, and it looms large in fourth-century oratory. Bringing together the inscribed and literary evidence for honours may shine light on questions about the nature of Athenian decrees and Athenian inscribing habits as well as the development of Athenian honorific practices. This paper draws on material collected in a project which aims to create and publish an inventory of Athenian decrees of the period from 403/2 to 322/1 BC attested in literary texts.

It concentrates upon literary references to, paraphrases of, and quotation of honorific decrees for Athenians. Of the decrees collected in this project, around 30 (the precise number depends upon interpretation of certain contentious passages) bestow honours upon Athenian citizens. This paper will assess (a) the deployment by the literary sources of these decrees (b) the socio-economic profile and political status both of proposers and honorands; (c) the kinds of office being rewarded; (d) the abstract virtues praised; (e) the rewards; (f) the physical manifestation of such decrees; (g) the overlaps with the epigraphical evidence; (h) the overlap with the inscribed record.

Kathryn LOMAS (UCL)

Inscriptions and public display: cultures of literacy in pre-Roman Italy

A paradox of epigraphic literacy in non-Roman Italy is the tension between the display context of inscriptions and other aspects of literacy in early Mediterranean societies. Although literacy skills, and the ability to access and control them by commissioning inscriptions, was an elite prerogative, the connection between literacy and elite display is complex. In some areas of Italy, inscriptions were used to establish and delimit different types of space from an early date, but elsewhere,
writing was linked with the establishment of both group and personal identities in private or restricted contexts. The use of inscriptions as a means of public status-display has also been linked with cultural change and the influence of Roman epigraphic practices. This paper will explore the use of epigraphy as a means of establishing group and individual identities in pre-Roman Italy. It explores the issues of public versus private forms of display, and of the uses of writing to establish identities in public space. It also examines the visual impact of inscriptions in different display settings. The paper highlights regional and cultural differences in the ways in which inscriptions were used to established individual and group identities in public space.

Polly LOW (Manchester)
Boundaries, Territory and Power in the Athenian Empire
This paper focuses on the small set of inscribed horoi (IG i 3 1481–1502) which were apparently set up by fifth-century Athenians (or Athenian sympathisers) in a number of non-Athenian locations (Aegina, Cos, Samos, Lemnos and Chalcis) to mark the boundaries of various religious spaces. These inscriptions have often featured in debates on the nature of religious propaganda in the Athenian Empire, and, by extension, on the character of the Athenian Empire as a whole: should they be seen as evidence of a conciliatory, co-operative approach towards the allies or as the traces of a more aggressive programme of territorial expropriation? This paper, however, is more interested in exploring the implications of these texts (and monuments) for our understanding of fifth-century attitudes to the relationship between territory, monuments and empire. These horoi do not, of course, mark the boundaries of the Athenian Empire in a narrowly territorial sense, but they still have the potential to carry important messages about the scope of Athenian power. The aim of this paper is to explore the precise nature of those messages, by thinking about the processes by which these inscriptions were created; their placement in and impact on the landscapes in which they were situated; and their relationship to other epigraphic expressions of Athenian imperial power.

Michele LUCCHESI (Oxford)
Images, memory, and forgetting about the past at Sparta in Plutarch’s Lives
In the Parallel Lives Plutarch presents Lycurgus as the founding father who ‘(re)invented’ Sparta-as-we-know-her by giving the Spartans institutions, laws and customs for the times to come. All the other Spartan leaders in various epochs had to face up to so heavy a heritage in a constant tension between continuity and change. In my paper I wish to illustrate how in Lysander, Agesilaus, Agis and Cleomenes the tension between past and present often assumes the connotation of a complex dynamic of remembering and forgetting about Lycurgus. First, the protagonists’ remembering, emulating, confusing, distancing themselves from Lycurgus are visually described by Plutarch through statues, portraits, monuments that put them in direct relation to the great lawgiver. Second, in the narrations oracles, dreams, omens – i.e. the verbal description of other ‘images’ – reflect the closeness or the distance to Lycurgus. Lastly, Plutarch himself intervenes with comments or brief notes and makes the readers think whether the actions of Spartan leaders (e.g. Lysander, Agesilaus, Callicratidas, Agis, Cleomenes) followed the example of Lycurgus. The memory of the past at Sparta, therefore, does not appear to be unambiguous; yet, Lycurgus is the model that Plutarch offers the readers to judge the other Spartan characters and Spartan history.

Nino LURAGHI (Princeton)
Set in stone: making memory in Hellenistic Athens
From the early fifth century to the early third, the amount of information included in Greek decrees increases in a very visible way – not only information directly relevant to the transaction at hand, but also background information that reveals a clear intention, on the part of the political community, to transmit an approved version of certain historical events. The phenomenon is best documented in Athens, the most literate of Greek cities, and particularly in honorary decrees: e.g., if the Athenian strategoi had followed the sound advise of Phanokritos of Parion, they would have been able to capture the enemy warships (IG II2 29, from 387/6 BCE), and so forth. Through their approval in the assembly, texts that had been drafted by individuals end up being uttered on stone by the voice of the demos and become part of a shared monumental past.
The relationship of public inscriptions and the shared memory of the political community is still relatively underexplored. In this paper, I intend to consider one specific aspect of such relationship: the problem of constructing a coherent voice of the Athenian demos in periods of intense political upheaval. My focus will be on Athenian documents ranging in date from the death of Alexander the Great to the outbreak of the Chremonidean War, giving particular prominence to cases in which we know quite a bit about the author of the story, as it were: e.g. the decree for Lycurgus proposed by Stratocles and the one for Demochares proposed by Demochares. The paper will also include some speculation on the destruction of inscriptions and its purpose, starting from the decrees for Euphran of Sicyon and reflecting on the absence of documents from certain portions of the period in question. Finally, some attention will be devoted to the erasure of memory of the Antigonids at the end of the third century.

**Tosca Lynch (St Andrews)**

**Aulos imagery in Plato’s Symposium: Socrates as αὐλητής and the expulsion of the αὐλητρίς, simply a Platonic contradiction?**

What is the meaning that Plato assigns to αὐλός imagery in his Symposium? As attested by iconographic and textual evidence, this instrument played a very significant role in sympotic practices of Classical Athens: therefore, the unusual treatment that Plato reserves to the αὐλητρίς, expelled at the very beginning of the drinking-party (Symp. 176e7), calls for an explanation, as well as her reappearance in coincidence with the arrival on scene of Alcibiades (cf. 212c8; 212d6).

Even more interestingly, Alcibiades himself employs the image of the αὐλητρίς in his praise of Socrates, to characterise the effect and appeal of Socrates’ words on the souls of his listeners (cf. 215b-216d): why does Plato choose this specific image?

This paper shows that these passages are not symptomatic of Platonic contradictions regarding music and, particularly, the musical role of the αὐλός. In addition, I will hint at how this passage sheds some light on Plato’s attitude towards the power music and of the αὐλός: his concerns do not regard its capability of provoking deep and powerful emotions, but the danger related to the possible misuse of such strong forces.

**Katie McAfee (Cambridge)**

**The sexy statue: Venus’ body through eighteenth-century eyes**

The sculpted figure of Venus was one of the most iconic images of the eighteenth century. Almost every collection of classical sculpture in Britain had its own version of her body – ancient if possible, as in the infamous Newby Venus in Yorkshire, or else copied in plaster or stone. Her most esteemed manifestations in Italy held visitors transfixed with her naked charms, while writers, echoing ancient patterns of viewing (and touching) Venus’ body, melted marble into flesh with encomia on her very corporeal beauty. Men, like Napoleon, wanted to possess her; women, like the inimitable Emma Hamilton, tried to be her. Even Winckelmann, not known for his taste in women, described her in language loaded with a sensual enjoyment of her body.

This paper takes the enigmatic figure of Venus as its focal point, using her colourful reception history to open up various facets of the contemporary response to ancient sculpted bodies. Using eye-witness accounts, satirical prints, anthologies and gossip, I will explore how the Greco-Roman statues of Venus were at the heart of neoclassical negotiations with the ancient – and modern – sexy body.

**William Mack (Oxford)**

**I.Priene 361-3: A Stele from the Other Thebes: The View from a Minor Community in Asia Minor.**

Recovered from the ruins of the small settlement of Thebes in Ionia, this stone, the lower part of an opisthographic stele, preserves two curious inscriptions: on one side, a detailed, unilateral delineation of the boundaries of Theban territory (I.Priene 363); on the other, a calendar, setting forth the exacting ritual and sacrificial obligations of those members of this community involved in pastoral production (I.Priene 362). My paper will propose a new reconstruction of this monument, identifying the now-lost stone of I.Priene 361 as the top fragment of this stele on the basis of similarities of content, orthography, lettering and physical form, and exploring the
individual and collective functions of these texts. This monument sheds light on the precarious position of a minor community in the fourth century, perched on the shoulder of Mt. Mykale, negotiating its relations with internal groups and the external polis which dominated and owned it.

Jacob L. Mackey (Stanford)

Roman “Legalism” Reconsidered: The Augural Law between Priests & Magistrates

Scholars have long identified a legal paradigm in Roman religion. This legalism has variously been judged to render Roman religion “cold” (Cumont) or to signal Roman “scrupulousness” about ritual practice (John North, John Scheid, etc.). Such assessments range from uncharitable to not terribly illuminating. Worse, they fail to do justice to the role of legalism in Roman religion by failing to distinguish between two different kinds of rules, “regulative” and “constitutive.”

I reconsider Roman religious “legalism” by examining augural laws pertaining to priests and to magistrates. I argue that augural law is primarily regulative where it pertains to political activities of magistrates. But where it pertains to augurs, it constitutes the very possibility of their sacerdotal activities, such as inauguration, and of their priestly status itself. That is, augural law had not only a regulatory function but also a creative function, making possible an entire range of activities and institutions—such as priests, templar, and rituals—that could not have existed without it. Roman legalism is neither “cold” nor a sign of anxious Roman “scrupulousness”: It is rather a result of the Romans’ sophistication in the disposition of their social world. In constituting a diverse set of Roman religious institutions, the augural law significantly extended the cognitive and practical potential of Roman religious life.

Rosalind F. MacLachlan (Birmingham)

Eunapius on his own experience in the Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists

Eunapius of Sardis wrote Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists covering a sequence of Neoplatonist philosophers and sophists of the 4th Century. Figures with personal connections to Eunapius feature prominently throughout, while the accounts of his own teachers include longer autobiographical sections. In recounting his own personal experiences, however, Eunapius persistently refers to himself in the third person as ‘the writer of these things’ (ὁ ταῦτα γράφων) or ‘the author’ (ὁ συγγραφεὺς).

Eunapius was also a historian, and a concern with using authoritative sources, particularly ones reinforced by autopsy, runs through the work. His curious self-referential manner may expose a tension about writing Lives of personal connections from a position of autopsy, where one’s own interactions and experiences become significant evidence of the subjects’ characters. Eunapius cites his philosophical mentor, Chrysanthius, as the ‘cause’ of his work, but it is Chrysanthius’s unfortunate death which concludes it. The decline and destruction of Eunapius’ philosophical and sophistic world in his own lifetime has turned his own directly experienced living culture into something preserved only as written testimony. Eunapius’s delight that Oribasius, the medical writer, was still alive and flourishing at the time of writing neatly highlights this.

Simon Mahony (KCL)

Digitizing and Enriching a Teaching Image Collection for Classics

Although having large image collections, with the phasing out of slides and projection equipment, Classics departments have had to re-think how images are used to support teaching and inform research. The static format of Content Management Systems only allows limited viewing and download of content which considerably reduces usefulness. So-called Web 2.0 technologies enable a far more interactive model and foster a collaborative community of users. This research examines how the user community itself can move from being passive consumers to become a valuable resource - particularly in the area of the correction and enrichment of the accompanying metadata. The true value of an online image collection is in the data that accompanies each image; this is what makes a collection searchable allowing users to locate the images they require. Collections need detailed, reliable and consistent descriptions of their contents and provenance.
One problem is that the term ‘metadata’ is understood in different ways by different sections of the academic community. This research draws on the experience of The Commons, a project in partnership with The Library of Congress and the Ancient World Image Bank at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World (NYU) both hosted on Flickr.

**Marian MAKINS (Pennsylvania)**

**How to Remember What You’d Rather Forget: The Purpose of Battlefield Aftermath Scenes in Roman Literature**

Roman literature contains a surprising number of scenes depicting the aftermath of historical battles, often in gruesome detail. Why? Were the Romans simply so bloody-minded that writers like Sallust, Lucan, and Tacitus composed lurid aftermath narratives to titillate their readers? Or did they seek to memorialize battles whose casualties might otherwise receive little attention? After all, extant battlefield aftermath scenes focus primarily on two types of battles—civil war battles and crushing defeats—unlikely to receive public commemoration, and most took place far from Rome, meaning that the spectacle of aftermath would likely not have been available to the public first-hand. But it is never enough to claim that a writer represented something simply so that it would be remembered, without asking what meaning s/he attached to it by the manner of its representation. This paper explores the ways in which Roman Imperial writers used representations of battlefield aftermath to shape their readers’ memories of certain battles and the military leaders associated with them. It concludes that the principal aim of an aftermath scene is not to titillate or even move the reader, but rather to guide the reader’s memory of the leader(s) and/or political system(s) implicated in the scene.

**Antony MAKRINOS (UCL)**

**Madness in Byzantium: Eustathius’ appropriations of mania**

Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, is known for his erudite Commentaries but his philosophical ideas are less examined. He uses both Plato and the philosophers of the Platonic tradition to offer allegorical interpretations of ancient texts. Eustathius agrees with Plato’s distinction of the human illness from the divinely caused madness; he defines the former as the “ecstasy of the mind” and the latter as a feature of “everything in excess”. He follows the four Platonic types of divine madness: μαντική (Apollo), τελεστική (Dionysus), ποιητική (Muses), ἐρωτική (Aphrodite). When commenting on poetic inspiration, he does not use the word “mania” whilst his reference to the mania of war (Ares) is related to the “wandering of the mind” (φοῖτος).

This paper examines Eustathius’ reception of mania as a human illness and divine condition in combination to its etymological analysis and relation to key words such as οἶστρος, μῆνις or μαχλοσύνη. It will also present issues of Christian morality which concern Eustathius’ audience and are associated with mania. The reception of mania as a human illness had a morally didactic purpose: to teach his students how to refrain from these “mean, excessive desires”. Hence, Eustathius argued for the moral values extracted from the ancient texts and fought Christian criticism against the pagan authors of antiquity.

**Nikoletta MANIOTI (Durham)**

**Venus the Fury and family ties in Flavian epic**

This paper discusses three episodes in Valerius Flaccus’ Argonautica and Statius’ Thebaid that feature the goddess of love Venus in an entirely new role, that of the passion-inspiring Fury. I intend to show how family ties affect this representation and connect two episodes that would otherwise be completely independent.

While Aphrodite’s role in Apollonius’ Lemnian episode and Medea’s infatuation with Jason is limited, her counterpart Venus in Valerius Flaccus’ Argonautica takes a more active part. Here the goddess impersonates a woman, the Lemnian Dryope and Medea’s aunt Circe respectively, succeeding in inspiring the Lemnian women to act against their men as well as intensifying Medea’s passion for Jason, thus ensuring her help in his trials. Both interventions are characterised by infernal imagery; in fact, in the latter case Venus momentarily assumes the form of a Fury. A similar figure is found in Statius’ Thebaid, in another treatment of the Lemnian episode. Brandishing fires and snakes, Venus appears among the Infernal Sisters as one of them, to the
extent that she and they become indistinguishable in the minds of her victims. Through the close reading of these three episodes I will show how Virgilian models are transformed to fit the new context by re-evaluating the Homeric device of divine disguise into a female relative.

Christina - Panagiota MANOLEA (Patras and Hellenic Open University)
Possessed and inspired: Hermias on divine madness
Hermias of Alexandria preserved the lessons of Syrianus, Head of the Neoplatonic School of Athens in the 5th cent. A.D. His commentary on the *Phaedrus* provides an interesting interpretation of the text, in which Plato defines madness and distinguishes its kinds. According to Plato, divine madness is divided into four categories; that of the seer, telestic, poetic and erotic. Hermias sustains that these kinds depend mutually on one another. The paper will show how he describes the function of these kinds on two levels, ἐνδόν and ἐξω τῆς ψυχῆς. The function “within the soul” is richer and is realized in four fields: (a) the restoration of the soul after its fall, (b) the restoration of the human being as a whole, (c) the Pythagorean mathematical system and (d) the logical processes. The function “outside the soul” deals with the manifestations of the soul in human society. Hermias clearly proposes an original classification of the kinds of madness, on the basis of which we encounter poetic madness. After that follow the madness of the seer, the telestic madness, and on the highest level the madness of love. The whole analysis is enriched with Neoplatonic elements covering the fields of psychology, logic and metaphysics.

Fabienne MARCHAND (Oxford)
Death and the Priestess: temple keys on Boiotian funerary monuments.
Representations of females bearing temple keys in Greek art have long been identified as those of priestesses. Attic funerary monuments with such iconography have been the focus of recent interest, notably in J.B. Connelly, *Portrait of a priestess: women and ritual in ancient Greece* (2007), and in an exhibition held in Athens in 2008-2009, *Worshipping women: ritual and reality in classical Athens*. Attic tombstones range from reliefs depicting priestesses holding keys to plain funerary columns simply decorated with a key, sometimes accompanied by wreaths and fillets. The parallel series from Boiotia has attracted comparatively less attention. So far only five tombstones bearing temple keys have been recorded. New and previously wrongly identified monuments show that in reality their number is greater. This paper will discuss the iconography as well as the funerary inscriptions of this series, remarkable in many ways, notably because in that region women’s professions are rarely indicated in epitaphs.

Sebastian MATZNER (KCL)
*Ut Christiani et Romani Sitis*: Pope Benedict XVI and the Classical Tradition
The sight of a Roman Catholic church on Soho Square, right in the heart of London’s gay village, makes in itself for a remarkable juxtaposition of two worlds coming together. However, St Patrick’s Church holds another surprise in store: an inscription above the main entrance reminds the visitor of the saint’s wish ‘VT CHRISTIANI ET ROMANI SITIS’ (‘That you may be Christians and Romans’), expressing the hope that the recently christianised Irish might faithfully stay in communion with the Holy See. Yet, as a Classicist, one cannot help but wonder: how much is twenty-first-century Roman Catholicism still shaped by the twofold lineage of the pontifex maximus as the representative of both universal Catholicism and a particular romanitas? This paper sets out to answer this question through an assessment of the writings of Pope Benedict XVI from the perspective of Classical Reception Studies. Centring on his encyclical letters and the (in-)famous Regensburg Address, I will seek to establish which role Greco-Roman literature and thought play in Ratzinger’s representation and articulation of Roman Catholicism and its doctrines. I shall also be drawing on his earlier work as a professor of theology to provide a broader framework for his more recent papal writings.

Lisa MAURIZIO (Bates College)
The Memory of Wisdom: Delphi and Heraclitus
Since antiquity Heraclitus’ enigmatic style has been viewed as a consequence of Delphic influence. Charles Kahn, for example, writes, “Is the Delphic mode a paradigm for Heraclitus’ own riddling
style, as readers since antiquity have supposed?... One can scarcely miss the Delphic elements in Heraclitus’ own style.” This scholarly commonplace regarding Heraclitus’ adoption of Delphi’s style has led scholars to overlook two areas of inquiry. The first is, what ‘Delphic elements’ as Kahn calls them did Heraclitus deploy, and the second is, did Heraclitus exploit modes of inquiry embedded in the Delphic elements that appear in his work. I demonstrate that the “Delphic elements” in Heraclitus are linguistic and aural tropes, i.e. homonyms, metaphors, and parallelism. These shared elements were linked to oral practices and functioned to facilitate memory. They also generated similar sorts of ambiguities and hence similar sorts of intellectual speculation. Heraclitus’ adoption of such Delphic elements suggests a greater affinity between Heraclitus and Delphi than style. The way scholars have constructed/remembered Heraclitus’ statements and Delphic oracles is in some measure predicated on the omission of the connections I draw here.

Alexander MEEUS (Leverhulme Visiting Fellow at University of Wales Trinity Saint David)
Seleukos in Diodorus XVIII-XX, Quellenforschung, and Seleukid historiography: Some New Reflections on an Old Approach
There is a large scholarly consensus that Diodorus’ narrative on Alexander’s Successors is completely based on the Antigonid historian Hieronymus of Kardia, even the parts promoting Seleukid kingship (most strikingly Hadley 1969). Recently the problems with this view have been pointed out, and Seleukid historians (Demodamas of Miletos and Patrokles respectively) have been identified as the ultimate source of the pro-Seleukid passages in Diodorus (Landucci Gattinoni 2005; Primo 2009). It should be asked, however, whether such approaches are not similarly pushing the limits of Quellenforschung too far. Through a new assessment of the evidence I shall try to establish what we can and cannot say about Diodorus’ sources for Seleukid history. Although certain recent attempts at rehabilitating Diodorus might have gone too far, the analysis will also need to take into account that he was an author who had his own reasons for being interested in particular aspects of the history of Seleukos I.

Katerina MIKELLIDOU (UCL)
The Intruder-scenes in Aristophanes.
A prominent feature of Aristophanes’ plays is the so-called “intruder-scenes”, namely, the series of short episodes that occur after the accomplishment of the hero’s plan, in the course of which various intrusive figures try to take advantage of what the comic hero has achieved. Modern critics tend to consider this plot-formula as a range of loose, burlesque episodes, disconnected from the “serious” drama of the first part and inserted outside the argument of the play solely for laughs. The present paper challenges the modern consensus and argues that far from being an inorganic appendix this motif is an organic and essential part of the play. I shall argue that the intruder-scenes develop the main axes of the comic action, illustrate both the admirable and individualistic dimension of comic heroism, comment on the plot, investigate the nature of the hero’s scheme, and endow the comic fantasy with a touch of realism through the insertion of “real” intrusive persons or representatives of social groups. In the process, they serve as a social commentary by means of which Aristophanes puts an imprint on the current reality, reflecting what was widely discussed in real-world terms. By the end of this paper, I wish to have proved that the intruder-scenes constitute an indispensible tool of Aristophanes’ dramaturgy with a definite role in the development, completion, and evaluation of the comic fantasy.

Sarah MILES (Durham)
Gods and heroes in comic space. A stretch of the imagination?
It is quite remarkable that in Athenian comic drama of the 5th c. BC it is perfectly acceptable to have on-stage trials with a life-size cheese-grater as a witness, or to see Herakles and Dionysos, hero and god, discussing the merits of soup, or to present the political figure, Kleon in the (very) thinly veiled guise of a foreign slave fawning to his master, the people. Are there no limits? Despite the apparent mayhem of Aristophanic comedy, there are indeed many kinds of limits imposed on comedy. Part of the comic stagecraft lies in disguising them. This paper will address the question of comic limits, focusing on the movement of two distinct groups of characters within Aristophanic stage space; mythical and divine characters. It will examine patterns in their
stage presence and movement noting that they frequently appear in a specially created or mythical space outside of the city of Athens.

If the movement of these characters is so clearly structured in all Aristophanic plays, what can this add to discussion of Athenian attitudes to gods and mythical figures? Is Aristophanes at pains to preserve a sense of realism for his plays, even amidst the strangest of stage characters?

Robin MITCHELL-BOYASK (Temple University)

Jokasta the What?
This paper addresses two central aspects of Sophocles’ representation of Jokasta in Oedipus Tyrannus: first, her lack of titles; second, her name. Sophocles spotlights Jokasta’s name as he invents it.

There are strange lacunae in the language surrounding Jokasta. Sophocles completely denies her the normal vocabulary associated with queens and royal wives, instead relentlessly designating her as γυνή. The play’s language thus carefully demarcates her confused status within the family, and eliminates her from the social and political realms, since, while Oedipus oscillates between tyrannos and basileus, Jokasta is nothing. The infrequency of her name, a mere quartet, loads it with added weight and jarringly contrasts with the numerous plays on Oedipus’ the name. Moreover, there is no evidence that, prior to the OT, any poet had ever named Oedipus’ wife-mother Jokasta.

Like Oedipus’ name, Jokasta’s is significant for the OT’s plot, as Sophocles creates for it a folk etymology that mixes the vocabulary of tragic lament, ἴος, with a second part, καστα, that evokes words for the womb, brother or sister, and connection by marriage. Her name laments marriage and siblings, and signals her role in the collapse of her household’s familial categories. The cries of lamentation embedded in her name surface as Oedipus and Jokasta learn the truths about themselves. These moments of realization motivated Sophocles’ decision to re-name the wife-mother of Oedipus.

Obert Bernard MLAMBO (University of Zimbabwe)
The dialectics of land redistribution in the late Roman republic and contemporary Zimbabwe

This paper compares the politics of land in the late Roman republic and contemporary Zimbabwe, examining the relationship of violence and land ownership within the two political systems; it analyses how the politics of land ownership were related to violence in the two systems and how they were consciously constructed as tools of nation building and the manufacture of political and cultural capital. The investigation advances a study of power relations that cuts across historical epochs and political boundaries to compare antiquity with present-day manifestations and vice versa. Such an investigative model finds its grounding in Finley (1986), whose work brought new concepts to the study of classics, derived from his wide familiarity with modern social theory, thus widening scholarly appreciation of antiquity. Instead of seeing ancient history as a series of insignificant political rivalries punctuated by parochial wars, Finley gave us a multifaceted anthropological approach involving a comparative study of literate, post-primitive, pre-industrial and historical societies. At any rate, ethnic essentialism seems obsolete in a postmodern world in which national and cultural boundaries are increasingly crossed and redefined (Konstan 1997).

The paper is therefore hypothesised as an attempt to read the post-colonial Zimbabwe land crisis through the lens of Roman history, assuming that Zimbabwe is in a more or less similar condition of crisis and development, though with important variations.

Seb MOMTAZI (KCL)
The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche: a Catullan intertext.

In this paper I will propose that Catullus 64 was a key component in the composition of Apuleius’ Cupid and Psyche narrative. Apuleius signifies the overarching importance of 64 within the narrative through a series of structural similarities: from the Nereids near the start through to Cupid abandoning Psyche and the wedding at the end. The congregation of the gods at both wedding celebrations also signposts links. The ending of Apuleius’ tale, with the mention of the birth of Vôluptas, echoes the focus on Achilles at the end of 64. The paper will also explore lexical and thematic similarities to 64, showing its consistent presence in the composition of Apuleius’
work. For example, at 5.18, when Psyche is anguished at the revelations of her sisters, Apuleius signposts 64 in *extra terminum mentis suae posita prorsus omnium mariti monitionum* ... (evoking 64.238, where Theseus forgets the *mandata prius constanti mente tenentem*) and 64 is then directly evoked in *sexe praecepitavi* (5.18 and 64.244), and the recurrent trope of suicidally throwing oneself from a rock. I will finally examine the implications Apuleius’ reception of 64 has for our own reading of Catullus’ poem.

Paolo Monella (Palermo)

Authorship Acknowledgement in Ovid and Martial, or How to Rethink Copyright in the Digital Age

For centuries writers have been gaining support through copyright, a model that becomes less and less enforceable in the Digital Age. This encourages us to rethink the connection between authorship and material support.

A contribution to the debate may come from an analysis of the framework established, long before the Gutenberg Age, in the Roman culture. Ovid’s exile poems and Martial’s Epigrams offer an extraordinary insight into the relations between literary production, textual diffusion, patronage and the author’s material support in their age. In both cases such relations are exposed while endangered: Ovid’s prestige is undercut by banishment; Martial’s authorship by plagiarism. Ovid evokes his ties with the emperor, his patrons and the audience, hoping to regain his status. Martial struggles to make a living through the books market and declamations. The model that they shed light on is based on authorship acknowledgment, literary prestige gained through wide textual circulation, exploitation of performances, patronage. This model is particularly interesting in view of a possible future digital scenario where authorship is acknowledged, while dissemination of the text is fostered. Current examples include many forms of online texts, as well as Open Access diffusion of scholarly research.

Jason Morris (Victoria University, Wellington)

Surveying the world of the dictator: Decidius Saxa, Cicero, and Caesarian Rome.

In a speech delivered before the Senate in February of 43 BC, Cicero launched a vitriolic attack on Mark Antony. In the course of his invective, Cicero accused one Decidius Saxa of being a Celtiberian camp surveyor (*metator castrorum*) who was unfit to be tribune of the plebs. Studying Cicero’s words, Ronald Syme concluded that Saxa was one of the equestrian centurions raised to senatorial status by Caesar. However, in the years following Syme’s study, little attention has been paid to Saxa or his identity. This paper will explore aspects of Caesar’s dictatorship by reconsidering Saxa’s identity and placing him in the broader context of late republican political and social change. To do this, I will first review what little is known about Saxa and the family of the Decidii. I will then briefly consider what is known about surveyors and surveying terminology in the Later Republic to establish the reasons behind Cicero’s use of the phrase *metator castrorum* to describe Saxa. Finally, I will examine Saxa’s activities under both Caesar and Antony.

Donald Murray (Durham)

Reframing the Barbarian – Greeks in Achaemenid Akkadian Inscriptions

Modern research on the Achaemenid royal inscriptions has greatly contributed towards our understanding of the political realities of the Persian Empire, independent of Greek sources. The majority of these inscriptions exist in Old Persian, Elamite and Akkadian. So far, scholars have focused almost exclusively on the Old Persian versions, yet it is arguably the Akkadian versions which would have been most accessible throughout the empire, thanks to the status of Akkadian as a centuries old *lingua franca*.

In this paper, I will discuss the Akkadian versions of the Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions, showing the benefits of engaging with them alongside their Old Persian counterparts. Whilst the Akkadian texts are generally similar to the Old Persian texts (and indeed the Elamite ones), in significant areas they are encoded differently. As an example, I will examine the representation of Greeks in the Akkadian inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes. My aim is to show how an engagement with the Akkadian texts of these two kings allows us to read Herodotus’ account of the Persian Wars with a more nuanced understanding of what these campaigns meant to the Persians.
Sam Newington (St. Andrews)
Feasting upon the Divine
This paper will investigate the theme of inverted divine feasting, with Greek and Near Eastern creation narratives as the main exemplar. The 8th century BCE Greek text *Theogony* attributed to Hesiod and the Orphic *Deveni Papyrus* will be scrutinised alongside the Near Eastern creation myths *Enuma Elishe*, *Kumarbi* and the *Song of Ulikummi*. This comparative approach will attempt to determine to what extent divine feasting, namely swallowing and regurgitation, are central motifs to creation stories and, moreover, whether such correlations are accidental or, rather a residue of ‘cross cultural’ exchanges.

Marcello Nobili (Freie Universität Berlin)
Martial 10.51 and the Names for Houses and Villas in the Roman World
My paper tries to explain line 5 of the epigram 10.51 by Martial: “quos, Faustine, dies, quales tibi Roma †Ravennam / abstulit”, that has long puzzled interpreters, so that the mention of Ravenna has been emended out. It has been argued, with good logic, that Faustinus, one of Martial’s patrons, was the owner of a villa at Forum Corneli (now Imola), where the poet stayed as a guest for several months during year 87 (Fusi 2006). Many decades ago, it was incidentally suggested, albeit without putting forth any relevant evidence, that this line could contain the name of Faustinus’ villa at Anxur (now Terracina on the Tyrrhenian coast of Latium), lastly by Heraeus 1976 (but the hypothesis is, actually, more ancient). After detailed scrutiny of, and comparison with other examples of the usage of giving houses, countryhouses, or parts of them, a special name, which is unrelated to merely geographical factors and deserves to be explained on different grounds (a partial list in Görler 1990), I argue that “Ravenna” should not be emended, because it was the name of Faustinus’ villa at Anxur, whose seaside location reminded him of his home province. Incidentally, other interpretations on Roman place-names are put forth.

Chris Noon (Oxford)
Script, City, and Identity in Late Fourth-Century Cyprus.
The late fourth century BC in Cyprus saw not only the emergence of poleis in place of the old kingdoms, but also the first widespread use of Greek alphabetic writing, alongside and eventually in place of the indigenous syllabary. This paper focuses on a small number of bilingual inscriptions from ex-kingdoms, and uses them to illuminate the ways in which Cypriot kings and aristocrats attempted to present themselves in ways acceptable to both Cypriots and the wider Greek world. I will argue that priority is always given to the Greek depiction. Furthermore, the development of Cypriot settlements into poleis is synchronous with a rise in Greek-style epigraphic practice: subtle, private inscriptions of Classical Cyprus give way to conspicuous, public inscriptions so well attested elsewhere in the contemporary Greek world. Finally, by way of contrast, I will demonstrate that in one kingdom – the notoriously conservative Amathous – there is a strong reaction against the linguistic and epigraphic transition, visible in the decision to erect documents inscribed in ‘Eteocypriot’, which seems to have been a purely-spoken language beforehand. The differing responses demonstrated by diverse ex-kingdoms indicate the regional diversity that existed on Cyprus prior to, and even after, the abolition of the monarchies.

Graham J. Oliver (Liverpool)
Epigraphical memory-change and the useful presentation of the past
Monumental space offered Greek communities and individuals a complex realm of self-expression. Control over that space was often vested in the institutions of the community. But not all institutions in the city were as concerned with the past as one might expect. Time distorted and affected monumentality, and so the memory and memories that were locked into public spaces. Epigraphical evidence gives us an insight into how the public memory of the group and the individual shifted over time: some institutions, indeed, showed little respect to the inscribed memory of the city. For example, the pylori on the Acropolis in the early Imperial period sought inscribed on standing monuments or cutting new texts over older inscriptions. The removal of, damage to, and, in particular, re-use of (inscribed) monuments offers us a fascinating insight into the different treatments of the past, its individuals, and their value to society over time. The paper
explores how the individual was vulnerable to shifts in the group’s perception/s of the past and the value that the group attached to specific individuals: some memories were more cherished than others.

**Donncha O’ROURKE (Oxford)**
**Thucydides under erasure in Lucretius’ account of the Athenian plague**
This paper proposes a new reading of the relationship between the account of the Athenian plague which concludes Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura* (DRN 6.1138-1286) and the Thucydidean passage which has long been recognised as its model (2.47-54). Previous studies of this intertextual relationship have demonstrated how Lucretius significantly departs from the historian’s account, for example by amplifying the psychological and moral effects of the plague, or by dehistoricising it to achieve a universalising didactic effect. What has not hitherto been observed, and what this paper argues, is that Lucretius’ reworking of the Thucydidean narrative breaks off before its conclusion. While it would be tempting to take this apparently premature termination of the intertextual relationship to corroborate the theory that the DRN is unfinished, this paper will argue, rather, that the rupture is motivated by Lucretius’ need to occlude material inimical to his philosophical agenda. Tendentious intertextuality thus enables the plague to function in the DRN as a final test for the indoctrinated reader and as a protreptic myth about the dangers of the unEpicurean life, as scholars have suggested, but perhaps only to the extent that the occluded Thucydidean intertext does not give voice, under erasure, to an “antiLucrèce chez Lucrèce”.

**Robin OSBORNE (Cambridge)**
**The Epigraphic Character of the Fifth Century BC**
We know much more about fourth-century Athens than fifth-century Athens. Under the influence of Mogens Herman Hansen, in particular, scholars have been keen to better their understanding of the fourth-century world we can know, rather than speculate about a fifth-century world we can know only less well. Hansen himself has been keen to insist that fourth-century Athens is not merely better known, but is different from fifth-century Athens, but his listing of differences rather encourages comparison and assimilation than otherwise. In the wake of the helpful broad characterisations by Ian Morris of the differences between the fifth-century Greek world and that of either the sixth or the fourth, this paper compares the epigraphic material surviving from the fifth and from the fourth century across the Greek world. Whether we look at what cities are choosing to publish or at what corporate units at a level below the city are choosing to publish, there is a striking difference between the two centuries, a difference further magnified if inscriptions that are directly consequent on Athenian imperialism are excluded from the picture. This paper both characterises the differences and attempts to account for them.

**Ida ÖSTENBERG (Gothenburg)**
**Murder on display. Speech, body and emotions at Caesar’s funeral**
This contribution discusses the form and contents of Antony’s renowned speech at Caesar’s funeral as set in its full context. Antony spiced his speech with strong sentiments and with the display of Caesar’s blooded mantle. In Appian’s description, there was also a wax image of the murdered body, which, as it was turned around, showed all dagger marks to the people. In this paper, words, gestures, emotions and images will be read together as a manifest spectacle that succeeded in turning the people of Rome against the assassins. Particular attention will be given the mantle and the wax representation of Caesar’s body, which, it will be argued, highly contributed to set the act of murder in front of the eyes of the spectators. By displaying the stabs given body and face, the image uncovered the massiveness of the assault. Together with Antony’s insistence on the vow earlier given by his murderers to protect Caesar with their lives, the blood-stained vestment and the image of the stabbed body communicated a strong sense of betrayal to the audience. The paper hence pays particular attention to the importance of visual effects and the power of emotions in Roman performance and public space.
Jessica PAGA (Princeton)
The Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the contested memory of war

The Athenian Treasury at Delphi is situated within a milieu of monuments increasingly dedicated to military victories. As Michael Scott has shown, the Panhellenic sanctuary of Delphi became an arena for prominent and competitive display in the fifth century. The Athenian Treasury is remarkable among these victory monuments for its early date, integrated statue base, and dedicatory inscription. Within the contested space of Delphi, the Treasury speaks not only to a specifically Athenian victory at Marathon, but also to a specifically Athenian defeat of the Persians. In this way, the Treasury co-opts individual recollection by exclusively memorializing and monumentalizing the role of the Athenians, a physical denial of allied contributions and Hellenic unity. The presence of the Eponymous Heroes suggests that the Treasury represents not only an Athenian victory, but a victory of the new democracy, a sentiment that further elevates the Athenians above their allies. The depiction of Herakles and Theseus on the Treasury likewise cements the message of a specifically Athenian victory. All of these elements combine in an attempt to erase or deny the individual memories of the various Greek poleis who participated in the Persian Wars and assert a singular military victory by the Athenian democracy.

Nandini B. PANDEY (Wooster College)
Reading Resistance into Augustus’ Palatine Complex

Augustus’ temple to Apollo on the Palatine (28 BCE) has long been regarded as a paean in stone to his victory at Actium. However, this paper revisits this archaeological ‘text’ to show how contemporary poets read it against the grain, to express regret over the civil war and resistance to Augustan supremacy.

Thus, Propertius 2.31 re-interprets the temple as embedding sympathy for the civil war’s victims, and celebrating the power of art rather than Augustus. In Odes 2.14 and 3.11, Horace revisits the Danaids of the Palatine portico in ways that de-exoticize them and explore the moral complexities of assigning blame (cf. Tomei; Balensiefen; Leach). And Ovid’s Tristia 3.1 covertly critiques the Palatine complex as part of an Augustan attempt to rewrite Rome’s history, and control Roman political discourse, via deceptive rhetoric, iconography, and even topography (cf. Wiseman; Newlands; Huskey).

I conclude by arguing that these poems have substantially shaped modern reconstructions of the complex and its purpose; moreover, by creating the sense that they are resisting a normative meaning, they ironically help create our sense that Augustus attempted to control public beliefs through the power of images.

Athina PAPACHRYSTOS (Patras)
Οὐκ ἄν δυναίμην: Pathos through syntax in Euripides

This paper studies a syntactical structure of poetic speech, that is the potential optative οὐκ ἄν δυναίμην (followed by a final infinitive), which occurs sixteen times in Euripides (but nowhere else in tragedy), and five times within the extant comic material.

In all sixteen instances in Euripides this phrase is spoken by characters of a certain status, i.e. by royals (Hecuba), a demigod (Heracles), and a seer (Teiresias); never by some minor person (e.g. a nurse). My working hypothesis is that this syntactical structure is designedly employed within a context of heightened emotion, in order to communicate the sense of pathos in a specific way. The characters who speak this phrase use the potential optative as a syntactical tool, so that they convey their intense feelings in a dignified and moderate manner.

The occurrences of the phrase οὐκ ἄν δυναίμην within Comedy suggest that the comic playwrights were acquainted with the Euripidean mode of usage and deliberately alluded to it. In short, the negative potential optative οὐκ ἄν δυναίμην is a syntactical innovation that Euripides introduces into the tragic register, thus allowing the speakers to express their pathos with the dignity that befits their status.
Efstathia PAPADODIMA (University of Peloponnese)

Conceptions of dikē in Attic tragedy

The term dikē has a wide range of meanings in ancient literature. On the one hand, its meaning can be non-moral and descriptive or technical. On the other hand, dikē can carry ethical implications and connotations, by referring or relating to the notions or values of: a) Revenge, retribution, retaliation, punishment/ penalty, or b) Righteousness, lawfulness, fairness, justice.

The (verbal) association of dikē with a cosmic order is highly characteristic of Aeschylus. Even though the divine world and dikē are certainly presented as having a special connection, there are several controversies when it comes to either divine attitudes towards dikē or the human perception of these attitudes.

Many of the notions or ideas that are associated with dikē in Sophocles are manifested in interpersonal, small-scale interaction and can relate to isolated behavioural instances, which however might bear strong ethical implications (e.g. truth-telling or shamelessness), or aspects that relate to one’s cognitive status (consciousness, awareness, intentionality).

Especially in a part of Euripidean production, dikē is explored in connection to problems, questions, and complications of civic justice. dikē is associated with sociopolitical institutions of the (democratic) polis, notably equality before the law, freedom, fair share, and fair chances.

Styliani PAPASTAMATI (UCL)

Kalos thanatos: the ethical and the aesthetic aspect of death in Euripides’ Hecuba

The noble (kalos) death, is an important theme in Greek culture from our earliest sources. In this paper, I examine the way Euripides creates ‘kallistos thanatos’ for Polyxena in his Hecuba. I argue that Euripides’ kalos thanatos is that combination of the traditional elements of the ethical and the aesthetic that runs in Greek poetry from its very beginning. Both physical beauty and decorum are displayed in Polyxena’s death. The ethical aspect is contained in her choice to die on her own terms. This is reflected in the way her death is greeted like an athletic victory (579-80). Her nobility is reified in the way Polyxena contrives both to exhibit her beauty (558-61) and retain her modesty (568-70). Moreover, this narrative adds an erotic dimension to the beautiful death. The effect is to reinforce the motif of missed marriage (523-4, 573-80; cf. 416, 421). This motif creates pathos while underlining the nobility of Polyxena’s choice. The phylllobolia at the end not only presents her as victor, but also hints at the missed marriage, subsuming under victory celebration the makarismos of a bride. Thus in Polyxena the beauty of courage is combined with the beauty of death to create this uniquely idealizing moment. Polyxena in dying becomes a true agalma (560-1).

Mariachiara PARDO (Palermo)

The influence of the historian’s point of view: the case of Nicolaus of Damascus’ Julius Caesar

The aim of this paper is to show how historians’ works are often influenced by the public to which they are addressed, the period and the cultural context in which historians lived and their personal point of view. To understand how all these factors work together, we have chosen the case of Nicolaus of Damascus’ Julius Caesar. If the Roman dictator is characterized as a dynamic and ambitious hero by most of the ancient historians (especially Plut. Caes. 4.8, 35.6-11, 58.4-5), the one we find in Nicolaus’ account is a passive and unsuspecting character, whose lack of political skills led to his assassination (F 130. 69, 77). Nicolaus does not miss the chance to underline the legality of his actions, describing him as a good sovereign (F 130. 69, 77). That has made some scholars doubt the validity of this source. Actually, the history told by Nicolaus is the result of all the factors that we listed at the outset: for him, who had lived at Herod’s court, and for his oriental public it was not unusual that a leading figure like Caesar tried to become rex. Although Rome was a republic which abhorred monarchy, Nicolaus of Damascus does not share the Roman point of view, therefore he draws a disenchanted, even alienated, picture of Caesar’s behaviour.
Joanna PAUL (Liverpool)
The Vanished Library: The End of the Classical World in Alejandro Amenábar’s Agora
The 2010 film Agora, a story of the life and death of the Alexandrian scholar, Hypatia, met with considerable critical acclaim, and yet its commercial impact was minimal; distributors and exhibitors were no doubt wary of a film that broke the Hollywood epic mould with its female protagonist, intellectual themes, and controversial depiction of the Church of Alexandria. However, this paper argues that Amenábar’s breaks with cinematic tradition are bold and commendable, and that the film’s reflections on shifting world-views at a time of historical transition are both interesting and timely. The destruction of the Serapeum, presented as the great Library of Alexandria, is the film’s symbolic centrepiece (even as it distorts history); while Hypatia fights to save ‘the wisdom of the Ancient World’, the camera shows us a world turned upside down. Though the library vanishes into ruins, Hypatia’s dedication to cosmological enquiry remains strong; but by the end of the film, the audience connects this overturning of the classical library with the end of rational enquiry, and the utter subjugation of women. The scrolls of the Alexandrian library have been replaced by the codex Word of God, and Hypatia’s resistance can only lead to her brutal death.

Dennis PAUSCH (Gießen)
Instruction or entertainment? Livy narrates the reign of Romulus
It is a point often made that their history was of great importance to the Romans. This is even more true for the first century B.C.: In these years, history is ‘displayed’ in a lot of different media such as the statue galleries of the forum Augustum consisting of the most exemplary men of the entire Roman past, including the period of the kings. But on the other hand, the same people and events could be described – e.g. by Propertius or Ovid – in a contrary way as completely alien to the present and highly unreal due to their historical distance. Livy’s version of the regal period is usually put in close vicinity to the first group. By focusing on the ‘disturbing’ elements in his narration of the reign of Romulus – 1) the brevity of the whole account and most of its details, 2) the often apparently humorous emphasis of the difference between past and present and 3) the frequent expressions of the narrator’s disbelief – I will try to show that the opposite view might be more appropriate. The question thereby arising, if we should assume a ‘second voice’ in Livy, will be discussed, but preferring another solution: Livy’s Roman prehistory offers literary entertainment along with the ‘meta-historiographic’ insight that it is impossible to know exactly about the life and the deeds of the kings.

Giuseppe PEZZINI (Oxford)
The metre of Terence
Despite his popularity in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Terence is an author who has not received a great deal of attention from modern scholars, especially if compared with Plautus. This paper will deal mainly with metre, and in particular will focus on aspects of the connection between metre and content. Apart from the linguistic features of each particular type of metre, other questions are addressed: is it possible to identify a specific stylistic function for each type of metre (ia6, tr7, ia8, ia7, the so-called mutatis modis cantica, the lyric parts)? Is there interdependence between type of character and type of metre? To what extent does Terence refer to and depart from the Plautine model? Plautus’ usage is constantly referred to, in order to bring out similarities and idiosyncrasies, some of which may hint at some elements of Terence’s poetics, such as the contrast between reputation and reality, knowledge and prejudice. In the preparation of this paper I have used my own computer software and programming, which may be deployed to the study of the metre of later poets and also to the teaching of classical metre, and will explain my methodology in the presentation.

Mark PHILLIPO (St Andrews)
Mutiny on the Sucro: an examination of Scipio’s treatment of his troops in 206 BC
In 206 BC, unrest broke out among 8000 soldiers garrisoned along the Sucro (modern Júcar) River, which Publius Cornelius Scipio, then holding proconsular imperium in Spain, took action to
suppress. Based upon a close reading of the accounts of Polybius, Livy and (briefly) Appian, and with particular attention to the relationships between them, the goal of this paper will be twofold. Firstly, it will seek to establish the nature of this military disobedience. This is particularly important in Livy, where a debate over the appropriate characterisation of the soldiers’ actions is fundamental to determining their subsequent treatment. Secondly, the paper will analyse the interdependence of the relevant texts. Livy and Polybius structured their accounts similarly, both describing the scenario, and following with an address by Scipio to his troops. While details of Livy’s account appear in Polybius, and were likely derived from him, other elements in Livy are not paralleled, and must have originated elsewhere, e.g., the comparison of the troops on the Sucro with the legion that illegally seized Regium in 280. The differences between the two sources are particularly relevant to the motivation of these men. Were their complaints merely over money, or did they have another purpose?

Thomas PHILLIPS (Oxford)

Singing the Dolphins: a Re-examination of PMG 939

This paper will propose a performance scenario for PMG 939 (pseudo-Arion’s hymn to the dolphins) and use this scenario as a basis for an interpretation of the poem. The poem has often been read as choral, related to traditions about Arion’s role in the invention of the dithyramb, and E. Csapo has recently argued for seeing the piece as a dithyrambic cult song (in Poetry, Theory, Praxis, Oxford 2003). I shall follow previous scholars in dating the poem to the late fifth century, but make a case for the piece being written for performance by a solo citharode, probably at Athens. The poem will be seen to be interacting with Herodotus’ famous version of the story of Arion’s rescue by the dolphins, and the performance as playfully responding to elements of that story. I shall suggest that the poem’s length can be explained by its role as a sung prelude to an extended citharistic solo. Furthermore, I shall explore the possibility that the performance may have involved an appropriation of the well known ‘ortius nomos’ which Herodotus records Arion as playing. The paper will conclude with some comments on the place of PMG 939 in relation to other musico-poetic developments of the late fifth century.

Antonio PISTELLATO (Venezia)

Gaius Sentius Saturninus, between memory and politics.

Gaius Sentius Saturninus (cos. 19 B.C.) is scarcely attested in our sources, but Velleius Paterculus awards him a special place in his work. Velleius portrays Sentius according to the models provided by epideictic rhetoric in order to achieve the most effective rhetorical results. Sentius had been among the proscribed of 43 BC. who returned to Rome on occasion of the pacts signed by the triumvirs in 39 B.C. He then supported Octavian and experienced a prominent career in the Augustan Principate. He probably died some time before Augustus. Velleius’ special attention may have some explanations. It seems likely that Velleius personally knew Sentius, as he served under Tiberius in Germany at the time of Sentius’ legateship on the Rhine. Of course, Sentius personally knew Tiberius, not only because he collaborated with him in Germany but also because at least one of Sentius’ sons was influential in Tiberian Rome. In general, the Sentii Saturnini held a long-lasting prestige during the first decades of the Principate. Finally, a relation may be inferred to have existed between the family of Velleius’ dedicatee Marcus Vinicius (cos. A.D. 30) and the Sentii Saturnini, starting from the time of Sentius’ eminence under Augustus.

David M. POLLIO (Christopher Newport)

Charles Thomson, Vergil, and the Great Seal of the United States

Charles Thomson, who would chronicle the birth of an independent America as Secretary of the Continental Congress from 1774-1789, was born in Ireland in 1729. Ten years later, Thomson immigrated to America, where he enrolled in a classical school in New London, Pennsylvania. Upon completion of his studies, he was invited by Benjamin Franklin to be a Tutor in the Latin and Greek School of the Philadelphia Academy and would later serve as Head of Latin at the Friends’ Public School in Philadelphia. By 1774, his reputation as a proponent of American independence was so formidable that he was appointed Secretary of America’s Continental Congress. In 1782, he was asked by Congress to design a Great Seal to represent America. His
final design contained Latin mottoes derived from Vergil: *annuit coeptis* (*Aeneid* 9.625), *novus ordo seclorum* (*Eclogues* 4.5), and *e pluribus unum* (*Moretum* 103).

In this presentation, I will outline the Great Seal's origins and discuss Thomson's use of Vergil. In particular, I will suggest that he adapted specific passages not simply for their sententious brevity (as others argue), but also for their broader context, which adds further significance to the Seal's symbolism.

Jessica PRIESTLEY (Bristol)

An Unexamined Life: Biographical Traditions about Herodotus

The ancient traditions about Herodotus' life have not yet been approached as sources with the potential to yield information about the reception of the *Histories*. For Homer, Barbara Graziosi has highlighted how different biographical traditions “...explore the tension between Homer’s status as the Panhellenic author *par excellence*, and his relationship to specific audiences...” (B. Graziosi, 2002. *Inventing Homer: the early reception of epic*. Cambridge: 11). The biographical traditions about Herodotus offer important parallels which deserve consideration. Around the Greek world multiple claims were made connecting Herodotus with different cities and regions. In this paper these claims will be examined and it will be argued that some are contradictory, and that some are historically improbable. The biography of Herodotus was contested and there are strong reasons to think that several of the different traditions about the historian reflect different reception contexts. The biographical details of Herodotus’ life were important to communities, because (it was thought) these details could explain the way a region was portrayed in the *Histories*, and because establishing positive ties with the famed historian was a means of conferring honour on a community and stoking local pride in its past. It will be suggested that the changed historical circumstances in the Hellenistic period (when it seems most likely that the extant traditions about Herodotus’ life were first recorded) help to explain why particular traditions were perpetuated, and possibly arose or were ‘invented’.

Ilaria RAMELLI (Università Cattolica di Milano)

A Pseudepigraphon Inside a Pseudepigraphon? The Seneca-Paul Correspondence and the Letters that Were Added Afterwards

I shall demonstrate how within the pseudepigraphic correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul, handed down in Latin in many manuscripts of Seneca, a further pseudepigraphon can be singled out in turn. Philological, linguistic, historical, and literary reasons indicate that two letters therein are to be detached from the original corpus of the correspondence as later forgeries.

A systematic investigation into the allusions to the New Testament that are found in the whole of the correspondence further confirms that the aforementioned two letters do not belong to the original collection, but are a subsequent addition, a kind of pseusepigraphon within the pseudepigraphic correspondence itself. Indeed, those two letters refer to later NT books, while the correspondence in its earlier redaction only echoes letters that modern critics recognise as written by Paul himself; moreover, among these, the letters that are explicitly referred to in the correspondence arguably belong to the earliest collection of Paul’s epistles. The removal of the two later letters from the original correspondence has momentous implications for the overall assessment of this pseudepigraphon.

Gillian RAMSEY (Leicester)

Power Networks & Political Agency among non-‘Official’ Local Leaders

Seleukid imperialism developed from two traditions: the Macedonian and Achaemenid. Both operated with states where kingship was a matter of remaining superior above factions of the nobility and ensuring that enough powerful nobles supported the ruler's continued reign. For these elites, the trade-off for submitting to the king was enjoyment of royal favour that often translated into official titles as governors or satraps and corresponding status at the royal court. Such things translated into increased personal authority before the nobles' own subordinates and rivals and into potentially further political influence. At the same time, the flexible nature of participation at the royal court, combined with frequent shifts in the focus of Seleukid foreign relations and territorial interests, meant that many powerful individuals within and on the fringes
of the empire never bore official titles. Study of the Seleukid empire must examine the roles of individual power-holders and their diplomatic connections as the primary basis for understanding the history of Seleukid ruling power. This paper will argue that the influence of non-official power holders, particularly those with their own territorial wealth in Anatolia, was crucial to developing and maintaining the structures of Seleukid kingship and imperialism.

Benjamin Raynor (Oxford)

An Heroic Proving Ground – “The East” to Alexander the Great and his Early Successors

Alexander’s campaign into India, despite the deployment of all the conqueror’s characteristic energy, gave the Macedonian king precious little return. No great stores of wealth were captured, all his territorial conquests were ephemeral, and he had pushed his troops to the limits of their endurance in a harsh, unfamiliar environment. Yet Alexander could not be seen to fail. Therefore, his court propagandists and historians, building upon the catalogue of ancestral emulation and heroic accomplishment already used to flatter the king, invented mythology and lauded Alexander’s meagre achievements to portray an unprofitable campaign of slaughter as a glorious and exotic adventure, wherein Alexander had once and for all proven himself the equal of his mythic forbears.

My paper will examine the creation of the concept of “the East” as an heroic space during the reign of Alexander the Great, and the political utility of this concept to the marshals who fought over Alexander’s empire after his death. In the period of the successors, the East represented an heroic proving ground, where rulers could prove their martial skill, their legitimacy to rule, and their ability to win great riches and renown for their troops, all by emulating their heroic predecessors who had subdued the East. Actual eastern progress was almost unnecessary - the mere deployment of symbols suggesting association with eastern conquest (and therefore suggesting exotic lands of adventure, riches and heroic endeavour) helped advance a ruler’s prestige in this period. I hope to demonstrate that these symbols, and the concepts they evoked, derived from the successful propagandist representation of Alexander’s campaign in India.

Jason REdDOCH (Cincinnati)

Heraclitus and the Polemics of Allegory

Heraclitus the Allegorist (fl. ca. 1st-2nd cent. CE) argues in his Homeric Problems that Homer was divine and anticipated the best of Greek philosophy. In his attempt to search the Homeric poems for deeper philosophical truths, Heraclitus was not unique; however, his defense of Homer is unusual in terms of his aggressiveness and the extent to which he provides a sustained polemic throughout the treatise. With as much zeal as he praises Homer, he ridicules Epicurus and Plato personally for their criticisms of the poet. By evaluating the structure and content of Heraclitus’ polemical statements against the backdrop of other ancient evidence such as Cicero’s De Natura Deorum and Seneca’s Ep. 88, it is possible to arrive at a better understanding of Heraclitus’ place in the allegorical tradition and the polemical environment in which his treatise took shape. By focusing on general philosophical precepts, Heraclitus weakened the distinction between philosophical schools in an attempt to make Homer the precursor of all of them.

Victoria RImELL (Rome)

The bathhouse in Seneca’s Letters: theatre, poetry, self-scrutiny

Whereas Roman historians (as well as, more ambiguously, some Neronian poets) portray Nero’s reign in terms of a tyrant’s power to reorder real and imaginary space, or in terms of a crisis in the division between inside and outside space, Seneca’s spatial metaphors in the Letters test our ability to understand and reform this crisis on our own terms. We, as Luciliiuses, are frequently invited to succumb to a Neronian logic – to read retreat as dissimulation, self-scrutiny as narcissistic self-inflation – a logic that Seneca himself seems to toy with as much as reject. How we deal with this challenge is, essentially, the work of doing Senecan philosophy. In this paper, I want to look briefly at one of Seneca’s most fascinating urban/philosophical/poetic spaces in the Letters, where lessons in dealing with the all-penetrating glare and din of Nero’s Rome get most intense: the bathhouse (especially as it appears, in very different contexts, in Ep.56 and Ep.86). I will explore Seneca’s fascination with baths as liminal urban spaces and literary echo-chambers which serve as
theatres for poetic experiment and rhetorical display. The paper will also touch upon baths as literary spaces in Petronius, Statius and Martial.

**Paul ROCHE (Sydney)**

**Poetics and Prayer in Persius 2**

Persius’ second satire, the genethliakon to Plotius Macrinus, is still awaiting its entire due. This paper seeks to contribute by reading Persius 2 not, as often, in relation to satire 4, but as an instantiation of the poetics articulated in his prologue and programmatic satire 1. The unfolding *libellus* guides the reader to continued reflection upon the appropriate mode of poetry’s production and reception at Rome. As often, this is poetry embedding debate about poetics, but it also offers specific responses, echoes, and extensions of the themes and style isolated as idiosyncratically Persianic: *satire cum scriba*, the poetic contribution of the *semipaganus*, the somatic reception of poetry, and the tropes of Callimachean poetics reworked for Nero’s Rome. Persius pits inappropriate public discourses against the integrity of private and carefully controlled utterances. Satire 2 does not require explanation by recourse to the date of its composition or the commonality of its subject as an object of satirical attention: it results from Persius’ own poetic agenda as set in the prologue and satire 1. If it is an early poem, it is exquisitely placed to concretize the poetic concerns articulated at the outset of Persius’ oeuvre.

**Tim ROOD (Oxford)**

**Herodotus’ Proem: Reciprocity and the Origins of International Relations**

This paper offers a new reading of the much-discussed account of the origins of hostility between Greeks and Asians attributed to the Persian *logioi* at the start of Herodotus’ work. It starts by exploring two common (and related) readings of this passage: the account of the seizure of women (Io, Europa, Medea, Helen) is seen as setting up the importance of reciprocity as a model for explaining human behaviour; and the motif of woman-seizing is sometimes thought to have been parodied in Dicaeopolis’ account of the origins of the Peloponnesian War in Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* (and this parody has accordingly been seen as important evidence for the publication date of Herodotus’ work).

This paper will argue against both readings and suggest instead that the account can be read as an innovative and sophistic experiment that offers an explanation of the creation of spatial and temporal differentiation. The idea of separation between the Trojan War and earlier conflicts will be compared with the initial presentation of Croesus’ subjection of the Greeks and the later sophistic account of how Deioces gained power within Media.

**Carl RUBINO (Hamilton College)**

**Horace, *Carmina* 4.1: the voices of silence**

Carmen 4.1 is marked by significant moments of silence that are instrumental in carrying the poem to its conclusion. When the poem is read aloud, I would argue, there should be pauses between the sections, intervals of meaningful silence that render the transitions intelligible.

The poem’s closing lines are among Horace’s most poignant, and they invite another, even more significant pause. In line 36, Horace tells us that he himself has fallen silent. This is perhaps the most fecund silence in the poem, for the lines that follow bring the poem to an end in a way that evokes the first and last poems of the original collection, as well as the concluding poem of the collection’s second book. Instead of bashing his head against the stars, sensing himself turn into a swan, or having his head crowned with laurel, Horace is suddenly floating down the Tiber in pursuit of an ever elusive object of desire.

Thus the poem not only tells us a much about Horace’s ironic sense of himself, but it also shows how silence plays a significant structural role in his poetry, preparing us for transitions and signaling some astonishing changes of direction.

**Cressida RYAN (Oxford)**

**Why do we (need to) give schools’ talks? The value of one-off outreach interventions.**

The after-dinner talk, school museum visit, activity day and study day organised by individual schools, groups, CA branches, or other outreach initiatives continue to flourish in the Classics
world. Whether it is through personal involvement with a school (as ex-pupil, ex-teacher, parent or governor) or through more general outreach processes, Classics lecturers are well-known for their immense willingness to go out and talk to groups. The recent Harris report on Access into Elite universities concluded, however, that one-off intervention was a less successful form of outreach which should be replaced by more sustained projects. This paper will discuss the nature of the one-off intervention alongside different forms of outreach. What do we mean by: outreach, one-off or indeed success? What do schools gain from their relationship with a university department? In a climate putting increasing pressure on both time and resources, what are the most ‘effective’ forms of outreach, and to what extent is such a goal-orientated attitude towards the field appropriate?

**Federico SANTANGELO (Newcastle)**

The *auctoritas* of priests in the late Republic

Roman priests lacked political power, although many of them were members of the political elite. However, priests possessed – both as individuals and as members of corporate bodies, the priestly *collegia* – an expert knowledge and a form of authority that even educated and informed Romans had trouble defining.

This first part of this paper offers an overview of the uses of the concept of *auctoritas* with reference to Roman priests, their prerogatives and their actions. Attention will then shift to two specific aspects of the problem: a central moment of the late Republican debate on priestly authority, notably Cicero’s discussion of Antony’s use of his augural prerogatives in 44/43 BC (esp. *Phil.* 2.82-84); and the story of Attus Navius and the origins of augury, which might be linked to attempts to construct priestly authority in opposition or alternative to other centres of authority.

**Pavlina SAOULIDOU (Edinburgh)**

**Callimachus’ landscape: an ideologically charged view of the world**

In this paper I will suggest that the carefully constructed physical environment in Callimachus’ *Hymn to Delos* and to *the Bath of Pallas* is subjective and ideologically charged, and locates poetry into a political context. Callimachus maps out a space of political interest involving Ptolemy’s rivals and sets it as a background in his poems. This manipulates his audience’s perception of the association between landscape – real and imaginary – and politics. Landscape thus has a political function analogous to its poetic function in Callimachus’ programmatic passages.

I will examine geographical references in both poems and some parallel cases in other Callimachean works in order to sketch out a broader interpretation of landscape in Callimachus’ poetry and its political resonances. I will look at the deliberate divergence from previous literary tradition regarding geography, and also observe how the mythological aspect of landscape allows the poet to create a network of meanings that mesh with his contemporary political reality. Callimachus’ idiosyncratic choice of names and locations of rivers and mountains, and his deliberate manipulation of mythological geography will reveal the manner in which his poetic mapping of the world is politically charged.

**Francesca SARDI (Milano)**

**When *pharmaka* ‘pass the barrier of the teeth’. Considerations on a unique expression in *Odyssey* 10. 328.**

In this paper I consider Circe’s attempted charm on Odysseus in *Od.* 10. Her surprised assertion that the hero’s νόος is beyond enchantment (*Od.* 10.329) seems to contradict her lack of surprise when the comrades’ minds remained unaffected.

In order to investigate the intentions of Circe’s charm on Odysseus, I conduct a word study of the hapax ἀκήλητος, which Circe uses to describe the hero’s enchantment-proof mind. I will then consider Circe’s remark that no other man before Odysseus ever resisted her φάρμακα, once they “had passed the barrier of his teeth” (ἀμείψεται ἕρκος ὀδόντων, *Od.* 10.328).

In the last part of my paper, I relate this expression to Circe’s failed charm on Odysseus, which is described as a psychagogic process. I conclude that Circe’s design was to remove the hero’s νόος
and transform his body. This change would represent a complete metamorphosis and in the final analysis the death of Odysseus as we know him.

**Bev Scott (Liverpool)**

*‘Mysterious island’? Peuce in Valerius Flaccus’ Argonautica*

Valerius Flaccus’ choice of wedding location for Jason and Medea, a cave on the island of Peuce, is fascinating. We begin to look forward to Peuce when Jason wishes for Triptolemus’ flying plough, in book 1. Eventually brought down by a Scythian king, this vessel was entrusted to Triptolemus by Demeter in celebration for the return of her daughter Proserpina, the maiden snatched (*rapta*) by Pluto. Here, links are made to sanctioned boundary-breaking in the flying chariot, but also to rape.

Medea will betray her fatherland of Colchis, an area dominated by the river Phasis. Upon arrival in Colchis, the Argonauts see pictures painted upon the doors to the temple of Helios. Here, we learn that in mythology, Phasis raped a nymph, Aea. The cave setting is reminiscent of Dido and Aeneas’ ‘wedding’ venue, but here we learn that rape also plays a role in Peuce’s mythological history, the violation carried out by the river Danube. Far from being ‘unimportant’, I shall argue that in fact the mysterious island of Peuce represents the conflation of several plot elements in the poem, and as such is the inevitable venue for Jason and Medea’s wedding.

**Kelly Shannon (Oxford)**

*Livy’s Cossus and Augustus, Tacitus’ Germanicus and Tiberius: A Historiographical Allusion.*

I examine a Tacitean reference to Livy and explore how it adds a layer of meaning to Tacitus’ assessment of the relationship between Tiberius and Germanicus. In his description of the German chieftain Inguiomerus (*A. 2.21.1*), Tacitus’ phrasing recalls Livy’s description of Lars Tolumnius in his account of Rome’s struggles against Veii (*4.19.2-3*), where the Roman soldier Cossus criticizes Tolumnius for his part in killing four Roman envoys. Tacitus implicitly draws a comparison between Germanicus and Cossus, a figure best known for winning *spolia opima* (Livy *4.20.1-2*). This had great implications for the debate about Crassus’ right to the *spolia*, with some suspecting that Augustus perpetrated a fabrication about Cossus’ rank in order to block Crassus from dedicating his *spolia*. The issue has special relevance for Tacitus’ Germanicus, who comes up against the anger of Tiberius in his dedication of military spoils in Germany (*A. 2.22.1*), Tiberius’ letters of recall (*A. 2.26*), and Germanicus’ triumph (*A. 2.41*): now men who achieve military glory cannot claim the credit for it. Germanicus is suited for a different era, and Tacitus’ reference to Cossus gives us a glimpse into that older world and reminds us how its values were undermined by the principate.

**Julia L. Shear (American School of Classical Studies at Athens)**

*The epitaphios and the construction of Athenian collective memory*

Classical Athenians gathered annually to mourn the war-dead and to bury publicly those killed in combat in the preceding campaigning season. The occasion included an oration spoken in honour of those being buried by a man chosen by the city (Thuc. 2.35-46; Lys. 2; Dem. 60; Hyp. *Epit*; cf. Pl. *Menec*). Scholarship on these speeches has particularly focused on how they create Athenian identity and promulgate the ideology of the democratic city, but their politics of remembrance have been ignored. As I shall argue, these orations constructed collective memory for the Athenians. When the orator composed his speech, it represented his own thoughts and its text was not authorised by the city before delivery. When he gave his oration, he presented his version of the dead men’s final campaign and of selected events in the city’s history in a ritual setting. This context by its very nature created a single memory of the battles, and, indeed, the rites themselves, for the whole city. Subsequently, these battles could be remembered on other occasions, such as later funeral orations. Consequently, the memory politics of these orations show us how individual memory intersects with and then becomes collective remembrance for the Athenians.
**Nancy SHUMATE (Smith College)**

“We Know How to Work and We Know How to Pray”: Roman Agrarian Discourse in American Country Music

The idealization of country life was a pervasive feature of Roman cultural discourse, from pastoral poetry to the agrarian texts of Cato and Varro. Pastoral nostalgia served as a base upon which elites built ideas of national identity and “authentic” national values, in spite of the fact that the fabricated rusticity of Roman nostalgia grew ever more divorced from contemporary realities. Thomas Jefferson drew on the Roman agrarian tradition to forge a national identity for the new American republic that would be based on imagined agrarian virtues. This agrarian identity survived longer in the South, prompting one critic of country music (a Southern cultural form) to view it as the last gasp of Jeffersonian agrarianism. I would argue that country music is actually the last gasp of Roman agrarian discourse, with the Jefferson texts as a conduit.

The paper will compare the cultural fantasies of selected Roman pastoral/agrarian texts with those of country music songs/videos, focusing on their treatment of the city and its values; religion; gender roles and family; work ethic; outsiders; and ideas of patriotism. In both cases, the country = the Country; the countryside (and the past) is where “true” Romans, or Americans, reside.

**Christopher M. SIMON (Yale)**

*Original* Etymologies and Roman Historiography

While historical accounts of early Rome contain a substantial corpus of etymologies, the relationship between etymology and Roman historiography remains uncertain. This paper examines extant etymologies of the cognomen Iulus, beginning with fragments attributed to Marcus Porcius Cato’s *Origines* (HRR2 fr. 9.5-7, Chassignet F10b), in order to address three primary lines of inquiry: 1) to elaborate the close association that arises in our earliest Roman historiography between the practice of etymologizing and historical narratives of early Rome; 2) to trace briefly the development of this practice in later periods of Latin literature; and 3) to demonstrate that etymologies within historical narratives offer insight into how Roman historians engage in the (re)creation of Roman cultural identity.

Etymology as a hermeneutic offers a means of both (re)constructing and (re)interpreting historical narrative. It integrates an element of contemporary Roman culture – a word – into a narrative by juxtaposing (a) particular idea(s) about that word in the present onto an instantiation of that word in the remote past. As such, the multiple etymologies of Iulus furnish an interesting commentary, not only on the gens Iulia, but also on the relationship between etymology and Roman historiography.

**Margarita SOTIRIOU (University of Peloponnese)**

Bacchylides behind his metamorphoses: the poetic identity of a lyric narrator

Several times throughout his epinician Odes, Bacchylides refers to himself as a bird: in Ode 3 as a Cean nightingale, in Ode 4 as Urania’s cock, in Ode 5 as Zeus’ eagle, and -in light variation- in Ode 10 as a bee. All these self referential similes are clearly used in order to evoke to the listeners specific points of the performative context, in which they occur. The choice of the specific bird as the speaking subject is each time intentional. It belongs to a symbolic system, which provides us information about Bacchylides’ artistic identity, his professional role as a primary narrator and subsequently the confidence he feels about the quality and the superiority of his art against his ‘rivals’. Bacchylides’ poetry is like these creatures; it flies above the earth to the sky, providing a limitless praise of his addressee’s deeds, which last forever. The following contribution aims firstly at providing a new suggestion about the way Bacchylides presents himself as a poet, in order to serve his own epinician purpose. Secondly, we will reveal the relationship between intention and expression, namely some aspects of his poetic art concerning especially his style and his language. Thirdly we will try to find out the correspondences or eventually the differences between all these similes in Bacchylides’ choral songs comprehending their function as an integral issue of his Odes’ structure.
Catherine Steel (Glasgow)

Auctoritas and the Senate after Sulla

The business of the Roman Senate consisted in endless decisions; to understand how these decisions happened and why they were accepted, we need to consider also the personal auctoritas of individual senators, above all that of the principes, the ‘leading men’.

In the period after Sulla’s dictatorship, the Senate’s composition changed radically; it had also been deprived of its principes. When Sulla became dictator in 82 B.C., only four other ex-consuls were still alive. Only one of them – L. Marcius Philippus, cos. 91 – was active after 81 B.C. This paper argues that the deficit in experience, combined with the Senate’s new profile and activities, led to a loss of auctoritas of both individuals and the institution as a whole, which in turn opened the way to sustained challenge to the Senate from both the people and magistrates over the following three decades, culminating in the Civil War of 49 – 46 B.C.

Johan Steenkamp (University of North-West, South Africa)

Propertius’ ‘Roman Elegies’ (3.1-5): The Poet’s Pacifistic Programme

The paper argues that the first five poems of Propertius’ third book form a programmatic unit that deplores the excesses of war civil war and promote the pacifistic lifestyle of the Roman elegiac poet. Rather than proposing to read Propertius as pro- or anti-Augustan, the paper prefers to read the poems as the author’s views regarding shape Augustan reforms were taking and the place of politicians and poets in this new, more autocratic, dispensation. Reading the poems in this way sheds light on how Propertius anticipated Roman citizens of the urban elite could gain fame and recognition under the principate.

The paper takes the central third poem as the focus of the programmatic unit. This poem describes how Apollo and Calliope appear to the poet and how they provide precepts for the material and subject matter of his poetry. These central speeches refer intertextually to the poet’s own words in both the preceding poems (3.1-2), which explain how fame can be achieved through the writing of love poetry, and to the following poems (3.4-5) in which the poet juxtaposes the lifestyles of the rich warmongers and the peace loving poets.

Suzanne Stern-Gillet (University of Bolton and Manchester)

Poetic Mania Transformed: From Plato to Proclus

The distinction between four kinds of divine mania that Plato ascribes to the poet Stesichorus (Phaedrus, 244 A3 – 245 A8) proved to have an exceptionally rich nachleben. Neoplatonised by Hermias and Proclus, both of whom had been pupils of Syrianus, the kind of mania that Stesichorus/Plato describe as ‘the possession and madness which come from the Muses’ (ibid., 245 A 1-2), became an anagogic aid capable of prompting human souls to undertake the ascent to the higher realities from which they proceed. So redefined, the poetic form of mania provided Proclus with a key concept with which to carry out his ambitious programme of vindicating the Homeric poems against Plato’s criticisms in Republic X while, at the same time, demonstrating that Homer and Plato are in fundamental agreement in doctrinal matters. In Quattrocento Florence, the Neoplatonic version of poetic mania was subject to yet another transformation. Adapted to Christian theology by Marsilio Ficino, it became a form of divine assistance granted to fallen souls by the Creator. The paper will chronicle the Procline and Ficinian transformations of the original Platonic concept through an analysis of key passages.

Kathryn Stevens (Cambridge)

Babylonian Scholarship and Hellenistic Intellectual Culture

The political and cultural changes of the Hellenistic period reconfigured and intensified connections between Mesopotamia and the Greek world. Seleucid kings restored Babylonian temples, and increasing numbers of Babylonians took Greek names, sometimes in addition to other names in Akkadian and Aramaic. Yet one community does not fit easily into this ‘Hellenistic’ environment of cultural bilingualism. Within the temples of Babylonia worked intellectuals who continued to copy and compose traditional Babylonian scholarly texts in Akkadian and Sumerian. With two exceptions, their work shows no clear contact with Greek intellectual or cultural traditions.
Using contemporary Akkadian and Greek sources, this paper aims to challenge the idea that ‘Hellenistic’ intellectual history has little to do with the scholars of Babylonia. Although the sources are very different, focusing on developments which are meaningful within each cultural context reveals similar shifts. Hellenistic Greek and Akkadian scientific texts engage with a wider range of places than previously, drawing upon new geographical knowledge. Meanwhile, intellectuals in both cultures faced similar challenges in balancing such new knowledge with the privileged texts of a prestigious inherited literary corpus. Thus Babylonian scholarship can be situated within the Hellenistic world for reasons beyond chronology.

Richard STONEMAN (Exeter)
Selection, protection and distribution: the role of traditional publishing

Richard Stoneman, who worked as a publisher’s editor for almost thirty years, outlines the main responsibilities of publishers, and their contribution.

Traditional publishers have three major roles in the dissemination of scholarly work. The first role is discriminating selection by an editor, using peer review, to eliminate time-wasting works from circulation.

The second role of the publisher is to protect the author’s work and his rights, by applying the law of copyright and policing illegitimate use more effectively than an individual can do.

The third role of the publisher is to distribute and sell work to end users, including the sale of translation and other subsidiary rights. The example of self-publication is a cautionary one, since many self-published books (including websites) seem little better than vanity publishing, and such books are often extremely hard to obtain if you do need them. A publisher who does not actively sell is not doing his/her job.

The best way to ensure that texts and research become as widely available as possible is to entrust them to a professional publisher.

Hannah J. SWITHINBANK (independent scholar)
A call to arms: Sallust's presentation of the creation of the 'people' as a political unit

This paper will examine the way in which Sallust shows Roman orators calling the populus Romanus to act as a united ‘People’ who could claim and exercise political power. It will analyse the speech of Memmius in the Bellum Jugurthinum (31) to show how the tribune turns the disparate crowd before him into a united ‘People’. Laclau (On Populist Reason, 2005) argues that the People as a political entity are formed in opposition to an Other, only coming into being when a specific demand is articulated in discourse. Memmius initially addresses his audience as quirites, before identifying them as plebs opposed to the actions of the nobilitas. In this way he turns his into ‘The People’, the legitimate holders of power in the Republic, who must oppose the power and corruption of the nobilitas. However, one of Sallust’s key themes in the BJ is the strife between plebs and nobilitas and the damage it did to the Republic (5.1-2). Reading Memmius’ speech in this context, we can see how the historian reveals the political danger of the tribune’s rhetoric in its incitement of discord between the plebs and nobilitas which would – as the end of the BJ implies – lead ultimately to civil war.

Melina TAMIOlAKI (University of Crete)
Satire and Historiography in Lucian's De Historia Conscribenda. The Reception of Classical Models and the Construction of the Author's Persona.

The present paper is part of a larger project which seeks to shed new light on Lucian’s De Historia Conscribenda. It insists on the strategies of persuasion employed by Lucian in this work and on the ways he constructs his persona in order to attract and convince his public (audience or readership). It is important, therefore, to examine Lucian’s reception of classical models from this perspective. Classical historians are mentioned or alluded to, not only in order to provide models for future writers of the genre; more importantly, they constitute a vehicle through which the author of the treatise constructs his own persona: while presenting the rules of historiography, Lucian often assimilates himself with the classical historians, especially Thucydides. I will offer a brief analysis of the relevant vocabulary, expressions, and allusions and argue that Lucian’s use of them does not aim merely at aesthetic imitation or parody, but serves a deeper function: in this
way, Lucian establishes a connection between the act (traits, process) and the theory of history writing and uses the former in order to legitimate the latter. A final question I will address is in what ways this concern interacts with other facets Lucian adopts in this work, such as that of the Cynic philosopher.

Oliver Thomas (Oxford)

When is a Tortoise Sexy? Gender in Greek music, especially the Homeric Hymn to Hermes. Greek conceptions of music are full of references to gender. Obvious examples are that the Muses are female, and that certain genres were suited for male or female performers. But instrumental sounds can also said to be masculine or feminine, types of scale can be effeminate, particular degrees within a scale can be feminine, or rhythm can be masculine whereas melody is feminine (‘older authorities’ cited in Aristides Quintilianus 1.19). Furthermore, certain passages in Greek literature reactivate these metaphors by pushing them well beyond their normal limits. A famous example is Pherecrates’ fragment (155 K-A) where Music complains of her manhandling by the exponents of New Music. Another is the Homeric Hymn to Hermes’ presentation of the lyre, and the tortoise whose shell provides its sounding-case, as a sexy courtesan for which Apollo feels a strongly erotic desire.

The insights which feminist musicology might bring to this material seem to deserve further exploration. In this paper, I will survey some musicological ideas which seem particularly useful in thinking about these aspects of Greek music, before focussing on the presentation of lyre-playing in the Hymn to Hermes.

Stuart Thomson (Oxford)

Between Aristotle and the Druids: Classics and the Writings of Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Canterbury

Rowan Williams is widely recognised as one of the most intellectual Archbishops the Church of England has ever enthroned; the range of his literary output covers everything from Patristics and the theology of sexuality, to art criticism and poetry. His writing shows him intensely conscious of the place of Anglicanism within European Christianity, but also demonstrates an ambivalent appreciation of the insularity of Anglicanism as rooted in the particularity of the British Isles; his own Welsh background both grounds and problematises his approach to these issues.

In addition to establishing which classical authors Williams draws upon in his writings and what discursive status these references have, I will pay special attention to the way in which Williams negotiates his ambiguous Classical heritage, partly drawing from the otherness of a Celtic background, yet also firmly grounded in the mainstream of the Greco-Roman intellectual tradition as mediated by the Christian tradition. This will encompass both Williams’ academic work, but also his more personal poetic writing. In doing so, I hope to develop an insight into how the Archbishop balances the autochthonous and the universal elements of the Church of England’s tradition.

Catherine Tite (University of Regina)

Looking at Niobe: aesthetic originality, classical imitation and eighteenth-century representations

In 1598 classical statuary depicting Niobe and her dying offspring were unearthed in the Medici gardens. This paper will examine this Niobe sculpture group, and earlier precedents found at the Baths of Sallust, focusing on varying interpretations of the myth in works from the 18th century. Rome’s ongoing popularity as an elite venue for artistic innovation during the 18th Century led to a spectrum of production responding to the Niobe sculpture group. The lucrative market for fine art prints, engravings, and guidebooks fuelled a proliferation of graphic representations, including the re-issue of a series from Francois Perrier’s influential Segmenta nobilium signorium et statuaru urbis, (1638) and engravings after history painter Richard Wilson’s Death of Niobe (1769).

The discussion contrasts opposing conceptualizations of the Niobe myth from the 18th Century. Artists appropriated the myth to engage with mainstream Grand tour print culture, so-called armchair antiquarianism, and discourses of artistic pedagogy. But did the 18th Century artistic community find additional contemporary resonance in the suffering of classical heroines in
sculpture unearthed during previous centuries? The discussion concludes with source material assessing the display of paintings produced in response to comparable myths.

Kristina TOMC (Ljubljana)

Drinking Poets: Water, Wine and Callimachean Inspiration

While making a libation to the manly Homer and Archilochus, in his epigram (AP 11.20), Antipater of Thessalonica ridicules the fastidious water-drinkers who gather thorns and drink the frugal water from the sacred fountain. The water-drinkers presumably represent Callimachus and his sympathisers.

The account of Callimachus' dream is lost, and speculation based mostly on the anonymous epigram (AP 7.42) and on numerous echoes in Augustan poetry is not enough to establish whether Callimachus' lost lines actually referred to drinking water from a certain fountain. Besides Epigram 28 Pf., the role which Callimachus assigns to drinking and to the related inspiration is suggested by the epilogue of his Hymn to Apollo 110-12, to which 1.4 of Antipater's epigram seems to allude. Callimachus' bees resemble the cicada of the Aetia Prologue 29-36. Both animal images have a parallel in the bees introduced in Plato's Ion 534a-534b6, which is an important reference frame for Callimachus' Prologue.

The markedly religious atmosphere of both Callimachus' passages shows that water-drinking is not necessarily associated with a coolly rational poetic craftsmanship. Water springs are characteristic of the celebrations honouring Bacchus. Had Callimachus' entire opus been preserved, his enthusiasm and religiosity might strike us as less surprising.

Daniel P. TOMPKINS (Temple University)

The language of Pericles

K.J. Dover's assertion that "There is very little individual characterization of speeches" in Thucydides (Thucydides [Oxford, 1973], p. 23), reflects his own position and scholarly consensus, but is open to challenge. Diction, sentence structure, and other features in Pericles' three direct speeches (Thucydides 1.140-144, 2.35-46, 2.60-64) are distinctive, in ways that illuminate the nature of Periclean leadership.

Diction: τόλμα, ἐλπίς, πείθω, and κίνδυνος, though treated negatively by other speakers, play positive roles in Pericles' three speeches, revealing a characteristically Athenian approach to international relations. On the other hand, Pericles never commends σωφροσύνη. Persuasion, hope, and daring are all complex, fusing intellect and "will." Pericles emphasizes the necessity of a supple and aggressive intellect in confronting the world, insisting in two different speeches that reason and daring are not antithetical but interdependent.

Other features: The final two speeches are packed with ambiguity, paradox, metaphor, and relative clauses. Unlike Nicias, Pericles obscures his transitions, making us search for antecedents that may not exist. Pericles' final speech is also far more gnomic than any other in Thucydides. One type of analogy, in which the middle term serves two purposes at once, may be peculiarly Periclean: men adapt thoughts to fit events, and events proceed like thoughts (1.140.1); the virtues of our dead adorn my words, my words honor the city (2.42.2); if we preserve freedom, freedom will easily regain our private possessions (2.62.3).

Overt assertion and linguistic expression collaborate to give "meaning" to these speeches. The long tradition that Thucydides merely cloaked the "purport," "gist," or "Sinn" of an original in his own words rests on a dubious form-content dualism that ignores the vital contribution of form to meaning. If verbal revision does indeed change the "meaning" of a statement, the dualistic scholarly tradition requires reconsideration just as much as Dover's denial of individual characterization.

Krzysztof ULANOWSKI (Gdansk)

The Absorption of Phoenician and Assyrian Religious Beliefs and Motifs on Cyprus in Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Archaic Periods.

Early myths may have been introduced with the gods of one religion becoming the demons and legendary monsters of the other. Some of the earliest artist's impressions of Gorgon came from
Cyprus where she is depicted being slain by Perseus, who is hacking off her snake-haired head. Here there are clear parallels with the slaying of Humbaba by Gilgamesh. Phoenicians identified their fertility goddess Astarte with Aphrodite. Both Herodotus and Pausanias agree to the Near Eastern origins of certain aspects of Aphrodite. Herodotus mentions the most ancient temple of Aphrodite Ourania among the Syrians (i.e. Phoenicians) and the temple in Cyprus which was established by the Phoenicians from Syria. Astarte and Ishtar are known as Queen of Heaven. Sacred bird of Aphrodite and Astarte is dove, it is sacrificed to them. Aphrodite is sometimes armed, and bestows victory as Isthar.

It is worth mentioning Adonis, a young fertility god who represents death and rebirth in an oriental vegetation cult; he parallels the Sumerian god Dumuzi and his Babylonian equivalent Tammuz. Apollo also has Semitic Eastern connections, as shown previously in mythology and through his cult sites on Cyprus. Apollo Keraeates of Enkomi was identified with the Semitic god Reshef.

Helen Van Noorden (Cambridge)
Sibylline visions of destruction
Conflagration, cataclysm, earthquake, disease and war: the successive visions of future national and cosmic disaster in the extant Sibylline Oracles are regularly cited as evidence for the multicultural nature of the Hellenistic world, but those of the third book have yet to receive sustained attention as prophecies of its end. Beyond the barest evidence that sections were extant in the first century BCE, the difficulty of pinning down their strata make it imperative (as Lightfoot 2007 urges) to take care in posing questions about this composite ‘Judeo-Christian’/‘pagan’ presentation of prehistory and eschatology, ‘in’ but only partly ‘of’ Greek literary traditions.

This paper aims to evaluate the rhetorical stance of this text through a focus on the various prophecies of destruction (from SO III.175-807) as recognizably ‘sibylline’ constructions. Patterns of imagery in the sibyl’s distinctively stylized mode support the possibility of its imitation in famously visionary Roman texts, but reveal too the framing with which theories of cyclic destruction can become an ‘eschatology of the future’. In consequence, this paper suggests, looking through sibylline lenses can usefully prompt us to think harder about the criteria by which to identify future-oriented texts and their place in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds.

Johan Vekselius (Lund)
Public tears – the case of Paullus and Perseus
This paper discusses public tears as they appear in the literary descriptions of Rome’s third war against Macedonia, focusing on the chief protagonists, L. Aemilius Paullus and king Perseus. Crying is often thought of as a private expression of emotion. However, crying could fill an important public role. The trick was how to turn the public private, and the private public, since the endeavours of the politician was both at the same time, a theme that is explicitly elaborated in the narratives. Perseus fails in this respect by displaying distress for his own person in public: in diplomacy, in front of an assembly and during the triumph of Paullus. Paullus on the other hand is portrayed as a statesman who knew how to weep. He sheds tears for the fickleness of Fortune, while he is emotionally composed during his private, yet very public, sorrows and victories. Victory and defeat, public and private, along with true and false tears are juxtaposed themes. Also considered is the tearful response of the audience to public displays. It is concluded that by crying properly the politician could, also by alluding to former famous criers, strengthen his public image.

Ivo Volt (Tartu)
Aspects of invective and denigration: Attic orators and the Characters of Theophrastus
The fourth-century Attic orators are famous for their excessive use of invective and abuse. Both Demosthenes and Aeschines freely use, in their forensic speeches, the topoi of ἁσογος usually associated with epideictic rhetoric, showing that indeed rhetorical theory and practice are two independent fields. In their speeches, the orators make use of various rhetorical devices for drawing attention to the negative characteristics of their opponents. One of these consists of heavily using denigrating attributes and attribute clusters, some of which have a long tradition of
Theophrastus.

There is also considerable overlap with the traits in Theophrastus' Characters, which are remarkable for their deviations from socially acceptable behaviour, and thus well suited for the abusive context. Assuming that the basis of Theophrastus' selection was more or less popular usage, we may look, in the Greek literary works, for invective groups that contain one or more references to such characteristics. In this regard the role of oratory becomes eminent. This paper discusses some of these invective groups in the speeches of the Attic orators, focusing on specific topics of vituperation.

Shane WALLACE (Edinburgh)
'The Freedom of the Greeks' in Diodorus Siculus' Narrative of the Successors (Books 18-20)
This paper examines the slogan 'the freedom of the Greeks' in books 18-20 of Diodorus’ Bibliothèque. It addresses questions of use and authorship. First, in which ways and to what end are eleutheria (freedom) and autonomia (autonomy) employed? Second, did Diodorus lift these terms from his sources or did he use them himself as tools to structure his own narrative?

First, I look at the use and frequency of eleutheria and autonomia within books 18-20. Both Antigonus and Polyperchon are said to have promoted Greek freedom but I argue that Diodorus’ narrative distinguishes between eleutheria in describing Antigonus’ actions and autonomia in describing Polyperchon’s. I suggest that ‘the freedom of the Greeks’ acts as a leitmotif contrasting Antigonus’ successful policies with Polyperchon’s unsuccessful ones.

Second, I turn to authorship and intent. Is the use of both terms attributable to Diodorus or to his sources? Here I turn more generally to the use of eleutheria and autonomia throughout the Bibliothèque.

I argue that while the use of eleutheria for Antigonus and autonomia for Polyperchon probably follows that of his source, Diodorus was not himself a slavish epitomiser of these sources. Rather, he could use such terms himself to structure his narrative.

Jo WALSH (Edinburgh), Stuart DUNN (KCL)
Connecting Historical Authorities with Linked data, Contexts and Entities (Chalice)
CHALICE is a project to mine text—or rather mine structure—from volumes of the English Place Name Survey, and extract entities to build a temporally aware historic gazetteer. EPNS content dates from 1925, and draws on many different historical sources combining years of collaborative scholarship, providing unparalleled insight into change in placenames over time. The Chalice gazetteer will be published as Linked Data, searchable through EDINA’s Unlock Places gazetteer cross-search service. We shall establish links to generic sources of placename reference on the Linked Data Web (Geonames, the Ordnance Survey and OpenStreetMap), and thus make links to shapes as well as points describing ‘the same place’. We shall contribute new placename data to Geonames.org and give mappings between placenames and links to Samesas.org.

The project will use mereological relations between things in space to improve the quality of future historic text-mining work; more placenames will be located and the likely locations of others suggested with less difference, creating less work. As part of Chalice, use cases for relevant historical database projects are being developed and will be presented, along with an analysis of how the approach can support digital Classical World locational services such as Pleiades.

Barbara P. WEINLICH (Texas Tech University, Lubbock)
What’s in a Birthday? Elegy 3.10 and Propertius’ programmatic puella
Aside from the Propertian speaker’s visit by the Camenae, who tell him that today is his puella’s birthday, little indicates at first glance that Elegy 3.10 articulates as well as implements a thematic program, and moreover, that this thematic program centers not on Cynthia, but on Augustan Rome. Yet, given that Elegy 3.10 immediately follows a programmatic poem in which the Propertian speaker considers episodes of Roman history as topics for his future poetry, Elegy 2.13 offers a helpful parallel. As this two-part poem (2.13.1-16 and 17-58), so the two-poem sequence (3.9-10) comprises a poetological statement and a quasi-real episode that illustrates the pronounced program. Moreover, in each case, Propertian poetry’s style and subject are embodied by his ‘written girl’ (scripta puella). Yet, while Elegy 2.13 suggests that the name ‘Cynthia’ denotes amor, the unnamed puella in poem 3.10 invites to be read in terms of Roma.
Elegy 3.10 provides a link between the poet’s rejection of epic in 3.3 and his resolution to compose aetiological elegies on the origins of Rome in 4.1, and may thus be regarded a pivotal poem within the series of programmatic poems in Propertius.

Richard Westall (Rome)
Rethinking the Relationship of Appian to Pollio
This paper argues that Appian of Alexandria utilized the Historiae of C. Asinius Pollio only for the period extending from Caesar’s crossing of the Rubicon to the death of Pompeius Magnus at Pelusium (49-48 BCE). This thesis will be proved through a review of the focalization (Bal 1985) that occurs when Pollio is mentioned in Appian’s Civil Wars. There are twenty passages involved. These passages neatly divide between those in which Pollio is both a protagonist of consequence and an eyewitness to history (49-48 BCE) and those in which Pollio plays a minor supporting role (47-40 BCE). In the first group, we perceive Pollio taking Sicily from Cato, with Curio in Africa, and upon the battlefield of Pharsalus (2.40.162, 45.185f., 46.187, 82.346). In narratological terms, the focalization is that to be expected from Historiae that are clearly documented as having the function of memoirs (Morgan 2000; André 1949). As for the second group of passages, Pollio is mentioned in the campaign of Mutina, the Proscriptions, fighting in Spain, the campaign of Perusia, and the peace-talks of Brundisium (3.46.190, 74.304, 81.330, 332, 97.399; 4.12.46, 27.114, 84.352; 5.20.80, 31.123, 33.130f., 35.141, 50.208, 212, 61.257, 64.272). Both the fact of external focalization and its scarce quality contradict irretrievably the notion that Appian derived this information from Pollio’s Historiae.

Guy Westwood (Oxford)
Cimon’s vanishing act: paradigms, politics and memory in Demosthenes and Aeschines
Drawing on recent interest in oratorical manipulation of Athenian popular memory and in Cicero’s exempla, I examine some aspects of how historical paradigms are put to use for literary and political as well as purely argumentative purposes by Demosthenes and Aeschines. These have mainly been characterised as trite, interchangeable packages, invoked with relatively little close attention to their relevance to the wider context of a speech beyond the specific argument at hand. Here I argue the opposite: that paradigmatic references to the past as deployed by Demosthenes and Aeschines (as by other orators in public contexts) function as dynamic and sophisticated vehicles of expression, with the potential to crystallise and advance both literary and political priorities and to articulate the orator’s vision of the values and aspirations which he wishes to impress upon his audience. A test case will be the passage of Against Ctesiphon (Aesch. 3.183ff.) to which my title alludes; here, I will be particularly concerned to emphasise the plurality both of possible appeals and of available interpretations against the prevailing tendency to reduce paradigmatic passages as elaborate as this one – passages which are sites of creativity as much as continuity – to artificial and anachronistic schemata.

Matthijs Wibier (St Andrews)
Mixed Constitution as Medical Metaphor in Plato’s Laws
Many scholars who are interested in the so-called mixed constitution in Polybius and Cicero (and later thought) trace the origin of this “doctrine” to Plato Laws, esp. to the Athenian Stranger’s discussion of the Spartan legislator in 691d-692a. In contrast to these scholars’ mere interest in the Laws as the source for Polybius, this paper will study the Platonic passage in its own right. Departing from the observation that this passage is phrased in medical terminology, I will argue that the three ways in which meignum is used express three different ideas of mixture, which relate or correspond to three different forms in which medical analogy is employed elsewhere the Laws, without there being a strictly doctrinal linkage between these. The agenda behind this is that the doctor is an attractive model as it allows Plato to emphasize the techne status of legislation, an analogue that is able to combine different (not strictly medical) metaphors pervasive in contemporary intellectual and political discourse. This reading (combining metaphors rather than doctrine) is meant challenge modern scholarship’s quest for Plato’s sources.
Michael Stuart WILLIAMS (NUI Maynooth)
The Goth who fell out of a window, and other reliable witnesses
The anonymous Life of Daniel the Stylite gives the story of a Goth who leaned out of a window and sneeringly hailed the saint as “our new consul”– before falling from the window to his death. This immediate come-uppance is attributed in the text to divine intervention, removing from the stage a hostile witness; and yet his comment was included in the Life all the same. In effect, the author was able to have it both ways by putting this claim in the mouth of a hostile onlooker: it provided an apparently objective assessment which could then safely be disowned by the author and punished by God. This paper will explore in more detail a similar dynamic in two earlier Lives from the western empire: those of Martin of Tours and Ambrose of Milan. The ultimate aim is to see the same technique at work in politics as well as in literature; and as a feature of Ambrose’s political rhetoric in particular. For what was often required, by Ambrose as by Christianity in general, was an opponent who could prove one’s authority and orthodoxy – before softly and silently vanishing away.

T.P. WISEMAN (Exeter)
Cicero and the Body Politic
Cicero constantly referred with admiration to the exemplary citizens of the old Republic. His own career made him all too familiar with the selfish arrogance of the contemporary aristocracy. His great sequence of philosophical arguments, from De oratore to De officiis, explored the moral basis of public and private life more thoroughly and eloquently than any Roman had ever attempted. And yet he accepted the aristocracy’s case that murder for political ends was not only acceptable but laudable.

For Cicero, Scipio Nasica had been wholly justified in killing Tiberius Gracchus. As for the men who broke their oath and killed a defenceless man on the Ides of March 44 BC, they had carried out the most glorious of deeds, the greatest in human history. How could he, of all people, have come to hold such a view?

In ch. 9 of Remembering the Roman People (Oxford 2009), I suggested that part of the reason may have been his reading of Plato on the ‘tyrannical man’. This paper proposes a further contributory cause – the effect of the ‘body politic’ metaphor, which likens the state to a human body, when applied in times of political crisis.

Jakob WISSE (Newcastle)
Humour in the Pro Caelio: comedy or capers?
Cicero’s Pro Caelio is a very funny speech – at least in part. It has by now become orthodox to say that it is, in essence, a comedy, a view going back to Katherine Geffcken’s Comedy in the Pro Caelio (1973). I will argue that this equation doesn’t do justice to the speech. To start with, there are quite a few serious elements that tend to get overlooked if we see it as a comedy. But more importantly, the equation loses sight of the real differences between the ways that comedies and speeches try to make us laugh. If we take account of the difference between these genres, the real humour of the Pro Caelio can be more clearly seen and appreciated.

Justine WOLFENDEN (Durham)
Epicurean expansure: Lucretius’ appropriation of terminus in De Rerum Natura
This paper addresses the significance of the programmatic metaphor of the terminus found first within the proem to, and thereafter used throughout, Lucretius’ De Rerum Natura. A terminus is a boundary stone or marker that separates one property from another, and termini were especially consequential in the recognition of property rights for Roman farmers and were prominent generally in agricultural life. They could also, however, possess religious and spiritual significance and indeed the terminus marker is divinely incarnated as Terminus, a Roman deity and god of boundaries.

Through close reading of Lucretius’ use of the image, this paper explores why, in order to elucidate what are ostensibly Greek philosophical concepts of nature and limit, Lucretius saw fit to employ an image so readily identifiable as a familiar symbol of Roman religion and life. The image has hitherto received only limited consideration by scholars, with commentators mainly observing
that the *terminus* image is ‘characteristically Roman’ and seldom going beyond that observation. Further explication is clearly needed. Therefore, this paper will examine Lucretius’ diverse deployment of the image, and will attempt to reach a more nuanced understanding of Lucretius’ aim in including the *terminus* metaphor within his poem.

**Mark WOOLMER (Durham)**

*The Horns of Amon: Apotropaic Appendages on the Prows of Phoenician and Punic Ships*

Ships, in both ancient and modern seafaring societies, are often considered to house divine spirits which protect mariners from the unpredictable nature of the sea. Among ancient civilisations numerous cultures demonstrate a belief in the expediency of creating an intimate association between a protective deity and ships, whether that ship was a river barge, merchant vessel or warship. Classical scholarship has been quick to identify the role of apotropaic eyes within such a belief system, most prominently Brody 1998, but few have recognised the symbolic significance of the horn-like projections depicted on the prows of several Phoenician and Punic vessels. These horns seem to have had no practical function as they appear to have been positioned just above the *proembolon*; therefore, what was the significance of their inclusion? Through a more general examination of the symbolic importance of horns in the ancient Near East, it is possible to conclude that they were emblems of the divine. Horns can be identified as prominent features on the headaddresses worn by various deities, adorning the roofs of various shrines, and on a number of Near Eastern altars. This led Cook, in his examination of ancient Near Eastern religions, to conclude: “Horns were a symbol of strength, superhuman power and divinity. As emblems of divine rank they are found on gods, genii and great kings.”. This paper will suggest that the presence of horns on the prows of Phoenician and Punic vessels is indicative not only of a belief in the expediency of creating an intimate association between a protective deity and sailing vessels, but also of an attempt to imbue the ship with a zoomorphic identity to protect it further against misfortune.

**Florence YOON (Oxford)**

*Aristophanic artistry: the anonymous protagonist and the mirrored structure of Thesmophoriazusae*

Euripides’ *kedestes* (Inlaw) is clearly the protagonist of *Thesmophoriazusae*; however, unlike every other Aristophanic hero, he is identified only by his kinship with a named contemporary figure. Yet he is not simply subordinated; the dramatic relationship between Euripides and the play’s protagonist consists of a series of sudden associations and dissociations by which Aristophanes controls the extent to which the audience perceives the *kedestes* as an independent character. This dynamic is one of the primary techniques by which Aristophanes both creates and conceals the unusual duality of the play. While most Aristophanic plots follow a single hero through a single scheme, the dramatic focus of *Thesmophoriazusae* shifts subtly but decisively from the *kedestes’* defence of Euripides to Euripides’ rescue of his *kedestes*. The two characters quietly exchange the roles of hero and victim so that the audience’s attention is smoothly diverted to an inversion of the original problem. The elegant symmetry of the plot is paralleled in the play’s thematic focus, which moves from the exploration of gender through genre to the exploration of genre through gender.

**Alexey V. ZADOROZHNYY (Liverpool)**

*Libraries and imperial intellectuals: kudos or copout?*

Despite the prominence of libraries as sites and statements of culture-cum-power across the high Roman empire, in the texts from the (broadly) Second Sophistic intelligentsia libraries can be problematized or eschewed. While some authors (notably, Gellius) configure libraries as prestigious environment for cultural activity, others berate expansionist bibliophilism (Seneca, Lucian) or negotiate their own intellectual persona vis-à-vis the libraries’ epistemological and physical insecurity (Galen). Explicit references to contemporary libraries in the literary sources are oddly fewer than might be expected: for example Plutarch mentions libraries located in the past (especially Lucullus’ library as paradigmatic of the Greco-Roman cooperation) but otherwise operates with the nondescript ‘plenty of books’. Furthermore, in descriptions of cities the library
is often not a default feature; Menander Rhetor’s textbook of encomia repeatedly “fades out” libraries at the lexical level, speaking of μουσείον rather than βιβλιθήκη. It is therefore argued, in response to recent studies of ancient book culture (Yun Lee Too, William Johnson), that libraries and literary materiality in general continue to represent a faultline in the imagination of the imperial πεπαιδευμένοι.

Vasiliki ZALI (UCL)
Myth as political argument in Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon: the case of Athens
This paper explores the use of Athenian myths as political arguments in speeches in Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon’s Hellenica. Relating the exploitation of myth to the historians’ narrative strategies and their view of Athenian character, it seeks to argue for resemblance between Herodotus and Xenophon.

Apart from a reference to autochthony in the Funeral Oration, Thucydides does not utilize the mythological τοποί which were common in epideictic oratory. Herodotus employs a range of mythical examples, such as autochthony and the Heraclidae. Similarly Xenophon makes use of the myth of Triptolemus and the legendary picture of the Athenians as defenders of the weak and oppressed. I will suggest that Thucydides’ suppression of myth is in line not only with his rejection of the mythical past in favour of the historical past and present, but also with the Athenian imperialistic nature which is incompatible with the image of Athens as benefactor of Greece. By contrast, the use of Athenian myths aligns Xenophon with Herodotus: not only does it tally with their fondness for digressions and storytelling, it is also, I shall argue, consistent with the Athenian national character as a combination of high-mindedness and self-interest in both the Histories and the Hellenica.

Christodoulos ZEKAS (Athens)
Remembering Aegisthus: Aspects of Divine Memory in Homer’s Odyssey
Being an epic of a warrior’s post-war nostos in which the past plays an important role, Homer’s Odyssey seems self-conscious of the various functions of memory as a means of the development of the plot. Some of the most important ways in which memory is employed in the poem are evident in the exchanges between gods which direct the most decisive shifts in the story. For instance, in the first divine assembly Zeus’ sudden recollection of Aegisthus triggers off discussion about Odysseus. What is more, gods present their own focalized versions of the past; Zeus introduces a favourable reading of the Cyclops, while Athena ‘forgets’ to mention Calypso’s supportive role. In Hermes’ meeting with Calypso in Book 5, the messenger-god imposes the version of the future of Odysseus which is decided and sanctified by the will of Zeus. Conversely, in the same scene Calypso opposes this version by shedding light on aspects of the past in which Zeus was hostile to the main hero. As I will show, the Odyssey favours a remarkable use of selective memory of the gods, suitably formulated to meet the needs of the plot and to maintain the balance of powers on Olympus.

Lucja ZIEBA (Basel)
Slave trade in Odyssey: First Literary References to Connections Between Greeks and Phoenicians
Homeric poems are early literary evidence of trade exchange taking place between Greeks and Phoenicians in the ancient Mediterranean area. The trade deals as shown in the Iliad and in the Odyssey in reference to the Phoenicians can be divided into gifts for the gods, guest gifts, trade in goods, slave trade and paid ship transportation of people and cargo. Slave trade seems to be a usual part of trade exchange beside products trade since it is mentioned several times and underlined in the stories of the protagonists of the Odyssey. It can be claimed that slave trade was part of the complex connections between Greeks and Phoenicians. It is also an important part of the contacts between Greeks and the Near East generally in the archaic period that is shown to some extent in the Homeric poetry. The purpose of the paper is to try to get an interdisciplinary approach to trade exchange between Greeks and Phoenicians while taking into account not only the vantage point of classics but also of archeology and ancient history.
**POSTER ABSTRACTS**

**Heba ABD EL GAWAD (Durham)**

“Is our king manipulating us?”: Ptolemy II Philadelphus as the Face of Ptolemaic Royal Media

Modern rulers present themselves to us through a variety of rituals, rhetoric and performances, using everything from architecture and coinage to television broadcasting and the world-wide web. Such presentations are fashioned according to the demands of the audience to guarantee acceptance of the ruler.

In the past, ancient rulers faced the same problem of presenting themselves to various audiences. Ptolemy II Philadelphus (282-246 BC) offers a distinctive case study in addressing the topic of ancient royal media. Philadelphia had a direct impact upon Ptolemaic royal ideology during a period when the Ptolemaic dynasty had reached its peak politically and economically. Ptolemy II’s kingship was double faced. A Greek originally, the king ruled a kingdom that had Egypt at its core. Similarly, the king’s subjects were both ethnic Egyptians and Greeks. Yet, to what extent did the ethnic identity of Philadelphus’ audience affect the ‘fashioning’ of his visual and literary presentations? And how successful was he in promoting his political agenda?

Through an inter-disciplinary approach towards the bi-polar visual and literary presentations of Ptolemy II, this paper aims to shed light on the manipulation of political communication during the Ptolemaic period. Accordingly, a clearer understanding of Ptolemaic royal media can be achieved.

**Benjamin BIESINGER (Konstanz)**

**Roman decadence-discourses in context (2nd century BC – 2nd century AD)**

The poster gives an overview of the PhD project “Roman decadence-discourses in context (2nd century BC – 2nd century AD)”. Decadence is a popular and widespread model used to interpret history and to describe oneself as a part of the Roman elite. While the intrinsic idea of decadence in Roman literature is fairly constant over centuries and in the work of different authors, the diverse stock of different decadence-models shows that decadence is not detached from historical context but caused and shaped by the author’s various intentions.

The PhD project deals with decadence not as a literary ornament but as a narrative strategy that is able to fulfill a task (given by the author) and to reach certain effects in the reader’s social environment. Thus, the author’s intervention in political, social and cultural discourses based on the argument of decadence, allocates certain roles in a setting of decline. By establishing a connection between names and events which are claimed to lead towards decline, the texts are able to delegitimate other players in the Roman elite or their political methods. Because of the popularity and high acceptance of decadence as a genuinely roman explanation of history on the one hand, and its variability on the other, authors had success in shaping, reshaping, personalising and replacing the arguments in their texts marked by the idea of decadence. Some of the texts in focus are Cicero (rep. II.), Sallust (Cat., Ing., hist.frg) and Tacitus (dial.)

**Erika CAPPELLETTO (Heidelberg)**

**Urbanization in the Western Provinces in the time of Emperor Claudius: an example in the Spanish provinces**

This case study is part of my PhD project, which involves a reflection on planning issues and on the strategies adopted by Claudius, in order to find some constant trends in the urban field notwithstanding the different cultural, geographical and historical situations.

Research on urbanization in the Spanish provinces, as also in other provinces, encompasses various stages. First, we must understand the situation before the coming of the Romans: for the previous situation is thought to have affected, in part, the urban choices of the emperor. Second, we must study the role played by governors specifically chosen for their competences, and having the power to authorise major constructions on behalf of the emperor. Third and more important is research on Claudius’ work, which sums up the trends.

Here the focus is on the Spanish situations. Differences in the setting of buildings or complex in the cities, as well as in the planning, the decoration and the patterns of the buildings highlight the peculiarity of Claudius’ works, when compared to the reorganization implemented by previous emperors, and to what happens in the other provinces; I shall attempt to explain the reasons for these singularities.
Anca Cristina Dan (Athens)

*Lieux de Mémoire* in *Lieux d’Histoire*: the topography of the Thracian Bosporus, through the *Ἀνάπλους* of Dionysius of Byzantium and the *De Bosporo Thrasio libri tres* of Petrus Gillius

Byzantium’s territory described in the 2nd century AD by an obscure local scholar, and by the middle of the 16th century AD by a mysterious French traveler, has not received much attention from scholars. Or, the *Ἀνάπλους* *Βοσπόρου*, unique periplographic and periegetic register of sites from the two shores of the Thracian strait, overtakes the literary and historical limits of a simple toponymic enumeration. More than 1 300 years later, it became a structural model for Petrus Gillius’ Latin travel narrative, and, indirectly, the ultimate basis for the Western textual and cartographic representations of Constantinople’s area, prior to the end of the 19th century. The inventory of the *lieux de mémoire* of an ancient Greek colony, written as a *document historiographique* during the Silver Age, became a *lieu d’histoire* at the Renaissance and in later times.

Irine Darchia (Tbilisi)

Memory in Plato’s Dialogues and Mystery Religions

In discussing Plato’s dialogues and the interrelation between them and mystery religions, attention should be paid to the importance of knowledge and memory in both ritual initiating and the process of philosophizing.

It is known that recollection, memory is valued highest among Pythagoreans. Great was the function of memory in the practice of other mystery religions as well. In Plato’s *Phaedrus* (250a) and *Gorgias* (493c) we can learn about the souls who forgot what they had “seen” and experienced at the highest level of the mystery and were punished for it. In *Phaedo* knowledge is the recollection of something that happened before the birth of a person, before his incarnation. “Our learning is nothing but recollection… what we are now reminded of we must have learned at some former time”. The aim of a philosopher is to acquire knowledge and his true objects are Forms.

A philosopher must cognize truth, i.e. bring back to his mind the knowledge about the world of Forms and a Mystes must remember the sacred initiation, the unification with God (that is the same as the cognition of Forms for philosopher).

Pia De Simone (independent scholar)

The relationship between magic, initiation into the mysteries and knowledge in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* and Celsus’ *Alethe Logos*

This paper aims to analyze the relationship between magic, knowledge and initiation into the mysteries in the cultural setting of the second half of the 2nd century AD, through the writings of two different representatives of that period: Apuleius and Celsus. These writers, through different literary forms, face a mystagogical reflection concerning the growth of knowledge of the mystery, in which mediation between the numinous and the human played an important role.

In *Metamorphoses*, Lucius, driven by insane *curiositas*, experiences the differences between the magic-sorcery and the magic-philosophy that, through the initiation into the mysteries of Isis, leads him to true knowledge. This knowledge cannot be achieved by human minds without the mediation of the goddess Isis. Celsus, comparing Christian religion to pagan religion, widely discusses magic, religious initiations and knowledge. Celsus’ opinion appears rather ambiguous, but, in many aspects, is not far from Apuleius’ belief. Both Apuleius’ and Celsus’ points of view are, in fact, related to Middleplatonism and mirror the Roman society of the imperial age, in which religion is not restricted to rituals, but begins to be deeply connected to knowledge and truth.

Leonardo Gregoratti (Udine)

Parthians in the Roman Empire

In her recent book, *L’image des Parthes dans le monde gréco-romain*, Charlotte Lерouge demonstrated how limited was the knowledge the Romans had of their main rivals for the supremacy in Asia: the Parthians. I shall present a preliminary work aimed at collecting all the evidences concerning the presence of the Parthians in Roman territory with the purpose of distinguishing different social groups. Most of the sources inform us about consistent numbers of members of the royal Arsacid family who sojourned for most of their lives in Rome. Other cases involve members of the aristocracy connected with the opposition against the Great King who were forced to seek refuge among their political enemies. Simple
traders or soldiers are also attested. The contribution aims to demonstrate that Rome and Parthia were not two separated worlds. The movement of men through the frontier represented a priceless chance for the Roman to acquire a more detailed knowledge about their eastern neighbours. Unfortunately despite the abundance of opportunities the intellectuals of the Empire chose to adopt a propagandistic point of view on the matter, considering the Parthians a hybrid people characterized by a mixture of features belonging both to the ancient Persians, the most luxurious people in the antiquity, and the Scythians, the cruellest and most warlike.

Wolfgang HAVENER (Konstanz)

**Imperator Augustus. The discursive development of the Roman Emperor’s military role in the 1st century AD**

The poster will give an overview of the author’s PhD project “Imperator Augustus. The discursive development of the Roman Emperor’s military role in the 1st century AD”. It will present the main theses as well as an outline of the planned approach and the methods applied. The emperor’s role as commander-in-chief of the Roman armed forces forms one of the most important foundations of the monarch’s political power. In the course of the early Principate the relationship to the soldiers becomes increasingly monopolized by the emperors. This, in turn, results in the almost complete extrusion of the members of the old republican elite from the processes of transforming military victory into political power. The emperors were confronted with the problem that they needed the close relations to the soldiers in order to consolidate and in some contexts even legitimate their rule while on the other side they were also dependent on the acceptance of the senatorial elite. For this reason the monarchs of the 1st century constantly had to look for methods and strategies to avoid potential conflicts concerning their role within the military sector. The PhD project aims to identify as well as analyse these strategies and their reception by the senatorial elite.

Matthias KORN (Saxon State Ministry of Education, Cultural Affairs and Sports)

**Neolatin literature in the classroom**

A survey of the syllabi for Latin at the German ‘Gymnasium’ shows the increasing interest in neo-Latin literature during the past years. The didactic motivations for this, however, seem to make not always sense, sometimes they are even hard to identify. In my paper I will endeavour to explain the most important reasons for dealing with neo-Latin literature at school, beginning with the humanism of the renaissance, from a didactic point of view. One of these reasons is the fact that Latin was in certain fields of knowledge, times and areas ‘lingua franca’ of the intellectual world. Although its starting point is the situation of Latin at German schools, my paper aims to stimulate, in this supranational sense, further discussions.

Vasiliki KOUSOULINI (Athens)

**Οὐδὲ τι μαψιδίως γλυκῆα κήνα (Alcman 3,63 PMG) : The praise of the beauty of chorus leaders in Alcman’s parthenia and its purpose.**

The aim of this paper is to give an answer to the following questions: Why are the chorus leaders always described as extremely beautiful in Alcman’s poems and why is it stressed that they are far more beautiful than the other members of the chorus? Trying to answer these questions sheds light on the social status of the chorus leaders and on the performative context of Alcman’s *parthenia* as well. The fragments examined are the following: 1, 3, 5, 10b, 27, 58, 59, 85b, 100, 110, 117, 177 PMG.

What is the status of these beautiful chorus leaders? Has Alcman written his *parthenia* for the daughters of royal families who were the chorus leaders? If that is true then the description and praise of their beauty has a very conventional character. Then a *parthenion* is a form of ‘ἐρωτικόν ἐγκώμιον’ and the amorous feelings expressed are nothing more than a sign of voluntary subordination to Spartan aristocracy because of its value, and beauty is the ultimate value for Spartan maidens.

Inga C. MANTLE (the Open University in Scotland)

**WOMEN OF THE BARDO**

In recent years women’s studies have been directed away from a consideration of women as supporters of men towards discovering and describing the ordinary, personal lives of women. The famous Museum of the Bardo in Tunis is renowned for its decorative mosaics showing the male pursuits of hunting,
fishing, feasting, amphitheatre and circus, rural life and the management of domains, as well as panels of
animals, plants and mythological scenes. But what of women? With this poster presentation I aim to
offer a number of visual representations of women, their roles and occupations.
The evidence is of several types. Funerary monuments with epitaphs, sarcophagi and honorific sculpture
provide specific information about individual women such as the priestess Calpennia Victoria, the young
wife Crepereia Innula, the flaminica Minia Procula, or the devout Christian Victoria. On a humbler but
still affluent level a votive stele to Saturn portrays the farmer Cuttinus, his wife and daughters. Examples
of women of various status belonging to aristocratic domains appear on mosaics, such as that of the
dominus Julius and that of the spinning woman of Tabarka. Mosaics also provide generic evidence of
humbler women, dancers, musicians, scantily clad girls at the baths.
The illustrations are accompanied by brief questions to invite discussion and speculation about role or
occupation, dress and status, thus enriching our understanding of women’s lives in the Roman province
of Africa and in the empire in general.

Chris Ann MATTEO (Loudoun County Public Schools, Virginia, USA) and Graham J. OLIVER
(Liverpool)
Teaching Inscriptions in School: Video Conferencing and the Res Gestae
This poster documents a series of videoconferences using skype technology, as a way of exposing
students in secondary schools to epigraphy. These pilot videoconferences—between UK historian Oliver
and Matteo’s US high school Latin classroom in the state of Virginia—were designed to increase student
engagement with specimens of material culture that are very difficult to appreciate or interpret at a
distance from the site of the inscription. The Res Gestae of Augustus was selected in order to intersect
with the elegance of its Latin, the preeminence of the historical importance of the inscription, and the
relevance of the influence of Caesar Augustus in Latin literature and Roman culture. During the winter
of 2011, Matteo and Oliver facilitated these skype conversations with secondary school students, and this
poster is composed and designed by the very Latin students themselves as an assessment for their
learning objectives. Working with epigraphy opens up a wealth of linguistic riches for students of Latin
and Greek, as well as a deeply enriched appreciation for the culture of the ancient Mediterranean.
Because students crave the immediacy of working with “real” classical witnesses, the poster is designed
to depict the interactive experience of question-and-answer with Dr. Oliver, as well as to open up new
threads for future dialogues about using videoconferencing in pre-university teaching.

Mariangela MORELLI (Genova)
An Athenian epikleros on the stage: Krobyle’s ὑβρις
Although there is evidence that the epiclerate should have been one of the most favorite and criticized
subjects of comic plots in the 4th and 3rd century B.C. (e.g. Antiphanes, frgg. 94; Alexis, frgg. 78-80 K.-
A.; Diphilus, frg. 40 K.-A.), among Menander’s surviving comedies the Plokion is the only one staging an
epikleros as active character: on the basis of iconographic evidence (Webster 19953, I, 92, XZ 28, 29) and
fragments (PCG VI 2, frs. 296-310 K.-A.) we can assert that Krobyle plays a relevant role in the comic
plot.
New elements on the consequences of epiclerate within the domestic environment and the changing of
marital roles are considered. Our analysis of Krobyle’s character and of its key-role as unique dramatic
example of a real phenomenon shows that the power exercised by the epikleros over the household,
beyond a subversion of the traditional male kyrieia, reveals itself as a real act of ὑβρις.
Considering the profile of the epikleros in the comic imaginary, the research on Krobyle’s action
highlights her paradoxical male role, and the survey of Plokion’s fragments clarifies its effects in the
context of Greek Law and society

Eleanor R. OKELL (Leeds)
The End of Epic: Of Lucan’s End and Ovid’s Met., of English Verse and Kings
Thomas May (1627) and Nicholas Rowe (1718) both translated Lucan’s epic poem into English verse,
completing Book X. Thomas May went on to complete the poem, ending with Julius Caesar’s death, in a
seven book original work (English, 1630, and Latin, 1646).
To end Lucan’s poem, both May and Rowe use material from Ovid’s Metamorphoses 15. 547-879 (i.e.
Cipus, Aesculapius, Caesar’s apotheosis, Ovid’s closing remark). Their use of serpent imagery and the
divine (gods, portents and visions of the future), together with their references to the Muses, poetic longevity and Orpheus, indicates that Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* was a dominant model for them both. While May and Rowe are often thought to be influenced by Virgil’s *Aeneid* or contemporary poetry (e.g. Marlowe and Milton, respectively) such influences appear to be secondary.

This justifies an evaluation of Ovid’s role as an implicit source and a significant contributory factor to May’s original historical epic, which explicitly acknowledges Lucan, Appian and Cassius Dio as sources. Additionally, the “two poets” of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* suggest interpretive methods for understanding May’s dedications of his translation to opponents of Charles I (1627) but his continuation to Charles I (1631) and the posthumous dedication of Rowe’s translation to George I (1719).

**Lindsay Powell (independent scholar)**

**Restoring a lost Roman hero: Drusus the Elder**

The contribution of Drusus the Elder (Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus) has been largely ignored in the discussion of Augustus’ principate. Lindsay Powell’s new book *Eager for Glory: The Untold Story of Drusus the Elder, Conqueror of Germania* (Pen and Sword Books, Barnsley, 2011) is the first since Caesar Augustus to describe and assess the life and achievements of this important Roman. The poster highlights new research findings published in the ground-breaking book. Drusus’ role in the Alpine and Norican Wars (15BC) is illustrated with a map that for the first time charts the course of the campaign. His governorship of the Tres Galliae (14-9BC), and his innovation of the *concilium Galliarum* in the administration of the imperial cult centre at Lugdunum, is explained. His oversight of the build out of military infrastructure – including a canal connecting the Rhine to the Zuiderzee – and critical leadership in the German War (12-9BC), is highlighted in a series of newly commissioned campaign maps. The plausible cause of his death, and how Augustus and Claudius exploited his reputation for their own propaganda purposes, is presented. Despite his well-known republican leanings, Drusus inadvertently founded an imperial dynasty through his sons Germanicus and Claudius, and grandson Caligula, ending with the last man to rule who bore his name, Nero. The poster is presented by the book’s author who is a regular feature writer and podcaster for *Ancient Warfare* and contributor to *Military Heritage*.

**Heather Rae (Glasgow)**

**Gigantomachy: The Politics of Monstrosity**

Monsters are characterized by their bodies and actions. What happens to this characterization when their bodies change over time? This poster will trace the changes in presentation of the *Gigantes* in *Gigantomachia* in order to explore the relationship between monstrous bodies and monstrous behaviour in Greco-Roman antiquity and the Renaissance. The *Gigantes* are initially soldiers, but become barbarians or hybrids, suggesting that these latter forms are conceptually linked to socially/morally unacceptable behaviour in Greece and Rome. The Renaissance *Gigantes* are cast as specific political or moral Others, showing how the giants and their myth are made to fit their historical context. The changing presentation of the *Gigantes*’ bodies to fit their monstrous behaviour and the use of giants in political and moral allegory demonstrate the politics of monstrosity in the cultural and social contexts of antiquity and the Renaissance.

**Saskia Roselaar (Manchester)**

**Roman military training: literary evidence and practical reconstruction**

Most source material about the training of Roman recruits focuses on individual training, such as weapons practice and physical exercise, rather than collective drills. In this poster I will discuss the use of practical experiments for our knowledge of Roman military training, and especially those elements of training which enabled soldiers to as part of a large unit, namely to maintain their position on the march and during battle. I will present some results achieved by a Dutch re-enactment group which has attempted to reconstruct group training. Results show that it is very difficult to instruct even a relatively small group to march in step and maintain fighting positions. Furthermore, when new recruits were introduced into the group, they took considerable time to reach the same level of proficiency as more experienced soldiers. Furthermore, in our experimental battles the lines fell apart very quickly, either while attacking or defending: clearly a great amount of discipline is required to teach soldiers to stay in line. Therefore, collective marching and battle drills must have taken more time and effort than would appear from literary sources, which are largely silent on this topic.
Aimee SCHOFIELD (Manchester)
Reconstructing Vitruvius’ Scorpion
The public often encounter history via re-enactment events, through which they view an approximation of the lifestyle and material culture of the past. In creating the historical environment, re-enactors often embark on ‘reconstruction’, whether of textiles, weaponry, or military engagements. In doing this, we inevitably put our own mark on history; if an authentic material is unavailable, we are forced to substitute – steel for iron, perhaps, or cotton for linen, and we must often fill gaps in the evidence, by adapting a two-dimensional drawing to make a dress, or adapting the design of a damaged archaeological find.
In 2008, a two-person team began work on interpreting Vitruvius’ instructions to build a reconstruction of his Scorpion. This is a two-armed torsion catapult, used as siege and field artillery. This poster will describe the construction process, from first considerations of the text and discussion of previous attempts, to the test firing. In reconstructing the catapult, we hope to answer questions concerning its range and manouevrability, and to fill the gaps in Vitruvius’ instructions. This project will also be useful in understanding the ways in which academic research can co-exist with creating informative displays which still entertain the public.

Edmund STEWART (Nottingham)
Travellers from Antique Lands: Wandering Poets and Players in the fifth and fourth centuries BC
A major theme of my research is the re-performance of Greek tragedy throughout the Greek world in antiquity. I am interested in examining how the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides became established as classic works throughout the Greek world and how soon this occurred. The key to this question, I believe, is to see poets and actors primarily as wanderers moving between city festivals and not being confined to any one centre such as Athens. As such I have been interested in trying to recreate a possible ‘circuit’ of festivals available to performers, looking at the evidence for the performance of the works of Athenian playwrights in other cities and for the presence of non-Athenians at the Great Dionysia. My poster will therefore briefly introduce this issue of a panhellenic theatre and some of the types of evidence that are available. I will present this concept on a map of the Greek world with arrows detailing the main locations for possible performances and visuals of some of the material evidence, such as select vase paintings or archaeological evidence.

Vanessa Toscano Rivera (Madrid)
Delphi’s memory: from the second to the first millennium B.C.
There is no doubt about the important labour carried out by the Delphic oracle in the seventh century B.C., but the analysis becomes more complex when we talk about the transition from the second to the first millennium.
We do not know the exact moment when the Delphic oracle was born since it gets lost in the memory of time and myths. Thus, the oracle becomes a constant in the history of the Greek world, marked by its abandonment and its later resettlement.
While in the Mycenaean Age the place was already considered sacred, after a period of oblivion and symbolic recovery, this space returns to relocate mythical cults. It is now a crucial moment for the history of Delphi as a change in the cult with the pass of the millennium. Classical sources speak of a transfer of power: from an archaic cult directly connected to the land into a more elaborate cult such as that of Apollo, which becomes the focus of attention within the Greek populations as oracular consultations are concerned. It thus becomes vital to understand the change suffered by the Delphic oracle in this temporary step that moves between memory and forgetfulness, between myth and reality.

Marina VEKSINA (Freie Universität Berlin)
Visualization of Metre in Greek Inscriptions.
The relationship between the graphical presentation of a text and its metrical structure allows the following types of inscriptions to be grouped out:
1. inscriptions that make consistent use of graphical lines; 2. that use punctuation; 3. that combine these means; 4. that totally neglect metrical structure in their graphics; 5. that only partially mark up metrical structure.
With punctuation I count rare cases of meaningful ipsisia, yet judging from Hansen’s corpus, which forms
the basis for my investigation, they were never used as the only means of marking-up till Hellenistic times. In many inscriptions only some part of graphical features allows metrical interpretation, and it is not obvious if the metrical marking was really intended. This becomes especially problematic as far as possible cola-divisions are concerned. The graphical presentation of verse-boundaries is getting increasingly weighty during the 4th cent. BC: in the previous period it occurred in less than every second relevant case. The direct coincidence between verses and lines becomes most favorable means, punctuation going out of fashion. There was found no inscription consistently applying both punctuation and lines: inscriptions of type 3 either interchange punctuation and lines or partially combine them.

Nereida Villagrá Hidalgo (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Authorship vs. authority in the Tragodumena of Asclepiades from Tragilos.

Barthes’ idea of the literary text as “a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture” is a suitable definition for a fragmentary text as the Tragodumena. According to the sources, this work was composed by Asclepiades from Tragilos, who lived in the mid-4th century B.C. It comprised six books and it probably was a compilation of summaries of tragic myths. It has come down to us only by indirect tradition. Former editions aimed to account for Asclepiades’ life and reconstruct his lost work, trying to identify and extract the literal quotations preserved in the intermediate sources. Nevertheless, the analysis of the fragments points to the fact that, in the majority of cases, it is not possible to consider them verbatim pieces of an author’s work. It is not possible to track Asclepiades’ authorial voice. In fact, Asclepiades is quoted as an authority of mythical variants. The examination of the fragment’s context suggests that we should consider him a representative of a tradition related to works such as Pherecydes’ Historiai. It is impossible to reconstruct the Tragodumena, but a better understanding of the fragments in a diachronic dimension is a contribution to a better knowledge of the development of mythography.

Robert J. Woodward (Sheffield)

Doric Temples and Polis Identity in Archaic and Classical Attica

Religion was an integral part of polis identity in ancient Greece. This poster demonstrates the particular importance of temple architecture in the expression of identity at the polis level. Contrary to earlier studies that focus upon the artistic development of the temple, the evidence presented in this poster suggests that religious architecture played an important role in the construction of ancient identities. Through a study of the temples of sixth and fifth century BC Attica, this paper highlights how changing attitudes towards political and religious identity (demonstrated through ancient texts, religious votives and public civic architecture) influenced the design of the temples constructed within the polis. This poster discusses how the style of architecture that was initially used as a symbol of elite identity in the sixth century came to be appropriated by the Athenians as a mark of their group identity in the fifth, thus addressing issues relating to the changing display practices in the public spaces of Archaic and Classical Attica. A further comparison with temples outside of Attica highlights the connection of the design of a religious building with the identity of the fifth century Athenian demos.
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The CA Conference Committee, April 2011.