FIEC / CA 2019
PANEL ABSTRACTS

FIEC / CA 2019

15th Congress of the Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques / Classical Association

ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2019

Institute of Education & Senate House, London
Thursday 4 July – Monday 8 July 2019

PANEL
ABSTRACTS

The abstracts have been arranged by day and session.

Each panel abstract is followed by individual paper abstracts.

An alphabetical list of individual speakers can be found at the end of the publication.

1A – CA PANEL: TEACHING THE UNDERGRADUATES OF 2019: A Global Perspective (presentations and round table)

PANEL ABSTRACT

A conference as diverse and international as FIEC2019 represents a valuable opportunity to explore the changing nature of university classics teaching across the globe. In particular, what expectations, skills and experiences do the students of 2019 bring to their studies? And how are instructors in different countries catering for this changing student body?

In this panel we aim to explore the changing nature of the educational climate in different countries and, in particular, the way in which university classics instructors are reacting to new demands and a changing student base. The UK has been through its own changes over the last generation, with a smaller percentage of students studying ancient languages at schools and with more and more students encountering classics for the first time at university. But every country has its own story to tell and is changing in its own distinct way. This panel and round table discussion brings together speakers from eight countries in an attempt to air both common and specific challenges and, importantly, to highlight innovative and inspiring solutions to educating the next generation of classicists.

The first part of this session will comprise a series of short presentations from the perspective of countries as diverse as Australia, Brazil, China, France, Norway, Poland, the United Kingdom and the United States. Following this there will be a round table discussion to which delegates are warmly invited to contribute as audience members.

Contributors include
Australia, **Paul Roche** (The University of Sydney)
Brazil, **Renata Senna Garraffoni** (Universidade Federal do Paraná)
China, **Chun Liu** (Peking University)
France, **Valérie Fromentin** (Université Bordeaux Montaigne)
Norway, **Mathilde Skoie** (University of Oslo)
Poland, **Elzbieta Olechowska** (University of Warsaw)
United Kingdom, **James Robson** (Chair) (Open University)
United States, **Sonia Sabnis** (Reed College)

1B – MOVEMENTS AND MOMENTS IN CLASSICAL PUBLISHING

PANEL ABSTRACT

This panel takes a long view of Classical publishing and seeks to understand significant movements and moments in its Anglophone history in a European and global context. The panel has at its centre the production of classical texts and commentaries, from the 1840s to the present. There are three interwoven themes: changing relationships between Anglophone and continental European scholarship since the 19th century; fears of and adaptations to a perceived decline in linguistic competence; and the place of women in classical publishing. Key issues include: degrees of scholarly engagement with – and ignorance of – German scholars and scholarship; the question of balance between knowledge of the ancient languages and the need to provide readers with translation, grammatical and interpretative help; the neglected history of female editors of texts and commentaries (and other genres in classical publishing); and the question of balance between schools, universities and the general reader.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Christopher Stray (Swansea University, UK)
Brexit as banquet, or, leaving the fellowship of nations. **The Classical Museum** *and the Bibliotheca Classica.*

In 1903, A.E. Housman wrote that

> ... after 1825 ... England disappeared from the fellowship of nations for the next forty years. [English classical scholars] ... having turned their backs on Europe and science and the past ... sat down to banquet on mutual approbation, to produce the Classical Museum and the Bibliotheca Classica, and to perish without a name.

The journal *Classical Museum* (1844-50) and the edition series Bibliotheca Classica (1851-71) were published in the 25 years before British women were able to access higher education. Housman's *damnatio* cast both publications into outer darkness; my aim is to bring them back into the light, and to reassess Housman's judgement. In doing so, I shall look at the relationship between British and German scholarship, at changes in schools and universities, and at the role of publishing in scholarship and education.

b. Mirte Liebregts (Radboud University, Netherlands)
What about a bilingual book series? Safeguarding the Classics with James Loeb

Thanks to W.M. Calder III, we now know that Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff discouraged James Loeb from publishing a bilingual book series: he considered the inclusion of both text and translation pernicious, and the series' extensive scope utopian. The German scholar's advice was not heeded: volumes of the Loeb Classical Library have been appearing since 1912. What were James Loeb's motivations in creating a monumental book series, with its format of text and facing translation, and a content ranging from Homer to John Damascene? How did the international scholarly community react to and engage with his plan? This paper argues that Loeb's endeavour to make Greek and Latin literature more accessible should be seen as a direct reaction to the intercontinental fear of the decline of classical knowledge, and documents the support Loeb received from many intellectuals of his time.

c. Roy Gibson (University of Durham, UK)
Green and Yellow at One Hundred

The CUP "green and yellow" commentary series – known officially as "Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics" – reached 100 volumes in early 2018 with the publication of Rhiannon Ash's volume on Tacitus, *Annals* 15. The series began publication in 1970 with T.B.L. Webster on Sophocles' *Philoctetes*. The aim of the series was clear: to provide 'commentaries of a more sophisticated kind than the old Pitt Press editions, which were aimed at school pupils and concentrated heavily on grammar' (Easterling). But how to reconcile demands for greater literary and intellectual ambition in a commentary precisely at a time – at least in the Anglophone world – of perceived decline in linguistic attainment amongst students? Who now uses the green and yellows – and for what purposes? How has the series changed in its near 50-year history in response to the demands of its market? Is account taken of an international market? What is the relationship with other series of commentaries published in (e.g.) Germany and Italy? And what role have female editors played in the series?

d. Graham Whitaker (University of Glasgow, UK)
Women's contributions to classical scholarship as seen through the history of some publication genres

This contribution is an attempt to trace the development of women's presence and importance in the history of classical scholarship by looking at three different genres: the text/commentary, the biographical dictionary, and the Festschrift. Much recent work has focused on the biography and importance of women in archaeology and classical studies against the background of a history of neglect, although it has often looked at individuals in isolation. In so doing it has perhaps failed to identify, and undervalued, aspects where women have been particularly prominent. In addition, language difficulties have often led to the neglect of women's achievements or limited the circulation of their work. By examining the history of these genres within classical studies, including online publications, I propose to suggest how this approach may achieve a wider perspective across the full range of women's scholarship.

1C – NEW DIRECTIONS IN PLATONIC SCHOLARSHIP

PANEL ABSTRACT
There is a vast scholarship on Plato, but much of it centers around standard approaches to the same set of issues: the status of separate forms, the accounts of knowledge and its object, and the characterization of Plato's doctrines. The aim of this panel is to introduce more flexible, dynamic, and enlightening ways of understanding the dialogues. Papers in the panel explore: Plato's use of various schemata that serve in place of the forms, the way in which understanding the process of inquiry serves Plato in lieu of a characterization of knowledge, the way that the faculty of *nous* is linked to and understood through the seemingly different faculty of *phronêsis*, the way in which the dialogues serve as protreptic invitations to a philosophical life rather than as expositions of settled doctrine. These papers are unified by their innovative alternatives to traditional dogmas.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Edward C. Halper (University of Georgia, USA)
A plea for second sailings

Platonic scholarship has been dominated by questions about separate forms. My aim in this paper is to highlight the extent to which Plato, even when he acknowledges separate forms, does not rely on them primarily to solve problems, but draws on schemata that serve in their place. The most famous is the "second sailing" of the *Phaedo*. After proclaiming that forms are causes, Socrates introduces an immanent substitute: Simmias is tall by partaking of Tallness itself, but also by a tallness in him (102d-103a), and soul is an immanent cause of Life itself. Similarly, the *Republic* argues for an immanent justice, the *Timaeus* for an immanent goodness in matter arranged according to mathematical proportion (32b-c; 52a-

b), and the *Politicus* for an immanent unity when courageous and moderate souls are woven together (309a-c). Each strategy is well-known in itself, but assembled together they provide powerful evidence of the importance of alternatives to separate forms.

b. Angela Ulacco (Albert-Ludwigs Universität Freiburg, Germany)
Nous e phronêsis in Phlb. 28a-31b

Il passaggio del *Filebo* sulla riconduzione del *nous* al genere della causa ha suscitato dibattiti riguardanti principalmente il ruolo ontologico da assegnare al *nous*. Pur affrontando questo tema, il contributo intende concentrarsi sul rapporto che Platone stabilisce tra *phronêsis* e *nous*. Alla fine del passaggio è solo il *nous* ad essere ricondotto al genere della causa ed esso viene, di fatto, a sostituire la *phronêsis*. Centrale per intendere il senso di questa sostituzione è il ricorso all'autorità dei filosofi precedenti, presentati come concordi nel ritenere il cosmo ordinato dall'intelligenza. Questo ricorso nasconde, come spesso avviene nei dialoghi, l'introduzione di una innovazione platonica. In questo caso Platone può aver voluto sviluppare non solo una nuova concezione del *nous*, ma anche un nuovo di intendere la *phronêsis* (non concepibile se non nel suo rapporto con il *nous*), centrale per le tesi etiche sviluppate nel *Filebo*.

c. Vasilis Politis (Trinity College Dublin, Ireland)
Knowledge and Enquiry in Plato

The questions addressed in this paper are: Q1. What, in Plato, is the relation between the account of knowledge and the account of enquiry? Q2. Does Plato provide an account of knowledge that is independent of the account of enquiry?

These questions have practically not been addressed in the literature. They are of particular interest, due to, first, the disproportionate interest by critics in Plato's account of knowledge, compared to that in his account of enquiry; and, secondly, the supposition, which practically all critics take for granted, that Plato provides an account of knowledge that is independent of the account of enquiry.

By concentrating on passages from *Meno, Phaedo, Republic* and *Theaetetus*, I argue that this supposition is mistaken. My claim is that Plato has nothing to say about knowledge that he intends to be independent of enquiry. This means that Plato's epistemology is fundamentally different from modern epistemology.

d. Olga Alieva (National Research University, Moscow, Russia)
Plato's 'Protreptics' revisited: Towards a new reading of the Clitophon

The spurious *Clitophon* has long been read as a cento based on some 'Socratic protreptics'. According to Slings, it is 'a condemnation […] of a specific branch of Socratic literature'. Against this view, we show that 'protreptic motifs' in this dialogue have an Academic provenance and are paralleled either in Plato's dialogues or in Aristotle's earlier treatises. Consequently, we suggest placing this text within the context of the Academic discussions concerning the hierarchy of sciences. In the *Republic* and the *Euthydemus,* Plato suggested that dialectic is at the apex of this hierarchy. However, when Aristotle entered the Academy in the 360s, he reduced dialectic to a mere art of probabilistic argumentation. It is in this context that an unknown author of the Academy criticizes Socrates (=Plato) who has nothing to offer to the 'converted'. Plato's dialogues are now considered *en masse* as protreptics — and protreptics only.

1D – PHILOLOGY AT THE INTERSECTION OF CELTIC STUDIES AND CLASSICS: the case of the Middle-Irish epic adaptations

PANEL ABSTRACT
The few Classicists familiar with the medieval Middle-Irish adaptations of Classical Greco-Roman epics often view the texts [e.g., *Togail Troí* (The Destruction of Troy) or *Merugud Uilixes Mac Leirtis* (The Wandering of Ulysses son of Laertes)] as eccentric *Nachleben* – entertaining, but not worthy of serious study. A bounty of recent work on these texts in Celtic Studies has shown, however, that the intersections and interactions between works like the *Togail na Tebe* (The Destruction of Thebes) and its source-text, Statius' *Thebaid*, or *Imtheachta Aeniasa* (The Adventures of Aeneas) vis-à-vis Vergil's *Aeneid* are far more sophisticated than previously acknowledged with important implications for Celtic Studies, Classics, and the literary historical relationship between the two disciplines. This panel, comprised of both Classicists and Celticists, seeks to demonstrate that these frequently disregarded, but literarily rich, texts are capable of illuminating analyses about how the medieval Irish received and negotiated their Classical literary heritage.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Stephen Kershner (Austin Peay State University, USA)
The "Heroic Sigh": The literary implications of heroic death scenes in Statius' Thebaid *and the Middle-Irish* Togail na Tebe

As an epic work illustrating the moral degradation of society caused by (un)civil strife, Statius' *Thebaid* is full of pathos and emotive power. The medieval Middle-Irish *Togail na Tebe*, adapting the *Thebaid* for a new tradition, seems to excise some of this emotive power from Statius' original. The death of the Argive and Theban heroes, for example, presented as moments of passion and tragedy in the *Thebaid*, become ordinary and dispassionate in the *Togail na Tebe*. Comparing the death scenes of Amphiaraus (*Theb*. 7.770-820; *TnT*: 2916-2944) and Menoeceus (*Theb*. 10.650-818; *TnT*: 4158-4201), as presented in the two works, this paper interrogates the receptive dynamics of this shift in emotional register to argue that the Irish adaptor re-calibrated the Statian story for a Christian and Irish moral tradition rather than weakened its literariness, of which the Irish work is often charged. As such, this paper presents the *Togail na Tebe* as navigating a complicated literary relationship between the medieval Irish and their Classical literary "forefathers."

b. Rachael Cullick (Oklahoma State University, USA)
Pessima vis: *Venus in the* Thebaid *and Irish goddesses of War*

This paper explores overlapping imagery of destructive seduction in the divine world of the Celtic and Classical traditions, with a focus on Venus in the *Thebaid* and the Morrigan and related figures in Irish literature. Recent work has shown the connection between figures like Allecto and the Morrigan allowed by their association with battle (Clarke 2014) and explored the possible interaction between images of seductive female demons or goddesses in the Celtic and Biblical traditions (Borsje 2007).

Statius' remarkable portrayal of a bloodthirsty Venus merits further consideration in this context, and I suggest that, given Statius's popularity in Medieval Ireland and the cross-pollination with Christian learning and theology, his Venus and the Celtic tradition of goddesses that encompass both sex and death could have reinforced each other *and* provided fertile ground for the further development in a Christian context of the theme of dangerous female seductiveness, adornment, and trickery.

c. Michael Clarke (National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland)
Epic and Historiography: Interrogating Genre Categories in a Medieval Saga

To make sense of the medieval Irish 'sagas of antiquity', we must question our default assumptions about genre categories. This paper takes as its case study a puzzling passage of *Cath Maige Tuired* (*The Battle of Moytura*), an 11th-century mythological narrative of conflict between two races of "Otherworld beings". In the passage, the author/redactor is discussing a chronological problem. How can it be right, he asks, that the characters in the tale are described as being already familiar with the board-game *fidchell* ("wood-skill"), when this game which was invented by the participants in the Trojan War, which was contemporaneous with the Battle of Moytura itself? I will contextualise this passage in terms of the schemes of world history followed in Latin chronicles such as the *Chronicle* of Isidore and the *De Temporum Ratione* of Bede, both of which are known on independent grounds to have been authoritative sources among the Irish scholar-authors at the time of composition of the *Moytura* narrative.

d. Mariamne Briggs (University of Edinburgh, UK)
Interpretation and artistry: translating similes in the Middle Irish Thebaid

Statius used approximately two hundred and forty-three similes in his epic *Thebaid* (*c*. 92 A.D.). In contrast, only seventy-nine similes appear to have been translated in the Middle Irish *Thebaid*. Many of Statius' similes were cut in the Irish vernacular narrative and of those which were translated, the process does not appear to have been a straightforward one. Some similes were rendered closely, while others were transformed into descriptive interpretations. The translator occasionally replaced similes from the epic with his own or added in a new simile where previously there was none. There are also examples where similes were elucidated upon using material from Lactantius Placidus' Late Antique commentary on the *Thebaid*. In this presentation, I will explore the medieval Irish author's approach to translating Statius' similes and consider what techniques he used to develop new similes in the translation narrative.

1E – VIRGIL AND HIS TRANSLATORS: New Avenues for Future Research

PANEL ABSTRACT

The panel builds upon the achievement of *Virgil and his Translators*, a volume consisting of twenty-nine essays published by Oxford University Press in September 2018 in the ground-breaking 'Classical Presences' series. All four panelists are contributors to that volume and they include the two co-editors of the book. In this panel, our papers offer fresh material in which we seek to indicate further avenues of discussion on the question of the translation history and reception of Virgil in and beyond Europe. All four papers demonstrate in different ways the importance of setting any translation of Virgil in its historical, geographical, political, cultural and religious context. Our papers range widely through versions of Virgil produced in Russia, Greece, Turkey, France, Germany, Ukraine and Ireland during the 18th-20th centuries. We consider Virgil translations as cultural capital and in pedagogy and Virgilian epic as an object of mockery.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Sophia Papaioannou (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece)
Epic Ματαιοπονήματα: Early Modern Greek attempts to translate Latin epic

The proposed paper discusses the circumstances that encouraged the composition of two translations, respectively of Vergil's *Aeneid*, in the late 18th century by Eugenios Voulgaris, leading scholar of the *Greek Enlightenment*, and of the first five books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by Philippos Ioannou, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Athens in the second half of the 19th century, in Homeric Greek. Voulgaris' idiosyncratic translation experiment was later adopted by Ioannou, under different circumstances and for different purposes. Voulgaris' motives were primarily pedagogical, but also cultural and political, tied to the promotion of Greek Classicism in Russia under Catherine the Great. Less noted, Voulgaris' translation in Homeric Greek transferred the aesthetic experience of the epic verse from one ancient language to another. Despite the negative reception of Voulgaris''*Aeneid*' beyond his death in 1806, the aesthetics of the translation was not lost with Ioannou who strove to repeat it.

b. Ekin Öyken (Istanbul University, Turkey)
One of the Nearest Strangers: Virgil Translations during the Quest for Turkish Classics

"The nearest stranger", a term used by Uvo Hölscher to claim that the European reception of the Greek and Roman past represents Europeans' aspiration for another version of themselves, seems to apply equally well to the Turkish translation and reception history of Homer and Virgil during the political and sociocultural transformation of Turkey from the long-lived Ottoman Empire to a Western-oriented republic. The emergence of interest in Greek and Roman authors including Virgil occurred relatively late, seemingly as an outcome of the quest for a Turkish national literature. Nonetheless, even the early translators recognised in Virgil's poetry some intrinsic qualities that enabled its canonisation. This proposed paper, which mainly adopts the polysystem theory (Even-Zohar), compares and contextualises the first two renderings, namely the *Eclogues* of Ruşen Eşref (1929) and the *Aeneid* of Ahmed Reşit (1935), and some of the later translations, to reveal their different sensibilities and translation strategies.

c. Zara Torlone (Miami University, Ohio, USA)
Mock Aeneids in Cyrillic and their Discontents

Nikolai Osipov's travesty-masterwork *Vergil's* Aeneid *Turned Upside Down* reflected eighteenth century Russian curiosity about the Roman poet's great epic. Composed in 1791-96, Osipov's mock epic signified a new stage in the development of translation practices and reception of the *Aeneid* in Russia. The idea for such a poem was not original and owed much to the European travestied *Aeneid*s such as *Le Virgile travesti en vers burlesques* (1648-52) by Paul Scarron, and especially Aloys Blumauer's *Die Abenteuer des frommen Helden Aeneas* (1782-88). While Osipov's mock poem did not leave any tangible trace in Russian literary tradition, it significantly influenced the appearance of the Ukrainian *Aeneid* by Ivan Kotliarevsky, which conditioned the whole Ukrainian literary tradition. This talk will focus on both mock epics and their role in the reception of Vergil and the formation of the literary tradition in Russia and Ukraine.

d. Susanna Braund (University of British Columbia, Canada)
Mary Leadbeater's Book 13: A Quaker conclusion to the Aeneid

One of the several curiosities in the English translation history of Virgil is the translation of Book 13 of the *Aeneid* by the Irishwoman Mary Leadbeater (1758-1826) who was raised and educated as a Quaker in County Kildare. Her version of Maffeo

Vegio's fifteenth century Latin *Supplementum* to the *Aeneid* was published in 1808 at the head of her *Poems*, with Vegio's text included on facing pages. This is unusual on two counts: there are not many translations of Vegio's *Supplementum*, and there are extremely few female translators of the *Aeneid*. In my paper I consider two features of her translation: her apparent desire to present herself as a scholar and her unflinching use of graphic violence. I propose that both of these features can be explained by Leadbeater's Quaker upbringing and beliefs and by paying attention to the historical context during which she wrote.

1F – IMPRISONED VOICES FROM THE CLASSICAL WORLD: Prison (and) Literature, Literature in Prison

....

PANEL ABSTRACT

"Light flows from my suppressed word."

(Mahvash Sabet, Prison Poems)

How does captivity affect the perception of the self? What is the role of literature in prison? Which narrative tools usually describe a prison stay? How does an imprisoned author interpret his conditions? Is there a difference when the author narrates the imprisonment of someone else? How does he represent his difficult relationship with the ruling élite? How do religiosity, philosophy and poetry function as consolation means?

This panel aims at enriching the research on prison literature, which particularly flourished since the '80s in relationship with modern texts, with a survey on selected classical and late antique authors and their reception in the texts of imprisoned German resisters.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Katharina Pohl (Bergische Universität Wuppertal, Germany)
Imprisoned!? The metaphorical use of "prison" from Socrates to Boethius and Arator's poetic exegesis of the Acts of the Apostles

This paper deals with the metaphorical use of "prison", and it singles out three paradigmatic figures of different periods in order to highlight its development.

As one of the best-known prisoners in antiquity, Socrates (as we read in Plato's dialogues) interprets both prison and death as merely external things, which have nothing to do with his (immortal) soul.

Unlikely him, this is something Boethius needs to learn: only thanks to his dialogue with Philosophia, he understands that an imprisoned soul would be worse than an imprisoned body.

Lastly, the metaphorical use of prison plays a great role in Arator's poetic exegesis of the Acts of the Apostles (6th century AD), although this does not seem to happen in the Bible. The author, in fact, represents e.g. the rescue from prison and from the dark as similar to the rescue of men from sin and death.

b. Christoph Schubert (Friedrich-Alexander Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany)
Prison as transit point. A multifunctional narrative motif in the Latin reports of Christian martyrs

Starting from the New Testament's reports on the imprisonment of Jesus and the Apostles (particularly Paul), the motif of a "prison stay" belongs both to the factual experiences and to the narratives of the early Christians.

Focusing on the complex literary form of the martyr reports, in particular, the "prison stay"-motif appears as an optional narrative tool, which can be found as a sequence of recurring elements (such as challenge, detention, conversion of fellow prisoners, miraculous salvation, etc.), or can be completely missing as well.

This paper offers an overview of the motif: it analyses its presence, structure and narrative functions; it singles out the different recurring elements; finally, it investigates the interaction between literary representation, factual experience and the intention of the author of selected martyr reports.

c. Maria Jennifer Falcone (Università degli Studi di Pavia, Italy)
Religion, Literature and Power. Some Observations on Dracontius' imprisoned poetry

As the first example of a prison poem in the history of Western literature, Dracontius' *Satisfactio* (5th century AD), as well as some passages of his major work *Laudes Dei*, contains references to the poet's imprisonment and its literary representation.

In order to describe his captivity, Dracontius readapts the classical form and content of exile literature and he addresses both God and the king Gunthamund. In this paper, I will mainly focus on the role of religiosity and on its complex interaction with the representation of the poet's current imprisonment and of his complex relationship with the king.

As the enhancement of religiosity and the problems with the governors happen to be a recurring characteristic of imprisoned poets of all time, the analysis of this single aspect in Dracontius' peculiar work will enrich the research on prison literature with a deeper historical dimension.

d. Nicola Montenz (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, Italy)
Classics in Prison. Widerstandskämpfer Reading Classics in the Third Reich's Jails.

The paper aims at offering a first survey on an interdisciplinary topic so far completely neglected by both historians and philologists: the significant amount of allusions, quotations, and even long speculations on classical topics in letters, *Kassiber* and secret diaries written by German resisters during their imprisonment. The publication of documents written by leading members of three major German resistance groups during their imprisonment («White Rose», Harnack/Schulze-Boysen Group [«Red Orchestra»], and «Kreisauer Kreis») offers to the reader an interesting view of their intellectual training and of the fundamental role of classics in the development of both their political awareness and their conscience. Mainly (yet not exclusively) focusing on the figures of professor Kurt Huber and of Count Helmut James von Moltke, the paper will try to point out the actual extent of their literary and philosophical preferences as well as that of their «canons» in order to show both how classics influenced their existential choices, and how classics represented an effective survival means in the jails of the Third Reich.

1G – THE UNEXPECTED IN THE ANCIENT NOVEL: Style, Narrative Dynamics, and Surprising Plot-motors

PANEL ABSTRACT
The "unexpected" (in Greek *to aprosdoketon*) is a typical feature of that literary genre defined in contemporary scholarship as the ancient novel. The unexpected can be expressed in different ways, from stylistic choices to the specific fashioning of a plot, and it is the necessary ingredient to foregrounding the dynamic evolution of the story while increasing the readership's interest.

This panel aims to assess the stylistic and narrative strategies through which the unexpected is conveyed within the plot of the ancient novels and then borrowed in late antique hagiographies. Different points will be addressed, including style, explicit references to and metafictional engagement with the unexpected, narrative pace, subversive characterisation, and the employment of figures acting as plot-motors such as bandits and pirates.

The papers presented will shed light on the continuity of several patterns to express the unexpected, and the ways in which these were employed across the span of different centuries in the following works: the Greek love novels, Ps.-Lucian's *Onos*, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, and a selection of late antique hagiographic stories in Latin closely resembling the narrative of the ancient novels.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Owen Hodkinson (University of Leeds, UK)
Metafiction in terms of the unexpected in Greek novelistic writings

This paper will examine for the first time all references to the "unexpected", both in all the 'canonical' and 'fringe' Greek novels and in their fragments and summaries. Besides ἀπροσδόκητος or ἀδόκητος, "unexpected", terms describing events in these narratives as being παράδοξος, "unexpected", παρ' ἐλπίδα (πᾶσαν), "against (all) hope/expectation", ἀνέλπιστος, "unhoped-for/unexpected", or even ἄπιστος, "incredible", are frequently found together, and are at times used interchangeably: therefore they need to be discussed together.

The paper will argue that the use of one, or often more, of these terms at crucial passages (such as turning-points in the plot, or indeed in titles, e.g. in Antonius Diogenes' case), is not only part of the discourse of novelty (καινότης) found in many Second Sophistic authors, as has long been recognised. In fictional narratives, these terms are also markers of metafiction: self-conscious hints at what modern novel studies would term the 'fictional contract'.

b. Leonardo Costantini (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Germany)
Unexpected variations in the ass-story: narrative strategies and characterisation in Ps.-Lucian's Onos

The novel known as "Loukios or the Ass" (Λούκιος ἢ Ὄνος), transmitted in the Lucianic corpus, is often regarded as an uneven epitome of the lost *Metamorphoseis* by Lucius of Patras, and has suffered from an underrated understanding since it is inevitably compared to the other surviving version of the "ass-story", Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

This paper will focus on the first section of the *Onos* (1–15), describing Loukios' arrival in the city of Hypata and his accidental transformation into a donkey, and will throw new light on its inherent quality. Through discussing the quick-paced narrative of this section and the characterisations

of the protagonist Loukios, his host Hipparchos, and the handmaid Palaistra, it will become possible to ascertain how the author of the *Onos* refashioned the original plot in order to offer his readership a surprising piece of narrative, significantly different from his predecessor and from Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* but no less entertaining.

c. Luca Graverini (Università di Siena, Italy)
Ut mireris. Micro-surprises in Apuleius' **Metamorphoses**

Amazement plays an important part in the poetics of Apuleius' novel, as the prologue itself points out (1.1.2 *ut mireris*). The most important surprises are, of course, Lucius' metamorphosis and anamorphosis, together with other major unexpected narrative developments. Yet, micro-surprises, involving small details and language, also deserve careful attention: they characterize, in fact, the novel, which constantly plays with the readers' expectations.

Two main functions can be identified for these micro-surprises. They often support the identification between reader and narrator – a primary goal in narratives of all times – by leading the former to share the emotions of the latter. On some occasions, instead, they lead the reader to question the narrative, highlighting small inconsistencies the reason for which will be discovered only later: surprises keep the audience alert and interested.

The paper will discuss several instances of small surprises belonging to these two categories, and will show how language, syntax and vocabulary are carefully designed to maximize their effect.

d. Christa Gray (University of Reading, UK)
Suddenly, Saracens! Expected and unexpected attacks in late antique Latin hagiography

In ancient novelistic writings, a favourite device for adjusting the plot is through a bandit attack. This trope is adopted also in many Lives of saints: for example, Jerome's Malchus is abducted by a band of Saracens in the Syrian desert with life-changing consequences, whereas the same author's Hilarion miraculously evades, and then converts, a pair of *latrones* in the swamps near Gaza.

My paper will analyse the use of this trope across a range of texts, including Jerome's Lives of Holy Men and Sulpicius Severus' Life of Martin. While all such episodes are presented as governed by providence, their impact on the plot can be appreciably different and reveal the more distinctive narratorial interest in a particular saint's way of engaging with the world. Investigating the narratological choices involved in these presentations can be a method for a more precise understanding of these texts' theological concerns.

1H − METATEXTUALITY IN GREECE AND CHINA:
A Comparative Approach [1, Focus on Greece]

PANEL ABSTRACT

This multi-speaker panel explores the concept of metatextuality and discusses specific metatextual practices in Greece and China across a variety of genres, topics, time periods and locations. Broadly defined as a form of operation of one or more texts on other texts, whether in the form of allusions, glosses, annotations, commentaries, translations, adaptations and/or critique, metatextuality as a form of exegesis has received renewed scholarly attention in the last decades. The presentations are framed in two consecutive panels. While each panel offers a closer focus on a specific culture (Panel I Greece; Panel II China), both sessions address the notion of metatextuality in ancient cultures from a cross-cultural and interdisciplinary perspective. The range and variety of topics provide a synoptic overview that engages with the phenomenon of metatextuality from often complex and overlapping linguistic, philological, historical, political and ideological angles. Likewise, the framing of the panel helps highlight the diverse cultural responses in different times and settings in a comparative light, thereby fostering explicit or implicit cross-cultural connections.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Glenn Most (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Italy)
Meta-metatextuality in Greece and China

One of the characteristic forms of commentary in ancient China is the sub-commentary: a commentary to an older commentary that is considered to be canonical. Such sub-commentaries are found in mathematics, philosophy, and other fields, and derive from a view that not only original base texts, but also certain commentaries on them, can attain a classic status. There seems to be nothing in ancient Greek culture that corresponds to such a genre. This paper considers whether this is in fact so, and if so what it tells us about different cultural conceptions of metatextuality.

b. Gastón J. Basile (University of Buenos Aires, Argentina / Humboldt University, Germany / Warburg Institute, UK)
The Metatextual Dimension of Early Greek Prose

Throughout the sixth and fifth century BCE, early Greek *sophoi* inaugurated a form of prose writing, largely of a narrative or expository type, which was based on the first-hand record of experience collected by in situ observation, by report or by examination of written sources. It is the aim of this paper to address the metatextual dimension of these early Greek prose texts –both the specific procedures (with varying degrees of sophistication) whereby these writings engage externally with other authors and texts and codify such references in the form of allusions, commentaries or critical analysis, and also the strategies that point internally to the recursive interaction of the text with its own materiality, its internal organization, information structure and its intended audience. Through a selection of fragments or passages from these early prose texts –ranging from Hecataeus of Miletus, Pherecydes of Athens, Pherecydes of Cyrus to Herodotus of Halicarnassus' History (Book II) – the paper explores the concept of metatextuality as key formal element in the genesis of early Greek 'scientific' prose.

c. Kenneth Yu (University of Toronto, Canada)
The Homeric Scholia and Intellectual History: Some Observations on Approach and Method

This paper examines two dominant scholarly approaches to ancient commentary, taking the Homeric scholia as a case study. Some scholars view these sources as technical workmanlike evidence used to secure the textual authenticity of canonical texts, as well as to uncover the specific philological positions of individual scholiasts in the commentarial tradition (e.g., Montanari; Haslam). Others, however, have approached the scholia more synchronically and as rhetorically sophisticated texts that illuminate the social and political stakes of ancient exegetical practices (e.g., Sluiter; Nunlist; Bouchard). Are these ideal-typical approaches compatible, or do they operate with entirely different epistemological assumptions about the nature and value of the commentarial genre? I offer a brief evaluation of the methodological implications of both methods, but my primary objective is to analyze select scholia to *Iliad* 1 to explore the potentials and limits, as well as possible pitfalls, of attempting to discern concrete social and political strains in the scholia, most of which are composed and transmitted by communities of anonymous scholars over the long term.

d. Tomás Bartoletti (University of Buenos Aires, Argentina / Humboldt University, Germany)
Comments as Proto-anthropology? The Aristophanic Scholia on Sacrifices and Gerardus Vossius' Humanist Meta-Commentaries

The Aristophanic scholia addressing ritual scenes have served as testimonies for the understanding of ancient sacrifices and have figured prominently in late twentieth-century scholarship, from Vernant and Detienne (1979) to Naiden (2013). It is the aim of this paper to explore the antecedents of modern approaches to ancient sacrifice by examining Gerardus Vossius' humanist commentaries and his metatextual operations on Aristophanes´ scholia in his *De theologia gentili et physiologia Christiana,* (Amsterdam, 1642). Vossius´ work may be regarded as the epitome of pre-Christian theological and philosophical wisdom and ancient ritual owing to the systematic and comprehensive scope of his scholarship. This paper will explore the commentarial strategies deployed by Vossius in his reading of the Aristophanic scholia in an attempt to better assess his proto-anthropological stance and contrast his methods with more recent approaches. This will offer a deeper understanding of the interface between commentary, epistemological construction and theory.

1I – ANCIENT WOMEN: Methodology and Inclusivity

PANEL ABSTRACT
This panel aims to showcase the range of methodologies currently being employed in cuttingedge feminist research within the discipline. The papers employ narratology, phenomenology, spatial theory and reception studies to ask new questions about women and their experience in the ancient world. Together, the papers raise important questions about how we approach the study of women in antiquity. The papers offer an invitation to juxtapose the theoretical methods used on a wide range of evidence, including elegy, medical and philosophical texts, archaeological space and more recent receptions, and to consider the ways in which we might make our classics more inclusive.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Jacqueline Fabre-Serris (University Charles-de-Gaulle – Lille 3, France)
Narratology, Gender and Immorality. From Sulpicia 3.11 and 13 to Ovid's Heroides

I to use narratology as a modern theoretical tool highlighting what it is at stake in the relations created in a text among the author, fictive characters and the readers. In Heroides 4,

supposed to be written by a woman, Ovid reused pudor, fama, uenit amor, uror, dignus, employed by Sulpicia in 3.9 and 11. In both texts, Sulpicia created a scenario involving herself as an elegiac poet, her beloved, Cerinthus, and Venus. Furthermore 3.9 is addressed to readers to whom Sulpicia dictates how they should describe her love affair. I argue that aiming a double audience: a fictive character, Hippolytus, and contemporary readers, has influenced the way Ovid has reused words borrowed from Sulpicia by adapting them to the marital situation of Phaedra. By so doing Ovid has begun to elaborate a strategy of dissimulation, finally unsuccessful inasmuch as he was nevertheless accused of teaching adultery to women.

b. Thea Lawrence (University of Nottingham, UK)
Cinnamon and old urine: odour therapies, perfumes, and the female body in the Roman world

In Soranus' *Gynaecology*, the physician denounced the use of pungent odours in gynaecological treatment, rejecting the theorised wandering womb 'delighted by fragrant odours and fleeing bad'. However, much of Greco-Roman physiological and philosophical thought was not on his side. Fumigation and scented unguents were a staple of gynaecological therapeutics, from the Hippocratic Corpus to the works of Galen and beyond.

This paper examines the ways in which odour therapies are linked to the female body's broader vulnerability to odour: pungent castor could cause a menstruating woman to faint, and extinguished lamp smoke could cause miscarriage. Going further, it considers how the perceived efficacy of perfumes in the treatment of female bodies impacted upon attitudes towards their non-medicinal use. Perfumes were sometimes indistinguishable from remedies, and perfumers sold both scents and medicines. This was bemoaned by Galen: perfumers, lacking in medicinal knowledge, wasted valuable substances catering to the vanity of women.

c. Sophie Chavarria (University of Kent, UK)
Gendered space in Republican Rome: limits and assumptions

Throughout the 20th century, scholars have initiated a process aiming to overcome social biases, especially from scholarly studies of the Roman Republic (509–27 BC) where women remain silent. Despite their lack of political rights and the promotion of their roles as wives and mothers, this paper reassesses women's experience as publicly active agents in their community. Amy Russell's works provide the basis to examine how women's image was shaped by public opinion. Their use of space is revealed by evidence 'left' by members

of their inner and outer social circles (family, friends, masters and mere strangers). However, I argue that to fully understand women's spatial experience, we should not limit ourselves to analyse the messages sent by their environment but to consider their own use of space itself. It is crucial to investigate how women behaved around these spaces, and as historians to stop erasing them from our narratives.

d. Mara Gold (University of Oxford, UK)
Sapphic Sisterhood: Classics and the origins of modern lesbian culture

During the emergence of modern lesbian culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the classical world played a crucial role in developing concepts of gender and sexuality. Combining feminist and queer theory with classical reception scholarship, including Heather Love (2007) and Yopie Prins (1999; 2017), this paper examines the influence of Classics on female homosociality and the formation and justification of lesbian identities. Predominantly using archival research, this paper examines the ways that queer women reinvented the Classics to create a cultural heritage of their own. I track the ways in which Ancient Greek language and themes were used to create a "Sapphic code" in women's life writing, eventually evolving into "lesbian" as a label. In doing so, I re-examine Sappho's work alongside that of her modernist "descendants" through the lens of queer temporality, revealing important and ever-relevant themes relating to queer longing for Lesbos and Sappho worship.

1J – GREEK LITERATURE AND MEDIA THEORY

PANEL ABSTRACT
Modern theoretical debates around media and information technology have engaged directly and productively with Greco-Roman texts, practices and ideas (not least, the Greek origins of the concept of 'medium' itself). Likewise, media technologies have always had a role in the transmission of classical culture. However, the disciplines of classics and media studies have little to show by way of interaction. In this panel, we examine the potential of media theory for thinking through literary practices of communication, storage and transmission. How might we shift our disciplinary focus from the representation of meaning to the conditions of representation? How might the history of classical literature, or the history of classical scholarship, be mapped onto a history of media? And what challenges does media theory pose to dominant models of analysis in the humanities in which classical studies is heavily invested, such as hermeneutics and communication models based on dialogue?

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Tavni Solanki (Yonsei University, Republic of Korea)
German Philhellenism and Practices of Reading and Listening in Antiquity

Speculative histories of reading practices of Ancient Greece and Rome abound in eighteenth-century German philhellenism – examples include the writings of Friedrich Klopstock, A.W. Schlegel, J.G. Herder, F.A. Wolf. Whether they prescribed practicing declamatory performances in the style of Greek rhapsodes (Klopstock), or theorized "reading as listening," (Herder) through written translations of poetry, what we might call a perceived "sonic localism" (Ochoa) of antiquity served as a regulative hermeneutic ideal for Germans amid the perceived chaotic effects of the increased production and consumption of vernacular, print media in the conditions of "secondary orality" (Ong). In this paper, I will discuss how we may productively relate such histories to concepts such as "auditory aesthetics" (Gurd) or "acoustic territories" (Labelle) arising from Sound Studies, a recent branch of media studies and the history of senses. How might we consider the philological transmission of Classics as a part of "cultural histories of audition" (Sterne)?

b. Verity Platt (Cornell University USA)
Ekphrastic Epigram and the Erotics of the Impression

Drawing on the media philosopher Sybille Krämer's concept of an 'erotic' (as opposed to 'postal') model of medial transmission, this paper explores how Hellenistic epigram employs the language of impressing (tupein) and moulding (plassein) in figuring affective relations between images and prototypes, viewers and objects, and images and texts. As paradigmatic technologies for the transmission of form between media, sealing and casting are prime metaphors for the operations of ekphrasis. In epigrams based upon Praxiteles' sculpture of Eros at Thespiae, the terms tupos ('impression') and archetupon ('originary mould') are repeatedly employed to explore the transmission of erôs as both form and feeling, as it moves between deity, artist, model, statue and poet. In this way, epigram 'recasts' its own intermedial operations according to the indexical logic of the impression, asserting its kinship to the world of objects alongside its ability to mediate successfully between sensory phenomena and the psychê.

c. Pantelis Michelakis (University of Bristol, UK)
Transmission as Contagion: The Case of Early Greek Plague Narratives

Contagion has often been used in modernity as a way of conceptualizing cultural and aesthetic phenomena (from Nietzsche to Artaud and beyond). The ancient origins of this conceptual history remain underexplored. With the help of work on contagion by two media theorists, Friedrich Kittler and Sybille Krämer, this paper revisits three of the earliest plague narratives in Western literature: Iliad bk1, Sophocles' Oedipus the King and Thucydides bk2. It is argued that, although different transmission models are in operation in each narrative, all three provide insights into how encounters with the plague can be seen as a form of aesthetic experience that 'gets under the skin' of readers and spectators. The plague spreads via Apollo's arrows in Homer, as pollution due to spilled blood in Sophocles, and as the 'filling up' of bodies in Thucydides. Despite their different transmission models (stealth technology, miasmatic pollution, humoral pathology), all three narratives are preoccupied with constituent elements of contagion as a form of aesthetic experience: corporeality, non-reciprocity, and violence.

d. Athena Kirk (Cornell University, USA)
Selection and exclusion in Greek archives

While ancient Greece appears to have been full of "archival" information and grand spaces to store it (e.g the Athenian Metröon), modern conceptualizations of the archive have seldom entered discussions of this evidence. Ancient historians and theorists have toiled on separate parallels, either to formulate a story of ancient record-keeping, or to describe what archivism does and means (Sickinger 1999 and Greetham 1999, respectively). This paper considers fifth-century epigraphic evidence in light of theories of the archive as a means of controlling cultural memory. Sources such as the Cretan poinikastas inscription and Gortyn law code, the accounts of Nemesis at Rhamnous, and early Athenian accounts suggest that public officials took care to limit the content and transparency of civic documents while projecting accountability and visibility through material text. More generally, the production and display of these kinds of inscriptions can be viewed (in Siegert's and Vismann's terms) as a cultural technique that effects both dissemination and concealment.

1K – THE PERSIAN COURT: Representations and Reality

....

PANEL ABSTRACT

Recent years have seen a growing interest in the Achaemenid Court as the social and ideological centre of the Persian Empire. Aspects of the Persian court have been examined as exemplifying the epitome of the imperial idea, and it has been studied in relation to previous structures and also as a precursor to Seleucid traditions and practices.

This panel tallies with this scholarly interest, yet focuses on the intricate relation between literary representations (either Greek or Jewish) and contemporary reality. The questions this panel brings forth range from the political to the social aspects of the Persian Court and include discussions of the celebrated official called "The King's Eye", the well-known "harem", stories of intrigues and dynastic rivalries and depictions of the physical appearance of the court and its mechanism (in the Book of Esther). Given the special interest of this panel in portrayals as well as in reality, the questions and discussions will be set in both the historical and historiographical levels.

a. Arthur Keaveney (University of Kent, UK)
The King's Eye and Eyes

In our Greek sources we often find reference to an Achaemenid official known as the King's Eye. Some scholars, e.g. Briant and Kuhrt, think the King's Eye is purely imaginary but this paper accepts the view of Hirsch and Lenfant that reports of a King's Eye must be taken seriously. At the outset, their view that contemporary or later Iranian sources shed no light on the matter is accepted. Only Greek authors provide us with the information we need.

Our conclusion is that there were, in effect, two kinds of 'Eyes'. One was a court official who would naturally accompany the king's retinue in war but whose primary function was to make inspections of rule in the provinces. The other eyes were those thousands who, in the absence of a regular police service, spontaneously, in the hope of reward, brought important information to the king.

b. Eran Almagor
Greek images of the Persian Court in the Book of Esther

This paper will examine some of the parallels of the Book of Esther with Greek stories of the ancient Persian court, especially as found in the works of Herodotus and Ctesias. Certain scholars believe that this similarity between Esther and the Greek sources indicates a shared oral folkloristic tradition, utilizing the same motifs and following the same convention (e.g., Berlin, 2001: 9). Yet, this fact may also indicate that some sections of the Book of Esther were influenced by Greek images.

If this proposition is true, one has to conclude that certain parts of the Book of Esther are late, and belong to the Seleucid era. That is, Esther was not only edited in the third or second centuries BC (Bickerman 1967: 202; Fox 1991: 139-140) but parts of it were probably composed in that later, Hellenized, environment.

c. Dominique Lenfant (University of Strasbourg, France)
The notion of Harem and its relevance to women of the Persian Court

It has been for some time controversial to use the notion of 'harem' concerning women of the Persian court. Yet, champions as well as opponents of its employment have more often than not postulated respectively the relevance or the irrelevance of the word without defining it, justifying its use or explaining its interpretative consequences (cf. Llewellyn-Jones, 2013; Briant, 2002). The present paper aims to deal with that issue in depth and to investigate the relevance of the notion in today's history of the Persian Empire.

d. Eduard Rung (Kazan Federal University, Russia)
The Proskynesis at the Achaemenid royal court: a new evidence

In October of 2018 a new trilingual Achaemenid inscription from Naqshi Rustam has been discovered and in March of 2019 a detailed investigation of it with linguistic and historical commentary has been published on-line in *Arta*. An inscription includes previously unknown Old Persian verb a-f-r-[?]-a-t-i-y which first publishers Soheil Delshad and Mojtaba Doroodi read as *$ā$-fra-yāti* (perhaps 'he comes forward to') or *ā-fra-θāti* ('he speaks forth to'). They concludes that «an Old Persian verb with the meaning "to greet, to bless" (etc.) seems to be called for».
It is clear that as a result of this discovery we get an Old Persian verb which may likely refer to an act which the Greek verb προσκυνεῖν may have described relating to the Persians. This new evidence stimulates further discussion about practices and meaning of *proskynesis* at the royal court in the Achaemenid Empire.
My paper shows that all literary and pictoral evidences on *proskynesis* may be devided into two groups: 1) Greek authors's information that represents *proskynesis* mainly as prostration before the King; 2) Persian bas-reliefs that depict

the scenes with *proskynesis* as hand-kissing gesture. It is supposed that previously unknown Old Persian verb (like as *proskynein* in Ancient Greek usage) did not mean a gesture, but related to a model of behaviour ('salutation', 'obeisance', 'greeting', 'worship', 'respect' etc). It is argued that Achaemenid officials performed *proskynesis* before the King as hand-kissing, while the rest of people did prostration.

e. Respondent: Christopher Tuplin (University of Liverpool, UK)

1L – FRAMES OF LEGAL LANGUAGE, CONCEPTS AND CULTURES IN THE LATE ROMAN REPUBLIC

PANEL ABSTRACT
With the gradual displacement of the deep-rooted view of ancient Roman law as an autopoeietic, closed and static system, various studies have emerged in recent years laying bare the interconnections between law, politics, society, economy and religion (Du Plessis 2016; Du Plessis, Ando and Tuori 2016). Still ignored so far has been the interplay between legal language, concepts and cultures, particularly the dynamics and challenges during times of change. The panel will examine those shifts, transformations and alterations under the model of regulatory frames. Deriving from sociology (Goffman 1974), regulatory frames address the complex communication processes transmitted in our extant source material. Thus, a detailed study of legal language, concepts and culture reveals to what extent the changes in the Late Roman Republic are reflected in orations, regulations and legal writings, and to what extent juristic matters are anchored in the (elite) discourses of this special period of Roman history.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Sven Günther (Northeast Normal University, Changchun, China)
Framing the Unframed: Transferring mos maiorum and ius civile into Private Law in Times of Political and Socio-Economic Change

During the Late Roman Republic, consensus and competition among the nobility *rei publicae causa* underwent significant change, and were gradually displaced by individual strive for honours, benefits, and property. Thus, traditional customs did not function anymore, and had to be transformed into enforceable institutions. What happened with regard to public law and administration can be also observed in private law. Among others, (1) *adrogatio*, a specific form of adopting a *sui iuris* with public consent (cf. Seelentag 2014), (2) testamentary law including inheritance of, and to, women and (3)

procedural regulations, were now at elites' disposal and had to be re-framed against the background of *mos maiorum* and *ius civile*. The paper will study such framing-processes in discourse and formation of new institutions and reveal to what extent the period was a time of change, and not only transformation (cf. Zhang and Günther 2017).

b. Hendrikus van Wijlick (Peking University, China)
Innovations and retroactivity in the ius honorarium: Cicero's framing of Verres' praetorian edict

Cicero's assessment of the judicial activity performed by the notorious C. Verres during his urban praetorship (in 74 BC) focuses, among other things, on the retroactive force of innovations in the law of succession implemented by Verres in his edict (*Verr.* 2.1.40.103-48.127), leading in the case studied narrated to a (partial) forfeiture of inheritances. Past scholarship has so far mainly dealt with Cicero's denunciation of the retrospective nature of Verres' edict in isolation (e.g. Mitchell 1986; Dyck 2012). In this paper, I argue that Cicero's criticism of Verres' judicial rulings with regard to succession law ultimately addresses a common concern at that time: the self-serving potential of the *ius honorarium* to implement legal novelties (see e.g. Vervaet 2016). By explicitly connecting Verres' praetorian edict with his subsequent governorship in Sicily, Cicero shows how Verres used law to serve his own interests instead of the *res publica*.

c. Elisabeth Günther (University of Erlangen, Germany)
Spatial Jurisdiction – Archaeological Frames of Law and Justice in Rome and Italian Cities during the Republic

Law and justice are rather abstract concepts. Nonetheless, the need to provide facilities for jurisdiction shaped public space and accordingly the appearance of Italian *civitates* and especially Rome from the early Republic on. Conversely, architecture and topography in Rome (Maiuro 2010) provide information about how law was embedded in public as well as in private life, in Rome and Italian cities alike (Bablitz 2015; Perry 2015), and connected with political, economic, socio-cultural and religious spheres, and self-representation of the elite. Thus, the paper will approach the archaeology of legal space in the Roman Republic by three exemplary case studies in combining archaeological as well as literary and epigraphic evidence, to disentangle the different levels and spheres of law and justice and their spatial manifestations (Angelis 2010), i.e. their materiality and not only their abstract appearance, in Rome and Italian communities.

d. Hongxia Zhang (Northeast Normal University, Changchun, China)
How Does Cicero Construct Outlaws? Oppianicus and Sassia in Pro Cluentio

In *Pro Cluentio*, Cicero defends Aulus Cluentius Habitus, who was accused of having poisoned Oppianicus. Throughout the speech, Cicero sets forth how wickedly Oppianicus and even Cluentius' own mother Sassia acted. He accordingly raises doubts as to how such evil persons could be innocent while depicting his client Cluentius as ideal *vir Romanus*. By analyzing two passages with regard to rhetorical devices, legal content, and social background (cf. Patimo 2009), my paper will explain how Oppianicus and Sassia become excluded from whole society through Cicero's narrative. Then, I shall show how Oppianicus is constructed as an anti-*pater*, and his wife Sassia as an anti-*matrona*. By contrasting Cicero's narration with traditional frames of experience and expectation of a good *pater* and *mater familias* (Perry 2015; Olasope 2009), I will finally demonstrate how this combination of legal, socio-political, rhetoric and emotional factors reflect regulatory frames Cicero used in all his speeches.

1M – POETICS BETWEEN GREECE AND THE NEAR EAST

PANEL ABSTRACT
In the past generation, Classical scholars have become increasingly interested in the relationship between the cultures of Greece and the Ancient Near East, spearheaded by the work of Burkert (1984) and West (1997). Most research on this relationship has focused on shared aspects of content, language and narrative (e.g. López-Ruiz 2010, Haubold 2013, Bachvarova 2016). In this interdisciplinary panel, by contrast, we adopt a more literary approach, juxtaposing the poetics of these different cultures by bringing together experts of Near Eastern and ancient Greek literature. Two pairs of papers address key aspects of ancient poetics. The first explore the intensely competitive intertextuality of Babylonian and archaic Greek poetry. The second examine the significance of authorial presence and absence in both cultures. Rather than seeking to construct a neat narrative of literary influence, our comparative approach will broaden our perspective on the literature of both cultures, promoting a rich and fruitful interdisciplinary dialogue.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Selena Wisnom (Queen's College, Oxford / University of Cambridge, UK)
Battles for Supremacy: Competitive Intertextuality in Babylonian Poetry

Babylonian poems make extensive use of intertextuality, employing many techniques that are comparable with those in the Greek and Roman traditions. In particular there is a strong competitive element in narratives featuring gods, where each protagonist upstages those who starred in earlier compositions. Competitive strategies of allusion invite us to compare these characters directly, demonstrating the superiority of the new over the old. This paper will trace the development of competition between deities in three Akkadian poems: *Anzu, Enūma eliš,* and *Erra and Išum*. The pattern established by *Anzu* to elevate the god Ninurta is taken over and developed by *Enūma eliš,* which uses the same techniques to show its own protagonist Marduk supplanting Ninurta. Finally, *Erra and Išum* subverts both of these earlier poems to show how Marduk has fallen from power. Thus a chain of allusions can be seen throughout these three compositions, as each builds on and subverts the techniques used by its predecessors.

b. Thomas J. Nelson (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, UK)
Intertextual Agones in Archaic Greek Epic: Penelope vs. the **Catalogue of Women**

Ancient Greek culture was deeply rooted in competition (Griffith 1990, Collins 2004). Some scholars, however, have questioned the degree of agonism in early Greek poetry, arguing that poets display deference to their tradition, rather than asserting their dominance (Scodel 2004). In this paper, by contrast, I argue that archaic Greek epic exhibits an eristic intertextuality comparable to that found in *Enūma eliš* and *Erra and Išum*. I focus on a specific case study from the *Odyssey*: Homer's agonistic relationship with the *Catalogue of Women* tradition. Hesiodicstyle Catalogue poetry has long been recognised as important intertext for the poem (especially for the Catalogue of Heroines in the Odyssean Underworld). But here I explore a more sustained dialogue, commencing with Antinous' comparison of Penelope with the women of the past in *Odyssey* 2 (*Od*.2.115-122). Through an ongoing *agon* that sets Odysseus' wife against the women of the *Catalogue*, Homer establishes the pre-eminence of his heroine, and – by extension – the supremacy of his own poem.

c. Sophus Helle (Aarhus University, Denmark)
The Birth of the Author: Sex, Death, and Dialogue in Enheduana's Exaltation

The first known author in the history of world literature was the Akkadian high priestess Enheduana. Though scholars today debate whether the historical Enheduana actually composed the poems attributed to her by the Old Babylonian scribes, the attribution is significant in and of itself regardless of its historicity, since it represents the earliest attested instance of the very idea of authorship. Further, one of the texts attributed to Enheduana, the Exaltation of Inana, also includes a description of how Enheduana came to be an author. In this paper, I explore how literary composition is depicted in the Exaltation, focusing on the relation between Enheduana and the literary community engaged by her text: the addressee, audience, and performer of the poem. I argue that Enheduana's authorship emerges from within a constitutive dialogue with her interlocutors, a mutually entangled relation that is described through metaphors of sex and figurative death – preempting Roland Barthes' "The Death of the Author" by four thousand years.

d. Emma Greensmith (Jesus College, Cambridge, UK)
The Poet Who is Not There: Disembodied Authorship in Later Greek Epic

Greek epic has a notoriously ambiguous relationship to authorship, with composers from Homer to Nonnus finding covert, creative ways of asserting their poetic identities. In this paper, I look at two very different texts from the imperial period which radically reject the practice of epic (self)-possession: the *Posthomerica* (c. 3rd century C.E.), a fourteen-book epic which closes the gap between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (Bär and Baumbach 2007, Maciver 2012); and the *Sibylline Oracles* (2nd centuries B.C.E–C.E.), a vast collection of eschatological utterances, many of which assume the oracular voice of the Sibyl (Lightfoot 2007).

These texts display a highly paradoxical approach to literary status. The poet is elided into the persona of a distant, mystical figure; and yet there are also signals which disavow these authoritative authorial claims: philological quirks, contemporary references and later literary allusions. I argue that this dissonant dress-up game represents an alternative mode of response to literature and canonicity. These texts continue the epic canon in a non-linear fashion, treating it as inherently open and unfinished – ripe for correction, expansion and ultimately reembodiment.

2A – BETWEEN GRAMMAR AND POETRY: Canon and Metrics in Perspective

PANEL ABSTRACT

Greek and Latin grammarians considered the reading and understanding of poems as one of the main goals of their *artes*. Verses from the best literary Tradition were taken as *exempla* for critical and analytical purposes. More than just *ad hoc*, the lines they quoted derived from the prestige attributed to each poet by Tradition, and over time they settled down into a literary canon which the *artes* of antiquity helped to crystallize. Also categorized and explained by the grammarians, the classical Metrics described and analyzed verses as compositional matrices that occurred in the works of many authors. The emphasis given to Metrics by the recurrence of this subject in the *artes* of most of the ancient grammarians proves its importance to better understand poems. This panel will deal with verses quoted as examples by ancient grammarians, and it will also discuss the role of classical metrics in the construction of poetic meaning.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Maria de Fátima Souza e Silva (Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal)
Late Grammarians and Greek Comedy

The recuperation of a huge quantity of testimonies about Classical Greek Comedy depends on the late grammarians and experts, among them personalities as Aristophanes of Byzantium. From recuperating a single word or larger quotations, to introducing in the texts more substantial comments, they help us to enlarge our knowledge about an enormous lost material. It is our purpose to analyse some of these testimonies in order to see the criteria used in their consideration of ancient comic texts.

b. Fábio Fortes (Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora – MG, Brazil)
Apollonius Dyscolus, a philologist: the Greek syntax and the formulation of a literary canon

Well known in the ancient grammatical tradition as the formulator of the first grammatical treatise to deal specifically with the construction or syntax of the Greek language, Apollonius Dyscolus (2nd c. AD) devotes his Περά συντάχεως to a thorough examination of the Greek language, focusing mainly on its logical organisation, an enterprise of paramount importance to the history of language sciences. However, the extensive reading of Apollonius' work under this key has contributed for the obfuscation of the properly "philological"

dimension of this treatise, which consisted in the appreciation of the rich Greek literary tradition also performed within this work, particulary through the presentation and discussion of fragments derived from the poetic use. Considering that the justification by Apollonius in his prologue was the "understanding of the writers and poets", we ask ourselves: what role do poets and writers play in his study of the Greek syntax?

c. Valquíria Maria Cavalcante de Moura (Universidade Federal Rural de Pernambuco – UFRPE-PE, Brazil)
The notion of metrics in the Ars grammatica by Diomedes

There are some questions regarding the notion of metrics that mobilize different disciplines having language as their object of study, such as, for instance, Grammar, Rhetoric, Poetics, Literature, among others. In the context of problematisation of the poetic phaenomenon, metrics plays indeed an important role in various perspectives. Having as a point of departure the considerations on metrics present within the *Ars grammatica*, by Diomedes, a Latin grammarian of the fourth century AD, we examine how these concepts contribute for the understanding of poetry as a whole. For this, the grammarian's considerations on this domain will be compared with formulations also put forward by other authors, in order to investigate how the definitions of Diomedes can be distinguished from other ancient grammarians and rhetors. For this, reflections on metrics in modern poetry may also be considered, in order to amplify the debate of the poetic phaenomenon as a whole as well as to establish a dialogue between these theoretical and metalinguistic contexts.

d. João Batista Toledo Prado (Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, FCL-UNESP-Araraquara, Brazil)
Metre and meaning: metrical approaches to classical poetry

Over the last few years, interest in the study of the role played by meters in producing expressiveness in classical Greek and Latin poetry has increased. New approaches seek to relate the use of certain meters with the syntactic-semantic contexts in which they occur, trying to understand their value in the construction of meaning in poetic text and discourse – a distinctive feature of Metrics whose basic principle was already enunciated in the treatise Περὶ ποιητικῆς (*De Poética*) by Aristotle. The role of classical meters has thus been re-evaluated in terms of the rhythmic-prosodic and tonotopic effects they create, as well as in terms of their articulation with rhetorical-stylistic resources that affect the significance of poetic discourse. In accordance with these principles, this paper will discuss such issues and provide examples of analysis in passages of classical Latin poetry in order to

demonstrate how Metrics is responsible for creating new meanings when integrated into poetry reading.

2B – PERSUASIVE HISTORY: Greek Rhetoric and the Manipulation of the Past

PANEL ABSTRACT

The manipulation of history for rhetorical purposes is a frequently occurring criticism of modern political discourse. This is not a new phenomenon; Aristotle highlighted the importance of historical events in deliberation (*Rh.* 1368a44), and Anaximenes emphasised their effectiveness in lending credibility to the speaker's argument (*Rh. Al.* 1429a22-8).

This panel examines the various ways of manipulating historical events for the purpose of persuasion, taking into consideration the genres of oratory and historiography. Maltagliati's paper focuses on Demosthenes' use of historical analogies to convince the Athenian assembly to take action against Philip. Kremmydas' paper identifies the ways in which two prosecutors, Apollodorus and Lycurgus, masterfully turn historical events into compelling narratives for a judicial audience. Coles' paper discusses how the historiographer Polybius succeeds, through subtle inconsistencies in his use of 'soundbites' on the themes of *eleutheria* and *autonomia*, in making the conduct of the Achaians and Macedonians suit his broader agenda.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Giulia Maltagliati (Royal Holloway, University of London, UK)
Demosthenes' political use of history: assessing the historical analogies of the war against Philip

In his Assembly speeches, Demosthenes often resorts to arguments from analogy (*paradeigmata*), as he seeks to encourage the Athenians to act against Philip.

Previous scholars have highlighted the historical inaccuracies of Demosthenes' accounts, trying to pinpoint the exact events he refers to (e.g. Nouhaud 1982; Wooten 2008). Drawing on cognitive studies (e.g. Ghilani et al. 2017), I shall instead focus on Demosthenes' shifting examples (*sources*) in his use of historical analogies of Philip's threat (*target*), which the orator alternately compares to the fourth-century Spartans' hegemony (*First Philippic; Second Olynthiac*), and to the fifth-century Persian invasions (*Second Philippic*, *Third Philippic*). I shall argue that such a variation responds to the ongoing transformations of the political and military scene, and mirrors Demosthenes' increasing confidence as an adviser. I will further show how Demosthenes selects and adapts each

historical episode to elicit in the Athenians specific reactions, depending on his political agenda.

b. Christos Kremmydas (Royal Holloway, University of London, UK)
History as narrative in public forensic speeches

How can an event from Athenian history be turned into a narrative that is arresting as well as effective in the context of a forensic speech? What qualities should such a narrative have in order to stir the emotions of the *dikastai*, project the speaker's (or undermine the opponent's) *ethos*, and support the speaker's rational argumentation?

This paper will focus on two specific examples of the different narrative and rhetorical strategies used to make events from Athenian history fit the orators' agenda. In the first ([Dem.] 59.98-103), Apollodorus relates the plight of the Plataeans who endured a long siege at the end of which some escaped to Athens, while others were enslaved or slaughtered by the Spartans. In the second (Lycurgus 1.39-42), Lycurgus recreates the dramatic setting in Athens shortly after Chaironeia.

Both narratives succeed in boosting each speaker's *ethos,* appealing to *pathos* and strengthening their logical argumentation.

c. William Coles (Royal Holloway, University of London, UK)
Using Soundbites to manipulate: Polybios and Hellenistic politics

Polybios emphasises that the Achaian League championed the freedom (*eleutheria*) and autonomy (*autonomia*) of its members, in contrast to Makedon, which he represents as an autocratic power that imposes garrisons and tyrannies (Chaniotis 2002; Börm 2018). This narrative of events is wrapped up in Polybios' wider political and literary agendas (Champion 2004; Haehm 2008; Gray 2015), however the rhetorical aspect of Polybios' account has been neglected, which provides a key to understanding how he distorts his historical narrative.

This paper will argue that Polybios uses a form of Orwellian doublethink to deliberately represent the deeds of the Achaian League as benevolent and for the sake of safety (*soteria*), while at the same time representing similar deeds by the Makedonians as tyrannical. I will demonstrate that Polybios uses changeable soundbites and terminology to satisfy his wider political agenda as an Achaian, and his wider literary agenda as a historiographer and philosopher.

d.   Respondent: Lene Rubinstein (Royal Holloway, University of London, UK)

2C – LUCRETIAN COSMOPOETICS: Perspectives on the World in *De Rerum Natura*

PANEL ABSTRACT

This panel explores strategies of literary worldbuilding in Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, highlighting in particular paradoxes and alternative readings of "orderliness" in the Lucretian cosmos. Firstly, Jonathan Griffiths and Eva Noller analyse Lucretius' contrasting characterization of the world as a living organism and an orderly machine, focusing respectively on how Lucretius' use of metaphor and technical description construe the relationship between poetic strategies and philosophical truth. From there, Del Maticic's reading of *DRN* 5.1-90 locates in Lucretius' recollection of Epicurus' Herculean eradication of monsters in the human heart a confusion between home and the frontier and, ultimately, between Rome and the world. Finally, Ashley Simone will present a vision of *DRN from* the cosmos in her study of Cicero's interpretation of Lucretius' cosmos as *dis*orderly in the *Somnium Scipionis*. Together, these papers will shed new light on Lucretius' poetics of world in the context of late Republican Rome.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Jonathan Griffiths (University College London, UK)
Cosmobiology in Lucretius

My paper's contribution will concentrate on Lucretius' characterisation of the world (*mundus*) as a living creature. I wish to examine both the specific points of characterisation and the deliberate purposes which Lucretius has in mind when he has recourse to this biological analogy in cosmology, by stating either that the world *is like* or that the world *is identifiable as* a living thing.

Three key passages can be stated here: Lucretius' appeal to the multiple kinds of a single species in his demonstration of the infinite number of worlds (*DRN* 2.1077-1089); his account of the world's organic growth and decline (2.1105-1149); and his proof of the world's mortality by proving the mortality of its parts, i.e. 'limbs' (*membra*: 5.235-323, esp. 240-246). In my analysis I will combine a literary sensitivity to Lucretius' use of metaphor and analogy with a close regard to its philosophical employment in argument.

b. Eva Marie Noller (University of Heidelberg, Germany)
Mechanical ordering in Lucretius' DRN

The figures and images Lucretius uses to describe the atoms are often drawn from the sphere of biology or human society. In my paper, however, I will shed light on those passages in which Lucretius describes the atoms and their ordering in an almost technical and mechanical way. We find examples for this "atomistic mechanics" in book 1 (refutation of rival philosophical *doxai*) and book 2 (discussion of *minimae partes*). By analyzing these passages, I shall answer two questions: 1) What effects in terms of vividness and clarity do the technical descriptions of the atomic ordering have? 2) (How) Are the technical and the "biological" description related?

By comparing these different approaches of describing and making visible atomic order, I shall finally give a more general account of the importance and the mode of description of atomic ordering in the *DRN*.

c. Del A. Maticic (New York University, USA)
Omnia Migrant: Mixed Spatial Metaphors in DRN *5.1-90*

My paper analyses three seemingly contradictory layers of metaphorical space in *DRN* 5.1-90. While Epicurus re-located life from darkness and emplaced it into light in explicitly spatial terms (*locavit*, 5.10-12), he also outdoes Hercules because, unlike the latter, he addressed dangers in the *pectus* rather than purging monsters in distant wilderness (5.40-44). Meanwhile the cosmos is marked out by the boundary stone of natural law in the guise of a Roman *terminus* (5.90). These levels confound straightforward interpretation of "here" and "there" in the passage, since, just as *omnia migrant* (5.830), the student is simultaneously relocated and stationary, turning inward and out towards the bounded, boundless empire of nature. While the allusion to Roman civil war is clear in the emphasis on putting the *pectus* in order first, the distortion of boundaries between the philosopher, Rome, and frontier remains unresolved in the analogy.

d. Ashley A. Simone (Columbia University, USA)
Cicero's Cosmos and Lucretius' Discontents

In this paper, I consider how Cicero's *Dream* in the *De re publica* (henceforth *DRP*) is a rebuttal to Lucretius' Epicurean view of the cosmos in the *De rerum natura* (henceforth *DRN*). As scholars have noted, Lucretius' *DRN* draws upon Cicero's *Aratea* but transforms the orderly and pseudo-Stoic inclinations of the poem and tailors them for his Epicurean project (Gee 2013). Building upon the analysis of Zetzel 1998, I argue that Cicero's *DRP* is a response to Lucretius' Epicurean appropriation of his poetry and especially the astronomical language he pioneered in the *Aratea*. More specifically, I argue that the *Dream* presents the cosmos as a divinely-ordered entity that rebuts Lucretius' randomization of the universe.

Part of the way Cicero manifests this is in his ordering of the planets and the harmony of the spheres, a schema which draws upon Plato and Aratus and flies in the face of Lucretian atomization.

2D – WRITING BEFORE THE GREEKS

PANEL ABSTRACT

Writing was present in Greece (or, more precisely, in the area that is Greek-speaking in the 1st millennium BC) more than a thousand years before the advent of the Greek alphabet. All the major scripts employed in this area (Cretan Hieroglyphic, Cypro-Minoan, Linear A, Linear B) belong to the family of the Aegean Bronze Age writing systems, i.e. are clearly related to one another. At the same time, in their appearance and use they show very clear differences. With only Linear B, the most recent one of these scripts, being deciphered and encoding the earliest form of Greek known to us, much remains unclear with regard to the other scripts. While no "decipherment" of any of these will be made here, progress in their understanding can still be made through a combination of archaeological, epigraphic, palaeographic, linguistic and typological approaches and, in particular, by studying more closely the relationship between the various scripts. In the 4 papers for this panel, we intend to demonstrate various approaches to these undeciphered scripts, leading to a better understanding of the interdependence of the writing systems, their use and content and their social and pragmatic context, and elucidate how, in the late phase of the Minoan period, a combination of adaptation, reform and new creation led to Linear B.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Matilde Civitillo (Vanvitelli, University of Campania, Caserta, Italy)
W.R.I.T.I.N.G. in Cretan hieroglyphic: from seals to clay

This paper discusses how we should take the notion of "writing" in Cretan Hieroglyphic on different supports (seals, clay tablets etc.) more correctly, following a theoretical framework influenced by integrational semiology. On seals, e.g., I would not consider as "writing" exclusively what might be more accurately defined as "glottic writing", but a mode of communication independent from spoken languages. In a multifaceted interpretation of "writing", recent studies have focused on a whole set of cultural values, encyclopaedic knowledge and ideological expressions that led to the creation of the graphic systems. Finally, more attention has been dedicated to the analysis of various external stimuli (e.g. materials/forms of writing supports, modes of display,

perception of writing itself) constituting the "prior knowledge" necessary to correctly interpret the texts. On this basis I will discuss, as regards Cretan Hieroglyphic texts, the seven factors highlighted by Perri (1999) in his model for the description of scriptorial events whose components, corresponding by acronym to the mnemonic word WRITING, are: Writers, Readers, Instrumentalities, Textualization, Interpretative context, Norms, Genres.

b. Miguel Valério (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain)
The 'theoretical structures' of decipherment: the case of Cypro-Minoan

The last decade has seen increased interest on the largely undeciphered Cypro-Minoan script, used mainly in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In recent works, I have attempted to establish the methodological limits and possibilities for its decipherment. The results of these investigations need further scrutiny and would benefit from the discovery of new epigraphical material on which to be tested, but in the meantime they also invite reflection on method. The history of ancient script decipherments, going back to the 18th century, implies that every decipherment presents specific problems, but is achieved based on identical principles. Using examples from Cypro-Minoan, I will re-examine these principles and what Maurice Pope (1999) termed "the available theoretical structures". I will be especially concerned with three moments or problems in decipherment-aimed research: the fixing of a definitive list of individual signs, the hypothesising of sign values, and verification.

c. Ester Salgarella (University of Cambridge, UK)
How many games in town? Detecting local variation in Linear A

This paper deals with the structure and palaeography of Linear A (*ca*. 1600–1450 BCE). Linear A has always been taken as a standardised 'monolithic' entity both in terms of structure (number and type of signs) and palaeography. However, under closer scrutiny, this assumption turns out to be inaccurate.

My Ph.D. research has shown that what we call 'Linear A' stands more chance of representing an umbrella term for a plurality of local varieties of 'Linear As'. I will show that a good number of Linear A simple signs are site-restricted, as well as most composite signs. This allows us to reconstruct, as far as it is possible, the many site-specific Linear A sign inventories in use at different sites. Palaeographic variation is witnessed both intra-site and inter-site, with some palaeographic variants apparently restricted to specific geographical areas. The goal of this paper is to demonstrate that, by combining structural

and palaeographic analyses, we can get productive insights into the actual entity hidden behind the problematic label 'Linear A'.

d. Vassilis Petrakis (National Hellenic Research Foundation, Greece)
More than A to B: the composite formation of the Linear B literate administrative system

Recent research into the beginnings of Linear B has shown its interpretation as a mere adaptation of the Neopalatial Linear A script to render Greek to be inadequate. An appreciation of the much more subtle and complex processes that took place during the formation of Linear B (both as a script and as the administrative system it served) can only be obtained through a survey of the modifications in all its main components, which, although conceptually independent, arguably formed a single functional systemic entity. With attention both on adaptations and new grapheme inventions, changes in the phonographic (syllabographic) and non-phonographic (sematographic) components of the system will be surveyed separately and in relation to each other. Special attention will also be given on changes concerning the patterns in script use, as well as the administrative apparatus and practices that the Linear B script was inextricably linked with as seen through an analysis of document typology and layout. Tracing back the complex origins of the Linear B system also has important implications for the palaeographic landscape of Neopalatial Crete.

2E – CLASSICS AND COMMUNISM

PANEL ABSTRACT
The cycle on *Classics and Communism* has so far resulted in three volumes. The international group of scholars behind them was kick-started in 2010 at the Collegium Budapest Institute for Advanced Study. It has evolved into a network under the aegis of the Faculty of "Artes Liberales," University of Warsaw, and the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. The first volume, *Classics and Communism* (2013)*, was followed by *Classics and Class* (2016), a volume dedicated to classics in communist schools. The most recent volume, *Classics and Communism in Theatre* (2018), deals with a similarly significant phenomenon, the left-wing theatre and its staging of ancient plays. It has brought a new dimension to the field by exploring the fates of classicists among the socialist and communist political movements in the United Kingdom and the USA. The panel will present recent discoveries and discuss the possible futures for this project.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Edith Hall (King's College London, UK)
Classics and the Socialist Political Movements

The attraction of classics to radical feminists, abolitionists and supporters of civil rights in the later 19th and early twentieth century has been recognised and begun to be documented. Yet the relationship between advanced education in classics in organised socialist and in due course communist political movements in the UK and, to a lesser extent, the USA, is still poorly understood. This paper looks at the shared experience of English/British imperialism in Scotland, Ireland, the Caribbean and Africa which underlay the influential cluster of members of the Communist Party of Great Britain from the 1920s to the 1940s (F.W. Walbank, G. de Ste. Croix, G. Thomson, B. Farrington, R. Browning). It also presents the impact of predicament of 'internal' oppressed groups (Native and African Americans) on the short flowering of early American 'classical communism', especially in the cases of George Cram Cook and Susan Glaspell.

b. David Movrin (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia)
Latin Teaching in Communist Yugoslavia and Directed Education

In the Yugoslav schools, Tito's response to the crisis and the protests of the late sixties and the early seventies resulted in an increased revolutionary vigour, manifested in what was then known as "directed education" *(usmereno obrazovanje)*, an ambitious reform which replaced the concept of gymnasium with a series of vocational schools. They were planned as "education for work and through work" and they regarded Latin, previously tolerated within the school system, as a problem, which needed to be abolished. Using newly discovered archival documents, the paper will explore communist strategies regarding classics during the seventies and the speed of pushing Latin and Greek out of the curriculum. It will also present the response of the classicist community and the growing public disapproval, which led to the reform's eventual collapse at the end of the eighties – soon to be followed by collapse of the state that pushed it through.

c. Elzbieta Olechowska (University of Warsaw, Poland)
Polish women classicists under Communism

While women began studying classics at Polish universities in the late 19th century, they obtained full access to university education only after WW1. Until WW2 barely fifteen women obtained *venia legendi* at the oldest Polish university (Jagiellonian University founded in 1394), among them one

classicist (in 1937). During WW2, high school and university education was forced underground by the Nazis. Only a handful of women classicists educated before 1939 survived the war and made their way to active scholarship. Communist ideology imposed in Poland after WW2 declared itself a champion of women's rights, but in practice, academic careers were truly open to women favourable towards the regime, or who at least learned how to navigate the new reality without compromising their integrity. The situation varied from university to university, and from discipline to discipline, it also evolved during the forty-five years of Communist rule. I will attempt to show how.

d. Henry Stead (Open University, UK)
Brave New Classics

This paper builds upon work supported by the international research network 'Classics and Communism', and published in *Classics and Class* (2016) and *Classics and Communism in Theatre* (2018). It is well documented that Classics as an academic discipline suffered under Soviet socialism. The emerging histories, however, of popular Soviet classics, and communist classics outside of the USSR, offer important counter narratives to that of decline commonly extrapolated from the rocky fates of the Discipline under Soviet communism. The collaborative research platform BNC (est. 2016, www.bravenewclassics.info) encourages investigation into the convergence of international receptions of Marxism and the Greek and Roman classics. Focussing on the classical productions of the British communist writer Jack Lindsay (1900-1990) and the agitational leftist theatre-makers Joan Littlewood (1914-2002) and Ewan MacColl (1915-1989), this paper aims to reveal the rich, colourful and largely forgotten underworld of British communist classics beyond the academy from 1917 to 1956.

2F – URBAN RELIGION IN AUGUSTAN POETRY

PANEL ABSTRACT
In the face of accelerating urbanisation and a return of religion to cities, we propose to take a new look at urban and religious experiences and discourses in the Augustan period. Several texts from this age of rapid growth and change of Rome thematise the city as has been shown by Catharine Edwards and Tara Welch. Edwards starts from a notion of a mutual dependency and reinforcement of Roman space, Roman identity and Roman religion. While she stresses how Augustan writers (and their audiences) were aware of the contingent character of this nexus and hence its precarious state, research on Roman religion (Edwards 2007, Rüpke 2007,

2016) has shown the existence of multiple discourses about and practices related to space and religion also outside of a discourse about political identity and central administrative action. The panel wishes to explore the traces of such practices and discourses related to the many different groups and residential subdivisions of the city, but also individual projects of appropriating or crafting urban space through the lens of urban religion.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Catharine Edwards (Birkbeck, University of London, UK)
The Great Mother and the mutilated body

In the heart of Rome, on the Palatine hill, stood the temple of the Magna Mater, Cybele, a divinity brought to Rome from Phrygia in the late third century BCE. The paradoxes of her exotic but also quintessentially Roman cult can be made to offer suggestive insights into Roman identity (Beard 1994). My paper will investigate rather Ovid's exploration in *Fasti* book 4 of the individual's bodily experience of her worship – one also fraught with paradox. Of all the cults in the city of Rome, that of Cybele was perhaps the most nerve-janglingly physical in its manifestation. The rites of the Magna Mater obtruded on the senses of anyone within earshot; Ovid explains at length the rationale for the cacophony associated with her cult. Her acolytes the Galli were highly distinctive not only in their music-making but also in their movements and in their appearance. The drastic act of self-mutilation which allegedly marked their initiation into Cybele's cult was a source of horror and fascination to Roman commentators. Ovid finds the wounded body of the Gallus a fruitful point of departure for reflection on the nature of this cult (which serves as an umbilical cord between Rome and the Trojan east), but also on his own situation as punished votary of another powerful goddess, Venus, writing about space and time in the city of Rome at the eastern edge of the Roman empire.

b. Ulrike Egelhaaf-Gaiser / Nils Jäger (University of Göttingen, Germany)
Religion in passing: Horace's Satires *and* Epistles

Unlike the city of Rome, religion does not play a central role in Horace's Satires and Epistles. But what may seem disappointing at first glance, actually makes these texts attractive documents for an analysis of how urban religion was perceived. Religious sites do not appear to the reader as demarcated sites, distinct from the bustling city, but rather as commonplace and nothing spectacular, as a market place or a meeting point, as an intermediate stop or occasional obstacle. It does not matter here whether the text focuses on prominent

sanctuaries and superior gods or ordinary religious rituals. In how far does this finding also apply to those sites within Horace's Satires and Epistles that lie *beyond* the city walls?

c. Cecilia Ames (University of Cordoba, Argentina)
Religion, Antiquarism and Roman urban development: An approach from Book VIII of the Aeneid

Book VIII of Aeneid is the only one whose action happens in Rome. It is a privileged text for reflection on the spatial conditions of religious communication of different actors in the Roman urban space. The place is visited by Aeneas and Euander, guide and spokesman for aetiological explanations about the origin of places, customs and rites. The progression of the walk of Aeneas and Euander is a topographic sequence parallel to the historical sequence of events presented later in another passage of Book VIII, the ekphrasis of the shield of Aeneas. Both passages should be read and interpreted as complements as the Virgilian view of history consists of a series of foundations - based on the development of Roman urban geography, from meaningful natural geography, in association with chronological accounts of important leaders and their actions. The topographic description also creates and recreates complex places of encounters and communication showing the strong relationship between religion and urban space.

d. Jörg Rüpke (Max Weber Centre, University of Erfurt, Germany)
Drawing lines and crossing boundaries: City and religion in Propertius Book 4

Propertius' last book of elegies (publ. c. 16 BCE) has been read as a staged conflict between antiquarianism and love elegy. This paper argues that the book as a whole is above all a reflection on the spatial and temporal boundaries of the city and the internal impact of their permanent crossing and breaking down. Then and now, imperial expedition and internal treason, permanent and temporary absence, burying outside and loving inside, admission to and exclusion from sacralised and gendered space and finally the vertical dimension of life's above and death's below explore these limits and transfers and constitute the urbanity of the city as well as the urbanity of religion.

2G – NEW PERSPECTIVES ON LATE ANTIQUE PORTRAITS

PANEL ABSTRACT
Portraits played a crucial role in ancient societies. Whether in sculpture, mosaic, or painting, individual likenesses were an important form of celebrating social hierarchies, power, and identity, occupying a central place in the landscape of classical cities. This form of representation underwent dramatic changes in Late Antiquity, as new styles and techniques were employed in their production. New spatial contexts, such as churches and catacombs, gained prominence, and new social actors (including Christian donors and clerics) were celebrated alongside members of the traditional civic and imperial elites. These developments have been the subject of much recent scholarship, most notably in the case of statues and their stylistic evolution. This panel gathers specialists from different disciplines to discuss new and more comprehensive approaches to this category of monument, setting portraits in their cultural and social context, discussing their uses, nature, and significance in a period of dramatic historical changes.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Paolo Liverani (University of Florence, Italy)
Addressing statues, listening to portraits

The relationship between portraits and viewers underwent important changes in Late Antiquity. Two important characteristics gained prominence in this context: the frontality of portraits and the appearance of dedicatory inscriptions using the second person singular. While dedicatory inscriptions established a direct dialogue between viewers and portraits, and sometimes between the subjects portrayed themselves, the renewed importance of frontality reinforced in image the dialogue established in writing. This public dialogue that integrated images and texts can be seen more often in the dedications of Christian basilicas, in the West, and in the dedications of portraits in the East, reflecting the epigraphic tradition of these two regions. These developments should be seen in the context of the more asymmetrical relations between emperors and subjects that marked this period, as well as in the development of Christian liturgy.

b. Barbara Borg (University of Exeter, UK)
Gods, emperors and Christian Saints: The origins of Christian icons reconsidered

The origins of Christian icons and the worship they received have long been a matter for debate. Currently, two contrasting proposals predominate: (1) their origin in late antique imperial portraiture, that assumed a new importance and legal status and attracted various kinds of honours and worship; (2) images of pagan gods used as votives or venerated themselves. I argue that both suggestions are convincing up to a point, but that underlying dichotomies such as portrait

versus cult or votive image; emperor versus god; sacred versus profane, and similar are genuinely flawed.

Traditionally, there was no fundamental iconographic difference between images of gods and humans; the boundary between human and divine was always permeable; and divinity was ultimately in the eye of the beholder. While this concept was unacceptable within Christian doctrine, icons, icon veneration, and the controversies surrounding them, are rooted in the traditional practices resulting from these concepts.

c. Arianna Gullo (University of Glasgow, UK)
ὅσσαπερ ἢ γραφίδεσσι χαράξαμεν ἤ τινι χώρῳ, / εἴτε καὶ εὐποίητον ἐπὶ βρέτας, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλης / τέχνης ἐργοπόνοιο πολυσπερέεσσιν ἀέθλοις. – Epigram and Art in Sixth-Century Byzantium

Around 567/568 CE, the poet and historian Agathias Scholastichus published the *Cycle*, a collection of classicizing epigrams by his fellow contemporaries and himself, which eventually passed into the so-called *Greek Anthology*. A large number of the *Cycle* epigrams describe Christian and secular artistic subjects, iconographic programmes, official buildings, bridges, houses, and baths that the *Cycle* poets had actually seen in Constantinople or elsewhere, or that they had only heard or read about, providing the only surviving information about 90 real artworks and monuments now lost, and allowing us to perceive religious and artistic changes through this period. My paper aims to show, through a few case studies, that these epigrams play a crucial role in increasing our still superficial and confused knowledge of the development of art history in Late Antiquity in all its aspects, and our understanding of the use of art for political propaganda under Justinian and Justin II.

d. Carlos Machado (University of St Andrews, UK)
Portraits in context

Scholars have recently explored the impact of physical, political, and cultural contexts in late antique portraiture. Context played a fundamental role in the ways portraits were understood, while framing these images visually and architecturally. Most studies dealing with these issues have focused on specific venues, such as fora and baths, offering a partial view of the evolution of the late antique landscape of portraits. This paper will explore secular and sacred/Christian contexts together, examining the role played by spatial context on the selection and content of portraits. It will focus

on Italian material, particularly the well-documented cases of Rome, Naples and Aquileia, to examine the possibilities offered by different types of setting for the display and celebration of social power and identity, and how the relationship between portraits and physical context changed during this period.

2H – WHO "OWNS" CLASSICS? Redefining Participation and Ownership of the Field

PANEL ABSTRACT
This panel (organized by the Classics and Social Justice SCS interest group) will focus on the question of who "owns" Classics and explore some of the implicit and explicit ways the field has marginalized specific communities. More importantly, the panel will discuss the role that Classics can play in discourses about identity and will offer suggestions about how classicists can promote inclusivity in their teaching and in the field more broadly.

Papers in this panel represent a range of marginalized perspectives and voices which are not often heard in discussions about "the field." Borrowing life history methodology from sociology and anthropology, we can develop a theory of subjects that is not strictly determined by dominant conceptions of what Classics looks like. By using this biographical method, we highlight individual experiences and destabilize perceptions about the field of classics that are often unchallenged, to the detriment of many within the field.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Sonia Sabnis (Reed College, USA)
The Metamorphoses *in the Maghreb: Owning Apuleius in Algeria*

The first paper explores an Algerian "reclamation" of Apuleius in the country where his hometown, Madauros (M'Daorouch), is now located. The paper highlights how inhabitants of the Maghreb have begun to invoke Apuleius in the process of defending their own indigenous languages and traditions against outside forces. The paper takes begins with Algerian writer Assia Djebar's praise of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* as "a picaresque novel whose spirit, freedom, and iconoclastic humor show a surprising modernity…What a revolution it would be to translate it into popular or literary Arabic, no matter, surely as a health-bringing vaccination against all the fundamentalisms of all of today's borders." By looking at Algerian receptions of Apuleius, the paper concludes that, by claiming Apuleius as their own, locals not only bolster

their defense of their indigenous languages against Arabic and French but they also protect their indigenous traditions against powerful new currents of Islamic fundamentalism.

b. Clara Bosak-Schroeder (University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, USA)
Cripping Classics: Disability Studies and Realities

Our third paper addresses the field of Classics through the lens of disability studies and offers concrete suggestions about how to make Classics more accessible at the undergraduate, graduate, and faculty levels. In particular, it challenges the subtle (and less subtle) ways in which ableism manifests in the academy and urges classicists to rethink many of the assumptions that marginalize disabled people at every stage of their careers. This paper highlights how the high value placed on productivity and rigor can marginalize and exclude disabled classicists. More importantly, however, it also offers concrete suggestions for improving accessibility in the areas of undergraduate curriculum, graduate training, and faculty workflow. Finally, this paper offers a vision of inclusion that goes beyond offering accommodations and instead aims at appreciating the unique contributions to the field that different types of bodies and minds can make, if they are given the chance.

c. Kiran Mansukhani (Columbia University) **and Nykki Nowbahar** (Rutgers University)
"γυμνοὺς κριτέον ἀπάντων τούτων": A Recap of The Sportula's Naked Soul Conference 2019

The Sportula is a collective of graduate students and junior faculty who provide microgrants of up to $300 for economically marginalized Classics and Classics-adjacent students at all levels. After experiencing an incident of racial profiling at the 2019 Society for Classical Studies Annual Meeting, The Sportula founders decided to create a conference to center and celebrate the work of scholars who have faced structural barriers to success in the field. The conference was titled Naked Soul in reference to a desire expressed at the end of Plato's *Gorgias* for us to be judged by our works rather than our bodies (523e). The conference was entirely online, taking place for a full day on Saturday June 22nd. In our talk, we will discuss both the ways in which our lack of institutional affiliation has influenced the structure of our conference, and how this conference has worked to amplify the voices of different populations within our field.

Since The Sportula does not have an institutional affiliation, we faced several difficulties during the planning stages. With our collective members scattered throughout the country, we needed to find an online conference platform that would serve in place of a venue. Since such platforms can be costly, we needed to rely on personal networks to secure funding. Despite these difficulties, our lack of institutional affiliation allowed us a broader range of freedom in policies and our choice of speakers. Our talk will discuss further details on how an online conference, open to scholars at all levels, helped to broaden access to sources of knowledge within the field.

2I – GREEK DRAMA AND ITS RECEPTION IN ANTIQUITY AND BEYOND

PANEL ABSTRACT
This panel consists of four papers whose aim is to shed light on various aspects of the reception of Greek drama in Greek dramatic and non-dramatic contexts from the Hellenistic period until the nineteenth century. Focal points of these papers are: i) the political use of quotations from classical drama in Hellenistic comedy (A. Kotlińska-Toma), ii) the use of Greek drama in Hellenistic poetry with respect to notions of gender and the creation of a mimetic generic identity (A. Fountoulakis), iii) the handling of Euripidean dramatic technique and patterns of thought in Byzantine dramatic writing (G. Xanthaki-Karamanou), and iv) the treatment of Aristophanes and Menander in nineteenth-century Modern Greek dramatic writing (S. Kiritsi). These papers demonstrate some of the ways in which dramatic and non-dramatic texts of successive eras respond to, and make use of, earlier Greek drama. They also explore the implications of its reception with respect to various social and cultural contexts.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma (University of Wroclaw, Poland)
Quoting classical drama as a means for political allusion in Hellenistic Comedy

The unstable political situation in Athens during the period of Macedonian supremacy along with Diadochean struggles over power have significantly influenced the course of drama's development: the dramatists have devised a new kind of political wit and thus political allusion has become a crucial element of their comedies. The main focus of this paper is on how Hellenistic writers, assuming their audience's political awareness, profound cultural sophistication and reading, allude to the comedy of the 5th century BC Athenian *polis*. The following passages are of my special interest: Alex. fr. 63 K.-A. versus Antiph. fr. 200 K.-A., E. fr. 703 Kn., Ar. *Ach*. 497-503, and Timocl. fr. 18 K.-A. referring to Ar. *Pl*. 176.

b. Andreas Fountoulakis (University of Crete, Greece)
Reception of Drama, Gender and Genre in Ps.-Theocritus, Idyll 23

Idyll 23 (*The Lover*) of the Theocritean corpus, a poem which must have been written by a late Hellenistic author, despite its ascription to Theocritus, focuses on a man's unrequited love for a handsome youth. The man laments outside the youth's door, where he eventually hangs himself. The youth passes indifferent before his corpse, goes to the gymnasium and is killed in the swimming-pool struck by the statue of Eros. Character-drawing, notions of gender and sexuality, and questions of genre emerge as particularly intriguing aspects of the poem.

This paper aims at the exploration of those aspects mainly in the light of the character of New Comedy's *exclusus amator* and tragedies such as Euripides' *Hippolytus*. It is argued that earlier drama is being handled so as to contribute to the poem's mimetic countenance, the formulation of the lover's *paraklausithyron* and the articulation of important notions of gender and sexuality which are related to the poem's cultural context.

c. Georgia Xanthaki-Karamanou (University of the Peloponnese, Greece)
Reception of Euripidean concepts and conventions in the narrative and dramatic technique of the Byzantine drama Christus Patiens

The attempted exploration highlights, firstly, some typical Euripidean techniques received in *Christus Patiens*: i) the narrative / expository prologue; ii) the invocation to nature (Sun, light, darkness, Earth) and the address to the chorus, both in scenes of emotional tension; iii) the embedded direct speeches, particularly in messengers' accounts, enlivening their reports and stressing the main theme of the narration; iv) the gnomic utterances, mainly at the closure of characters' speeches, stressing significant themes of the plays and promoting the development of action; and v) the closing formula.

Secondly, special attention will also be drawn to the cross-cultural transplantation of Euripidean values and dramatic situations in the Byzantine intellectual environment, such as, among others, the concept of *sophrosyne*, 'temperance', and the divine epiphanies.

d. Stavroula Kiritsi (Royal Holloway, University of London, UK)
The Reception of Aristophanes and Menander in Dimitrios Paparigopoulos' Agora *(1871)*

Paparigopoulos' *Agora* is set in 1871, near the temple of Olympian Zeus. Kimon, a poet, has decided to end his life after having been rejected by Charikleia. In the meantime, he dreams of visits by Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Pericles and Lucian. Aristophanes, having visited the Theatre of Dionysus and banged his head on the base of Menander's statue, expresses delight that Menander's plays have perished. The visitors criticize modern life and attend performances of two modern plays (invented by Paparigopoulos) revolving around classical themes: *The Dream Life* (*O vios oniros*) and *The Manuscript (To khirographon)*, the latter about a scholar hunting for a Menandrean manuscript. Disappointed by these shows, they take Kimon back to antiquity to attend performances of *Hercules Furens* and *Wealth* (also Paparigopoulos' creations, loosely resembling the originals). In my paper, I discuss the plots of *The Manuscript* and the *Wealth*, illustrate the nature of their humour, and show how the adaptations reflect the values of Greek Romantic Classicism.

2J – MEASUREMENT MYOPIA: Can we see beyond grades?

PANEL ABSTRACT
Latin pedagogy in UK schools is increasingly influenced by the demands of national examinations. Research undertaken by the Cambridge School Classics Project (2017) showed assessment to be one of the most significant factors in teachers' choice of materials and teaching method.

National examinations are shaped by the political agenda (Hunt, 2018) which takes account – ostensibly – of the expectations of universities. The predominant pedagogy in UK universities is grammar-translation based (Lloyd and Robson, 2018), and, frequently, the desire is that students will arrive prepared to engage with this method.

The tension between these influences, assessment design, and pedagogical soundness is felt both by teachers trying to prepare students and those providing resources to support them. This panel explores these issues from all sides - the classroom teacher, the materials developer, the assessment specialist and the university lecturer – and makes suggestions for how pedagogical considerations can enhance Latin teaching and assessment practices.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Rachel Plummer (Downe House School, UK)
'Is this going to be on the exam, Miss?'

Enlivening Latin pedagogy is vital in broadening its appeal among pupils to ensure its continued survival in UK schools, but how can teachers find time to fit creative teaching techniques, games and activities into a schedule stretched by the demands of the new KS4 & KS5 examinations (ages 16 & 18)?

The Classical languages have long had a reputation for being among the most difficult subjects (Coe, 2006, pg. 9), and the recent curriculum reforms have not offered any relief from this. The impact this has on teaching methods is substantial. In this paper I will explore the potential for teaching Latin creatively. I will contrast my experience of outreach teaching with charities – where the goal was to inspire and inform - with teaching in schools where the focus for both teachers and pupils is increasingly on exam success. Must success in exams preclude the enjoyment of learning Latin?

b. Mair Lloyd (Cambridge School Classics Project, UK)
Caecilius etiamnunc est in horto – the CLC's next challenge

Conceived in 1966 in response to a growing crisis in Classics teaching, the enormous success of the well-loved Cambridge Latin Course is in large part due to its basis in rigorous pedagogical research. The shifting priorities in education and national policy, however, have created new challenges to which the CLC must now respond whilst staying true to its commitment to research-based teaching practices. Constraints on teaching hours, grammar-focussed assessment methods, and numerous accountability measures threaten to shift classroom focus from intrinsic to extrinsic motivators; from genuine language acquisition towards exam coaching. This paper describes the ways in which the Cambridge School Classics Project is 'squaring the circle'; using research undertaken through their KS4 teacher survey of 2017 and subsequent consultative events. It explains how CSCP will work co-creatively to develop pathways to exam success, while diversifying pedagogy, and preserving the joy of entering the world of Caecilius.

c. Clive Letchford (University of Warwick, UK)
Caecilius certe in universitatibus non est – traditional expectations and opportunities for change

Lecturers in ancient languages are extremists. They have experienced learning methods that suit only the brightest and most linguistically able, and they have flourished. Whilst innovation has been the norm in the teaching of some university subjects, Latin lecturers have not been as radical in changing teaching practices (see Lloyd & Robson, 2018). To an extent this stasis has emerged as a result of lecturers anticipating that most students will arrive at university having attained A level-standard Latin. Even those who study Latin *ab initio*, however, are expected to rise to whatever pedagogy is presented to them, with the inevitable disappointments that this can bring. This paper looks at some of the key implications of Second Language Acquisition theory, both for those who arrive with A level and those who are *ab initio* learners, and considers what the aims of university courses currently are, and what they could be.

d. Caroline Bristow (Cambridge School Classics Project, UK)
Exams: Friend or Foe?

Despite (or possibly due to) the importance of examinations – and the Boards who set them – they are surrounded by suspicion. This paper gives an honest overview of the lifecycle of qualifications with the dual aims of enhancing teacher understanding and of empowering the community to advocate for improvement.

The paper asks what should be tested? What should students know? Are we testing skills for what they tell us about student proficiency? Out of a sense of duty? Because they are easy to measure? Who decides? It will examine alternative assessment models – such as the American 'ALIRA' – and consider what might be learnt from international practice.

The message of this paper is one of action: if exams are the focus of Classics teaching, then how can the Classics community be instrumental in ensuring that they are not only fit for purpose but also genuinely inspiring.

2K – GLOBAL ANTIQUITY AND MATERIAL CULTURE AT KING'S COLLEGE LONDON

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Gonda Van Steen (King's College London, UK)
The Venus de Milo, or Sculpture as Literature and History

This paper focuses on the sculpture of the Venus de Milo, a chance find of 1820 but a token discovery in the fermentation brought on by the growing tensions between the Ottoman administrative hierarchies, its Greek intellectuals and yet aspiring revolutionaries, and the local populations of the Aegean islands. For lack of an ancient history of the Venus, antiquarianism, treasure-hunting, archival evidence, and

Greek revolutionary history blend in the statue's new lease of life, which is a western afterlife in literature and legend as well as in history, from which the islanders of Milos have all but been erased.

b. Michael Squire (King's College London, UK)
Classics, Art History and 'Modern Classicisms'

This paper explores the intertwined – but increasingly fraught – disciplinary relations between the study of classical materials and the wider field of art history. In particular, it introduces a recent research project at King's on 'Modern Classicisms' (www.modernclassicisms.com) that has attempted to question conventional narratives about 'antiquity' and 'modernity', above all through the lens of twentieth and twenty-first-century artistic practice.

c. John Pearce (King's College London, UK)
Imagining Roman London: a global neighbourhood by the Walbrook

Writing a generation after its destruction in AD 60/61, Tacitus imagined *Londinium* before Boudicca as a thriving commercial hub. The dozen words devoted to London (*Annals* XIV.33) have framed the interpretations of the archaeological evidence gathered in the last two centuries, often positioning *Londinium* as a precursor of a modern imperial and commercial capital. The letters and legal documents among the Walbrook tablets (excavated 2010-14), coupled with contemporary archaeological evidence allow us to re-imagine early *Londinium* as gateway to an emerging territory of exploitation. The personal and business networks represented in the documents can be contextualised within the embodied connections of work, sociability and worship in the Walbrook valley, which are emerging from one of the richest datasets for an urban neighbourhood in the Roman world.

d. Lindsay Allen and Moya Carey (King's College London, UK)
From Persepolis to Isfahan: interrogating Sfavid 'antiquarianism'

This paper asks whether and how material appropriations of pre-Islamic antiquity occurred in 16th to 17th-century Iran. We look for new perspectives on the spoliation and creative visioning of imperial Achaemenid (6th to 4th centuries BCE) and Sassanian (3rd to 7th centuries CE) ruins in the wake of Shah Abbas I's (1571 - 1629) reformation of the Iranian state. This political process coincided with the moment in European thought when pre-Islamic Iran became a locatable

reality, encountered in both print travel accounts and dramatic space, for instance Hackluyt's *Voyages* (1589) and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* Part 1 (1587). Shah Abbas's political machinations were globally impactful on emerging ideas about the ancient Near East between 1590 and 1630, but the specifics of any Safavid interaction with the Iranian past are rarely examined. Safavid 'antiquarianism' may have been informed by Shah Abbas' displacement of mystically-inclined knowledge communities in favour of a newly state-oriented Shia congregational practice in the late sixteenth century. In the context, we query whether the depiction of figural stone relief panels in Safavid architectural views in an Isfahani manuscript relates to active interventions reported for the period at the site of Persepolis. In the scholarly narrative of the pre-Islamic past, nationalistic antiquarianism begins in the nineteenth century, giving Iran a 'late developer' profile as a nation coming to terms with its own history, politically and artistically. By adopting a cross-disciplinary lens to scrutinise the visualisation of antiquity in the early modern period, we ask how Iran fitted in a global cultural dialogue about the cultural significance and use of ruins in the landscape.

2L – GLOBAL CLASSICS

PANEL ABSTRACT
This panel will consider the study of western classics in regions other than the UK and North America (where the CA and SCS are based) and continental Europe (which has such close ties to both of those areas), focusing particularly on Latin America, East Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. To that end, four scholars representing those four areas will speak from different perspectives to a number of specific questions. Among these are the history of education in the western classics in their regions and its effect on the contemporary situation; the relationship between the study of western classics and the classical traditions of their own countries; the current relationship between students of classics in their countries and elsewhere; what obstacles might exist to improving these relationships; the variety of methodologies being employed; and what kind of future the speakers would like to see in this general area.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Omar Alvaréz Salas (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico)
A perspective on classical studies in Latin America, 1999-2019

Twenty years ago, at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association (now the Society for Classical Studies) President David Konstan organized a panel on the subject of

Classical Studies in Latin America. Speakers from Cuba, Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico — including my teacher, Paola Vianello de Cordova — were invited to outline the state of Classics in their country or region, including the state of graduate studies, current professional journals and societies, and special difficulties or achievements. Their presentations were followed by discussion of ways to foster scholarly relations between North and South American classicists. That panel was a symptom of growing cooperation and a catalyst of what has become a much more robust set of relationships, which now extend across a much larger world. I will reflect on these developments, identifying areas of particular success along with remaining challenges and opportunities for the future, on a local, regional, and global scale.

b. Jinyu Liu (DePauw University, Indiana, USA / Shanghai Normal University, China)
Graeco-Roman Classics in China: Historical, Institutional, and Academic Contexts

As both a witness of the rapid growth of (Western) Classical Studies in China and an active participant in building the field of Classical Studies in China, I discuss the historical, institutional, and academic contexts in which Classical Studies has developed there as well as the opportunities, constraints, and challenges which Chinese classicists face. I invite particular attention to the following interrelated issues that have increasingly engaged Chinese scholars of Graeco-Roman antiquity: How do we assess the impact of philhellenism that has long dominated the reception of Graeco-Roman studies in China and the inclination of Chinese students pursuing Classical Studies abroad? How does our field fit in with or perhaps help reform the current academic frameworks in Chinese universities, where departments of Classical Studies do not exist? Is it more viable to create "universal Classics" out of Western Classics and Chinese Classics, or to keep them as separate as possible?

c. Obert Mlambo (University of Zimbabwe / University of Cologne, Germany)
Veterans, Masculinity and Expropriation in Republican Rome and Contemporary Zimbabwe

This paper discusses some "new ways" through which African classicists have made meaning of phenomena by adopting and appropriating Classical Studies into African contexts and situations. This involves issues tackled in a book being written by the presenter that demonstrates the abiding value of Classical Studies through its relevance to contemporary Zimbabwean events. Zimbabwe's nexus of masculinity,

land, and political power, when compared with the Roman Republic, provides a way to rethink the iconography of masculinity in relation to politics, as well as the complex masculine projections underpinning the veteran settlement movement during the "client army" era in Rome (and in Zimbabwe). Comparing Roman and African masculinities widens the field of masculinity studies, not as a venture into foreign, exotic territory, but as a natural extension of social history in which classical history plays a major role. It is a venture into a new dimension in the historiography of land appropriation and masculinity studies in both the Roman and African contexts.

d. Maryam Foradi (University of Leipzig, Germany)
A digital learning environment for classical languages (Greek and Persian)

A familiar issue for students of classical languages is the sheer difficulty of learning them. There are also few reliable translations from some classical languages into some modern ones. This paper will discuss two projects that address these issues. The first studies the ability of students to align an original ancient text (in Classical Persian) with a translation into one modern language (German) by referring to an accurately aligned translation into another language (English). The results could serve as training data for machine aligners to create tools for teaching classical languages. In the second project, without having studied Greek, and using freely available digital resources, I translated Herodotus into Farsi more accurately than the existing Farsi translations (which were not translated directly from Greek). This method could facilitate translation between "exotic" language pairs, such as Greek and Persian. Both projects promise to lower the bar to learning classical languages and studying classical texts.

2M – METATEXTUALITY IN GREECE AND CHINA: A Comparative Approach [2, Focus on China]

PANEL ABSTRACT
Please see above 1H.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Michael Puett (Harvard University, USA)
Commentarial Strategies in China and the Mediterranean Religion

Over the course of the first through fourth centuries in China, a complex set of debates developed over the ways to read earlier texts and the types of hermeneutic strategies that should be employed in interpreting them. Out of these

debates emerged many of the commentarial approaches that would continue to be appropriated and utilized thereafter in the Chinese tradition. My goal in this paper will be trace some of the complexities of these commentarial strategies and to compare them with the strategies developing in a similar time frame in the Mediterranean region.

b. Leihua Weng (Sarah Lawrence College, USA)
The Politics of Metatextuality: Commentaries and the Social Class of 'Shi' in Early China

Commentaries on earlier texts that were often socially and politically performative in early China played an important role in the early textual canonization and also in the emergence of an educated social class – "*shi* 士," that later became the Confucian scholar-official ruling class in classical China. This paper examines the political and particularly diplomatic uses of commentary in the extant texts of the pre-Han China and discusses the cumulative and situational commentaries in these early materials as a performative site for social elites to relate themselves to earlier texts through which they intellectually and culturally identified themselves with other educated elites across the divided temporal and spatial distance by adhering to a set of shared literary practices and cultural values. This very practice of performative commentaries for political and diplomatic purposes was a significant part of the formation of a "*shi*" social class as well as its culture and tradition in these early stages of Chinese history. Special attention in this paper will be given to the syntactic features of the "*shi*" commentaries.

c. Thomas Crone (Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany)
Between Aphorisms, Arguments, and Anecdotes: an Excursion into Saying-based Confucian Literature of the pre-Qin and Han Period

The collecting and quoting of brief and pithy sayings is a common phenomenon in early Confucian literature. However, these are probably by far not the only ways of how such sayings have been employed and are present in these texts. By discussing a selection of exemplary passages in which sayings appear to have been enhanced by a varying range of rhetorical devices and remodeled into larger arguments or even framed within narratives, this paper strives to enhance our knowledge on the role of sayings in early Confucian texts and, to some extent, in ancient Chinese literature in general. Objects of comparison used to further understand the intellectual milieu of these largely anonymous and intransparent literary practices are going to be saying-based elaboration (ἐργασία) methods found in rhetorical textbooks

of late Greco-Roman antiquity and related composition strategies used by the Christian gospels. Assembling the evidence gathered during the course of both steps, the author will also attempt to draw some more general conclusions concerning the historical development of the respective Chinese compositions and their genres.

d. Jingyi Jenny Zhao (University of Cambridge, UK)
The Hows and Whys of Cross-Cultural Comparisons

One of the key difficulties in cross-cultural comparative studies lies in the fact that conclusions to such studies are often built upon a process of cherry picking, i.e. treating carefully selected texts or material culture as evidence representative of a whole tradition, when in practice counterexamples from that same tradition can be found, often in abundance. If conclusions about the ancient Greek and Chinese traditions are necessarily drawn on the basis of a limited selection of sources, this leads one to question the validity of the comparisons. Given the difficulties, how should a comparativist navigate between texts within one tradition and across traditions so as to fully acknowledge the diversity of thought? How does one draw concluding remarks about the traditions under investigation without running the risk of global generalisation? Drawing on examples from my own research in ancient Greek and Chinese thought, in the areas of the emotions and moral education, and representations of children and infants in particular, I argue that the problem of generalisation can be overcome, and that a comparative study need not make revelations about cultural traditions as a whole in order to offer meaningful insights.

3A – CA PANEL: Teaching Sources in A Level Classical Civilisation and Ancient History

PANEL ABSTRACT

This panel will look at the sources used within A Level Classical Civilisation and Ancient History and how they are approached in the classroom. Teachers will share best practice of how to introduce different source genres to pupils and how to train pupils to independently read, understand and evaluate the sources. The papers will be followed by a round table discussion, during which the issues raised in the papers will be debated and other aspects of teaching classical subjects at A Level discussed.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Nina Wallace (Queen Mary's College, UK)
Student skills – reading and annotating ancient source

This session will be a skills based session focused on teaching A Level students to read, comprehend and relevantly highlight and annotate ancient sources. The session will be based around reading ancient Greek and Latin authors in translation that are directly relevant and necessary for the study of the subject at A Level. It will focus on prose authors such as Herodotus, Suetonius, and Plutarch and some poetry such as Virgil and Horace. The session will provide ideas, methods and resources that can be used in the classroom to guide your students on how to process ancient sources in class and also more importantly at home during independent work.

b. Sarah Holliday (Aylesbury Grammar School, UK)
Using Inscriptions in the Secondary Classroom

This paper will focus on the impact of using inscriptions to engage students with material culture and to enliven their understanding beyond a reliance on literary historians. I will reflect upon the teaching of beginners' Latin through the joint Ashmolean and Warwick University project and how it builds student confidence with 'real' Latin and also gives them insight into aspects of Roman culture, and how this has created a feel for Latin as an immortal language. I will focus upon how the use of open-access sites such as 'Attic Inscriptions Online' has helped to develop my own subject knowledge as a non-specialist teaching the history of the 5th Century BCE in translation (with only GCSE level Ancient Greek) owing to their reliable modern translations with detailed notes. Moreover, I will discuss how AIO has empowered A-Level students to confidently use inscriptional evidence in their work, providing a counterbalance to excessive reliance upon the narratives of

Thucydides, Plutarch or Diodorus Siculus which are held to resemble the genre of modern historical narrative with which students are familiar.

c. Laura Snook (Kingston Grammar School, UK)
How do we integrate literary and visual/material sources?

The recent revamping of the Classical Civilisation A-Level means that engagement with material sources is now an unavoidable part of the course. While those teachers who were previously teaching the Greek art module may be well-accustomed to teaching with material rather than literary sources, for others this is a move into previously unchartered waters. Although texts frequently changed throughout the duration of the old specification, approaching one text is essentially the same as approaching another, a play is a play, a poem is a poem, comfortable and familiar, even if previously unread. Material sources, on the other hand, are often regarded as an entirely different kettle of fish: alien, unknown and potentially scary. Rather than consider the material evidence as a subsidiary part of the course that OCR now require we teach, it is important to consider the material evidence as on a par with the literary evidence. This paper looks to discuss suggestions for classroom activities to break down the material sources and teach the skills required for their analysis, so that our students approach both types of source, the literary and material, with equal confidence and enthusiasm.

d. David Hodgkinson (Magdalen College School and Balliol College, University of Oxford, UK)
Comparison – strategies for comparing sources in the classroom

What can comparing sources show us? A comparison can be used to show differences or point towards historical reliability for historians. It can also be used to shed light on an independent topic, such as the role of women in Athenian society. This paper will explore how students can be taught to make effective use of comparisons in their study of fifth century Athens (as an example) by presenting some theories of comparison, and then looking at practical strategies for applying these in the classroom to elements of the Classical Civilisation and Ancient History courses. It will include consideration of how to compare visual or archaeological material with written sources, and think about some of the challenges which this might pose for teaching A Level students of mixed ability.

3B – POSTHUMANS, ROBOTS, CYBORGS AND CLASSICS

PANEL ABSTRACT

This panel brings together a mix of emerging young voices and more senior scholars from universities in the UK and Germany to explore what it might mean – in both the ancient and (post)modern worlds – to be posthuman. Each paper in this panel responds to a common theme: to what extent do ancient myths and classical narratives about machines, robots, and cyborgs raise questions that are relevant to contemporary debates concerning posthumanism? How might figures such as Narcissus, the Trojan Horse, Circe, and Pandora, help inform current debates concerning human and machine interactions? And how might emerging theories of techno-mirrors, militarised human-machine hybridity, neurochemical prostheses, and cyber-narrative ethics help us to better understand these figures and their classical representations? For, as Donna Haraway argued in her *Cyborg Manifesto* (1991: 150), we are all, and have ever been, 'theorized and fabricated hybrids of machine and organism'. We have always been posthuman.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Scott Midson (University of Manchester, UK)
Narcissus and the Machine: Techno-mirrors, self-love, and sexbots

Ovid tells of the story of Narcissus, the vain man who was condemned to experience the same kind of unrequited love as he brought unto those who loved him. In a tale of misdirected desire, Narcissus became paralysed with the love of his own self. Marshall McLuhan discussed the role that this myth and figure plays in an increasingly mediatised and mediated culture, which Jean Baudrillard has since considered to be 'hyperreal' because of the proliferation of media images. For McLuhan, we become servomechanisms to media technologies as we numb ourselves to our own reflected images that we mistake for one another. Is this the predicament that we find with robots that bear human images and that are designed to captivate and entice us? What, if anything, can we learn from Narcissus about the prospect of loving such machines: is it a numbing self-love, or should we consider the techno-mirror otherwise?

b. Giulia Maria Chesi (Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Germany)
Artificial warriors and the paradox of technology

This paper discusses a case of metaphorical hybridity. In *Odyssey* 8, the warriors produced by the Trojan horse are described as children; in the *Troades* the horse is said to be pregnant with weapons (*Tr.* 11); in the *Agamemnon*, the Greeks are the young children of the horse (*Ag.* 825). This paper argues that the image of the pregnant horse highlights the hybridity and artificiality of the Greek warriors: since it is a war device that generates them, they can be conceived of as the joint embodiment of human and machine. In this interpretation, the narrative of the Trojan horse emphasizes a number of important aspects of the intimate relation between humans and technology. In this paper I focus on two. First, language: out of the horse-machine, human voices emerge. Second, the hybrid warriors born out of the horse-machine indicate a paradoxical element of technology: the machine compromises the heroism of the Greek army.

c. Francesca Spiegel (Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Germany)
Circe's pharmacy: The neurochemical self and posthuman subjectivity in Greek narrative

When Odysseus visits Circe in the *Odyssey*, her drugs transform his men into swine. This paper shines a spotlight on the pharmacological agents at play in the story to consider how Circe might help us to think through the significance of pharmacologically modified subjectivity in society today – in healthcare, at work, and at home. Sociologist Nikolas Rose (2009) has described the emergence of 'neuro-chemical-selves', where neuro-chemistry determines selfhood and subjectivity, and philosopher Paul Preciado (2008) has spoken of 'micro-prosthetics', where pharmaceuticals alter body or mind. I argue that there is legitimate scientific knowledge and pharmacological skill behind the products in Circe's pharmacy. The transformation of men into swine (and back again) is not an instance of fairytale magic, or attributable merely to witchcraft, but rather points to hallucinogenic ingestion and bodies made and un-made by drugs. The account of men turning into swine is thus a co-production of human imagination and narratorial subjectivity, enhanced by and entangled with hallucinogenic molecules.

d. Genevieve Liveley (University of Bristol, UK)
Beyond the beautiful evil? The ancient/future history of artificial humans

The posthumans are coming – or so a plethora of robot, cyborg, and AI stories in contemporary film, TV and news media attest. Yet the classical tradition tells another story: according to Homer and Hesiod, artificial humans have been living and working alongside humans for millennia. This paper investigates what we might learn about the future of artificial humans in society from such ancient narratives. What kinds of priorities and paradigms do we find in archaic 'science

fiction' and how do they relate to contemporary debates? In particular, (how) do mythic binaries between good and evil, male and female, human and machine, inform the anticipatory discourse of social and ethical benefit and risk – and the associated utopian/dystopian thinking – that dominates modern narratives about artificial humans? This paper argues that re-writing ancient narrative scripts will require a new approach to modern mythmaking if we are to realize a new world of human/posthuman relations.

3C – REACTIONS TO FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN ROMAN RELIGION

PANEL ABSTRACT
This panel questions how people in the Roman heartland reacted to the introduction of foreign elements into their religious world and examines the degree to which these elements were integrated into society or were rejected by it. The boundaries between foreign and Roman will be analysed, and issues of adaptation, appropriation, and rejection will be explored via a multidisciplinary approach whereby literary, epigraphic, and archaeological sources will be studied. It will examine unique representations of Greek, Egyptian, and Hellenistic elements which were found in the ritual practices and cultic groups at Rome and Ostia and aims to question which of these ennobled cults and which were excluded because they were seen as deviant and inappropriate. Personal choice played an important role in this process, something which will be explored here, and by studying diverse case-studies, the negotiations between the symbolic boundaries found within a multicultural society will be examined.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Marika Rauhala (University of Helsinki, Finland)
Adaption of Hellenic religion as a mirror of Roman identity-building

Romans had been familiar with and receptive to Greek religion ever since the Archaic period. The first cultic adoptions may have served the need for the Romans to identify themselves with a culture that was felt to be superior and more ancient but, once Rome defeated the Macedonian and Seleucid powers in a relatively short time, the image of sublime Greek culture needed to be adjusted to correspond to the changed political power relations. This also affected the interpretation of Hellenic religious elements that continued to form an important part of Roman practices. In this paper I will consider the ways in which symbolic religious boundaries were formed and sustained in the second and first centuries BCE to create

an idea of Roman piety that suited the new powerhouse. I will pay special attention to the manifold roles that Romans assigned to Greek elements in their quest for positive distinction.

b. Darja Šterbenc Erker (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany)
Foreign elements in Augustus' religious self-fashioning. How did the emperor's body become divine?

Augustus took over Hellenistic models in his personal religion and self-fashioning as well as in his innovations in the worship of the gods. The aim of this paper is to discuss not only Augustus' appropriation of foreign elements of religion, but also to trace the transformations of Augustus' religion in the literary representations in the works of Ovid and Suetonius. Ovid, in his *Fasti*, presents Augustus' Greek and Hellenistic self-legitimising narratives like the divine origins of mortals and deifications of mortals in a playful elegiac way. Suetonius' representation of Augustus' religious self-fashioning is different as the biographer focuses on divine aspects of Augustus' body. The comparison of both works will shed light on the characteristics of religious self-fashioning of the *princeps* and on modes of perception of it in his lifetime as well as in the reign of Hadrian.

c. Marja-Leena Hänninen (University of Tampere, Finland)
Travelling gods, travellers and townspeople. Egyptian deities in Roman Ostia and Portus

The Romans had ambiguous attitudes towards the Egyptian deities that had made their way to Italy from the second century BC on. My paper deals with the cults of the Egyptian deities in Ostia, the harbour town of ancient Rome, a city with a multiethnic population with various religious traditions. The presence of cults with foreign roots is conspicuous especially in the second century AD as the great harbours built by the emperors made Ostia a flourishing business city. It is also the era when Egyptian cults no longer faced suspicion or persecution by the authorities. I'm interested in how and to what extent the Egyptian deities were integrated in the religious and civic life of Ostia and how Egyptian and Greek elements in the cults were dealt with. Furthermore, I'll compare the cults in Ostia and its harbour district Portus, as there were cults sites of Egyptian deities in both centres.

3D – LANGUAGE AND DIALECT CONTACTS IN THE NORTHERN BORDER AREAS OF ANCIENT GREECE

....

PANEL ABSTRACT

As part of the collaborative research project entitled "Multilingualism and Minority Languages in Ancient Europe" funded by the EU (grant agreement no. 649307), the speakers of this proposed panel are conducting research, among other colleagues, on the epigraphic documents produced in the geographical area of modern northern Greece and its neighbouring countries during the last centuries BC. Such documents are mainly written in different varieties of Greek (mostly in *koine*). Among them, the recently edited lead tablets from Dodona, the Derveni papyrus and a very few inscriptions written in what appears to be a form of the Macedonian dialect of Greek (e.g. the Pella *defixio*) have attracted particular attention over the past few years.

All other languages spoken in adjacent areas (e.g. Illyrian, Thracian and other so-called *Restsprachen*) are poorly documented and will only be referred to in an ancillary manner. On the other hand, with regard to contacts among the local Greek dialects, but also between them and the Attic-Ionic *koine*, the members of this research project seek to determine the patterns of dialectal convergence and dialect levelling that led to the adoption of *koine* as the sole common vehicle for formal writing, and eventually to the death of the dialects, at least for written purposes.

The aim of this panel is to make a first oral presentation of the final results of this three-year project a few months before its end (September 2019). The four contributions are geographically arranged and consist of: (i) a survey of the inscriptions from Epirus, with some additional references to the epigraphic material from the nearby Greek colonies in S. Illyria (Filos); (ii) an analysis of the uses of the modal particle in the lead tablets that bear enquiries to the oracle of Dodona (Conti); (iii) a close inspection of the sub-dialectal varieties detected in the recently published inscriptions from the ancient Kingdom of Macedon (Crespo); (iv) an overview of the interplay between the Greek dialects in the epigraphic texts from the Greek cities along the northern coast of the Aegean Sea (Guijarro).

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Panagiotis Filos (University of Ioannina, Greece)
Language and dialect contacts in Epirus (with some additional reference to the Greek colonies of S. Illyria)

Epirus was largely a faraway and unbeknownst area of the classical Greek world, as various ancient testimonies indicate (e.g. Thucydides). Nonetheless, this literary picture of isolation is challenged on the one hand by the existence of the oracle of Dodona (cf. Homer), and on the other, by the presence of Greek colonies alongside the Epirote – S. Illyrian coastline (e.g. Ambracia, Bouthrotos, Epidamnus). In fact, fresh studies (Filos 2018) and new epigraphic material (Cabanes *et al*. 1995-2016) indicate that Epirus was hardly an isolated area since both dialect contact and cross-linguistic interaction are irrefutable (cf. especially onomastics, *formulae*). In addition, one may now explain how a supraregional NW Doric *koina* supplanted the epichoric variety of Epirus during the Hellenistic era before it succumbed itself to Attic-Ionic *koine* (ca. 1st/2nd c. AD). Finally, concomitant phenomena, such as levelling, hyperdialectalisms (e.g. στραταγοῦντος) etc. will be discussed too, with an aim to demonstrate concretely the process of koineization.

b. Luz Conti (Universidàd Autónoma de Madrid, Spain)
On the use of the modal particle in the Dodona tablets

The Dodona oracular tablets (Dakaris, Vokotopoulou & Christidis 2013) demonstrate a rather irregular use of the different verbal moods, but also of the modal particle, particularly in indirect questions. This paper has three objectives: first, the description of the differences observed in the use of the modal particle between direct and indirect questions in the Dodona tablets; second, the comparison of those differences with those found in both literary Greek and other Doric dialects; finally, the identification of the semantic and syntactic factors which lie behind the peculiar use of the modal particle in the indirect questions of the Dodona oracular enquiries.

c. Emilio Crespo (Universidàd Autónoma de Madrid, Spain)
Dialects in contact and the rise of Koine in the ancient Kingdom of Macedon

The recent edition (Gounaropoulou, Paschidis & Hatzopoulos 2015) of 632 epigraphic texts (108 published for the first time) from Lower Macedonia, alongside other, previously published corpora (Beroia, Leukopetra), provides us now with the entire body of inscriptions from Bottiaia and Almopia, namely the areas where the capital cities of Aigeai and Pella were located. Although there are no lengthy classical (let alone archaic)

texts, and while many of them merely consist of personal names, they offer us fresh evidence for possible geographical, but perhaps also chronological and social variation in Lower Macedonia. In fact, the inscriptional evidence points to the existence of at least two Greek dialects in contact (Doric and Attic-Ionic) during the first three quarters of the 4th c. BC, but also of some hybrid dialectal forms. Both of these phenomena relate to a process of linguistic accommodation and levelling, which would gradually give rise -through koineization- to a new variety, the emerging Attic-Ionic koine.

d. Paloma Guijarro (Universidàd Autónoma de Madrid, Spain)
Linguistic contacts in the North Aegean sea

The objective of this paper is the analysis of cross-linguistic interaction between the local population(s) and the Greek colonists in the north Aegean Sea and alongside the Greek-Thracian border. In addition to those linguistic exchanges between Greek and non-Greek speakers -designated as 'Thracians' by the Greeks-, I will focus on contacts between the various epichoric Greek dialects, largely in a diachronic sense. As a matter of fact, different Ionic varieties arose in this broader area (largely linked to Cycladic or Asia Minor Ionic) alongside Attic and *koine*. Furthermore, up-to-date works on Thracian onomastics (Dana 2014, 2017), but also on epigraphic and linguistic studies (Dimitrov 2009, del Barrio 2018, Brixhe 2018), have boosted as a whole current research in this multilingual and multidialectal region. All new findings will be examined according to the fundamental principles and major tenets of language contact and language change (Hickey 2013).

3E –ANTONIO GRAMSCI AND THE CLASSICISTS. Causes and Origins of the Marxist Strand in the Italian Classical Studies

PANEL ABSTRACT
The Marxist strand in Classics characterized Italian academia over the course of the 20th century. Its historicistic and materialistic approach, dominating the scholarship from the 1950s until the 1970s, was inspired by Antonio Gramsci's thought. The panel aims to pinpoint his impact on Italian Classical studies from two points of view: showing which ones of Gramsci's philosophical categories were applied in the analysis of the Ancient World; detecting, in context, the relations between his activity – as intellectual and politician – and that of the most important classicists of the Italian *panorama*. The papers will focus on the connections between scholars and Communist Party for evaluating whether and how their political activism and the positions they assumed

towards the political platform of Palmiro Togliatti affected the reading of Gramsci's works and their scientific production. In fact, the Party itself published and set the earliest edition of the *Notebooks*, guiding the official interpretation for all intellectuals and scholars.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Andrea Avalli (Università degli Studi di Genova, Italy / Université de Picardie "Jules Verne", France)
Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli as a Gramscian in art history and post-war Italian politics

Between 1947 and 1951 the Italian Communist Party organized the publication of Antonio Gramsci's prison writings (*Quaderni* and *Lettere*), that influenced the adherence to Marxism of several prominent Italian scholars. Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli was among them: he moved from an idealistic to a materialistic historicism, after his participation to the anti-Fascist Resistance, his membership to the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and the reading of Gramsci's writings. Even though he had previously participated to the nationalistic enhancement of ancient Italic art during Fascism, he then decided to take a stance against racism and promoted a sociological and Gramscian interpretation of ancient art. During the 1950s, he defended classical Greek art in the light of socialist realism and was directly involved in the cultural policy of the Italian Communist Party as president of the *Gramsci Institute*, a center for Marxist-Leninist studies supervised by the party, aiming to disseminate Gramsci's thought among Italian culture.

b. Anna Maria Cimino (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Italy)
The author as 'organic intellectual': Gramscian categories in Antonio La Penna's studies

Antonio La Penna's works perfectly embody the Marxist and Materialist strand that lead the Italian *panorama* of Classical studies in the Sixties and Seventies. Although later scholars have generally underestimated their revolutionary impact, they introduced fresh approaches in the debate about literary patronage in ancient Rome. Indeed, his studies focused on the relationship between power and authors – understood as intellectuals –, taking into consideration authors' social function in the construction of ideology and consensus, showing the political effectiveness of literary communication in ancient Rome. The paper aims to examine such a peculiar interpretative key, in order to demonstrate that the application of terms and categories derived from Antonio Gramsci's philosophy thoroughly informed La Penna's approach. The several similarities between Gramsci's theory of 'intellectuals'

(Q12§1) and aspects of the most significant essays written by Antonio La Penna will be analysed in some details to track down the impact of Gramsci's thought on La Penna's work.

c. Dario Nappo (University of Naples 'Federico II', Italy)
An unconventional Marxist Santo Mazzarino

The Italian historian Santo Mazzarino devoted some of his most illuminating pages to the analysis of Late Antiquity and its crises. From a political point of view, Mazzarino was a Marxist, but he never openly used Marx' historical and philosophical categories. Yet, it is possible to see that Mazzarino used to some extent the concept of "organic crisis", introduced by Gramsci to designate "comprehensive crisis", including the totality of a system or order that is no longer able to generate societal consensus. Such a crisis lays bare fundamental contradictions in the system that ruling classes are unable to resolve.

This paper aims to trace Gramsci's thought in Mazzarino's view on Late Antiquity and to give an account of how the 'dialectic' relationship between Gramsci and Mazzarino gave birth to a new interpretation of a dying ancient World in perpetual evolution, culminating with its dissolution.

d. Roberto Ciucciovè (Newcastle University, UK)
The Philosophical and political reflection of Gramsci and Momigliano on the Italian Jewish 'question'

Why is it important to study the presence, the cultural and political impact that the Jewish community had in Italy, with particular reference to the period that spans from the second half of the nineteenth century to the first part of the twentieth? A possible answer to this question can be found in the work and human experience of two great Italian intellectuals: Antonio Gramsci and Arnaldo Momigliano. From their philosophical and political perspectives, they discussed and analyzed the role that the Jewish community historically played within the Italian society, with a particular focus on the process that eventually brought to the geographical and political unification of the country, and the consequences that the rise of the Fascist regime had on the lives of many members of the Italian Jews.

3F – COMIC INVECTIVE IN GREEK ORATORY

PANEL ABSTRACT
"Comic invective" may seem to be a contradiction in terms. Invective, "a violent attack in words; a denunciatory or railing speech, writing, or expression" or "denunciatory or opprobrious language; vehement denunciation; vituperation" (*Oxford English Dictionary* A.1, A.2) can hardly, if at all, be comic in our own life. The main argument that this panel puts forward, however, is that, in Greek oratory, an element of the comic permeates invective. Invective resembles a comic *agōn*: a competition between two contestants, held in the same trial, in which one is conceived as the antagonist and the other as the ironist, who retaliates humorously. Four papers aim to examine a wide range of pragmatic, linguistic and intertextual forms and features of comic invective, its purposes and the restrictions specific oratorical texts and contexts (i.e. public or private cases; forensic, deliberative and epideictic orations; defence or prosecution) provide to the speaker concerning its use.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Andreas Serafim (University of Cyprus)
Invective as comic performance in Attic forensic oratory

This paper explores the features and purposes of comic invective in the totality of texts and contexts of Attic forensic oratory. After exploring influential theories about the comic character of hostile invective (e.g. S. Freud and T. Hobbes), this paper pins down three fundamental features of comic invective as manifested in fifty-two forensic orations: incongruity presented through caricatured presentations of past mishaps and mockery of sexuality; inversion of tragedy into comedy; and the use of stock comic characters and language registers. Some conclusions would be drawn: that comic invective is not placed in the exordium or in the peroration of speeches; that its use is restrained (i.e. from the fifty-two speeches that are explored in this paper, patterns of comic invective are deployed in twelve speeches only); and that the dichotomy between private and public speeches affects the use of invective, while the distinction between defence and prosecution does not.

b. Jasper Donelan (University of Nottingham, UK)
Insults, audiences, and democratic deliberation. The case of Athenian oratory

In this paper, I plan to present and discuss parallels between Athenian comic and political insults, then ask how the judges and assembly-attendees might have reacted to these.

Demosthenes claims that certain insults could offend the judges' sensibilities (e.g. Dem. 21.79, 54.8), and that political invective distorted or corrupted good democratic deliberation (e.g. Dem. 18.138). In some situations, the use of public insults was forbidden by law and punishable by a fine of up to fifty drachmas (Lys. 9.9, Aeschin. 1.35). On the other hand, it seems—again following Demosthenes (e.g. 9.54, 18.3)—that audiences enjoyed hearing opponents insult one another and responded to this with delight and laughter. Much like Aristophanes, who tasked himself with staging both the laughable and the serious (γελοῖα/σπουδαῖα, *Ran.* 389–90), the orators had to navigate a path between indulging their audience's desire for pleasurable *loidoria* and focussing on earnest judicial and political arguments.

c. Alessandro Vatri (University of Oxford, UK)
Rhythmic attacks in Demosthenes?

Classical scholars have identified a number of comedic elements in Demosthenes' attacks on Aeschines in the oration *On the Crown*. As Rowe (*TAPhA* 97 [1966], 397–406) has suggested, such hints at comedy span over form and content – from character construction to linguistic features such as compounds and epithets. Comedic elements include paratragedy, which, in Demosthenes's practice, is enacted through different techniques for playing with the practice of quoting (see Pontani 2009, *Mnemosyne* 62, 401–16). Actual quotations from tragedy may be distorted (à la Aristophanes), and tragedic-sounding expressions may be interspersed in the text, possibly – as Pontani suggests – with such a wording and paralinguistic marking as to generate the illusion that the speaker was uttering a genuine quotation. This paper will examine the rhythmic features of such comedic attacks and discuss whether it is possible to make inferences as regards the recitation of comic invectives in Demosthenes' oratorical performance.

d. Katarzyna Jazdzewska (Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski University, Warsaw, Poland)
Between Admiration and Mockery. Aelius Aristides' Confrontation with Plato

The paper examines Aristides' confrontation with Plato in his three "Platonic discourses": *In Defence of Oratory*, *In Defence of the Four*, and *To Kapiton*. In these texts, Aristides defends rhetoric and the four prominent Athenian statesmen criticized in the *Gorgias* (Miltiades, Themistocles, Pericles, Cimon) and accuses Plato of unfair, partial judgement. Aristides oscillates between declarations of love and admiration towards the philosopher on one hand and biting mockery on the other,

and his criticism of Plato plays an important role in his self-representation as a man of courage but also of self-restraint. He does not hesitate to make use of arguments coming from anti-platonic tradition which attacked Plato's life. He insinuates that Plato's sojourn in Sicily was not an honourable enterprise and repeatedly alludes to the story of Plato being sold into slavery, as when he jokingly decides to "drag him back to the orators like a runaway slave".

e. Maria Xanthou (Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies, USA)
Killing with words: Isocrates, Dio Chrysostom, and Libanius on how to commit character assassination with style

As Monty Python's sketch Argument Clinic illustrates, abusive discourse (psogos, loidōria, mempsis) lies at the heart of oratory and rhetorical education. Abuse informs the art of rhetoric as performance and amplifies its vehemence. Being chronologically distanced from one another, Isocrates, Dio Chrysostom, and Libanius took different approaches and presented us with different styles on the use of invective in oratory. This diachrony provides us with a diverse and wide spectrum of pragmatic, linguistic and intertextual forms and features of comic invective. Isocrates expounded his theory on the oratory of blame in his treatise Against the Sophists and Areopagiticus, while Dio Chrysostom as well as Libanius employed abusive language in many orations. In my paper, I shall examine exemplary instances in Isocrates', Dio Chrysostom's, and Libanius' corpora, where invective is used for defamation or slandering. I will focus on specific examples of their style and language in order to illustrate the interaction of rhetoric with performance and uncover their theoretical underpinnings.

3G – WE ARE THE GREEKS/ROMANS: 'Anatopistic' Classical Receptions in Modern Japan

PANEL ABSTRACT
Modern Japan is not only temporally, but also spatially, far away from the ancient Greco-Roman world. Despite this obvious distance, however, there has always been a strange tendency amongst modern Japanese people to consider – or rather feel – ancient Greeks and Romans, not as an Other, but rather as their own people with whom they can identify, sometimes even seeing themselves as closer to them than modern Europeans are. This panel will explore this phenomenon of what can be called the Japanese "anatopistic" (as well as anachronistic) identification with the ancient Greeks and Romans – a phenomenon whose origins and implications have not been hitherto analysed by classicists. It will focus on individual case studies of such receptions of the Greco-Roman

antiquity in various genres, including music, biographies, poems, and manga, temporally ranging from the early period of modern Japan's Westernisation in the late 19th century, through the pre- and post-WWII eras, to the present day.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Tomohiko Kondo (Hokkaido University, Japan)
The Hymn to Apollo Arranged for Traditional Japanese Gagaku Instruments

An arrangement of an ancient Greek song for traditional Japanese *gagaku* instruments, entitled the *Hymn to Apollo* (originally the *Hymn to the Sun*, now attributed to Mesomedes in the 2nd century C.E.), was played in a concert held in 1882 under the auspices of the governmental Institute of Music. The aim was clear from the *Report* published by the Institute in 1884: to confirm the similarity between ancient Greek and traditional Japanese music. However, rather than priding themselves on the Japanese affinity with the ancient Greeks, the *Report* emphasised that ancient Greek music was still in the primitive state from which Western music had made progress, thereby justifying—referring to the discussion of musical education in Plato's *Republic*—that the Japanese people could and should make similar 'progress' in their music. I will discuss how Greek antiquity attracted Japanese people at the outset of their modern Westernisation by closely exploring this peculiar attempt at appropriating Greek music.

b. Yasuhiro Katsumata (Kyoto University, Japan)
A Japanese Adaptation of Plutarch's Parallel Lives*: Narrative Strategy in Ken Sawada's* Plutarchan Lives of the Heroes for Children

The aim of this paper is to explore the ways in which the Japanese writer Ken SAWADA (1894-1969) rewrites Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* and creates a new textual world in his *Plutarchan Lives of the Heroes for Children* (published in 1930), with special attention to the literary-historical and political contexts in which this fascinating work was produced. Sawada's *Plutarchan Lives* is composed of (1) the 'Preface', in which the author emphasises the need to introduce Plutarchan heroes to the then Japanese society, and (2) ten individual (i.e. non-paired) biographies, skilfully reorganised from Plutarch's original version. In order to fully grasp the nature of Sawada's attempt, one should read these two components together, having in mind the fact that they were heavily influenced by the sociocultural milieu at that time. This paper will first spotlight some programmatic statements in the 'Preface', and then examine Sawada's adaptation techniques in two or three biographies in light of the goals the author sets up at the beginning.

c. Saiichiro Nakatani (Keio University, Japan)
Inter-cultural/textual Play in the Poetry of Junzaburo Nishiwaki

Junzaburo NISHIWAKI (1894-1982) was an erudite Japanese scholar-poet, translator, and nominee for the Nobel Prize in literature. While reading mediaeval English literature at Oxford in the 1920s, he was not only influenced by modernist writers such as James Joyce and T. S. Eliot, but also attracted to Greek and Latin classics. He disliked anything Japanese and even behaved like a Westerner. What makes him particularly unique is that, without reading much Japanese literature, he started writing his poems in English and French. *Ambarvalia* (1933), the first collection of his modernist poems in Japanese, made a great impact on modern Japanese poetry. It not only interwove Greek and Roman imagery, but also included free translations of Latin elegy. After WWII, however, he tried to harmonise classical and modern styles as well as Western and Eastern literary traditions. In this paper, I will investigate his major poems and reveal his inter-cultural/textual play of classics, modernism, and Japanese traditions.

d. Luciana Cardi (Osaka University, Japan)
Intersections between the Ancient Greco-Roman World and Contemporary Japan in Mari Yamazaki's Manga Production

This paper explores the representation of the ancient Greco-Roman world in relation to contemporary Japan in Mari YAMAZAKI's manga series *Thermae Romae* (2009-2013), *Plinius* (2014-2019), and *Olympia Kyklos* (2018-2019). With their detailed visual and historical descriptions of Roman society at the times of Plinius the Elder (*Plinius*) and the Emperor Hadrian (*Thermae Romae*), Yamazaki's works have sparked a strong interest in Imperial Rome among Japanese readers and have enjoyed worldwide popularity. By drawing multiple parallels between Japan and the Greco-Roman civilisation, they recontextualise classical Western culture in a discourse on Japanese identity and shed new light on the debate on the Greco-Roman cultural legacy conducted by Yukio MISHIMA, Nanami SHIONO, and other Japanese intellectuals who have emphasised Japan's strong cultural affinity with the ancient Greek and Roman societies. Moving from these premises, I will discuss how, in Yamazaki's works, contemporary Japan and Greco-Roman antiquity reflect each other, in a game of mirrors that reconfigures the image of the classical world from new viewpoints.

3H – BYZANTINE STUDIES AND NARRATOLOGY (7th-12th c.)

PANEL ABSTRACT

To date, Byzantine narratology is a modest but fruitful field of studies, with books and articles ranging from beneficial tales (M. Kulhánková: *Das gotgefälliges Abenteuer*: *Eine narratologische Analyse der byzantinischen erbaulichen Erzählungen*, 2015) to the twelfth-century novel (I. Nilsson: *Erotic Pathos, Rhetorical Pleasure. Narrative Technique and Mimesis in Eumathios Makrembolites' Hysmine & Hysminias*, 2001). Key narratological issues, such as temporality, spatiality, focalization, etc., are tackled more and more often in various contributions. This panel aims to present an overview of current advances, ranging from the most popular narrative genre of the Middle Byzantine Period, namely hagiography (Cavallero), to the full bloom of Byzantine narrative in the 12th century, where an exquisite array of rhetorical and poetical productions in the *Hochsprache* (Daskas, Fernández) coexists with a powerful poetry in vernacular Greek (Kulhánková).

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Pablo Cavallero (Universidad de Buenos Aires – Conicet, Argentina)
Narrative features in early Byzantine hagiography

In the proto- and meso-Byzantine periods narrative was almost monopolized by hagiography. The 'Lives of saints' gained importance because they were didactic and inspiring texts in order to the spiritual and moral life of the Christian man; but also because they satisfied the narrative needs of a vast audience. In this paper I will focus on the narrative means that some of these texts present: the three Lives of Leontius from Neapolis (*Symeon the Fool*, *John the Almsgiver* and *Spyridon*), some versions of the *Life of Spyridon* (van den Ven›s texts I and III), which imply a 'remake' of the Leontius' text, and the anonymous *Life of Andronicus and Athanasia*, in order to confront them and to determine how the narrative similarities and differences contribute to make up distinct positions in the stylistic and ideological fields.

b. Beatrice Daskas (University of Venice, UK)
Byzantine ἐκφραστικὴ διήγησις: between narration and description

This paper aims to offer a thorough narratological analysis of the relationship between narration and *ekphrasis*, the descriptive speech which brings what is enunciated vividly into sight. Through a series of significant examples, this study sheds light on the interplay between the visual speech and narration at work in the phenomenon of ἐκφραστικὴ διηγήσις (Nic. Mes., *Epitaph.*, p. 42.20-21 Heisenberg 1923), flourishing in twelfth-century Byzantium.

c. Tomás Fernández (Universidad de Buenos Aires – Conicet, Argentina)
The Byzantine novel and its forerunners

It is widely known that among the 'building-blocks' of the ancient Greek novel, *progymnasmata* or preliminary rhetorical exercises played a prominent role. The same is true about the Byzantine novel, in particular Eumathios Makrembolites' *Hysmine and Hysminias* (12th c.). In this paper I aim to show the similarities of this novel to the almost contemporary *progymnasmata*, especially the *ethopoeias*, of Nicephoros Basilakes. In order to do this, I will not recur to genetic criticism or to a discussion of sources or influences. Rather, I will provide a framework for comparison based upon key narratological concepts, mainly the role of the first-person narrator, of focalization (or lack thereof), and the very peculiar spatiality and temporality the classical-mythical storyworld of Makrembolites and Basilakes possess.

d. Markéta Kulhánková (Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic)
The narratological analysis of Digenis Akritis

The poem *Digenis Akritis*, most probably composed in the early 12th century, is one of the most famous works of Byzantine literature: as a text which drew heavily on folk poetry, it often opens accounts of Modern Greek literature. On the other hand, it has been compared to the Homeric epics. Byzantinists have invested much energy into comparing the preserved versions, identify personalities, toponyms, historical events, and so on. The work has also been translated far more often than any other Byzantine literary text. Nevertheless, outside the narrow circles of Byzantinists and Neohellenists, it still has not received much attention. In my contribution, I would like to present my aim to provide a narratological commentary on *Digenis Akritis*, to outline my methodological starting points and some of the preliminary outcomes. The planned volume should make the only Byzantine epos accessible and understandable to a wider scholarly audience.

3I – LEARNED BAROQUE LATINITY

PANEL ABSTRACT

'Learned Baroque Latinity' brings together four speakers who will focus on an under-researched area of later Neo-Latin writing: texts arising from a scholarly environment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The contribution of Latin to early modern learned discourse was enormous, and this panel will aim to pinpoint the role of Latin in some of the mainstream intellectual preoccupations of the time. 'Learned Baroque Latinity' will consider such important topics as the formation of libraries, Pre-Enlightenment scientific culture, monasticism and confessionalism, and notions of Latin style (in connection with Mannerism and the Baroque). The panel will cover both prose and poetic genres, such as the essay and encyclopedic writing, scientific texts, epistolography, and the elegy. Attention will be paid to classical – and Neo-Latin – antecedents in order to demonstrate the flexibility of the Latin language and its adaptability to the expression of new concepts and social situations.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Jacqueline Glomski (University College London, UK)
Neo-Latin bibliographical treatises and seventeenth-century educational movements

More than thirty treatises on libraries and book collecting were written in Latin during the seventeenth century. Their authors came from all the professions – law, medicine, church (Catholic, Lutheran, or Reformed); but, the majority were teachers of humanities or theology, who witnessed the social and economic transformations of their age, and who participated in contemporary intellectual and educational movements. Their writings show the flexibility of the Latin language and its adaptability to the expression of new concepts.

My paper will examine examples of seventeenth-century Neo-Latin bibliographical treatises by authors representative of classical pedagogy, encyclopedism, and *historia litteraria*. I shall explain why these treatises are important contributions to early modern European culture and how they connect to the educational movements in which their authors were involved. Furthermore, I shall analyze the style of Latin employed in each and aim to reinforce the notion of Latin as a means of international communication during the early modern period.

b. David McOmish (University of Glasgow, UK)
The pregnant widow: The union of scholastic, humanist, and sceptical Latin. Educational Literature in Pre-Enlightenment Edinburgh

Evidence from official university documentation like the graduate *theses* and student *dictates* has helped to confirm a generally negative and conservative view of scientific progress in early to mid-seventeenth-century Edinburgh before the Enlightenment. Recent evidence has come to light that reveals that Edinburgh's scientific curriculum was based almost exclusively on a large manual of Neo-Latin didactic verse and prose written by an academic based in Edinburgh in the early part of the century, but who had taught and studied across Europe. Cross reference between the manual and *theses* shows that, during the laureation ceremonies, the university regents and students were censoring passages from the manual that they had memorised for public performance. This paper will examine the non-redacted content of the contents of the *theses* (as shown by the manual) and show how it reveals a previously unknown fusion of Latin intellectual and literary culture that radically alters our view of scientific literature and culture in pre-Enlightenment Edinburgh. It highlights that the scientific Latin literature of what would become the centre of Britain's Enlightenment was a sophisticated and progressive one, based upon a fusion of scholastic, humanist, Ramist, and Clavian philosophies. By examining the redacted and full texts (*theses* and manuscript respectively), this paper will outline how the Latin literary culture of seventeenth-century British Universities reflected the transformations that had taken place across Europe from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, and pointed the way to the scientific culture of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

c. Florian Schaffenrath (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies, Austria)
Letters on administration and learned questions: The letter collections of Benedikt Stephani and Kassian Primisser

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, an enormous number of letters were written in Latin. They have often been preserved as single documents in archives or libraries of monasteries, or sometimes deliberately gathered into collections of letters in order to make them available for secondary readers. In the Cistercian monastery of Stams (Austria) two extensive baroque collections are preserved: Between 1640 and 1671 the prior of the monastery, Benedikt Stephani, addressed hundreds of letters to his abbot, busy travelling throughout Germany. Here, he reports on a plethora of different topics concerning monastic issues. One century

later, the learned monk Kassian Primisser (1735–1771) wrote his letters on various academic topics. These collections have only recently been edited. This paper will offer considerations on the features common to both of these engaging collections, as well as on the differences that separate them.

d. Paul White (University of Leeds, UK)
Latin Love Elegy, Mannerism and the baroque

The classical genre of Latin love elegy is not especially associated with the kind of formal mannerism characteristic of baroque poetry. But many of the preoccupations of mannerism and the baroque – self-consciousness, specularity, the metaliterary dimension – had been prefigured in classical elegy, and became even more prominent features in the work of Neo-Latin love elegists such as Secundus, Bèze and Du Bellay. In this paper I will explore the affinities of Neo-Latin love elegy with Mannerism and the Baroque. Neo-Latin love elegy, which has a predilection for inversions, divisions, and self-referential paradoxes, is constantly turning in on itself and catching itself up in the complications of representation and interpretation. he elegiac persona's condition is to be a divided self, hesitant between seeming and being, fascinated by the illusions of perception and the unreliability of memory, by the play of absence and presence, and by the kaleidoscopic fragmentation of word and image.

3J – THE REPRESENTATION OF MARRIAGE IN ROMAN LITERATURE

PANEL ABSTRACT
Roman marriage has been the subject of important work, especially in the latter years of the last century, from social and legal perspectives, but relatively little work has been done on marriage in literary texts. On the other hand, 'love' in the broadest sense has always been a key concern of literature. The Roman literary texts which appear most obviously to be orientated towards marriage, comedy and the novel, usually end with the wedding, in the classic 'happy ever after' trope, rather than (with a few notable exceptions) training their sights on married life itself, while inscriptional texts usually reflect a marriage which has ended through death. The aim of this panel is to explore the representation of marriage and married people in some of the textual worlds of Roman culture, in order to consider not what legislators, lawyers, and philosophers (and satirists) decreed about marriage but what images were presented to the Roman reader.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Eleni Ntanou (University of Manchester, UK / Athens College, Greece)
Eumenides strauere torum: Infested Weddings in Ovid's **Metamorphoses**

This paper explores the presentation of weddings in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. I will argue that instead of signalling the harmonious beginning of marriages and anticipating the 'happy ever after', the great majority of wedding scenes in the Ovidian epic are twisted. Apart from a few cases of 'smooth' wedding ceremonies, typically of rather unusual couples, such as Pygmalion and Eburna, most weddings of the *Metamorphoses* are presented as being upturned and infested by either human or divine agents. Two of the most extensive scenes of battle in the *Metamorphoses*, Perseus' encounter with Phineus and his companions and the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, are precisely enacted in the context of wedding celebrations. In the episode of Orpheus and Eurydice, the failed wedding rites anticipate the tragic development. More disturbingly, the joining of Tereus and Procne in marriage is attended and sealed not by Hymenaeus but by the Furies.

b. Alison Sharrock (University of Manchester, UK)
Equal marriage in Ovid's **Metamorphoses**

This paper will look at the representation of marriage in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. I shall argue that Ovid's representation of marriage, both human and divine, is remarkably affective, even when things go (horribly) wrong, with the basic premise being one of love, rather than politics, economics, or hereditary concerns. I shall suggest that there is a surprising degree of equality in the marriages represented in the poem, but that such equality is not without its problems. Indeed, it is excessive equality which constitutes the barrier for Iphis and Ianthe, a story which draws on the nexus of imagery in the metamorphoses according to which erotic love is both encapsulated and undermined by closeness (Narcissus, Salmacis). The most successfully equal married couple in the poem are the centaurs Cyllarus and Hylonome, who fight and die together during the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths. Does this suggest that equal marriage is an ideal, or a monstrosity?

c. Matteo Dessimone-Pallavera (University of Manchester, UK)
Lucan's Pharsalia: The passions that drive the (hi)story

Throughout Lucan's *Pharsalia*, the traditional marital bond is characterised as of a weak strength, unable to contrast effectively the globally widespread love for civil conflict. Consequently, the feminine characters (with a special

consideration for the common women without name such as the wives and the mothers of the soldiers) are characterised as powerless and ultimately impotent figures. Conversely, erotic passion, described as a socially disruptive and anti-Roman feature and condemned as such, is overtly introduced as one of the causes of the conflict, that is to say as a strength with a real effect on history. Nonetheless, if, on the one hand, the elements used to characterise Pompey and Caesar (and their partners, Cornelia and Cleopatra) mirror this dichotomy (powerless marital bond vs disruptive oriental passion), on the other hand the soldiers are untouched by the charm of luxury and driven rather by a third, different, kind of impulse, which is the love for their generals, a new kind of bond which tellingly substitutes for the 'natural' human passion towards the familiar sphere and proves able to push ahead the narrative development, namely the story.

d. Jacqueline Fabre-Serris (University of Lille, France)
'Marriage' as an elegiac ideal? Some assumptions of the use of coniunx and coniugium in Lygdamus' elegies

My paper focuses on the use of *coniunx* and *coniugium* in Lygdamus' elegies 3.1.26-7; 2.4, 30; 3.32. *Coniugium* may appear to be the least appropriate word to be applied to elegiac *amor*, rather associated with words like *furtiuus, furtim* or *furta*. Furthermore, whereas elegiac *puellae* bear a Greek name, considered to be a pseudonym, but their lovers designate themselves by a Roman name suggesting that they are the alter-egos of the poets, Lygdamus is a Latinized Greek name, suggesting a pseudonym or the real name of a freedman. I would like to question Lygdamus' uncommon choice of words apparently referring to marriage while taking into account his enigmatic (for us) social status. In what literal or metaphorical senses should we understand these words? Since Lygdamus probably wrote during the years immediately preceding or following the Julian Laws, should we put his choice in perspective with the Augustan moralizing policy?

e. Julene Abad-del Vecchio (University of Manchester, UK)
An unerring account? In search of the marriage of Medea and Achilles

In Apollonius' *Argonautica*, Hera's promise to Thetis that Achilles will marry Medea in Elysium is designated as an 'unerring account', an alliance that will indisputably take place after their deaths (*Argon*. 4.810: νημερτέα μῦον). Later accounts of the polymorphic Medea myth oscillate between her agency during the Argonautic voyage, and her ill-fated marriage with Jason and nefarious filicide. Ostensibly, there seems to be no place for a post-mortem union between Medea and Achilles. In this paper, I will look for traces of the marital bond between Medea and Achilles in post-Apollonian tragic and epic accounts, in order to see where and why this 'infallible' version of the myth might resurface. Whilst their marriage is initially attached to positive ideas of virtue, the paradoxical nature of a 'happy ever after' in Elysium for these excessive characters is puzzling, and certainly raises questions concerning their heroic identities. Ought we to see Achilles and Medea as the two equal sides of the same ambivalent coin? Ultimately, is their marriage incompatible with their individual mythographies?

3K − CARIBBEAN CLASSICISMS: Refractions of Homer in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

PANEL ABSTRACT
Homer has been a source of inspiration, contestation, and engagement in the Caribbean since the literature of ancient Greece and Rome was imposed upon nations there by the invading colonialists. Most well-known may be Derek Walcott's 1990 epic poem, *Omeros*, which recasts the classical heroes as St Lucian fisherman, but there have been many other creative dialogues with Homer in the Caribbean both before and since. This panel, consisting of four papers by scholars who work comparatively in the disciplines of Classics and Caribbean literature (and convened by Rosa Andújar and Justine McConnell), will explore a number of these instantiations of engagement with Homeric epic, drawing out the vast range of responses as well as the commonalities between them. The panel ranges across literature from Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and St Lucia, and adopts a broadly chronological approach.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Tom Hawkins (Ohio State University, USA)
Haitian Odysseus

'Boat People' live between two models of a homeland – one that must be left out of desperation and another, promised, on a distant shore. In this paper I read two texts about Haitian boat people through the lens of Homer's *Odyssey*. Jean-Paul Pillet's *Mon Odyssée* (c. 1806) recounts the experiences of a young Creole (i.e. white, French, born in St. Domingue) whose royalist commitments forced him to flee revolutions in France and Haiti before settling in the U.S. Edwidge Danticat's "Children of the Sea" (1996) also traces a route from Haiti to the U.S. (a hauntingly new Middle Passage), but its male protagonist escapes the chaos of Duvalier's oppressive regime. Homer's epic breathes different winds into the sails of these nautical tales, and they, in turn, help us read the *Odyssey* differently in light of their sharply contrasting quests to navigate both the sea and concepts of home.

b. Dan-el Padilla-Peralta (Princeton University, USA)
¡Es Homero que pasa! Dominican ventures in epic pan-Americanism

While sharing affinities with the classical stylings of the Age of Revolutions, late 19th- and early 20th-century Hispanophone Caribbean poetry breaks new ground in privileging ancient Greece over imperial Rome, and Homer over Vergil. This paper outlines Hellenophilia's contribution to the ideological configuration of Latin American modernity, routed partly through the figure of Homer. From the first rumblings of independence movements in Spanish Cuba and Puerto Rico to the decisive assertion of US military and economic hegemony, writers took inspiration from the revolutionary pan-Americanism of José Martí and Eugenio de María Hostos. I offer an account of pan-Americanism's recourse to ancient Greece through a reading of the Dominican Federico Henríquez y Carvajal's *Americana* poems, in which "el viejo bardo" Homer functions as metonym for "el viejo verso, el verso heroíco" of the Latin American struggle for freedom, supercharging Latin America's recent revolutionary past with a mythological potency.

c. Rosa Andújar (King's College London, UK)
'Homer's Guajiros: Celebrating Cuban rural life in Francisco Chofre's La Odilea'

Twenty-five years before Derek Walcott 'decolonised' Homer in *Omeros*, Francisco Chofre 'Caribbeanised' Homer's *Odyssey* in his extraordinary *La Odilea*. This prose novel, written in 24 cantos which transplanting the overall Homeric plot to rural Cuba, is a parody of the *Odyssey* which is uniquely focalised on the Cuban *guajiro* (peasant) experience. *La Odilea* charts the wanderings of the farmer Odileo through distinctively Cuban landscapes, meeting characters who offer lewd conversation, rum, and cigars. All narration and dialogue is conducted in an at times impenetrable Cuban rural farm dialect. My paper investigates this unique Cuban epic, which borrows the general structure of the Homeric original in order to create a hybrid text that celebrates Cuban rural language and life. In 'Cubanising' the *Odyssey*, Chofre's aim is not to decolonise or desacralize this European canonic text, but rather to herald a new egalitarian Cuban experience under Fidel Castro.

d. Justine McConnell (King's College London, UK)
Performing Epic in St Lucia

The narrator of Derek Walcott's epic poem, *Omeros*, provocatively informs the ancient Greek Homer that 'I've never read [your poem]. Not all the way through'; yet he quickly concedes that 'I have always heard your voice in that sea'.

Foregrounding this emphasis on the spoken rather than the written word, this paper will explore two performances of *Omeros*. The first has not yet been realised, but can be traced in the draft script and storyboards (held at Toronto's Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library) that Walcott penned for a film of *Omeros*. The second is the filmic installation, *Paradise Omeros*, by the artist Isaac Julien. These two works adapt Walcott's poem for performance in ways that reflect on the multiple oral traditions from which *Omeros* draws (including those from ancient Greece, Africa, and the contemporary Caribbean), as well as on the intervening appropriation of those spoken forms into literary texts.

3L – ASPECTS OF EROS

PANEL ABSTRACT
The Roehampton panel considers depictions of ancient sex, seduction, desire, and love, both from antiquity and later periods. We begin with mythology, where sex and seduction not only took place between humans, but between humans and gods, and humans (usually women) and animals. Magalhães interrogates the varying nuances between these different scenarios, principally the stories of Pasiphae, Leda and Europa in both literary and material sources. From the gods of mythology to the singers and shepherds of Theocritus' *Idylls*, Fantuzzi explores the nature of eros required for a happy-ending love story. Desperation and desolation, Fantuzzi argues, are not necessarily antithetical to a happy ending, as *Idyll* 27 shows. More joyful, however, about desire and antiquity is the eighteenth-century poet Goethe. In the first of two reception papers, Slaney considers the advice offered by Goethe's Amor: that pursuit of sexual pleasure will allow the past to come alive, thus making the past itself the subject of reciprocal desire. But, such desire can be dangerous in the hands of a woman, as shown by Malik in the final paper of the panel. By exploring the depictions of the 'Modern Messalinas' Marie Antoinette and Mata Hari in the political and popular press, Malik argues that the archetypal Julio-Claudian seductress is as 'tarred' by the brush of her later counterparts as they were by her. In sum this panel offers four case studies with which to think about the problematics of ancient sex and love, and how the past can become an emblem of desire or of disgust.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. José Magalhães (University of Roehampton, UK)
Pasiphae's Interspecies Eros

Sex between animals, or animal-shaped figures, and humans is a common topic in Greek mythology. In this paper, I will focus particularly on three of these encounters, namely those

involving Leda, Europa and Pasiphae. Although they share several common traits, there is one fundamental difference that separates the first two from Pasiphae, namely that Leda and Europa engage in intercourse with an animal-shaped Zeus while Pasiphae, through divinely-inspired lust, copulates with an actual bull. This is a key factor to consider when exploring these three mythological figures since it becomes clear that, when analysing the several accounts of these myths, they are considered under very different lights by the ancient sources. In this paper, I will explore why these mythological figures were treated differently, analysing both literary and iconographic sources, while also exploring the social value that these myths carried

b. Marco Fantuzzi (University of Roehampton, UK)
Sex but Family: Strategies of Cultural Justification of Happy Ending Love

Idyll 27 is the most accomplished happy ending love story in the Corpus Theocriteum. This poem explores an erotic atmosphere which is opposite to the bleak atmosphere of desperate desolation that characterizes the love songs in Theocritus' poems, with the single exception of *Id*. 6. *Id*. 27 expands to the whole narrative the irenic relation of reciprocal love between the two singers Daphnis and Comatas, of *Id*. 6, while the dialogic masquerade between them appears to re-invent as a happy ending story the desperate love of the Cyclops for Galatea in *Id*. 11. Both poems would commit themselves to presenting a Daphnis who acts as a strategist of love in contrast with the tragic end of the prototypal Daphnis whose love pains according to *Id*. 1 and the ancient commentators would have provided the protypal theme of pre-Theocritean bucolic poetry. Therefore both *Id*. 6 and *Id*. 27 appear to react to the prevailingly negative and desperate eros of Theocritus' characters (and of most characters of erotic poetry of the archaic, classical, and Hellenistic times), and to pursue an idea of eros which may be in tune, and not in contrast with the shepherds' profession. *Id*. 27, in particular, appears to develop an erotodidascalic, almost Menandrean discourse which – well beyond the bucolic dimension – presents love and sex as structured according to standard male vs female norms of behaviour and language and, as thus, prefacing the socially established perspective of happily/ruly procreation and family. That erotodidascalic dimension of *Id*. 27 is investigated in parallel with the strikingly similar illustrations of male/female language of wooing and seduction in the "Homeric" *Hymn to Aphrodite*.

c. Helen Slaney (University of Roehampton, UK)
A Labour of Love? Erotic poetics in Goethe's Roman Elegies

"Live joyfully," (*Lebe glücklich*), the god Amor instructs Goethe's *amator*, "and the past will come back to life in you." *Glück* is used throughout the *Römische Elegien* (1795) as a synonym for pleasure, particularly sexual consummation. By applying the mask of elegy to the persona of a modern poet-lover, Goethe establishes a relationship to Roman antiquity predicated on reciprocated desire. The *amator* functions both as a living realization of Augustan elegy – an extended role-play, of sorts – and at the same time as a cultivated riposte. His lover "Faustina" stands in for an eroticized fascination with early imperial Rome, but unlike the lost beloved city of Ovid's *Tristia*, Goethe's Rome is instead a pleasure repeatedly regained.

d. Shushma Malik (University of Roehampton, UK)
Eros and the Modern Messalina

Few women in history have been held up as symbols of sexual deviance to a greater extent than Messalina. Juvenal labels her the *meretrix Augusta* (prostitute empress) and Tacitus accuses her of pursuing *incognitas libidines* (untried lusts). It is hardly surprising, then, that centuries after the empress' death, Marie Antoinette was dubbed *La Messaline Moderne* by the popular press (1780s) and the notorious and enigmatic 'spy' Mata Hari was condemned as a 'sort of Messalina' by the French prosecutor during her trial for treason (1917). While all three women were vilified for their promiscuity, the problematics of their alleged sexual relationships were different. With Messalina, the danger lay in her sex outside marriage. This was compounded by her weak-willed husband whose ear she too often had. But sex outside of marriage was only the beginning for Marie Antoinette. Her role as seductress extended to her own son, the dauphin. With Mata Hari, her outright refusal to continue in the role of wife and mother made her capacity to influence high-ranking men through sex all the more corrupt. Tying all three women together with the moniker Messalina applies a temporal and spatial universality to the threat of sexually predatory women. Conversely, however, these Modern Messalina's also add credence to the accounts of Tacitus and Juvenal, who had correctly recognised their own generation's *femme fatale*. Thus, as the image of Messalina shapes the conception of her modern counterparts, so too do Marie Antoinette and Mata Hari shape Messalina in the modern age.

3M – THE ROMAN SOCIETY AT THE END OF ITS FIRST *SAECULUM*

PANEL ABSTRACT

The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies is now entering the last year of its first *saeculum* (that is, if we accept the opinion of Roman priestly experts, endorsed by Horace, that a *saeculum* is a period of 110 years), and the promise of a new age lies before us. The contributors to the panel will look backwards and forwards to address the Society's current position and the state of Roman studies in the twenty-first century. Cornell traces the history of the Society and examines how it has adapted to changing circumstances and what the future may hold. Steel and Eckardt consider the role of the *JRS* and *Britannia* (respectively), particularly the challenges that they face in the age of the internet and social media. Finally, Eck offers an overseas perspective on the ways in which Roman studies have been promoted in the UK.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Tim Cornell (University of Manchester, UK)
The past and future of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies

An account of the Roman Society's foundation, and of its fortunes in the first fifty years of its existence, was presented to the Society by Margery Venables Taylor at its AGM in June 1960, and subsequently published in that year's *JRS*; that story was recast and considerably expanded by Christopher Stray in the centenary volume in 2010 (expanded not least by devoting a substantial section to Miss Taylor herself, who effectively ran the Society for forty years and became its first female President in 1955). This paper will cover the same ground, but specifically with a view to examining how the Society's aims and priorities have changed over time, particularly in the past few decades; it will also consider the current state of Roman studies, and the challenges and opportunities that face the Society as we look towards the future.

b. Catherine Steel (University of Glasgow, UK)
JRS into a second century

JRS's first century was discussed within Christopher Stray's wonderful centenary study of the Roman Society, published in vol. 100 in 2010. 2010 seems a long time (and two editors) ago: the environment in which learned journals exist is in what can feel like constant flux. In this paper, I will offer some reflections from four years of editing the journal on its strengths and on the ways in which it tried to respond creatively to the challenges it has faced, both those driven by the sector and those specific to its aims and organisation.

c. Hella Eckardt (University of Reading, UK)
What makes Britannia

This paper asks how the journal '*Britannia*' has shaped the study of Roman Britain. The journal has existed for just over 50 years, making this a suitable time for such a historiography. I present data on the types of papers published and whether thematic or regional emphases have changed over time. I also examine the gender and professional affiliation of contributors – and show that certain topics continue to be strongly associated with female authors. The relationship between the journal and authors not based in the UK and the importance of papers that cross period boundaries (considering the Iron Age or Anglo-Saxon periods) will also be discussed. Finally, I will consider new ways of engaging with *Britannia* readers through social media.

d. Werner Eck (University of Cologne, Germany)
The Roman Empire: between prosopography and administration. An overseas look at British scholars

Classical Studies or Altertumswissenschaften are more international than many other disciplines of the Humanities. Nevertheless, they too have developed certain national characteristics and emphases, with the result that individual countries, in comparison with others, have given less attention to certain topics or have become interested in them at a later date. Since the completion of the PIR in 1897/1898, numerous works on prosopography have appeared, particularly in the German-speaking world, which were primarily intended to analyse the functioning of the Imperium Romanum and its administration during the Imperial Period and Late Antiquity. The combination of these two fields of investigation began later in England, but then the topic was examined with more flexibility and with more realism. Important impulses and reflexes came from articles published in the JRS.

4A – ADVOCATING CLASSICS EDUCATION: the national campaign for studying ancient Greece and Rome in UK schools

PANEL ABSTRACT

The 'Advocating Classics Education' project has, since 2017, sought to extend the availability of Classical Civilisation and Ancient History qualifications to learners in non-fee-paying schools across the United Kingdom. Initially funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, and now supported by the Classical Association, the project is led by Professor Edith Hall and Dr Arlene Holmes-Henderson at King's College London. The project has 16 university partners: Durham University, King's College London, Liverpool Hope University, Queen's University Belfast, the Open University, Swansea University and the Universities of Bristol, Manchester, Glasgow, Kent, Leeds, Nottingham, Reading, Roehampton, St. Andrews, and Warwick.

This panel will provide an insight into various aspects of the project including; school/college/university partnership, recruiting new teachers and schools, policy influence and Classics in curriculum design. The relevance to international contexts of our lessons learned will be discussed. The results to date will be shared and future priorities identified.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Edith Hall (King's College London, UK)
On establishing a national campaign for Classics education

The lack of opportunity for studying ancient Greece and Rome in secondary education is a national scandal. The 93% of British teenagers who do not attend fee-paying school usually have no access to Classical Civilisation (CC) or Ancient History (AH) qualifications. Yet these can be introduced much more easily and inexpensively than the ancient languages since in most parts of the UK they may be offered by teachers qualified in non-classical subjects. It was to draw attention to the exciting potential that CC and AH qualifications possess for transforming the availability of the ancient world in the state sector that I set about planning and funding the ACE project. This paper tells the story of its development out of an earlier project, *Classics and Class in Britain*, and the building of a national network of teachers at both secondary and tertiary level to implement the project's aims.

b. Arlene Holmes-Henderson (King's College London, UK)
Achievements of the ACE project to date – policy, pedagogy and press coverage

Leading a national advocacy campaign for Classical subjects in British schools involves building relationships with teachers, school leaders, policy makers, academics and journalists. This paper will outline the strategies employed during 2017 to 2019 to raise the profile, currency and status of Classical Civilisation and Ancient History as subjects viable for study in all secondary schools. An overview will be provided of the face-to-face advocacy events held in Scotland, England, Wales and Northern Ireland, as well as successful collaborations with subject associations, government and think tanks. The project's achievements in engaging the public through a wide range of media will also be discussed.

c. Paul Grigsby (University of Warwick, UK)
Getting Classics into schools: experiences from the first year of the Warwick Classics Network

In March 2016 the University of Warwick was invited to become a partner university of the ACE project. Initially charged with the organisation of an ACE event at Warwick in July 2018, Prof Michael Scott used the association with ACE as the impetus for creating the Warwick Classics Network both to deliver on ACE's remit of extending Classical Civilisation and Ancient History availability in non-fee-paying schools, and to promote Warwick Classics research. This paper will discuss our experiences from the first year of the Warwick Classics Network: its funding and creation; the creation of a specific Research Fellow post linked to the Network; our experiences of approaching schools; our successes and failures; what we have learned; and how an understanding of the needs and concerns of individual teachers has been integral to the shaping of the Network.

d. Gemma Williams (Allerton Grange School, UK)
Classics in the comprehensive classroom: getting Classics started from scratch

Leeds is the third largest city in the United Kingdom with 41 non-fee paying schools; yet only three offer any kind of Classical Subjects. In September 2018 Allerton Grange School had its first cohort of GCSE and A-level Classical Civilisation students. This paper will outline how Classical Civilisation was proposed to the school leadership team in January 2017 and will share the arguments used to convince them. It will also discuss the journey the school has been on since, including how grants have been secured and how Classics has been

promoted to students choosing their GCSE and A-level options. Allerton Grange School hopes to inspire other schools to introduce Classical Subjects, and will offer professional support to do so.

4B – LINKING ANCIENT WORLD DATA

PANEL ABSTRACT

Over the last decade, an interconnected web of information has progressively grown to encompass vocabularies, data and recommendations regarding classics, archaeology, cultural heritage and similar fields of research. Despite initial scepticism about its compatibility with existing standards and the potential cost of converting legacy data, the Linked Data approach has already shown its benefits in the Ancient World community (http://dlib.nyu.edu/awdl/isaw/isaw-papers/7). In this field, the adoption of Linked Data is being driven by disciplines such as numismatics and epigraphy where the first initiatives to establish common description standards have been carried out. This panel will explore Ancient World research projects that have incorporated Linked Data and the questions that this approach has generated in the different disciplines .

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Sarah Middle (Open University, UK)
Using Linked Data for Ancient World Research

Linked Data connects digital resources across collections and datasets, making it possible to discover new relationships between texts, objects, places and people. It could therefore be extremely powerful for Ancient World research, provided that its implementation fits well with existing research processes. As its application in this context gradually increases, my research aims to establish where Linked Data might best be integrated. To open this panel session, I will provide a brief introduction to Linked Data, before discussing a recent study into Ancient World researchers' use of digital resources. Using data from survey and interview responses, I will explore the digital research methods where Linked Data could potentially be most beneficial for Ancient World research. In addition to setting the scene, this paper will introduce each of the subsequent case studies as examples of effective Linked Ancient World Data implementation.

b. Gabriel Bodard (Institute of Classical Studies, UK)
Standards for Networking Ancient People: decentralized interoperability for prosopographical and onomastic data

This paper will discuss a proposal for defining an interchange format for sharing, linking, and disambiguating between varied datasets of ancient people, including prosopographies, lexica and onomastica, and catalogues. The SNAP:DRGN project proposed a terse subset of information relating to persons and names that could meaningfully be shared between projects, and created a demonstrator tool to aggregate such data from the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Trismegistos People, PIR Online, ancient people in the Virtual Internet Authority File (VIAF) and the British Museum person database. Although this project was incomplete and the demonstrator tool is not very useful to historians, the experience did throw up important questions—for example about inconsistency, data provenance, flexibility, uncertainty, and scholarly disagreement—to be considered by future work in this area.

c. Frank Grieshaber (University of Heidelberg, Germany)
"GODOT – Graph of Dated Objects and Texts": Ancient Chronology and Linked Data

GODOT is the prototype of an online gazetteer for calendar dates and chronological dating systems from antiquity. It applies methods of a geographic gazetteer to chronological data attested in ancient text sources like actual calendar dates and year reference systems like e.g. eponymous officials, eras, Roman imperial titles/epitheta, etc. Each chronological information unit in this gazetteer has a unique identifier that can be used in digital editions of texts thus linking the annotated text to contemporaneous material (inscriptions, coins, papyri, etc.). Providing chronological Linked Data adds another facet to already existing Linked Data approaches for i.a. geography, people or historic periods; especially the prosopographic data is densely connected with chronological data, which results in similar challenges like modeling contradictory statements of scholars, fuzzy data and uncertainty.

d. Andrew Meadows (University of Oxford, UK)
Linked Ancient Numismatic Data: The nomisma.org project and beyond

The recent study commissioned as part of the Ariadne project, *Towards a Web of Archaeological Linked Open Data* (http://www.ariadne-infrastructure.eu/News/Study-Towards-a-Web-of-Archaeological-Linked-Open-Data), concluded (p. 68),

"more still needs to be done for motivating and enabling owners of cultural heritage and archaeology K(nowledge) O(rganization) S(system)s to produce LOD versions.... Also more LOD KOSs for research specialities, such as the Nomisma ontology for numismatics, are necessary." This paper will discuss the origins and development of the nomisma. org project, now almost a decade old, as the provider of a Knowledge Organization System for numismatic data. It will survey the pay-offs and problems in the establishment of the project across a discipline on an international basis, as well as the ways in which it has facilitated the development of new projects within the field of ancient numismatics.

e. Valeria Vitale (University of London, UK)
Pelagios: Linked Open Geo-Data for the Ancient World

This talk will discuss the potential of Linked Open Data in the study of the ancient world and, more specifically, the value of the connections that can be established, between digital resources, according to common geographical references. We will start introducing the work done in the past years by the Pelagios project, and present examples of how users have created and queried Linked Open Geo-Data through the free, digital tools that we have made available to the community. Drawing from case studies, we will present how our users have exploited Linked Open Geo-Data to perform deep analysis of ancient texts adding a spatial component to their approaches, to compare and discuss descriptions of historical places, to enhance the engagement with the text in pedagogical context, to explore critically and cross search digital collections of ancient artefacts. The talk will also stress the crucial role performed by historical gazetteers in the creation of a LOD network and, in particular, of the Pleiades Gazetteer.

f. Ethan Gruber (American Numismatic Society, USA)
Kerameikos.org: A Linked Open Greek Pottery Project

Recently awarded an NEH Digital Humanities Advancement Grant, Kerameikos.org is an international effort to define the intellectual concepts of Archaic and Classical Greek pottery following the methodologies of Linked Open Data (LOD). These concepts include categories such as shapes, artists, styles, and production places. When linked externally to other LOD thesauri, such as the Getty Art & Architecture Thesaurus, Kerameikos.org allows for the normalization and aggregation of disparate museum and archaeological datasets into an information system that facilitates broader public access (e.g., Pelagios Commons). Beyond the definition of pottery concepts, following open web standards, Kerameikos.org aims to standardize and document an ontology and model

for exchanging pottery data, provide easy-to-use interfaces to visualize geographic and quantitative distributions of Greek pottery, and publish a series of data manipulation web services enabling archaeologists and museum professionals to contribute data to this ecosystem.

g. Paula Granados García (Open University, UK)
Cultural Contact in Early Roman Baetica through Linked Open Data: a proof of concept

Current scholarship regarding the question of cultural Interaction in Early Roman Spain is producing significant amounts of data that need to be managed and made available to the research community. Nevertheless, initial research has identified that this data is still hardly accessible online. The information is isolated and decontextualized hindering therefore its quality and trustworthiness. This project explores the solutions carried out to overcome the impediments regarding data processability, accessibility and interoperability in Spanish archaeological scholarship by means of Linked Data methods with the aim to investigate the question of Cultural Contact in Early Roman Baetica from the 3rd century BCE to the 1st century AD. It also explores the diplomatic, technical and legal benefits of linking Ancient World Data and the the measures undertaken to boost those benefits. This paper will conclude the panel by presenting a case study that deals with all the disciplines mentioned in the preceding talks and will open the joint discussion session focused on the benefits of Linking Ancient World Data and how to move research forward.

4C – APOTROPAIC ELEMENTS THROUGH THE MEDITERRANEAN MATERIAL CULTURE

PANEL ABSTRACT
This panel intends to bring together a series of distinct studies. It will be formed by three professors of Brazilian institutions, a post-doctorate researcher and a researcher who recently has finished her PhD thesis. Through the discussion of the apotropaic concept, and its several aspects, four distinct case-studies will be presented. Coins and clay lamps from the Hellenistic and Roman *Palaestina*, funerary crowns in Roman Egypt, iconographic symbols of Greek and Punic-Phoenician deities, through their imprint in Greek pottery and Punic and Greek *stelae*, coins and mosaic floors will be approached by the material agency of the artefacts. Brazil has an established tradition of Classical Studies but through the novel approach of materiality, we have been seeking new avenues of research in relation to the construction and dissemination of knowledge about the Ancient Mediterranean, something very

important when approaching a South American public. In this sense, we are aiming to promote our research activities and more interactive dialogues with colleagues around the world.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Maria Cristina Nicolau Kormikiari (University of Sao Paulo, Brazil)
The symbol of Tanit, Punic deity, and its function as an apotropaic emblem

Tanit was a feminine deity from the Phoenician-Punic pantheon. Although a minor figure in the Phoenician area, she gained status within the Carthaginian context. Heading the rituals of the tophet sanctuaries, together with Baal Hammon, mainly from the 4th century on, Tanit came to be equaled with the juxtaposition of three abstract geometric figures: a triangle, a line and a circle. This abstract symbol can be found not only at the *stelae* from different tophets of the Central Mediterranean, directly connected to her naming, but also on distinct elements, from house floors to coins. It is our intention, in this communication, to discuss the possible meanings of the Tanit symbol as a prophylactic element within Punic religion, connecting it to significance of the rituals professed at the tophets, including child sacrifice.

b. Vagner Carvalheiro Porto (University of Sao Paulo, Brazil)
Material culture as amulets: magical elements and the apotropaic in Roman Palestine

This presentation aims to bring to the discussion elements of the material culture of the region of ancient *Palaestine* (Persian, Seleucid and especially Roman period), mainly coins, which were withdrawn from the context of production and circulation and placed in funerary contexts (coins were often buried in graves), thus, converted into amulets, acquiring magical and apotropaic senses. It is also our intention to observe iconographic elements that bring apotropaic content in their formulations, for, besides the role that coins could play in connecting the worlds of men and gods, many people believed that they had the power to project magical and apotropaic force through the powerful images they portrayed.

c. Márcia Severina Marques Vasques (Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil)
The crowns of flowers in the funerary material culture of Roman Egypt: magical amulets and their cultural interaction

I intend to discuss the representation of crowns of flowers in the funerary material culture of Roman Egypt between the first and third centuries AD and their function and significance

for the Egyptian society. It can be observed in burial context the presence of elements of Graeco-Roman origin combined with the Egyptian funerary tradition, such as the examples of the region of Fayum and Middle Egypt. The funeral crown, made of flowers and sometimes fruits, is one of these elements. Based on this burial material culture, I hypothesized that these crowns served as protective magical amulets, associated with the afterlife idea of the Egyptian religion, in combination with elements derived from Greek and Roman culture as well.

d. Marcio Teixeira-Bastos (State University of Sao Paulo, Brazil)
Material agency and religious identities through clay lamps in the Roman Palestina

Archaeological activity in *Palaestine* has yielded thousands of clay lamps, which were commonly associated with polytheistic rites but also with pan-religious and monotheistic popular beliefs. The archaeological contexts of the Roman villa at Apollonia and the Te'omin cave, stresses the potential of apotropaic aspects for clay lamps. In the case of Roman Apollonia, clay lamps intentionally broken were recovered from Area E (south) and from one of the largest refuse dumps ever to be excavated in Palestine. The fact that all the Te'omin cave lamps had been deliberately deposited in narrow and deep crevices suggests that illuminating the dark cave was not their sole purpose. It seems that the explanation for this phenomenon lies in the realm of an overlooked behavioral practice mainly related to essential and interstitial efficacious protective human action.

e. Juliana Figueira da Hora (University of Sao Paulo, Brazil)
The apotropaic and the Artemision of Thassos: a contextual interpretation of the black figured pottery of the Archaic period

This paper aims to present the relation of Thassian black figured pottery and the multiplicity of Artemis representations in the votive context of the Artemision, through an apotropaic perspective. Our study of the peculiarities of the Thassian Black Figured pottery showed us that those were votive objects immersed within an eclectic iconography of Eastern Greek tradition but also with innovations from the local production. One of the principal focus of our presentation is to throw some light on the dimensional details, decorative techniques and the ways of exposition of the lekanis on the space of worship. We will try to demonstrate the apotropaic and prophylactic signs existent in the representation of the hibrid "monster" in conjuction of an eclectic decoration intentionally emulated by local artisans-painters.

4D – THE DERVENI PAPYRUS: New evidence for religion and philosophy in late-fifth-century Hellas

••

PANEL ABSTRACT

The Derveni papyrus, found in Greece in 1962, is the oldest surviving European book. Copied in the fourth century BCE, the treatise it contains dates from the late fifth. Because this scroll is hard to reconstruct and was only published in 2006, it has not had the impact that it deserves. The reconstruction of its damaged opening has been challenged by Janko and Piano, both of whom recently studied the original papyrus; their better readings based on new images are leading to more consensus on the text of columns IV–VII, but they reconstruct the preceding columns differently.

Its content, a discussion of the Erinyes followed by (why?) an allegorical interpretation (using presocratic physics!) of a scandalous Orphic theogony, is extraordinarily puzzling. Many problems remain unsolved, with major implications for our understanding of 'Orphism', mystery-religion, the Erinyes, Heraclitus, the *magoi*, presocratic hermeneutics, the followers of Anaxagoras, and the origins of monotheism.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Valeria Piano (Università degli Studi, Florence, Italy)
Ritual and eschatology in the Derveni papyrus: papyrological and textual novelties from a new edition of the first columns

This paper presents the main papyrological and textual novelties of the new edition of the first columns of the Derveni papyrus which is under preparation for the series *Studi e Testi per il Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici*.

The first part will be devoted to papyrological issues. Particular attention will be paid, on the one hand, to the consistency of the bibliological parameters of the new edition with the ones featuring the rest of the roll and, on the other, to the differences existing with the alternative reconstructions of the same portion of the papyrus. The second part will focus on textual issues, which will be presented through a close comparison with other editions. Finally, I will briefly discuss the thematic structure resulting from the new reconstruction, in the attempt to cast light on the possible link with the physical doctrine developed in the commentary to the Orphic poem.

b. Richard Janko (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, USA)
The cult of the Erinyes, the Mysteries of Dionysus, and the Unity of the Derveni Papyrus

The Derveni treatise's opening hardly seems to cohere with the rest, but recent progress towards its reconstruction, based on almost 10,000 digital images (some of which will be projected), helps to explain it. Two threads hold it together. The first is the method of interpretation (whereby, for instance, the Erinyes, are taken to be souls); the second is mystery-cult. I will argue that (a) the papyrus' theogony was used in Orphic initiations into the Dionysiac mysteries, (b) Heraclitus attacked these mysteries for stoking fears of the terrors in Hades, (c) the Erinyes appeared in a Roman version of these mysteries, and (d) Plato chastised Orphic initiators for threatening with the terrors in Hades those who refused to be initiated. Thus the papyrus' disparate combination of topics finally coheres: initiands first sacrificed to the Erinyes to stop these deities from blocking their initiation, which promised happiness in the afterlife.

c. Mirjam E. Kotwick (University of Cincinnati, USA)
Practices of Interpretation in the Derveni Papyrus and Related Texts

Scholars of the Derveni papyrus often regard this text, its author, and the author's method of argumentation as unique and hardly representing any widespread approach. This talk questions this view by reevaluating the allegorical method of the Derveni author. My analyses of the Derveni author's interpretative method, a passage in Plato's *Gorgias*, and the Hippocratic text *On Dreams* (*Vict*. IV) reveal striking parallels among the allegorical method and its ethical (broadly understood) applications. I claim that this finding allows one to hypothesize an intellectual and cultural setting in which the Derveni author is not unique. I suggest that the Derveni author was among those late-5th-century intellectual experts that combined knowledge of allegorical dream interpretation with the newest scientific doctrines.

d. Jan N. Bremmer (University of Groningen, Netherlands)
The Derveni Papyrus and Polis Religion

The increasing attention to the text of the opening columns of the Derveni Papyrus has gradually enlarged and improved our knowledge and understanding of these fragmentary lines. Yet it must be said that they still pose many problems. In a previous study of the Orphic-Bacchic Mysteries (*Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World*, 2014, 64), I have argued that the Derveni papyrus was written in Athens in the very late fifth

century. This localisation means that we have in the papyrus also a valuable testimony to Athenian religion at that very time, which has been insufficiently used in Robert Parker's *Athenian Religion* (1996), who could not yet know the first columns, as these were published only in 1997. Consequently, I will concentrate in my contribution on the picture of Athenian religion as it appears from these first columns. I will focus on the remarks in the papyrus on eschatology, sacrifice, the Mysteries and the religious entrepreneurs, who are clearly working outside polis religion.

4E – EMOTION(S) IN THUCYDIDES AND XENOPHON

PANEL ABSTRACT
The papers in this panel explore the role that the emotions play in the works of the Greek historians, Thucydides and Xenophon, and how they influence people's behaviour and actions. Emotions may have negative or positive outcomes: two papers consider the negative results of emotions (anger and hope), which cause disasters for those involved; a third will argue that theoretically negative emotions, such as fear, can, in fact, be positive forces and lead to unity. The fourth paper investigates how the emotions and the senses affect actors' experience of the landscape around them. As a group, these papers demonstrate that human emotions should be understood as significant factors for understanding the actions of politicians, military commanders and ordinary people.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Bradley Hald (University of Toronto, Canada)
Affective Topographies: Thucydides' Pylos Episode

Thucydides has been routinely criticized by modern readers for his geographical and topographical inaccuracies (Funke & Haake 2006). In this paper, I examine some of the historian's most discussed inconsistencies in the Pylos episode in book four of the *History*. I do not argue for geographical accuracy or inaccuracy, but rather, I offer a literary/thematic explanation for the topographical details the narrative does provide. My contention is that Thucydides was not as concerned with producing an accurate topography of Pylos and its environs as he was with narrating the human experience of these landscapes. Thus, I analyze some of the apparent topographical anomalies in the episode and demonstrate how they contribute specifically to the sensory and emotional experiences of the dramatic agents 'on the ground'. I argue that in book four and throughout the *History*, Thucydides builds physical landscapes into subjective topographies that structure the human narrative of history.

b. Louis L' Allier (Thorneloe University at Laurentian University, Canada)
*Negative emotions in the **Anabasis**: Anxiety, fear and jealousy as positive forces*

Far from being a simple war memoir, Xenophon's *Anabasis* is a complex work by an author who uses the *Odyssey* as a canvas for his apologetic narrative. Feelings such as fear, envy or anxiety play a role in the motivations of many characters, including Xenophon himself. At *Memorabilia* (III, 5, 5-6) Socrates declares that "fear makes people more attentive, more obedient and more orderly". It explains why this emotion is depicted in a manner that unites the 10 000 more than it separates them. Xenophon uses key moments in the march of the 10 000 to develop emotions such as anxiety and fear to show how they act as positive forces for the characters, while soliciting various emotions from his readers. The passages where strong emotions are favored by the author act like hinges to articulate his narrative.

c. Frances Pownall (University of Alberta, Canada)
*Sparta and the Consequences of Anger in Xenophon's **Hellenica***

Xenophon's interest in leadership, particularly in the military sphere, is well documented (e.g., Gray 2011 and Buxton 2016). In the *Hellenica*, Xenophon provides concrete illustrations of the consequences of both good and bad leadership. As I shall demonstrate, Xenophon represents anger as a destructive emotion, which causes commanders to make decisions that are not in the best interests either of their troops or ultimately of their polis. Interestingly, all of the commanders whom Xenophon singles out as acting in anger, with deleterious consequences, are Spartan. One of the major themes in the *Hellenica* is to illustrate the rise and fall of the Spartan hegemony (Tuplin 1993; cf. Dillery 1995 and Flower 2016). Xenophon's emphasis on the inability of Spartan commanders to control their emotions provides an ongoing intratextual commentary on the failure of Spartan hegemony.

d. Kathryn Simonsen (Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada)
Kleon, ἐλπίς and Thucydides

It is common to claim that Thucydides did not approve of Kleon and various studies (for example, J.A. Andrews (1994), "Cleon's Ethopoetic," *CQ* 44: 26-39) have considered aspects of Thucydides' presentation of Kleon. This paper will explore how Thucydides uses the emotion of hope, ἐλπίς, in order to highlight features of Kleon's policies and character. ελπίς is a complex emotion for Thucydides, who uses it of his own

expectation that the Peloponnesian War would turn out to be a great war (1.1.1). Often, however, ελπίς is misplaced and leads to disaster. At beginning of Book 5 (5.7.3 and 5.14.1), Thucydides invokes ελπίς when referring to the confidence / expectation that the Athenians and Kleon developed as a result of his victory over the Spartans at Pylos, but it is Kleon's reliance on that ελπίς gets him killed. For Kleon, ελπίς leads to intellectual blindness.

4F – WOMEN, SLAVES, AND METICS IN ATTIC ORATORY

PANEL ABSTRACT

Several important studies of the past thirty years discuss masculine values, male citizenship, and citizen identity in Greek oratory (e.g. Ober, Roisman, Christ), while other groups, such as women, metics, and slaves have received less attention in oratory despite their significance to the bigger picture of identity in the classical polis. Although orators frequently include such groups only as a means to an end, these accounts can be read as explorations as well even though filtered through a male perspective. What did it mean to be a female citizen in the fourth century? How was status distinguished and maintained between different groups? How did such identities intersect with roles as fathers, mothers, husbands, and wives? How do the orators construct images of such groups and adapt their tools of litigation in cases involving such individuals? This panel explores the inclusion and representation of subordinate groups in Attic oratory.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Allison Glazebrook (Brock University, St Catharines, Ontario, Canada)
Finding a place: locating women in Attic oratory

Equally important as demonstrations of *sōphrosunē* and proof of male kin is a woman's connection to place. The orators frequently depict female citizens in the *oikos* despite the regular activities that took them away (shopping, fetching water, and attending festivals) (Nevett). But the attachment to place goes deeper. Kate Gilhuly has recently commented that "if, as Foucault claimed, there is a history of sexuality, there is also a geography of sexuality" (2017: 2). I argue that one strategy employed to marginalize and even sexualize women in Attic oratory is geographic identity. *Astai* connect to demes through a father and a husband. Women positioned outside such markers, even women with Athenian male relatives, remain suspicious. This paper examines the importance of geography in testing a women's status and constructing female identities using Kallippe and Alke in Isaois 6 and Neaira and Phano in [Demosthenes] 59 as case studies.

b. Hilary Lehmann (Knox College, Galesberg, Illinois, USA)
Bonds and boundaries: women, space, and class in the Attic orators

The notion that Athenian women were restricted to the domestic interior is, despite the insistence of the Attic orators, not only an inaccurate reflection of lived reality, it also entirely erases the experiences of poor, metic, and enslaved women (Davidson, Kuhlmann). In this paper, I examine the spatial language (verbs of motion and position, prepositions, descriptions of architectural elements) used by the orators to describe the movements of marginalized women including Phile's mother (Isaios 3), the old woman in Lysias 1, and the *pallakē* in Antiphon 1. My analysis shows that the language associated with these women gives them a far broader range of movement than wealthy citizen women. This movement, however, is often closely linked to sexual vulnerability or to alienation from the security of an *oikos* (Hunter, Kennedy). A free range of motion, in the idealized world of Attic oratory, is ultimately no more liberating than domestic seclusion.

c. Konstantinos Kapparis (University of Florida, Gainesville, USA)
The good women of Athens: positive images of citizen women in the Attic orators

Despite the widespread misconception that women were excluded from the Athenian legal system, there are at least 15 cases where one of the litigants was a woman, and many more where women were centrally important figures for the build-up of the case. What feminine virtues and qualities do the texts of the Attic Orators exalt? In this paper I discuss the positive role-models, stereotypes, and moral aspirations presented by the orators about the citizen women of Athens, focusing upon characters such as Kleoboule, the mother of Demosthenes, the widow of Polyeuktos, or the daughter of Diogeiton. To our surprise these positive female characters are not muted, shadowy figures banished to the *gynaikonitis*. In the orators, as in Drama, we find complex images of strong, morally superior, formidable women, and this rich *ēthopoiia* suggests a broader reassessment of our understanding of women's roles and influence in Athenian society.

d. Ifigeneia Giannadaki (University College London, UK)
Portraits of metics: Rhetorical representation of metics in Athenian forensic oratory

Much attention has been paid to the legal status of metics in Athens in recent years (e.g. Kamen), but discussions of rhetorical representation of metics in forensic oratory are

limited to examinations of metic status primarily in relation to Athenian citizenship (e.g. Bakewell). This paper aims to offer a fresh look at representations of metics by examining the 'metic view-point' in Lysias 12. This speech offers Lysias''theory' about metic status, *ēthos* and morality, in action, and will be the canvas against which other metic representations (e.g. Lysias 5, 31, Demosthenes 20, 22, Lykourgos 1) will be explored and contrasted: how are such metic images reconstructed and presented in political trials? What do these images tell us about the Athenian attitudes towards metic status and the associated morality? This paper argues that representations of metics suggest ambivalent ideological attitudes to this status group, despite their political and financial contributions.

4G – KINGS, BATTLES AND BUSKINS: Epic, Tragedy, and Identity in Roman Poetry

PANEL ABSTRACT

Generic self-consciousness has long been recognized as a key aspect of Roman poetry and central to its dynamic project of self-fashioning. Scholarship has increasingly moved away from the analysis of purely formal features to recognize the ideological and philosophical implications which such features can be made to carry. While most research has centred on the interaction of epic and elegy, the importance of tragedy and ideas of the tragic have started to be acknowledged. However, such studies tend to focus on a single author or a narrow period. This panel, a collaboration between UCL and the University of Sydney, looks at texts from the birth of Latin literature to the very end of Late Antiquity, providing an opportunity to explore changes and continuities in the ways that the genres and their relationship with each other were perceived and constructed, and how they adapted to shifts in cultural, social and political conditions.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Gesine Manuwald (University College London, UK)
Interactions between tragedy and epic in Ennius

The early Roman poets are well known for their versatility: Livius Andronicus, Naevius and Ennius not only wrote both comedies and tragedies, but also an epic each. Ennius stands out in particular since, in addition, he introduced a number of new literary genres to Rome. While there are various overlaps in the areas of form and content among the different literary genres produced by each poet, there is also a sufficient amount of differences to indicate a generic awareness: for instance, the use of the hexameter is different in Ennius' epic *Annales* and the poem *Hedyphagetica*.

This paper will look at themes that can be inferred from the fragments of Ennius' tragedies and his epic for these two types of writing. By exploring a few significant case studies, it will aim to determine whether the poet presented similar or different themes in the two genres and whether there are differences in focus for similar themes. Such a study can contribute to a better understanding of the functions and shape of the literary genres in Republican Rome and the poets' awareness of the corresponding generic features.

b. Robert Cowan (The University of Sydney, Australia)
By their fruit shall you know them: anagnorisis and identity in the Metamorphosis

Recent research has explored how Roman epic exploits the association between anagnorisis and tragedy. As well as evoking (the essentialized idea of) tragedy, recognition-scenes explore issues of knowledge and identity and trope how the reader can 'recognize' texts' generic and ideological affiliations. This paper adopts a similar approach to anagnorisis scenes in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, building on preliminary work on recognition in Ovid and discussions of the *Met.*'s wider engagement with tragedy.

The paper surveys the different functions of anagnorisis in the *Met.* but focuses on its relationship to the poem's most distinctive aspects. The fluidity of identity in the poem problematizes the epistemological basis of recognition but also extends its scope to encompass the underlying essence which transcends and even sometimes determines change of physical and generic form. In a poem which so frequently reifies its tropes, reader's and characters' acts of recognition repeatedly intertwine.

c. Mairéad McAuley (University College London, UK)
Epic Fail: Agency in Statius' Achilleid and Senecan Tragedy

Senecan drama occupies a crucial, underexplored, middle term in the relationship between Virgil and Statius: *Thebaid* draws heavily on Seneca's subversion of Virgilian epic teleology and his tragic idiom of regression and violation. However, little has been made of the allusions to Seneca's *Troades* in Statius' *Achilleid* (Fantham 1979). Why these echoes of a tragedy of female enslavement and infanticide, in a poem that playfully injects Ovidian gender-bending and eroticism into martial epic? This paper considers how the futility of female agency in *Troades* illuminates Statius' Thetis' attempt to prevent Achilles from going to war. Both poets exploit this trope of feminine failure as a source of innovation, a way of writing poetry under the weight of literary tradition, faulting

its patrilineal lines of inheritance. Comparing representations of feminine agency in the *Thebaid,* I conclude that Statian epic refracts its negotiations with Virgil through the gendered tropes of Senecan tragedy.

d. Paul Roche (The University of Sydney, Australia)
Tragic structures in Dracontius' Orestes

Dracontius (c. 450–after 500CE) authored the last full-scale, mythological narrative poetry of antiquity. His *Orestes*, an epyllion of 974 lines, retells the events of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. At line 13–14 the narrator signals a modification of his material along generic lines when he invokes Melpomene *qua* muse of tragedy and asks that 'the iambus fall silent amid resounding dactyls'. My paper will consider the extent and importance of tragic structures, plot and motivation in the Agamemnon panel (25–452). It will concentrate on Agamemnon's discovery of Iphigenia in Tauris (41–107), Clytemnestra's justification for slaying Agamemnon (163–203), and her discourse on the political ramifications of her crime (384–411). The influence of declamation and the tragic tradition before Dracontius (esp. Seneca the Younger) will offer context. I will argue for the thematic unity of the poem and elucidate its idiosyncratic adaptation of tragic structures.

4H – RETHINKING NATURE AND NATURALISM IN ARISTOTLE'S ETHICS

PANEL ABSTRACT
At present, nature in Aristotle's ethics is understood in the context of so-called Aristotelian naturalism, which defines virtue and happiness by appealing to human nature. Many discussions have been devoted, on one hand, to articulating and substantiating this naturalism and, on the other hand, to examining and criticizing its philosophical validity. However, such discussions may overlook other aspects of the notion of nature in his ethical thought. This workshop aims to place an emphasis on such aspects and to consider their possible relationships with Aristotelian naturalism. Presenters will discuss different aspects of the Aristotelian ethical notion of nature by focusing on different works, such as *Topica*, *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, and *Ethics*. Their arguments in the session will shed new light on the notion of nature in Aristotle's ethics and accordingly lead us to reconsider nature and naturalism as presented in his ethics.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Aya Kitago (Hokkaido University, Japan)
The Category in Aristotle's Physics

In his *Physics*, Aristotle frequently discusses the concept of the categories, especially substance, quality and six others, as the variety of beings, i.e. part of nature. Unlike in *Topics,* in which we find ten categories introduced as the classification of the predications, there is a focus on their ontological aspects in *Physics*, with the attributes inseparable from the substance (185a30-31). My question is why Aristotle in such a context needs to differentiate the substance from the attributes by employing features as the predications, such as the substance unable to be predicated of the attributes (cf. 185a31, 189a30-33, 190a38-190b1). I will argue that Aristotle conceives of two dimensions for the category, the language-level and the entity-level, that I believe were established in *Topics* A.9 and that the features on the language-level can provide the primary explanation about the difference between the substance and the attributes.

b. Kyungnam Moon (Tohoku Gakuin University, Japan)
Form and End in Physics *II7*

Aristotle's claim that different sorts of αἴτιαι sometimes coincide in the study of nature (*Phys.* II 7, 198a24–7, etc.) presents a difficulty in understanding his theory of the four αἴτιαι, especially the relationship between form and end. I take the distinction between an ontological reading and an epistemological reading of the claim as a point of departure for re-examining it. While the former suggests that each of the four αἴτιαι is primarily designed to indicate an ontologically distinct entity, the latter views Aristotle as concerned not with ontologically distinct entities but with their inferential connections. Being sympathetic to the latter, I delineate its obstacles and then attempt to reformulate the difference among the four αἴτιαι including form and end by focusing on *Phys.* II 7 and other related texts.

c. Keiichi Iwata (Waseda University, Japan)
Happiness and Wisdom in Aristotle

In *Nicomachean Ethics* X. 7–8, Aristotle claims that complete happiness is an activity in accordance with wisdom, i.e. theoretical activity (which is divine), and that moral activity is regarded as secondary happiness. In this discussion, he contrasts the two kinds of activity, and there is a passage which seems to suggest that a person cannot engage in both at the same time. The interpretative question arises of whether or not Aristotle intends to imply that humans should

transcend their nature. I will argue that their engaging in a theoretical activity is not equivalent to their transcending their nature. First, I argue that in X. 7–8 Aristotle implies that the two kinds of activity are related to each other. Then, I consider what Aristotle means by his claim that a person is his intellect, and how we should understand the claim that the virtue of intellect is separated.

d. Koji Tachibana (Kumamoto University, Japan)
Methodological Naturalism in Aristotle's (Virtue) Ethics

Aristotle is known to be the founder of ethics as a unique academic field. His ethical treatises, therefore, can be understood as the works in which he describes the method of ethics. In this presentation, I examine whether Aristotle's (virtue) ethics adopts methodological naturalism and argue that the method must be included in his ethical inquiry. First, I survey a recent debate on philosophical naturalism and extract several features of both ontological and methodological naturalism in the ethical realm. Second, I show that Aristotelian virtue ethics has overtly or covertly adopted both aspects of philosophical naturalism described above. Third, I develop the idea of methodological naturalism in Aristotelian virtue ethics and examine some examples of this method's application to handle ethical issues. In conclusion, I argue that virtue ethics at least has a good reason to adopt methodological naturalism.

4I – CHANGING REGIONAL DYNAMICS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN: Material Culture, Economy, and Cult

PANEL ABSTRACT
The panel aims to rethink the implications of the concepts of 'region' and 'regionalism' in relation to material culture in the ancient Mediterranean world. Archaeologists and ancient historians have applied regional approaches to their respective field of study, in relation to either material evidence or historical traditions. Is the concept of the region useful when attempting to understand the material culture of a locality and its connections to the wider world? The papers in the panel discuss different geographical entities and their material cultures in order to explore the connections, networks, and associations between different localities. Through the examination of material evidence, we seek to enrich current debates on the creation, development, and transformations of regional dynamics of the ancient eastern Mediterranean.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Alexandra Alexandridou (University of Ioannina, Greece)
Tracing Regionalism through Death/in Funerary Evidence. Mortuary Strategies and Social and Kinship Dynamics in early Greece

The present paper aims to explore 'regionalism' through the prism of funerary archaeology. The mortuary material evidence is here chosen as a tool for reconstructing the social structure of the early communities in the Greek mainland and the Aegean islands.

Drawing on the data collected in the database of the research project *The Social Archaeology of Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Greece*, a number of questions on the chosen mortuary practices in each region and their development over the chronological spectrum from the 10th c. to the end of the 7th c. BC will be tackled. On the basis of the applied burial treatment and other funerary features, as dictated by the age and the gender of the deceased, an examination and juxtaposition of both the vertical status differentiations and the various strategies adopted by the lineage groups in each of the examined regions will be attempted.

b. Ilia Daifa (presenting author – Assistant Director of the Excavations on Despotiko, Greece) **and Yannos Kourayos** (Ephor of Antiquities of Paros, Director of the Excavations on Despotiko, Greece)
Regional or inter-local? Material culture as a means for exploring spatial and regional dynamics in the archaic sanctuary of Despotiko (Cyclades)

Archaeological research on the uninhabited island Despotiko, in the Cyclades, has brought to light an extended archaic sanctuary dedicated to Apollo. Its discovery has dramatically changed our understanding of the sacred landscape of the Cyclades, as its size and wealth are unparalleled to any other Cycladic sanctuary and are only comparable to Delos. The archaeological remains have led to its identification as a Parian extra-urban cult site, whose existence is however unattested in the literary sources. Our paper aims to address questions of regionalism, connectivity, networks and the wider role of this mysteriously "unknown" sanctuary through the interpretation of old and more recent archaeological finds which are our only guide in reconstructing the long history of the site and understanding its complex dynamics.

c. Richard Phillips (Birkbeck College University of London, UK)
Networks of influence: Parian marble and Parian soft power

The Cycladic island of Paros gained considerable wealth, prosperity and influence in the Archaic and early Classical periods. This was based on the Parians' lucrative trade in marble. Parian marble became increasingly seen through the sixth century as the material *par excellence* for high quality statuary and prestigious monumental building throughout the Greek world. It became what we might now refer to as a 'premium brand' which, combined with Parian skills in marble sculptural production, endowed Paros with cultural and artistic influence. In the modern terminology of Joseph Nye this equated to a form of 'soft power', the ability to influence the preferences and attitudes of others through attraction rather than coercion. I argue that Parian soft power was developed and extended over several centuries through a range of interacting local and regional networks focused variously on trade, cult practices, sculptural innovation, and settlements.

d. Nicholas Salmon (Birkbeck College University of London, UK)
Kamiros and Rhodian Ktoinai

This paper explores the region of Kamiros on Rhodes. The archaeological sites on the west coast of the island, including Kamiros and Kymissala and the nearby island Chalki, display similarities in terms of their spatial development, consumption of material culture, and construction of tombs during the Archaic and Classical periods. These similarities suggest that Rhodian *ktoinai*, reported in later inscriptions, existed insofar as material culture is concerned. In discussing the evidence, this paper will defend the concept of regionalism as a tool for understanding the relationship between maritime connectivity and material culture.

4J – FIGURING OUTSIDERS: Classical (Dis)positions and (Dis)possessions

PANEL ABSTRACT
How does the space between scholars and their scholarship reveal the ideological fault-lines of the discipline *and* the personal formation of the individual? Seeking answers that expand on, and move beyond, "personal voice" scholarship (e.g. Hallet and Van Nortwick, 1997), or reductive iterations of identity politics, we describe this space as the place in which the intimate dynamics of power are organized. We are interested in how representations and categorizations of outsiders are bound up in the mobilization of the "classical

tradition" and the history of classical scholarship. We invite critical reflection on scholarly strategies of self-positioning and on acts of possession and dispossession with regard to the history of classical scholarship. This panel has two aims: firstly, an act of disciplinary practice to represent scholars of colour more broadly in Classics. Secondly, we leverage the "outsider" to assess the implications of thinking about the classical tradition as a history of exclusion.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Emily Greenwood (University of Yale, UK)
Classical Scholarship and Diversity: between Expertise and Experience

Our discipline requires much breadth: regardless of specialization, classicists are responsible for a large body of knowledge including an awareness of the sources, data, and debates about dispossessed groups and communities in ancient Greece and Rome, and inequalities of birth, gender, ethnicity. In this sense, many classicists *do* slavery, gender, sexuality, social inequality, and the study of power and the oppressed. This has given rise to some deeply insightful and formative scholarship – much of it comparative in method; too often, though, this disciplinary familiarity can lead to a glib, intellectualist approach to debates about diversity and equality in academia and wider society. Taking cues from diversity studies (especially Sara Ahmed's *Willful Subjects* (2014) and *On Being Included* (2012)) and debates in epistemology about "knowledge that" and different forms of empirical knowledge, this paper will analyze the relationship between (1) forms of knowledge and habits of thought that are prized in Classics, (2) the prevailing state of diversity in the discipline, and (3) ignorance / knowledge about what diversity entails.

b. Jackie Murray (University of Kentucky, USA)
Claiming the Black Classical: W.E.B. Du Bois's The Quest of the Silver Fleece

The Quest of the Silver Fleece (1911) was W.E.B. Du Bois's first novel about love, learning, and "the Negro Problem." He wrote the novel as a vehicle for the ideas in his seminal work, the *Souls of Black Folk* (1903), about the universality of the classical tradition. This paper explores how the novel reflects Du Bois's views about the role a classical education could play in the education of Black leaders in the postslavery era. I argue that Du Bois, one of the only Black professors of Classics at the time, focuses on Medea as an ideal figure to think with about the relationship between a classical education and the struggle for equal rights. Moreover, in rewriting

the Argonautic myth, Du Bois mobilizes the Greek versions precisely to counter the prevailing white narrative that people of African descent lack the intellectual capacity for learning classical languages, especially ancient Greek. *The Quest of the Silver Fleece* both crystallizes the impossibility of the black classical and transforms the classical into the study of race.

c. Mai Musié (Knowledge Exchange and Impact Team, University Oxford, UK)
Alterity and its subversion: the case of Arsake

This paper will focus on the construction of Arsake, the Persian princess in Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*. In terms of ethnicity, gender, class, and sexuality, Arsake is ostensibly constructed as an "outsider," interpolating her as a hyper-sexualised barbarian (a familiar image steeped in literary tradition). This paper will investigate how far the novel itself provides for subversive readings of Arsake, recuperated from beneath the compounding stereotypes. This paper offers alternative readings of Arsake, specifically around how she disrupts the insider/outsider dynamics in social relationships and therefore how we are to consider these basic categories of selfdefinition and otherness. This paper will also attend to how gender is an important component in reading Arsake as more than a stereotype of alterity in the *Aethopika*: Arsake wields a degree of disruptive control through her femininity, in addition to her ethnicity.

d. Sarah Debrew (Harvard University, UK)
Seeing Black: Reading Iconographic Representations of Black People in Greek Antiquity

Broadly situated at an intersection of classical philology, art history, and museum studies, this paper scrutinizes museum displays of black people in Greek antiquity. Beyond a uniformly positive (Frank Snowden Jr. 1970) or negative (Grace Hadley Beardsley 1929) assessment of blackness in Greco-Roman antiquity, this paper highlights the clash between past and present that can occur when modern audiences encounter such representations. Furthermore, building on Steven C. Dubin's (2006) reframing of the museum as a battleground for "culture wars," this investigation examines museums' treatment of Nubia. On-site fieldwork reveals a troubling hierarchy that privileges ancient Egypt as a marker of legitimacy and legibility in museums. Such imbalanced presentations highlight the need for inclusive and contextualized exhibits of representations of black people in antiquity.

4K – THRACIAN INTERACTIONS: Cultural Encounters, Ideology, and Osmosis

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Donald Crystal (University of Cardiff, UK)
Blurred lines? Tribal identities and material variability between Thracian tribes

Historically speaking, the Thracians have formed a large part of the Greek literary tradition and definitions of ethnic Self and Other. Beginning with the early Greek poets, such as Homer and Archilochus, the Thracians have been documented primarily within the context of socio-political 'interactions' through their encounters with the Greeks. However, archaeological 'interaction' can be deduced in its broadest sense as involving phenomena such as migration, trade, spreading of technologies, funerary practices, and styles amongst individual social groups. By bringing together experts from different methodological backgrounds, the panel will intersect these literary and archaeological interactions, aiming to better understand who the Thracians were in a holistic and innovative way. Speakers will: discuss current archaeological debates surrounding the Thracians, whilst paralleled against the ancient literary evidence; cross-examine, problematize, and evaluate different sources and discourses concerning the Thracians; and analyse the Thracians in a post-colonial manner away from past Helleno-centric constructions.

b. Petya Ilieva (Institute for Balkan Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Bulgaria)
Homer, Archilochus, Zone and the Kikones

The Southern Thracian tribe of the Kikones, associated by the ancient Greek authors with the area of mount Ismaros, features prominently in the earliest Greek written testimonies, beginning with Homer, through Archilochus and Hekataios down to Herodotus. Although these early texts provide glimpses rather than full historic accounts, the information that they offer allows for two important assumptions: 1) that the Kikones must have had a strong, significant political and economic presence in the Early Iron Age demographic landscape of Aegean Thrace and 2) that their first encounters with people from the Aegean happened at least two centuries before the inland Thracians experience it. Even after the establishment of the Greek *apoikiai* along the North Aegean coast of Thrace the Kikones appear to have preserved their identity and prominent presence as the recently published results from the archaeological exploration of Zone, *"polis Kikonon,"* suggest.

c. Maria Fragoulaki (University of Cardiff, UK)
Gold, cold, and blood: Thrace and the Thracians in Greek Historiography and Athenian Drama

Greek literary sources exhibit a keen ethnographic interest in the Thracians and their various tribes, who are often represented as ethnic others of the north, living outside the norms of civilised existence. After cross-reading ethnic stereotypes about the Thracians in the Greek historians of the classical period and poetic sources, this paper will concentrate on Euripides' *Hecuba*. The play has been connected with various events of the 420s and the moral repercussions of the Peloponnesian War. While there is validity in these approaches, the explanatory value of the play's complex ethnic representations have not received adequate attention with respect to the historical context. It will be argued that the blurred boundaries of ethnic self and other in the *Hecuba* can provide a clearer understanding of Thrace's role in the belligerent parties' plans, successes and failures in the 420s.

d. Bela Dimova (British School at Athens, Greece)
Thracian-Greek interactions, identity politics and archaeological evidence

Scholars have conceived of Thracian-Greek interactions in different ways, in relation to changing socio-political concerns and shifting academic paradigms through the 20th and early 21st century. The first part of this paper will follow the development of these concepts in Bulgaria. Colonisation, trade, and 'cultural influence', with the Greeks having a leading role, are among the dominant tropes about Thracian-Greek relations. They have been underpinned by written sources and contemporary ideological paradigms, especially from evolutionist and Marxist thought. These dominant tropes often shape the interpretation of archaeological evidence, and obscure the diversity of interactions that certainly existed between different communities and individuals across the southern Balkans and the Aegean over the first millennium BC. The second part of the paper will then use case-studies to illustrate the diversity of interactions and the agency of local communities. I propose that a productive way forwards is to examine how and why people in Thrace selected and used certain Greek objects and technologies, while rejecting others, and how these imports affected the lived experience, social organisation, and economy of Thracian communities.

4L – THE DOMINANT FEMALE IN OVID'S METAMORPHOSES, AND ITS RECEPTION

PANEL ABSTRACT

In recent years, gender dynamics have been a hot topic. Charles Segal's important late twentieth-century study ("Ovid's Metamorphic Bodies: Art, Gender, and Violence in the *Metamorphoses*," *Arion* 5 [1998]) paved the way for fresh approaches. In addition, interesting studies beyond Ovid have opened new vistas, such as Augoustakis' *Motherhood and the Other: Fashioning Female Power in Flavian Epic* (Oxford, 2010), as have Ovid-focused works like Salzman-Mitchell's *A Web of Fantasies: Game, Image, and Gender in Ovid's* Metamorphoses (Columbus, 2005) and Chiu's recent award-winning *Ovid's Women of the Year* (Michigan, 2016).

Scholarship shows that without doubt many of Ovid's tales are polyvalent. One type that is impossible to miss is that of a woman gaining physical, psychological and even spiritual mastery over the male object of her desire. This panel will consider examples of such stories in the *Metamorphoses*, not with a view to any particular reading but with a view to provoking lively discussion about gender dynamics in Ovid and beyond.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Eleonora Tola (CONICET – University of Buenos Aires, Argentina)
"Happy the Brother, Blessed the Sister" (Met. 4.323f.): Salmacis, Hermaphroditus and Ovid's Poetic Art

Qua poets, Ovid and Virgil are brothers sharing a common parent: epos. Ovid's other parent is elegy, which comprises the rest of his corpus; but Ovid's epic's use of frequent "elegiac" themes, evident in aspects of his lexicon, e.g., *mollis* or *deducere* (cf. Harries *PCPhS* [1990]), reveals the learnedness of his poetry. Such learnedness, in the Hermaphroditus episode (*Met*. 4.4.271-388), features a strong female presence.

This paper will expound upon both such a poetic register and the "brotherhood" (poetic relationship) of Ovid and Virgil, and "sisterhood" (via allusion) of Ovid's Salmacis and Virgil's Dido. Ovid's allusive program to Virgilian characters, from Lavinia to Dido, reveals how female dominance produces an interesting sexual and poetic admixture of gender and genre (hinted already at 323f. when Salmacis first addresses the virginal boy). Ovid's many allusions and a possible paranomasia on a famous Virgilian acrostic demonstrates these poets' proximity and complex relationship.

b. Antony Augoustakis (University of Illinois, USA)
Scylla's lament in the Ciris and the (post-)Ovidian Latin literary tradition

The *Ciris* is a notoriously difficult poem, and its authorship has been in the center of this *Cirisfrage* for centuries. Several scholars have treated possible Ovidian influences while others date the poem in the last years of the Republic. This paper revisits aspects of the poem's influence by and on the Latin literary tradition, especially the interaction between this poem and Ovid's oeuvre, and discusses the poem's reception of/by post-Ovidian poetry in the Neronian and Flavian periods.

c. Angeline Chiu (University of Vermont, USA)
'The first heir of my invention': Venus and Adonis in Ovid and Shakespeare

Shakespeare's epyllion "Venus and Adonis" (1593) was his most popular and well-known work during his lifetime, and it has also been called Shakespeare's most Ovidian production. This paper will examine the Ovid of Shakespeare's day from its prominent place in childhood education to Shakespeare's general interaction with the Roman poet to the influence of Arthur Golding's landmark 1567 translation of the *Metamorphoses* into English that gained a new and wider audience for Ovid. Furthermore, this examination will consider "Venus and Adonis" as reception and adaptation of a tissue of Ovidian works: the love poetry and the episodes of Venus and Adonis and Salmacis and Hermaphroditus in *Met.* books 10 and 4 respectively. Finally, this paper will situate Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis" in the wider literary context of the late Elizabethan epyllion as a genre of Ovid-influenced erotic myth vis-à-vis Lodge's "Glaucus and Scilla" (1589), Marlowe's "Hero and Leander" (1598), Marston's "The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Statue" (1598), and Beaumont's "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus" (1602).

d. Cynthia Liu (University of Oxford, UK)
Dogs, death, and dismemberment: Female power and violence in Ovid's Metamorphoses

Discussion of the tales of Actaeon, Pentheus, and Orpheus (*Met.* 3.131-252; 3.511-733; 11.1-66) have focused primarily on the dismemberment of male characters [cf. Feldherr, 1997; Salzman-Mitchell, 2005; von-Glinski, 2012], but there is an allusive thread connecting the women of these myths – Agave and the Maenads – to the dogs that has been less investigated. The image of the dog-woman is also prominent in the myth of Hecuba *(Met.* 13.481-575). Aside from these tales, and that of Scylla, dogs in the *Metamorphoses* appear only as side characters in hunting scenes or metaphors.

The argument of this paper, examining the unique connection between women and dogs in the myth of Hecuba and the aforementioned "triptych of dismemberment", will investigate primarily the significance of Hecuba's dog voice and posit that her canine metamorphosis acts as a frightening and simultaneously epic-ising vehicle for highlighting facets of female volatility and tragedy. In particular, Hecuba's canine features, together with the necrophagic and vociferous connotations attached to dogs, ties her very uniquely to Homeric heroes, shedding an epic timbre on her otherwise tragic story.

e. Patricia Salzman-Mitchell (Montclair State University, New Jersey, USA)
Motherhoods in Crisis: Ino, Agave and Mother-son Murder in Ovid's Metamorphoses

Mother-child murder is a challenging matter for feminism and for readings of Ovidian motherhood (McAuley 2016, OUP). Agave and Ino's slayings of their sons in *Metamorphoses* 3 and 4 are explained as driven by divine madness. We query this thought and delve into the intricate gender dynamics of filicide and how Agave and Ino's actions challenge patriarchal motherhood within the unconventional womanhood thriving in Dionysos' Thebes. Ino, with a mythical background of plotting her stepchildren's deaths, may still be driven by grief for her first child's loss as she commits double murder/suicide. We question Agave's madness and explore the intriguing gender reversals in Pentheus and his intrusion in the motherly/womanly space. A problematic mother-son bond, issues of sisterhood and male power, an emasculated son and weakened father figures result in a symbolic liberation from 'essential motherhood' (DiQuinzio 1999, Routledge), family ties, and the patriarchal order in both complex and tragic mother-son conflicts.

f. Alden Smith (Baylor University, Texas, USA)
The enticement of allusion: Epic language, epic landscape in Ovid's Salmacis and Hermaphroditus Episode (Met. 4.271-388)

Charles Segal once showed how Ovid manipulates landscape to enhance the psychology of his characters. I argue here that in the Salmacis/Hermaphroditus episode, epic landscape has a counterpart in epic language.

Salmacis' limpid pool is in the same tradition of similar landscape scenes in Virgil, where a cave symbolizes much more than merely refuge from a downpour. Ovid exploits such symbolism to suggest Salmacis' sexual attractiveness, irresistible to Hermaphroditus (352f.). Salmacis' sexual

enticement is further strengthened by allusions to similar epic situations, including Odysseus/Nausikaa (*Od*. 6.149ff.) and *Aen*. 11.750ff., a model for Salmacis' entwining of Hermaphroditus. Most telling, though, are allusions to Dido and Aeneas (*Aen*. 1.713f., 4.101, 4.28f.), two describing Dido's burning desire for Aeneas, a third, Aeneas' burning desire for flight. These allusions bond the two epics. As Tola's paper shows, Aeneas and Hermaphroditus are brothers, even as are, in terms of epic landscape and language, Ovid and Virgil.

4M – THE LATIN LITERARY TRADITION AND LATER GREEK POETRY

PANEL ABSTRACT

The last two decades have witnessed a surge of interest in later Greek poetry, especially epic, both in the study of individual works – especially the poems of Quintus and Nonnus – and in their context. Reliable editions and modern annotated translations of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* and Quintus' *Posthomerica* have made these texts accessible to scholars with interests in ancient literature, the evolution of the epic tradition, and the Late Antiquity. A series of international conferences on Nonnus and his context (Rethymnon 2011, Vienna 2013, Warsaw 2015, Ghent 2018), as well as Quintus and his context (Zurich 2006, Cambridge 2016), has been organized: the edited volumes arising from these meetings (Spanoudakis 2014, Bannert / Kröll (2017), Doroszewski / Jazdzweska (forthcoming); Baumbach / Bär 2007, Bär / Greensmith / Ozbek (forthcoming)) as well as the *Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panopolis* (Accorinti 2016) and the number of recent monographs on the *Posthomerica* (e.g. Maciver 2012, Gotia 2009, Spinoula 2008, Gärtner 2005) and the *Dionysiaca* (e.g. Verhelst 2017, Kröll 2016, Frangoulis 2014), attest to this recent explosion of scholarly interest in later Greek poetry (Miguélez Cavero 2008 and 2013).

One important question regarding both Nonnus and Quintus relates to their possible engagement with the Latin literary tradition, especially the epics of Virgil and Ovid. A reader of the *Dionysiaca* cannot fail to notice similarities in theme and narrative to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and a reader of the *Posthomerica* cannot *not* think of corresponding episodes in Virgil's *Aeneid* covering similar ground in the narrative. Further discussion, however, of such engagement is often hindered by the suggestion that there may have been a (now lost) Greek common source or model for subsequent Greek and Latin works, while any interaction between Greek-speaking authors between the 3rd and 5th c. AD and Roman culture is generally treated with suspicion.

Two recent conferences (Edinburgh 2014, Ghent 2016) have already invited participants to consider later Greek literature alongside the Latin tradition and open up a dialogue between the two traditions (see Verhelst / Scheijnen (forthcoming)). Our panel seeks to explore further later Greek poems in the light of the Latin literary tradition. Our starting premise is that it is probable that the Greek poets of the Late Antiquity were indeed familiar with crucial works of Latin poetry such as Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, be it in the original or in translation. Then we will get to the heart of literary matter, utilizing different approaches and methodological pathways in order to analyse the metamorphic structure of Nonnus' poetry, which, among other things, presumes deep familiarity with Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. This will be our main point, but we will not overlook Virgil's influence on Greek epic, obviously including Quintus, to supplement the framework of Greek and Latin cultural crossing. Finally, in order to enhance the picture, we will focus on Claudian's bilingual poetry as a 'meeting point' between Greek and Latin traditions in Late Antiquity.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Sophia Papaioannou (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens) **and Giampiero Scafogli**o (University of Nice 'Sophia Antipolis', France)
Introduction

b. Daniel Jolowicz (Clare Hall, University of Cambridge, UK)
Did Greeks of the imperial period read Latin poetry?

The question of whether Greeks of the imperial period (especially the first two centuries CE) read Latin poetry at all – and if so, for pleasure? – is a live and thorny one. The traditional scholarly position is that they did not. I will indeed address the question of whether Greeks of the imperial period acknowledged the existence of a poetic corpus written in Latin, and explore how this acknowledgement manifests itself. I shall assess evidence in a variety of media (inscriptional, papyrological, architectural, literary) in an effort to establish in what type of contexts the Greeks may have been exposed to Latin poetry, and how and where they responded to it. My conclusion will be that, whilst it is necessary to work on a case by case basis rather than imposing a totalising model across time and space, many Greek authors from this period exhibit a sophisticated engagement with Augustan and Neronian poetry.

c. Philip Hardie (Trinity College, University of Cambridge, UK)
The Ovidianism of Nonnus

The question of whether Nonnus had read Ovid's *Metamorphoses* has frequently been raised, and answers have often been sought with reference to what are asserted or denied as direct borrowings in the *Dionysiaka* from specific Ovidian episodes. In this paper I will take a more general comparative approach, and look at a range of shared features that, cumulatively, make the *Dionysiaka* look like a distinctively 'Ovidian' epic narrative: metamorphosis as a recurrent narrative device; the slippage between physical transformation and the shiftiness of linguistic figuration, between meta-morphosis and meta-phor; a self-conscious deployment of ecphrasis and the ecphrastic; a fascination with themes of illusion, delusion, and fictionality. I will further attempt to formulate some notes towards a literary-historical and cultural-historical framework within which one might try to explain these similarities, whether in terms of shared traditions, convergence, or the possibility that Nonnus was indeed an attentive reader of Ovid.

d. Helen Lovatt (University of Nottingham, UK)
Nonnus' Ovidian gaze and Silius' tangential intertextuality

Nonnus and Ovid have much in common, not least their visuality. But is there a direct relationship? Those who argue against make various assumptions: that common traditions are more likely than intentional allusions; that any differences preclude influence; that the 'poor quality' of Nonnus rules out sophisticated and complex interactions. This presentation of Nonnus evokes that of Flavian epic, particularly Silius Italicus. While Silius is assumed to be constantly derivative of Augustan poetry, Nonnus is assumed to be unaware of it. The reality is surely more complex: this paper explores intertextuality by comparing the two situations. What drives assumptions about allusion and intertext? How much agency is attributed to poets and how much to readers, with what results? Where poets reverse, minimise, complicate and avoid their predecessors, can we still see allusion? The paper investigates the use of Ovid in both Silius and Nonnus, especially through the themes of vision and power.

e. Katerina Karvounis (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece)
Claudian between the Greek and Latin traditions

The possible influence of Latin literature upon later Greek poetry has received much scholarly attention in recent years and I have argued elsewhere that it is indeed probable that Virgil and Ovid are models for later poets such as Quintus and Nonnus, in addition to Greek models. In this talk, I will focus on Claudian, a versatile author who has composed in both languages at the end of the fourth century A.D., and on his mythological works in particular. I shall first examine his metaphors of poetry as a ship sailing in the open sea within the context of both the Greek and Latin traditions and will then examine the later practice of introducing poetic works in both languages with prologues addressed to the audience. I will further explore to what extent cultural contexts and earlier traditions can account for shared practices in later Greek and later Latin poetry (such as the prologues of poetic works) and for divergences within these practices.

5A – GENDERING CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY (GENDERING CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY FOR CHILDREN)

PANEL ABSTRACT

Classical mythology, in its stories and characterisations, is a product of ancient patriarchal cultures. Despite huge changes in modern Western society, particularly with regard to issues of gender and the status of women, ancient myth remains an attractive source of stories for all age groups, as recent films and literature on the subject demonstrate. This proposal investigates some ways in which ancient myth has been appropriated in the second millennium, by and for females, and considers why and how myth has been manipulated to inculcate moral or ethical lessons for children.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Sonya Nevin (University of Roehampton, UK)
Ariadne and the Minotaur: Exploring classical mythology with pre-school children

Classical mythology is frequently young people's first introduction to Greco-Roman antiquity. Many of the values expressed within classical mythology are naturally very different from those commonly held in the modern world. This tension is balanced in myriad ways by the authors and illustrators who create the books that invite young children to explore classical mythology. This paper will present the experiences and insights of a classicist researching classical culture in children's culture while also working amongst pre-school-aged children, with particular emphasis on issues around engendering, sexism, and child-led role-play. The paper will address the representation of gender in a selection of books for young children, including Simon Spence's *Atalanta*, Russell Punter's *Minotaur*, and Saviour Pirotta's hugely successfull *Orchard Book of First Greek Myths*. There will be discussion of the children's responses to the myths in these volumes, including their development of *Ariadne and the Minotaur*, a naively subversive game in which Princess Ariadne, armed with sword, thread, and mobile phone, kills the Minotaur and escapes the labyrinth.

b. Lisa Maurice (Bar Ilan University, Israel)
Tempting Treasures and Seductive Snakes: Presenting Eve and Pandora for the Youngest Readers

Neither Eve nor Pandora have traditionally been depicted in positive lights, and the messages that are often read from the stories are ones reflecting negative attitudes towards the female gender. When one of the tales is a Biblical narrative,

which may form part of the belief system of many of the purchasers of the books, the issue is complicated further. Thus, the narration of the tales for young readers is a complex matter.

Despite these difficulties, and in spite of the secularism of the modern world, both stories are popular subjects, not only for juvenile literature in general but even for the youngest readers or even pre-readers. This paper investigates the ways in which the tales are presented in these books, considering all of these works in their social contexts, and focussing on the method and nature of the adaptations, the illustrations used and the didactic or moral messages imparted.

c. Robin Diver (University of Birmingham, UK)
Rape, Sisterhood and Deadly Love: Attempting to Centre the Female Experience in Young Adult Novels about the Trojan War

This paper examines the construction of the teenage female experience in YA novels set against the backdrop of the Trojan War, particularly Geras' *Troy* (2000). Following current scholarship (e.g. Rose, 1984; Nodelman, 2008), it takes the position that YA fiction represents an adult construction of teenagers which can nonetheless tell us much about how we view this life-stage.

In this paper, Geras' work is considered in relation to three other YA Trojan War novels which describe themselves as centring female experiences: McLaren (1996), Tomlinson (2002) and Friesner (2007). The paper will consider how the teenage female experience is constructed and its central themes; how sexuality is explored and the role men play in the female experience; the depiction of rape within the context of the war setting of the novels; and to what extent these novels construct themselves as didactic, and what 'lessons' are being taught to the young readers.

d. Susan Deacy (University of Roehampton, UK)
Autism, Girls and Hercules: A case study

Classical myths open up space for children to explore their experiences, fears and desires, and to think in fresh ways about themselves, their relationships and their place in culture. Yet many receptions for children present stereotypical images of gender. This paper presents my attempts to move beyond such receptions, by seeking to engage the imaginations and extend the experiences of a specific 'demographic' - autistic children. I shall demonstrate how, via a series of activities around the figure of Hercules, I am seeking to encourage the users to negotiate issues that, challenging for any child, can

be especially acute for an autistic child to work through. In particular, I shall show how Hercules is a figure particularly ripe for re-appropriation with girls, who for too long have inaccurately been seen as less prone than boys to autism. The paper will include a discussion of a pilot study of the activities with pupils aged 5-11 in a specialist autistic unit in a London state school.

5B – RETHINKING CLASSICS IN THE 21 CENTURY:
Technology, Pedagody, and Interdisciplinarity
....

PANEL ABSTRACT

In an era when technology and the political landscape have created a new *status quo* for several academic disciplines, Classical Studies found themselves in a new reality. This panel discusses the reconception of Classics and the confluence of traditional areas of scholarly inquiry and technologically advanced methods that enhance and facilitate research and pedagogical approaches. This panel proposes to discuss Digital Classics with specific attention to its polyvalent nature. The group of speakers will present technological tools that have enhanced traditional scholarly analyses, effectively combining different areas, such as epigraphy and literary studies, recording less-resourced dialects, actualizing spatial information through geographic annotation, and ultimately conceptualizing Classical Studies for new audiences. Against this backdrop, we will also discuss the mission of Sunoikisis Digital Classics, the international consortium of Digital Classics, which was founded to promote collaboration, interdisciplinarity, and student engagement (http://wp.chs.harvard.edu/sunoikisis/). This panel will focus on the contribution of Digital Classics to effectuating interdisciplinarity and international collaboration.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Simona Stoyanova (King's College London, UK – Presenting author) **and Gabriel Bodard** (Institute of Classical Studies, UK)
Teaching digital epigraphy in classroom, workshop, online tutorial, and Sunoikisis Digital Classics seminar

For the past several years we have been offering workshops around the world to teach the basics of EpiDoc—the use of TEI XML for the encoding of epigraphic and other primary text editions. These practice-based workshops introduce an audience of largely non-technical students and professors alike the use of XML tools, including but generic and specific applications, and have attracted hundreds of attendees over the years. In this paper, we will discuss the different experiences of offering instruction in EpiDoc and digital epigraphy in immersive workshops such as these, teaching

in a classroom environment (for example in Dr Bodard's MA module in Digital Classics at the ICS), through the online sessions of the Sunoikisis Digital Classics programme on Youtube, and feedback received from users of online tutorials and guidelines. These different venues for teaching and transferring knowledge about epigraphy and XML reach different audiences, and impact on pedagogical approaches and skills acquired. We shall end with some recommendations for embedding digital skills in the teaching of epigraphy in classics and ancient history programmes.

b. Elton Barker (Open University, UK – Presenting author)**, Rainer Simon** (Austrian Institute of Technology)**, Valeria Vitale** (Institute of Classical Studies, UK)**, Leif Isaksen** (University of Exeter, UK)**, Rebecca Kahn** (Humboldt Institute for Internet and Society, Germany)
Students at the interface: annotating texts, co-creating context

In this paper we discuss a free online tool for working with digital texts called Recogito (recogito.pelagios.org), and explore different examples of its use in the classroom. Recogito enables users to work directly on a text and capture information about it deemed of nterest, byannotating entities like places, people and events, or by adding "tags" to words or phrases for search and analysis. By means of this simple process of annotation, not only is it possible for students to visualize a narrative's geospatial content and structure (and in effect create maps from texts); they become co-creators of content by identifying key ideas and structuring the reading of them. In addition, by allowing users to work simultaneously (and/or asynchronously) on the same document(s), Recogito is of special value in a classroom context where students can both work collaboratively and be assessed for their individual contributions.

c. Marja Vierros (University of Helsinki, Finland)
Greek Documentary Papyri, Linguistics, and Digital Methods

Greek and Latin documentary papyri form an important source material for the historical development and linguistic variation present in postclassical Greek and Latin used in Egypt, respectively. The texts are often preserved in fragmentary condition, which is why the texts have been difficult to analyse or annotate with digital corpus linguistic tools. Papyrological research in general has been in a leading position in using electronic and digital resources. Now, adding the morphosyntactic annotation and phonological search tools for studying the language of the papyri will make more detailed linguistic analyses on this postclassical phase available to classicists and historical linguists. Linguistic annotation has also proven to be an effective way for students

to learn the ancient languages. In this paper, I will focus on the aims and methods of the project "Digital grammar of Greek documentary papyri."

d. Charlotte Roueché (King's College London, UK)
Opening the doors? New resources for new audiences

Since 2004 we have been involved in making materials for the study of inscriptions, from Libya and from Turkey, available online. Fellow academics certainly use these collections; the challenge now is to determine what would make such freely accessible resources interesting and helpful to a wider public. Do we need to develop relevant teaching tools? Or simply focus on translations into as many languages as possible? Are there ways to engage more citizens by inviting their contributions? How can we build the sense that the ancient world that we study belongs to—and is the responsibility of—everyone? This paper is intended to pose questions, in the hope of learning from the experience of the international classical community.

5C – THE SPATIAL AND MATERIAL DIMENSIONS OF ANCIENT FESTIVAL CULTURE

PANEL ABSTRACT
Recent research has seen an intensified interest in the agency of material culture, and the ways that material, spatial and visual landscapes help to construct and frame human activity. This panel will examine ancient festival culture through this lens, focussing on the material and spatial dimensions of ancient festivals in the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman East. It explores how the visual appearance of the spaces within which festivals took place interacted with public events and affected the way in which spectators experienced them, helping to construct the meaning of festivals. It will also show how particular types of material culture, such as agonistic inscriptions and civic tokens, affected the ways that festivals were perceived as a political and a religious experience from different perspectives. The panel brings together junior and senior scholars from four separate research groups with a common interest in the role played by material culture in experiencing festival culture.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Christina Williamson (University of Groningen, Netherlands)
Festival shapers: Connecting places through sacred spaces

Along with the wave of urbanization, the Hellenistic world may be characterized by a surge in religious but also agonistic festivals, as individual cities began using their principle deity

as point of contact in an expanding urban network. Besides being prime civic space, the sanctuaries of these tutelary gods were turned into local platforms of inter-civic contact as cities began inviting each other to participate in their festivals. But how did this emerging network impact local sacred space? Which unique characteristics were retained and which were lost as shrines became local repeaters of a universalizing culture? How did these changes affect ritual, or vice-versa? This exploratory paper addresses these questions through case studies in Asia Minor, such as at the sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina near Stratonikeia, and Men Askaenos near Pisidian Antioch, suggesting steps towards a holistic methodology to address this phenomenon.

b. Zahra Newby (University of Warwick, UK)
Celebrating Synthusia in Roman Asia Minor

Synthusia, or joint sacrifice, was one of the defining rituals of ancient festivals, bringing together representatives from cities near and far to join in the celebration of a particular god. This paper examines the visual and material commemoration of *synthusia* in imperial Asia Minor, including in the cities of Ephesus, Aphrodisias and Hierapolis. Drawing on the evidence of inscribed statue bases, civic coins and theatre reliefs, it will argue that the visual landscape which was created by these images helped to construct the image of an interconnected world, while negotiating the competing claims to status of a variety of cities, from local rivals, to major urban centres across the Mediterranean.

c. Sebastian Scharff (University of Mannheim, Germany)
Roman Emperors and Greek Festivals. The construction of imperial power by means of agonistic inscriptions

It was not respectable behavior for Roman notables to participate in Greek *agones*; and yet, some emperors and members of the imperial family like Tiberius, Germanicus or, most prominently, Nero are recorded actively engaging in Greek contests. Others like Augustus, Domitian or Hadrian were at least concerned with the foundation, funding and organization of games. No doubt, some Roman emperors made good use of Greek athletics in one way or another. This paper particularly aims at analyzing the material evidence for their engagement and the effects that these had on their intended audiences through the analysis of victory inscriptions, imperial letters and the archaeological remains of athletic facilities. It will be argued that at least for some emperors athletic festivals represented an opportunity to establish a channel of communication with people from the provinces of the Eastern part of the empire.

d. Mairi Gkikaki (University of Warwick, UK)
Religious experience in Roman imperial Athens through the lens of tokens

This paper aims to provide the first comprehensive analysis of the role played by tokens in the festivals of Roman Athens. It will present the results of new research on these tokens, focussing on their varied divine iconography especially in relation with the find assemblages and the architectural contexts in which they were found. The study of tokens sheds light on various aspects of festival culture, such as finance, administration and participation, which were all means of negotiating social power and civic identity. These small objects of desire functioning as entrance tickets to festivals actively engaged their participants. This paper will give a brief overview of the great state festivals of the Athenian *polis* in the Hellenistic period and then will focus on the role played by tokens in the religious life of Imperial Athens, where gaining acknowledgment and relations to exclusive spheres of societal life was of paramount importance.

5D – THE MATERIAL WORLD OF FRAGMENTARY LANGUAGES

PANEL ABSTRACT

This panel explores the challenges and methodologies involved in studying so-called 'fragmentary languages' and the fragmentary objects they are often preserved on. In a sense, all languages, particularly written registers of languages, are fragmentary. If written languages are 'bad data' (Labov), what does this mean for the languages and inscriptions of the ancient world? In particular what does it mean for languages which are poorly understood, varieties of languages used only in restricted situations, or inscriptions recovered from broken material contexts? On the other hand, is there work we can actually do more effectively with these fragmentary sources than we can with better-attested ancient languages? The panel examines these questions across time and space, ranging from Iberia, through Italy and Greece, to the Armenian plateau. It also employs a range of linguistic and philological approaches (epigraphy, discourse analysis, comparative philology) as well as considerations of historical context and material culture.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Coline Ruiz Darasse (Université Bordeaux Montaigne, France)
Palaeohispanic epigraphy as the 'worst data'? Reflections about what an inscription is in a fragmentary context

Palaeohispanic epigraphy consists of inscriptions from the Iberian Peninsula and southern Gaul attested between the 5th and 1st centuries B.C.

This corpus is, after Etruscan, the second largest non-Graeco-Latin fragmentary epigraphy in the ancient Mediterranean domain. Particularly complex, it is fragmentary in several ways: by the nature of the inscriptions (often reduced to a few signs); by the nature of the language(s) noted (non-Indo-European languages for which no historical linguistics is yet possible); and by our current difficulties in understanding it (insufficient lexical information, problematic syntax, etc.).

In this context, only a descriptive approach is possible. But how reliable is this method? How should we define the function of each element? What criteria should be used to segment a text? In a word, what strategies do we employ when we are in front of an inscription of a fragmentary corpus? This is what this communication will try to question.

b. Katherine McDonald (University of Exeter, UK)
Fragmentary or ambiguous? Language and communication in very short texts

The Greek alphabet, in various forms, was in use for multiple languages of the Western Mediterranean in the first millennium b.c., including Oscan, Gaulish, Messapic and a number of Greek dialects. However, the widespread use of the Greek alphabet creates a methodological problem for linguists. Trade-related inscriptions, such as stamps, owners' marks and artists' signatures, tend to be very short, even lacking morphology in some cases. How do we know what 'language' (if any) the inscriptions are in?

This paper explores how linguists and epigraphers identify the 'language' of these inscriptions, addresses the assumptions we make in our attempts to classify the epigraphic material, and raises some of the problems that result from these assumptions. The paper critiques the need for identifying a single 'language' for short texts, and suggests that the inscriptions could have been deliberately linguistically ambiguous to allow for mobility across language barriers, giving makers of high-quality goods access to multiple markets and social groups.

c. Anna P. Judson (University of Cambridge, UK)
Fragments of the writing process: erasures and edits in the Linear B tablets

Mycenaean Greek texts, written on clay tablets in the Linear B writing system in Late Bronze Age Greece (c.1400-1200 BCE), are often physically fragmentary, and our understanding of both the writing system and the language is incomplete. More broadly, among the many topics not covered by these administrative records are the status, roles, and activities of the writers themselves, which therefore have to be reconstructed indirectly via aspects of the texts they produced.

This paper examines the processes involved in the production of these written records via the changes writers made to their texts as they wrote them, usually by erasing and rewriting signs or words: where the original text remains legible, the motivations behind these changes can be reconstructed. Analysing these remaining 'fragments' of the writing process provides key evidence for how Mycenaean writers chose to write their texts and thus for their purposes within the palatial administrative systems.

d. Ben Cartlidge (University of Liverpool, UK)
Welcome to the guni show: fragments of a Urartian discourse grammar

Urartian, the language of the state of Urartu (9th-6th centuries B.C.), is preserved on a range of materials from monumental stone inscriptions to clay letters. A complex, typologically unusual grammar further complicates the analysis of a modestly sized and rather repetitive corpus; many texts are still only poorly understood. Fragmentary textual attestation leads to fragmentary grammatical reconstruction; yet 'fragmentary' linguistic methods can assist our analysis. This paper focuses on the language of Urartian letters to show the unexpected ways in which linguistic analysis improves our knowledge of fragmentary languages. Aspects of their physical form and condition have affected the interpretation of the texts (particularly with regard to word division). But ideas from discourse analysis and information structure, as well as phraseological parallels from other languages, help identify text-structuring particles (particularly an element *guni*); the interpretation of the letters both linguistically and culturally is thereby improved.

5E – POLITICS IN DISGUISE: Scraps of Political Commentary in Roman Elegiac Poets

PANEL ABSTRACT
The papers in this panel discuss shreds of political commentary in elegiac authors, a genre whose representatives have traditionally been supposed to refrain from politics altogether. Two of the papers (Kiss, Nobili) offer a fresh view of the peculiar language chosen by Catullus when dealing with topics regarding politics and politicians: a choice that can be explained in terms of aesthetics rather than debate. This view may lead to elucidate hitherto misunderstood poems such as *carmen* 112. Cirillo shows to what extent a seemingly biographical detail, childlessness, can be seen as a rhetorical means of hinting at hidden opposition to the Augustan ideology. Sabaté explores a number of Latin inscriptions where well-known elegiac (especially Ovidian) passages are re-used and re-interpreted in order to comment upon actual social issues or real-life political controversies.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Olga Cirillo (Naples, 'Federico II / Portici, Liceo 'Q. Orazio Flacco', Italy)
Poets without sons: the choice of sterility as an opposition to militarism

Literary criticism has often interpreted Latin elegy as a genre opposed to the politics of the Augustan regime. More recently, other critics have gone so far as to declare that such hostility never existed: the misguided impression of a clash between Propertius and the regime is due to the accepted lifestyle of the *poeta amans*, not to an intention to belittle Augustan perspectives and directives. On a different footing, my paper aims at restoring the first interpretation: being without offspring, and having decided not to have any, Propertius is part of the large number of late Republican artists who enjoy staying childless and never regret it; thus, his stance can be seen a disguised rebuttal of Augustan models and trends. This well-established tradition begins with Catullus and Lucretius, including Tibullus, Horace, and Virgil, too, who, despite having a different understanding of Augustus and his regime, did indeed experience the same events and conditions in their real (and literary) lives.

b. Dániel Kiss (Budapest, ELTE, Hungary)
Neoteric political aesthetics

The poems of Catullus and the fragmentary remains of the other so-called Neoteric poets display a contradictory attitude towards politics. Politicians such as Caesar, Pompey and Gaius

Memmius are mentioned frequently; but the key political debates of the time are strangely absent. Politicians are judged not by their policies, but by their appearance, behaviour and associates; to adopt a term used by Brian Krostenko, politics becomes a matter of public performance that is judged in aesthetic terms. The paper argues that Neoteric poetry itself should be set into a broader context of aesthetic performance by the Roman élite, which explains why this literary medium prefers political aesthetics to policy debates.

c. Marcello Nobili (Rome, 'Sapienza' / Liceo 'Primo Levi', Italy)
Sex, aggression, or rather politics in Catullus 112

Despite Catullus' explicit rebuttal of the political debate in an age and in a place, Rome, where it had become the key to everyday life for every denizen, including the uninterested, we may notice that "Catullan provocation" is operating in this respect too, insofar as the poet refuses to discuss the prominent political figures by using the established terminology of political confrontation; on the contrary, he pushes forward the expressive attitude, not uncommon in that age (e.g. in Cicero), that links political (but also artistic) discourse to aspects of perversion in sexual behaviour. If we accept this view for a piece that still looks unclear, namely poem 112 on an *eques Romanus* called Naso who is shunned by potential clients as he is a *pathicus*, all the problems of interpretation can be solved. Moreover, I also put forward a new explanation of line 2, while a neglected but necessary emendation in line 1 is revived.

d. Víctor Sabaté Vidal (University of Barcelona, Spain)
What is in a literary quote? Glimpses of Roman politics in the epigraphic re-uses of Latin elegy quotes

This paper aims to analyse the presence of politics in the quotes of elegiac poets that appear in several epigraphical documents. While classical Latin poetry makes regular references to contemporary politics, when it comes in an epigraphic medium, it seems as if politics is concealed behind the most characteristic topics of elegy. The innuendo is sometimes completely unambiguous, as in a graffito from the basilica of Pompeii, in which the Ovidian phrase *militat omnis amans* (*Amores* 1.9.1) was altered in order to reinforce an allusion to military service. More generally, however, inscriptions do not contain a political message themselves, but they use seemingly innocent literary quotes to call forth political elements to the readers' mind; one case study is to be seen in the distich inscribed on a vessel bearing a representation of the myth of Actaeon (from *Tristia* 2.105-6), where an apparent caption could refer to the elegy containing the reasons of Ovid's exile.

5F – APPROACHES TO DIFFERENCE IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN: MOVING BEYOND 'DIVERSITY'

PANEL ABSTRACT
This two-hour panel pushes beyond recent discussions of race in antiquity to think in broader terms about practices surrounding difference within ancient societies, from classical Greece to imperial Rome to the medieval West. These papers diversely examine civic and geographical origin, language, and mobility as indicators of difference. They are united, however, in tracing the social and theoretical implications of individuals' interactions across these categories and in exploring the various attitudes, valuations, restrictions, and cooperative acts by which heterogeneous people came together into communities. These papers are grounded in classical methodologies, informed by modern theory, and broadly interdisciplinary in their use of archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence. The overall goal of this majority-minority panel is to shed new light on the lived experience and praxis of difference in the ancient Mediterranean world with an eye toward informing modern conversations about diversity.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Rebecca Futo Kennedy (Denison University, USA)
Does Experience of Foreigners Lead to Openness to Foreigners?

Ancient Athens had one of the most active ports in Classical Greece. We see evidence of non-Athenians both in the literary and material remains, particularly grave stele in Piraeus. This paper explores Athens within the context of other Classical ports using evidence from museums around mainland Greece and seeks to answer the following questions: Do we see similar concentrations of ethnic identifiers in other coastal towns or in *poleis* in the Greek interior? Or are interiors marked by the absence of such diversity? From Athens, we have literary evidence to reconstruct attitudes towards foreigners with some accuracy. Can we use trade goods such as terra cottas and vases for a reconstruction of attitudes towards diverse populations elsewhere in Greece? The goal of the paper is to gather evidence for understanding how differences in concentrations of diverse populations shape attitudes towards foreigners, an issue that still resonates today.

b. Nandini Pandey (University of Wisconsin – Madison, USA)
Valuing Diversity in Ancient Rome: Ovid and Pliny on the Benefits of Cosmopolitanism

Did the Romans value diversity, and if so, on what grounds? Though writers rarely discussed such questions explicitly, this paper argues via Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* and Pliny's *Natural History*

that they placed economic, aesthetic, and pragmatic value on ethnic and geographical heterogeneity, for reasons that challenge yet might usefully inform modern debates. The *Ars Amatoria* celebrates Rome's status as a cosmopolis insofar as it rendered goods and bodies trafficked from all over the known world available for the consumption of city-dwellers. Ovid's reader thus becomes a pocketbook conquistador, enjoying imperialism's rewards without its risks. To Pliny, Rome's acquisition of exotic *objets* made the city itself a marvel, granting citizens the godlike experience of surveying the universe in a day. Strikingly, both writers represent diversity in potted, controllable forms that appeal to elite egos. By asking *cui bono* as the Romans placed value on diversity, this paper seeks to encourage critical reexamination and refinement of modern diversity measures.

c. Sailakshmi Ramgopal (Columbia University, USA)
Diversities of Mobility in the Roman Empire: Women, Slaves, and Freedpeople

Drawing on literary, epigraphic, and papyrological evidence from imperial Britain, Egypt, Italy, and Greece, this paper suggests methods to consider how identity played a determining role in the diversity of mobilities now known to have existed in the Roman world. The paper loosely adopts Kimberlé Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality to compare how mechanisms of the state (such as Roman law) and social convention (such as elite concerns about the presence of women in army encampments) shaped the mobilities that women, slaves, and freed people experienced. It then demonstrates the wide range of effects these mobilities exerted on social dynamics in the civic sphere, employment, and trade of local communities around the Roman Empire in order to call for approaches that eschew narratives that suggest normativity around identity and mobility.

d. Sukanya Raisharma (St John's College, University of Oxford, UK)
Trust in Diversity in Late Antiquity: Interaction as Action in the Monasteries of Condat and Bobbio

Much academic ink has been spilt on the nature of ethnicity and identity in the early Middle Ages. Nevertheless, identity formation of monks and nuns in this period has been relatively understudied. I argue that monasteries can be studied as melting pots of diverse identities, previously disconnected due to language, regional, and ethnic barriers. In this paper, I aim to analyse group conflict and community cohesion in the monastery of Condat in France as well as the monastery of Bobbio in Italy by examining hagiographies from the fifth and

sixth centuries. Differences (imagined or real) in customs and habits were present even between the ordained members of a single monastic community. This paper explores how these monks and nuns learned to live together and co-operate with one another in their respective monastic communities. I argue that repeated interaction within the members of these close-knit but heterogeneous monasteries made them develop a common identity. Rather than seeing monastic identity as being imposed from above - from the abbot to the community members - I propose that repeated interaction due to proximity helped in the formation of social trust and consequently, in forging a common identity among the members of a monastic community.

5G – LEXICON AND LETTERS: Challenges in Studying Same-sex Desire

PANEL ABSTRACT
This panel, the first-ever collaboration between the Women's Classical Caucus UK and the Lambda Classical Caucus (an affiliated group of the Society for Classical Studies), features four speakers (from four different countries) who explore in various ways the challenges faced by classicists in studying same-sex desire. The first two papers focus on lexical issues, unpacking what the ancients meant by the words *kinaidos* and *tribas*, terms that overlap with but do not correspond exactly with our modern concepts of male and female homosexual. The second two papers examine epistles – namely, those of a Byzantine official and those of Winckelmann, respectively – and investigate how best to interpret the rhetoric of same-sex desire present in these letters. As a whole, this panel seeks to illuminate some of the pressing methodological issues confronted by 21st-century scholars working on issues of ancient sexuality and its reception. (Chair: Irene Salvo, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Tom Sapsford (New York University, USA)
How to recognise a kinaidos when you see one: Desire and the decipherment of papyri from Roman Egypt

While documentary sources from Ptolemaic Egypt prove the existence of men identified as *kinaidoi*, in Roman Egypt the situation is more problematic. P. Fouad 1.68 records a list of payments by several individuals with banausic occupations. Whereas the *editio princeps* includes a *kinaidos* called Hatres, paleographic analysis draws this reading into question. The editor of P. Oxy.31.2575, an arrest order, reconstructs "Tixe the *kinaidos*, son of Ploutas" from the gaps and traces left in the papyrus, yet rules out his own interpretation on

contextual grounds. In this paper, I argue that although neither papyrus confirms the presence of real-life *kinaidoi*, when supplemented with other sources, the probability of their existence seems most likely. Furthermore, I investigate the stakes involved in recognizing *kinaidoi* as members of daily life in Roman Egypt, arguing that when working with scant and sometimes contradictory evidence, the process of decipherment becomes complicated by a twin desire to familiarize and/or render alien marginalized figures in classical antiquity.

b. Sandra Boehringer (Université de Strasbourg, France)
What's 'tribadic' lust? Deconstructing ancient and modern topoi about the tribas

Charicles, Lucian's protagonist in the *Erotes*, develops the eccentric reasoning that if people accept male-male sex, they have to accept female-female sex. Then, he describes Greek wives as subject to erotic urges and "tribadic" lust. But what are we to do with this expression, derived from a "scarcely heard" (*Erotes*, 28) word, i. e. τριβάς? Can we infer, as some scholars have done, that the Greeks thought of homosexual women as androgynous and threatening beings? In order to understand *topoi* produced by a culture far from our modern "dispositif de sexualité" (Foucault), it is fruitful to reexamine the first occurrences of this word, especially in *Roman* poetry and declamation; then we will confront the necessity of *not* focusing our inquiry solely on sexual activity or passivity, criteria which are as anachronistic as heterosexuality and homosexuality in a society that was "before sexuality."

c. Mark Masterson (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand)
Nikephoros Ouranos' letters: epistolarity, same-sex desire, and Byzantine reception

It is recognized that Byzantine epistolography features same-sex erotic language. And this is language familiar to any Classicist who has studied Athenian pederasty: lovers, beloveds, *eros*, and the rest often appear. The general view on the recurrence of this language is to insist, unreasonably in my view, that the language is devoid of *all* referentiality to actual desire and is, instead, a performative discourse showing only the writer's *paideia* and/or providing a metaphor for friendship. In this paper, I will consider two letters by Nikephoros Ouranos (a Byzantine political and military figure from around the year 1000) and show how this language interacts with the liberalized legal and ecclesiastical situations for same-sex sexual desire between men in the empire at this time. I will argue that the language, recognizable as classical to the Byzantines, has a greater degree of referentiality to actual same-sex desire than is usually granted.

d. Katherine Harloe (University of Reading, UK)
Winckelmann's love letters: epistolarity, sexuality, and classical reception

Winckelmann's dual canonization in the 19th and 20th century as a founding hero of both academic classical studies and early campaigns of homosexual emancipation, in both the Anglophone and German spheres, renders his writings an important case study in the role of classical material in facilitating and shaping historical expressions of queer desire. Crucial to both receptions was his correspondence, published sporadically in the 18th century and systematically in the 19th, which has most often been read as providing a naïve and transparent revelation of homoerotic desire and sentiment that occurs in veiled or repressed form in his publications on ancient art and cultures. I contest this reading as a domestication, and argue that the radical queer potential of Winckelmann's letters is enhanced by an interpretation that puts emphasis upon their status as products of literary art, steeped in early modern and classical conventions of eroticised friendship and epistolary rhetoric.

5H – CLASSICS IN LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY: Culture, Politics and National Identities

PANEL ABSTRACT
The panel presents case studies on classical reception experiences in Latin America, during the historical processes of the conformation of the cultural and national identities of some countries, in particular, Argentina, Chile, Mexico and Brazil. The analysis perspective and the hypothesis are common to each of the papers. Across them, we study the influence of Greek and Roman antiquity, as well as classical culture, on the letters, speeches and imaginaries of the Latin American literate world, in the context of the definition of their political destinies and their own identities between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. Through the analysis of the sources, we can perceive an influence that is not only aesthetic, but should be understood as a process of active appropriation and resignification of the classical tradition based on the ideals, interests and aspirations of Latin American countries. The panel is composed of female researchers who have developed lines of study on Classical Reception in Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and Chile.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. María Gabriela Huidobro Salazar (Andrés Bello University, Chile)
Ancient authors and classical works in the first educational programs of republican Chile (nineteenth century)

The process of Chile's independence from the Spanish empire at the beginning of the 19th century implied the challenge of building a new political and cultural reality to safeguard the country's autonomy and the freedom of its citizens. The patriots who led this process chose to organize a republican system of government, appealing to the historical models of the Greco-Roman world. Therefore, to educate new citizens in the virtues of a healthy republic, they relied on the reading of classical works, which they used to build the first educational programs of the nation. In this paper, I will review the place occupied by the classical works and the model of ancient Greece and Rome in the education programs of the nascent republic of Chile (1813-1833)

b. Renata S. Garraffoni (Parana Federal University, Brazil)
Classical Reception in South Brazil: Symbolism, Ancient Greeks and politics at Curitiba in the beginning of 20th century

In the last decades linguistic turn helped to shape new approaches to the past. The idea that History fostered a sense of modern identity challenged Classical Studies to rethink epistemological approaches and enable scholars to consider the political aspects of their practices. In this context, the aim of this paper is to examine how Greek past shaped Brazilian regional identity. As a case study I shall focus at Curitiba, south Brazil, during the development of Symbolist poetry and explore its relationship to Brazilian Republican ideas. I will discuss how two local poets, Emiliano Pernetta and Dario Vellozo, created an ancient Greek atmosphere and became intellectual leaders not only of literature but the state identity. Last but not least, I shall argue that constructing new ways of understanding the Ancient Greece the poets stimulated a dialogue between past and present not as simple continuity, but as other forms of living modernity.

c. María Carolina Domínguez (Universidad Nacional de La Pampa, Argentina)
*La educación clásica en Argentina: apuntes sobre repertorios filológicos latinos de fines del siglo XIX **(in Spanish)***

In Argentina, during the last third of the 19th century, the system of secondary education is modernized in accordance with the policies of the fledgling nation-state, the need to build a cohesive identity project against mass immigration processes and entry into modernity. In this context, it is possible to notice attempts to adapt the teaching of classical languages and cultures to the innovations introduced by philology and positivism. Textbooks are published, including Latin grammars, histories of literature and rhetoric, in accordance with the requirements of progress in scientific and technical matters. The examination of a philological corpus composed by the Italian Matías Calandrelli can inquire into the discursive configuration of these pedagogical devices and, at the same time, highlight the underlying tensions between a classical education with another scientific and technical orientation.

d. Aurelia Vargas Valencia (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico)
Roman legal institutions at the Royal University of Mexico (second half of the 18th century)

After presenting the background of the rich and varied presence of classical culture in Mexico since the first decades of the sixteenth century, particularly in New Spain, the purpose of this paper is to focus on a topic of reception of Roman legal culture, from a text written in the second half of the eighteenth century, titled *Elucidationes ad quattuor libros Institutionum Imperatoris Iustiniani*, which contains copious annotations of Spanish law and New Spain law, which constitute the "updating" of the Justinian text. The presentation will be made from a selection of passages and their respective glosses, which will give an idea of the nature of the work, considered a milestone in the history of *Corpus Iuris Civilis* in Mexico, both for the academic field of the Faculty of Laws of the Real University as well as for other fields of the society of that time.

5I − AFTER THE CLASSICAL POLIS: Shapes, Contents, and Contexts of Hellenistic Oratory and Rhetoric

PANEL ABSTRACT
This panel seeks to provide a comprehensive portrait of the development of Greek oratory in the Hellenistic age, from early Hellenistic Athens up to the twilight of Greece's leading role at Rome's hands. These papers, following on from Kremmydas and Tempest's work1, aim at challenging the view by which oratory actually died along with the decay of classical polis. Through the investigation of a wide-ranging series of sources - both literary and documentary - related to this fragmentary production, these contributions will shed light on the new shapes of the genre, on its persistence and adaptation to the new historical frameworks of the Hellenistic world. At the same time, we will show how oratory was

increasingly conceived as a source of topoi and exemplarity, and therefore as a literary phaenomenon, which underwent cross-contamination with genres such as rhetoric and declamation.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Nicolas Wiater (University of Saint Andrews, UK)
Speeches and Narrative in Polybius' **Histories**

Polybius was particularly sensitive to the use of speeches in historical works and how to distinguish them from oratory and drama. His main concern was the authenticity ('truth') of speeches. That is perhaps why the bulk of scholarship on speeches in Polybius' Histories has focussed on their historical value, rather than investigating their narrative and interpretive function. Thus, some fundamental questions have remained without satisfactory answer, e.g., how important are speeches in Polybius' interpretation of the past? When does he insert them (or not) and why? What impact on the course of history does he attribute to them? In my paper, I propose to investigate these and related questions. A comparison with Livy's use of speeches in the corresponding part of his work, as well as with the practice (inasmuch as it is recoverable) of other major Hellenistic historians, will help set the speeches in Polybius' narrative into a larger perspective.

b. Antonio Iacoviello (University of Edinburgh, UK)
'We still fight for freedom'. Exploitation of oratorical topoi in the Chremonides' decree (IG II³ 912)

Early Hellenistic Athens (322-260 BCE) is widely recognized as the timeframe when the collection of the 4th century Attic Oratory corpora, particularly that of Demosthenes, did take place. Nonetheless, scholarship has never addressed how these texts contributed in Athenian identity re-building after the loss of freedom. A noteworthy case is the Chremonidean war, when the political struggles against Antigonos Gonatas represented a clear remembrance of the long-lasting conflicts with Philip II. This paper seeks to tackle the political exploitation of some Demosthenic speeches (e.g. i-xii Philippics, xviii On the Crown) for the sake of Athenian anti-macedonic propaganda: a textual analysis of the Chremonides' decree, which ratifies the alliance between Athens and Sparta (IG II3 912), will reveal significative allusions to Demosthenes' argumentations. Therefore, this contribution will shed light on the very earliest phase of Demosthenes' reception, as well as it will give new insight as to the first Demosthenic editions.

c. Roberta Berardi (University of Oxford, UK)
Between Asia Minor and Rome: oratory and declamation in the fragments of Hybreas of Mylasa

Relatively well known is the figure of Hybreas, a 1st century BC politician and orator from Mylasa in Caria, pupil of the rhetor Diotrephes of Antioch. His sharp rise in his political career is witnessed by Strabo and has raised the interests of historians. Nevertheless, he has always been studied more as a politician than as an orator and rhetorician. A collection and analysis of his fragments is therefore essential to place Hybreas in the context of the evolution of Greek oratory and rhetoric. Thus, this paper aims at distinguishing between Hybreas' fragments containing pieces of actual oratory (e.g. those in Strabo and Plutarch) and those witnessing his declamations (mainly quoted by the Elder Seneca). The study of these fragments will give some insights on oratory at the end of the Hellenistic period, an interesting moment when the distinction between real oratory and declamation was established, and when Rome was already crucial in the practice of oratory in the former Hellenistic reigns.

d. Davide Amendola (Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies, USA)
"The Rhetoric of History and the History of Rhetoric" Once Again: The Contribution of Papyrological Evidence to the Understanding of Hellenistic Oratory

In his 1981 essay "The Rhetoric of History and the History of Rhetoric" Arnaldo Momigliano bitterly reacted to the attempt made, among others, by Hayden White to regard "historians, like any other narrators, as rhetoricians to be characterized by their modes of speech". This paper aims to investigate the relationship between history and rhetoric in the post-Alexander world from an unusual perspective: starting from the assumption that, beyond the fragmentary works of the Hellenistic historians and a small corpus of Greek inscriptions, Ptolemaic papyri are the only sources that preserve orations in the form of direct speech, I will focus on some literary scraps which contain discourses held by historical characters. Particular emphasis will be placed on the question as to whether these ῥητορεῖαι are to be interpreted as fragments of historical works, of orations or of rhetorical exercises (προγυμνάσματα and μελέται), as well as on the methodological issues that such distinctions imply.

5J – THE FIGURE OF THE SLAVE BETWEEN REALITY AND STAGE REPRESENTATION IN GREEK AND ROMAN COMEDY (ARISTOPHANES, PLAUTUS, TERENCE)

PANEL ABSTRACT

Scholarship on Ancient Greek and Roman Comedy has shown the prominence of the comic slave.[1] By exploring slave representations in Aristophanes, Plautus and Terence this panel will examine the development of this popular figure in different periods and genres. Of particular interest is the extent to which these depictions reinforced stereotypes or broke with convention (dramatic or social). Wrenhaven argues that the social and ethnic status of slaves in slave societies helped to shape the stock characteristics of the slave character by drawing a provocative comparison between Aristophanic comedy and American blackface minstrelsy. In his paper, Dunsch reveals how Plautus expands current Roman legislation against enslavement – at least – for freeborn slaves. Karanasiou demonstrates the dominant role of Plautus' female slave (*serva callida*) despite her notorious reputation. Finally, Demetriou examines the relationship between Plautine and Terentian slaves from a new perspective emphasizing the Terence's critical attitude towards the slaves' social status.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Kelly Wrenhaven (Cleveland State University, USA)
From status to character: the influence of status upon comic representations of slaves in Greek Comedy and American blackface minstrelsy

In the dramatic performances of slave societies, the slave characters did not arise out of a proverbial vacuum. The themes that Aristophanes drew upon, such as derogatory views of foreigners and slaves are also found in other media. These ideas, moreover, are not confined to ancient Greece. Much as ethnic and slave ideologies helped to shape slaves in Greek comedy, racial and class ideologies helped to shape American slave characters.

This is particularly apparent in blackface minstrelsy. There was evidently a set of characteristics expected of comic slaves and it is likely that these reflected the expectations of real slave masters and, by extension, the audience members. This paper will examine the effect of status upon representations of comic slaves and discuss how comedy was used as a mechanism to facilitate the social cohesion of the "in-group" while at the same time "violently dividing" out those who did not belong.

b. Boris Dunsch (University of Marburg, Germany)
Hasce aio liberas ingenuasque esse filias meas: Freedom and free birth as legal absolutes in Plautine comedy

Plautus creatively modifies legal content and enters into a fruitful dialogue with legal regulations current in Rome at his time. This paper will examine Plautus' handling of the legal and philosophical aspects of enslavement. In *Captivi* and *Persa* Plautus throws into sharp relief these legal, social and philosophical issues at the root of the dichotomy of "free" and "slave".[1] Yet in *Curculio*, *Poenulus* and *Rudens*, Plautus represents kidnapped but freeborn people presently held as slaves as having a personal and ubiquitously enforceable right to freedom;[2] he expands the legislation against kidnapping and enslavement and applies it to all members of the human race – usually during a recognition scene. The idea of the unalienable human right to freedom (at least of th.ose born free), has its roots in Plautine comedy. Thus it is probably not amiss to regard Plautus as a forerunner, however tentatively, of the modern human rights movement.

c. Argyri Karanasiou (Saarland University, Germany)
Plautus' female slaves in action: duplicitous, devious and deceitful

This paper explores the figure of the manipulative female slave in Pautine comedy, where crafty *ancillae* and *lenae* often prevail over male characters who become their prey and plaything. Certain *servae* play a crucial part in the scheme that drives the plot, not by inventing the plan itself but rather by putting it into practice as skillful performers.

Pardalisca is stigmatized as „*pessumarum passuma*"; Halisca as both "*mala*" and "*callida*"; Sophoclidisca – fully aware of her own brilliance – as "*femina scelesta*"; Scapha – praised for her genius – as "*scelesta*";[6] Astaphium – conscious of her treacherous language – as "*mala femina*"; Milphidippa as an accomplished trickster, who is even acknowledged by Palaestrio – the "*architectus doli*" himself – to be his equal. Thus, Plautus turns, what in the "war of genders" is disdainfully labelled as "female malice", into a "contest of cunning" and reveals the cleverness and capability of the *serva callida* against her male counterpart.

d. Chrysanthi Demetriou (University of Cyprus and Open University of Cyprus)
Terence's slaves re-examined: comic tradition, stereotypes, and realism

Terence's slaves are often treated as 'faded' counterparts of their *palliata* ancestors. However, Terence in fact wants his slaves to be seen against Plautus' heroic slaves;[1] notably, Davus in *Andria* and Parmeno in *Eunuchus* consciously aim for a *servus callidus* role but eventually fail. Based on this premise, the aim of this paper is to re-examine Terence's exceptional portrayal of slaves. Motivated by recent scholarship that interprets the depiction of comic slaves as a reflection of everyday experience and common social practices,[2] it argues that Terence's deviation from the 'norm' points to an important characteristic of his composition: the playwright treats slaves not only as comic types but also as 'humans';[3] thus he evokes a critical approach to their social standing. The co-examination of the presentation of slaves with that of other Terentian low-class characters reinforces this notion (cf. the treatment of Dorus and Pamphila with Thais' monologue in *Eunuchus*).

5K – BETWEEN ROMAN CONTROL, HELLENISTIC INFLUENCE AND JEWISH IDENTITY: Art and Architecture in Early Roman Jerusalem, Some New Insights

· ·

PANEL ABSTRACT
This panel aims at presenting an updated picture of Herodian Jerusalem as we understand it today, after more than five decades of extensive archaeological work in the Old City of Jerusalem, as well as analyzing the significance of the accumulated data on the reconstruction of the urban image of the city, as well as the self-identity of its residents, who were mostly Jewish, but lived under Roman rule and were part of the Hellenistic sphere.

One of the major outcomes of these excavations, is the building up of a much more nuanced picture of the different phases of construction and development of the city. While Herod's building activity in the city is now clearer, so is the fact that despite Josephus' harsh criticism on Roman perfects and procurators, and their portrayal as mere vicious opportunists, who robbed the country for their own good, Jerusalem clearly enjoyed days of prosperity during the first century CE, under their rule, at least until the reign of Agrippa I. The finds also show, as is also attested by the historical sources, that the Roman administration took part in the development of the city and took care of its needs. The fact that we can now portray the city as a growing and continuously changing over the course of time from Herod's reign to its destruction in 70

CE enables us to discern changes in fashions, and attitudes toward foreign influences that go along with the political changes that took place during this turbulent period.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Orit Peleg-Barkat (Hebrew University, Israel)
Herod's palace in Jerusalem – Proposed reconstruction

Despite Flavius Josephus' detailed description of Herod's main Palace on the Southwestern Hill of Jerusalem in *Bellum Judaicum*, book V, only few scholars have attempted reconstructing its plan and decoration. The reason for this lies in the fact that only scant archaeological remains from the palace's substructure were revealed so far and no substantial archaeological evidence exist for the superstructure.

A group of monumental and well-executed Ionic columns, alongside a sculpted head of a lion, found on the Southwestern Hill in close vicinity to the supposed location of the palace, seems to have originated from this building, attesting to its grandeur and its unique character. Combining this evidence with Josephus description and our vast knowledge of Herod's palaces in other sites, such as Jericho, Herodium, Masada, Caesarea Maritima and Sebaste, allows us to present a fuller picture of the main palace of this great builder.

b. Eyal Baruch (Bar Ilan University, Israel)
Decorations in the Palatial Mansion in Jerusalem: Wealth and Ideology

The Palatial Building in the Upper City of Jerusalem is one the most impressive buildings of Roman Judea. One of the striking features of this vast building concerns its wall decorations. These include two styles, which replace one another; during the first phase the builders applied colorful frescos imitating the Third Pompeian Style dated to the first century CE. This fresco was later replaced by stucco decoration of the Masonry Style, imitating ashlar stones, which is typical of the second-first centuries BCE. Not only was this style used in the Palatial building about a century after it went out of fashion, but this style was adopted in this building after the newer and more modern style was used. The reason behind this nostalgic change of fashion is connected with the social processes that were operating in Judea and Jerusalem on the eve of the First Revolt, a period in which the Jews redefined themselves vis-à-vis the Roman culture, as can be seen also in the "eighteen decrees" mentioned in Mishnah Shabbat 1:4 (and parallels) on the eve of the War of Destruction.

c. Tehillah Lieberman (Bar Ilan University and Israel Antiquity Authority)
The Dating of Wilson's Arch and its Significance to the Understanding of Jerusalem's Development during the Late Second Temple Period

Over the past century, the function and dating of Wilson's Arch have been extensively debated, suggesting possible dates ranging from the early Roman period (1st century CE) until the Umayyad period (7th century CE). Wilson's Arch, located at the foot of the Temple Mount is the easternmost of a series of arches making up a bridge overcrossing the Tyropoeon Valley, leading from the western hill (the 'Upper City' of Jerusalem) towards the Temple Mount. Due to the limited archaeological evidence, the possible dates proposed for the construction of the arch were based primarily on historical sources. Recent archaeological excavations conducted beneath Wilson's Arch revealed a stratigraphic sequence spanning from the Hasmonean period (2nd-early 1st century BCE) until the modern era, exposing the eastern face of the western pier of Wilson's Arch which was built of at least three constructional phases. Newly obtained stratigraphic evidence, supported by numismatic, ceramic and radiocarbon dating suggest all three phases, including the current arch, can be dated to the Late Second Temple period. The lecture will present the findings of the excavation related to the late Second Temple period, particularly, evidence for dating the various stages of Wilson's Arch to this era, when many building activities were being undertaken in the city. Through comparison with other finds located along the valley, at the foot of the Temple Mount, a reconstruction of the development and construction processes that took place in this area during the Late Second Temple period will be undertaken.

5L – THE RECEPTION OF CATILINE

PANEL ABSTRACT
The story of Catiline and his conspiracy has been a popular tale throughout history. As the primary sources of the affair, Cicero's *Catilinarian speeches* and Sallust›s *Bellum Catilinae* have been on the school curriculum from Antiquity till today, we find Catiline and his conspiracy used in everything from declamatory exercises, Jesuit drama to You-tube reenactments and political treatises. His name has even been used as a paradigm for nouns in the first declension. And major figures like Ben Jonson, Voltaire, Ibsen and Salieri have found inspiration in his story. In this panel we want to look more closely at some representative aspects of this reception covering some of the important genres, epochs and geographical areas. For the panel, we have gathered some of the current experts in the field – all having recently published on Catiline.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Judith Kalb (University of South Carolina, USA)
Catiline in Russia

Russian authors have turned repeatedly to the controversial Roman figure Catiline to comment on their own nation. "What good are talent and intelligence, If your spirit is filled with treachery?" asked the Russian poet Gavrila Derzhavin in a 1774 ode, linking this treachery both to a Russian insurrectionist and to the Roman rebel. The Decembrist poet Kondraty Ryleev despite his own revolutionary ideas maintained a similarly anti-Catiline stance in "To the Favorite," his 1820 tirade against despotism. The radical literary critic Aleksandr Dobroliubov's assessment of an 1857 translation of Sallust produced a revisionist Catiline with Dobroliubov's own anti-aristocratic attitudes. And the Symbolist poet Aleksandr Blok's masterful 1918 essay "Catiline," written shortly after the Bolshevik takeover, perpetuated this revisionism and linked Roman and Russian "revolutions." Throughout, we see a larger theme: Russian writers' complex reception of the classical past, mediated both through Western European predecessors and the prism of Russian reality.

b. Yannick Maes (University of Ghent, Belgium)
Caught between the devil and the deep blue sea: Catiline from Machiavelli to Milton

From the very beginning Catilina's story has been a political one. He was a cipher to be decoded according to one's political outlook. Because his story was mainly transmitted through engagement with the works of Cicero and, most importantly, Sallust the transformational process was and is rather complex. The aim of this paper is to gain a better insight into the defining elements of this process. To this end we will focus on a period during which interaction with Sallust's works, and his Catilina in particular, were very much part and parcel of the development of modern political thought: the (very) long sixteenth century. Catilina and his conspirators became caught between prudential political theories and the defense of absolutist systems on the one hand, and the creation of what was to become modern republicanism on the other. Machiavelli, Lipsius, Hobbes and Milton are but a few of the political thinkers involved.

c. Timm Reimers (Leibniz University Hannover, Germany)
Catiline in German drama

Within the framework of the German Roman Tragedies of the 19th century Catiline was one of the most popular dramatic heroes. Despite or maybe rather because of Catiline's traditional image as the archvillain of the late Roman Republic many German playwrites felt the challenge to present a different take on the events that constitute the so-called conspiracy told by the ancient sources. In my paper I want to discuss the crucial role that Sallust's and Cicero's texts play for the plots and dialogues of these dramas. For only an audience with a deep knowledge of the classical sources could appreciate the allusions, quotations, and even calculated misreadings that form the appeal of these otherwise quite formulaic plays. I will focus on Catiline and Cicero as the antagonists of these dramas and show the various approaches taken up by German authors to shape a new image without contradicting the well-known source material.

d. Lisa Sannicandro (München, Germany)
Catiline in Italian Literature: The Case of Don Rodrigo and Catiline in Alessandro Manzoni´s **I promessi sposi** *(1840)*

The historical novel *I promessi sposi* (The Betrothed Lovers) by Alessandro Manzoni (1840) is one of the most relevant works in the Italian literature of the 19th century. The villain Don Rodrigo tries to prevent the two peasants Renzo and Lucia from marrying by organising a plot in order to kidnap Lucia with the help of the Innominato („the Unnamed"), a great robber baron. After the conversion of the Unnamed, who takes Lucia in his own protection, Don Rodrigo' plan is unmasked and his fortunes take a turn to the worse. When he decides to take off for Milan he is compared to Catiline leaving Rom (Sall. *Cat*. 31, 9). After a brief introduction to the work and a survey of the use of classical authors – in particular Sallust – in the novel, I will examine the comparison and its ironic and debunking effect in the characterization of Don Rodrigo.

5M – PROSAIC POETRY? Entwining Verse in Imperial and Late Antique Prose (1st-5th CE)

PANEL ABSTRACT
A wide range of Imperial and Late Antique prose authors composed prose and poetic works on the same theme, or imbedded verse directly into their prose. This act entwined poetic and prose forms, and so simultaneously blurred and delineated generic boundaries within and across their compositions, creating and releasing tension between what it meant to write prose and poetry. This panel brings together

Latinists and Hellenists to explore this phenomenon across a variety of texts. It aims to address the following questions: How did authors signal the move from poetry to prose and back again? Do these transitions risk fragmenting the holistic unity of a work or oeuvre? What is the effect of these insertions on the reader? What benefits arise by adding poetic functions to prose contexts? Ultimately each individual paper will provide detailed example of the benefits of focusing on this important yet understudied literary trend.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Ewen Bowie (Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford, UK)
To quote or not to quote

This paper offers explanations for two related phenomena in imperial Greek literature: (a) quotation of up to ca. 25 words of verse, not simply paraphrasing, alluding or quoting two or three (b) much longer quotations. It excludes technical works requiring quotation (e.g. D.H., Demetrius, Ps-Longinus, Hermogenes; Hephaestion; grammarians) and sidelines Athenaeus, whose habits are sui generis. Dio, Plutarch, Aristides, Aelian, and Philostratus are its primary focus.

(a) prevails in most 'literature', though commoner in Plutarch's Moralia than Lives: even here variety demands explanation (e.g. no quotation in QC 2.2-4, much throughout QC).

Plutarch adopts (b) when verse offers historical evidence (e.g. Solon) or constitutes the discussion's focus (e.g. Iliad 3.69ff. at QC 9.13). All writers adopt (b) for oracles (Lycurgus; etc).

Such avoidance of (b) invites special explanations for long quotations like Dio, Or. 2.59 (Spartan song), 2.62 (Anacreon), 17.9 (Phoenissae); Aristides 28.138-40 (Solon); Aelian. historia animalium 12.45 ('Arion').

b. Michael Hanaghan (Institute for Religion and Critical Inquiry, ACU Melbourne, Australia)
Uniting reception: Poetic regret in Sidonius Apollinaris' Last Epistles

The Gallo-Roman aristocrat and bishop Sidonius Apollinaris of the mid to late fifth century CE wrote 147 epistles and 38 poems, some 14 of which are imbedded in his epistles. This paper analyses Sidonius' verse insertions in three of his final epistles (9.13, 15 and 16). These were written in the late 470s when Sidonius was becoming particularly concerned with the potential conflict between his poetry, composed during his early secular career, and his prose letters, most of which date from his episcopacy. It argues that in each of these

epistles Sidonius uses markedly different strategies, trying to defend, forget and apologise for his poetry while combining its reception with his more vocationally appropriate prose endeavours. Sidonius preys on the reader's ability to demarcate his prose from verse but inability to remove one or the other from the compositional unit, and so forces a holistic consideration of his literary reception.

c. Dawn LaValle Norman (Institute for Religion and Critical Inquiry, ACU Melbourne, Australia)
The Hexameter oracle about Plotinus in Porphyry's Life of Plotinus

To assume that Porphyry was uninterested in poetry is a mistake. In two lost works (his *Philosophy from Oracles* and *Commentary on the Chaldean Oracles*), Porphyry reveals his deep interest in poems as philosophical texts. Nowhere in his extent corpus is this seen more clearly than the 63-line hexameter oracle about the fate of Plotinus' soul, which Porphyry quotes near the end of his *Life of Plotinus*. Porphyry leads up to this oracle with a string of poetic citations: first from Hesiod, then from the Delphic response to Croesus from Herodotus and finally with the oracle's response about the wisdom of Socrates. After the poem's conclusion, Porphyry gives a prose paraphrase of the contents before concluding the entire biography with the list of Plotinus' works. Porphyry treats the oracle as a serious testimony to Plotinus' life and shows a method of naturalizing the poetic register within a prose work.

d. Aaron Pelttari (University of Edinburgh, UK)
Poetic prose in the Paschale opus of Sedulius

The Christian poet Sedulius says in a prefatory letter to a certain Macedonius that he was being compelled to write a prose version of his five-book *Paschale carmen*, which only makes the considerable influence of the *Paschale opus* all the more remarkable. Even if Sedulius was reticent to write in prose, the *Paschale opus* offers a view onto the function and significance of poetry in late antiquity, especially because the scriptural poets advertised their allegiance to the truth and claimed to set aside classical models. Whereas the *Paschale carmen* is full of intertextual echoes of Virgil, Juvencus and all the rest, the *Paschale opus* uses instead a number of direct quotations from the Latin scriptures. In short, this paper examines the language and models of the *Paschale opus* in order to throw into relief the different generic and stylistic markers at play in each part of Sedulius' twinned work.

6A – WHEN CLASSICS GETS CREATIVE: Creative Writing and the Classics.

PANEL ABSTRACT

There might be many reasons why, at a first glance, the idea of exploring the relationship between Classics and creative writing might seem unfamiliar, or even paradoxical. As classicists, we are trained in 'the art of reading slowly', to quote Nietzsche's famous definition of philology. We might, perhaps, find it difficult to see how the creative, generative identity of an author of fiction could fit with the persona of the critical, slow-reading, reflective scholar of philology, whose career rests upon the expectation of an incremental (but hopefully profound) contribution to a two-thousand-year tradition of classical scholarship. But do you have to be a 'creative' to write historical fiction, science fiction, fantasy fiction or poetry based on classical themes – or might it also be possible for both academics and students in Classics to write fiction and poetry based on the ancient world? Does creative writing rely more on the writing style (the province of the established writer) or the research (the specialisation of the academic) – or a bit of both? And what might classicists be able to contribute to the conversation that others cannot? In other words: is it possible, and even rewarding, to get creative as a classicist?

These two panels, one focussing on fiction and the other on poetry, explore ways in which Classics and fiction or poetry-writing have been set at odds, and how they may be re-read as complementary, even vital partners. It asks how, as classicists, we may be blinkering ourselves unnecessarily to the creative possibilities that are already being explored at the boundaries – and, vitally, *across* the boundaries – of academia and creative writing. The panels will explore a series of interlinking but related questions, including: what might classicists have to contribute to the conversation around fictional responses to the ancient world? How can creative practice support and enrich research? What pedagogical tools might we use to incorporate creative responses into our curricula, both at schools and in higher education? What assumptions lie behind our privileging of current research practices over creative engagement as 'authentic' or 'scientific' methods of responding to antiquity – and how do we, as scholars, best engage with such criticisms to ensure that creativity can be practised with rigour?

The panels will each be split into two sections: a series of four fifteen-minute research papers, followed by a creative writing workshop, one on fiction writing and one on poetry.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Emily Hauser (University of Exeter, UK)
I, Classicist: Between Classics and Creative Writing

As an author and a classicist, I am often confronted with both the challenges and the benefits of treading the boundary between Classics and creativity. My historical novels were born out of a seminar on the notion of 'the classic' in Margaret Atwood's *Penelopiad*, and are deeply rooted in my academic interest in Homeric epic; while my current research takes an analytical approach to classical reception and the creative practice of other female authors. This talk investigates and unpacks particular moments at which I have felt both productive reciprocity and a tension between my work as an academic and as an author. I discuss both how my creative practice enriches and informs by research into contemporary female authors reinterpreting the classical world; how my research, in turn, into authors like Atwood and Ursula Le Guin has clarified and sharpened my understanding of what I am trying to do as an author; and how my creative practice has informed my teaching in the classroom, where creative projects can serve as a useful pedagogical tool. I also discuss ways in which academic creativity and 'traditional' Classics may be set at odds through economic incentives and promotion structures, and explore examples of current projects across the UK in which the perceived dichotomy between artistic innovation and philology is being broken down (such as the 'Creative Interpretative Project' module in the undergraduate Classics degree at the University of Exeter), as a step towards combining Classics with creativity.

b. Tony Keen (Open University and University of Notre Dame, UK)
Rosemary Sutcliff and the Making of Roman Britain

Rosemary Sutcliff (1920-1992) is probably the best-loved twentieth-century author of fiction about the Roman world, at least until the emergence of Lindsey Davis. She set eleven novels in Roman Britain, from her breakthrough work, *The Eagle of the Ninth* in 1954, through to *Eagle's Egg* in 1981. These novels, and their adaptations, were read or viewed by generations of UK children. Sutcliff researched her work carefully, but nevertheless there are some things found in her novels which scholars of Britannia would no longer agree to be true.

This paper investigates how Sutcliff built up her picture of Roman Britain, and how she helped then cement a certain image of the province in the minds of the general public. How did Sutcliff's researches intersect with her creativity? How

many of what can now be seen as 'errors' are the result of new developments since she wrote, and how many the result of overlooking something in her research? How much does a desire to be faithful to what was known about the province generate tension with the need to tell a story? How much was Sutcliff's understanding of how the Roman empire worked influenced by the idea of parallels with the British empire? And to what extent did Sutcliff create an image of Roman Britain that has persisted, and is resistant to new perspectives generated by academic research?

c. Nick Lowe (Royal Holloway University of London, USA)
The Expanded Eye: Becoming Peter Green

In 1953 a newly minted Cambridge PhD and travel memoirist turned his back on the limiting professional and personal landscape of British academic life, to live for the next eighteen years as a professional writer and independent scholar – turning a necessarily prolific hand to historical and contemporary fiction, literary journalism, translation, and historical essays and monographs for a general audience. This remarkable body of work, though partly overshadowed by and absorbed into Green's post-1971 publications as a revenant academic, deserves attention not just in its own right but as an unrivalled set of explorations of the alternatives to professional academic publication as outlets for research, and of ways of writing antiquity that circumvent the restrictions on readership and on creative engagement imposed by the protocols of the academy. Through his bread-and-butter work as a reviewer, Green was an embedded observer of a key period in English letters, and his writings of the sixties channel a deep contemporary awareness of changing landscapes of audience and publication into a series of landmark works at the intersection of scholarship and belles lettres which showcase the professional opportunities and pitfalls of a promiscuous literary intellect allied to uncompromising scholarly standards.

d. Amanda Potter (Open University, UK)
Writing the Ancient World for Pleasure (and for friends and colleagues)?: Classics Fans, Fan Fiction and Academic Writing

Unbound by any commercial considerations, writers of fan fiction can indulge their passion for the ancient world in their creative writing and share this with interested readers via online databases such as *fanfiction.net* or *archiveofmyown*. Creative writing can be commissioned by community members, who will issue a challenge for a specific genre of story and/or featuring a specific pairing of characters, and

stories are addressed specifically to a well-informed group of fans, although available online to a wider audience. Meanwhile, another group of fans of the ancient world write about their beloved subject primarily for their own community, publishing their work in academic journals and books that are read primarily by fellow experts and do not directly bring in any personal revenue. This community of academics comes together via conferences, where ideas are initiated and shared. Both groups of communities at their best can produce a supportive environment where writers build on one another's work. In the world of fan fiction there is a focus on process as much as end-product, and the term 'work in progress' has been used to describe the body of stories which will never be completed.1 In the same way the work of scholars in the ancient world is not fixed in the past, but grows and changes over time with new ideas and techniques. In this paper I discuss how classicists and fans who write fiction based on the ancient world are both part of a larger group of 'classics fans'. I argue that the practices of academics and fan writers are essentially the same, using evidence from my own research and from fan studies scholarship, and demonstrate that as fan fiction writers can benefit from conducting academic research so academic researchers can benefit from creative writing.

e. One-hour short story writing workshop, led by Caroline Lawrence

6B – 140 YEARS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

PANEL ABSTRACT
2019 marks the 140th anniversary of the foundation of the Hellenic Society, devoted to the study of all aspects of ancient, Byzantine, medieval and modern Greece. In 1880 it began to publish the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and it created and continues jointly to maintain an important research library. It sponsored the foundation of the Roman Society and continues to work with it and others to realise the aims of its founders. Stray examines those early ideals and the climate in which they were conceived; Harloe focusses on the breadth, but also the quirks, of the definition of Hellenism which the society was dedicated to promote. Mossman studies the response of the Society to events beyond its control, especially, but not only, the two World Wars. Finally, Cairns looks to the future of the modern journal and the challenges and opportunities presented by new technology and new directions in research.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Christopher Stray (Swansea University, UK)
The foundation in context

This paper situates the foundation and early years of the Hellenic Society in its British contexts. The foundation arose from discussions between a small group of men whose nationalities included English, Scottish, Irish and Greek: Archibald Sayce, George Macmillan, John Mahaffy and Ioannes Gennadios. The model on which it was based was French: the Association pour l'encouragement des Etudes Grecques en France, founded in 1867. The Hellenic Society was founded in 1879 and began to publish the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* in 1880. Its centre of gravity was London, rather than Oxford or Cambridge, and the leaders of the infant society had to negotiate a number of tensions: Oxford vs Cambridge; Oxbridge vs London (British Museum, UCL, KCL); amateur Hellenism vs professional scholarship; archaeology vs 'pure' (linguistic) scholarship. Similarly, its journal was in competition with other journals, first the BSA *Annual* and then *CR*, *CQ* and *JRS*.

b. Katherine Harloe (University of Reading, UK) **and Amara Thornton** (University of Reading, UK)
Founding visions: The SPHS *between Hellenic scholarship and philhellenism*

Comparing the contents of *JHS* Volume I, to the latest, suggests priorities reversed. The literary and linguistic studies foregrounded now are almost absent in 1880, when archaeology dominates. In his inaugural presidential address, Charles T. Newton declared that 'by Hellenic Studies we do not mean merely the study of Greek texts, grammars, and lexicons.' This apparent privileging of material studies is complicated, however, by assumptions about Hellenic culture's universality continuous with earlier, literary philhellenisms. Newton envisaged Hellenic studies as an area of progressive, scientific endeavour that was geographically and temporally expansive, but within which, since some topics concern 'the ordinary Englishman' more than others, some areas had universal, others merely ancillary, interest. SPHS also combined philhellenic tradition with scientific imperative in promoting collaborations between scholars resident in Britain and overseas. SPHS's founding vision provides interesting points of connection and contrast with debates over the scope and place of classics today.

c. Judith Mossman (University of Coventry, UK)
A neutral ground? Presidential addresses and the World beyond

In his inaugural address, Charles Newton says: 'You will observe that I have carefully avoided all allusion in my address to politics… I have done so in the hope that this Society will form a neutral ground, on which Englishmen and Greeks may in the interest of learning co-operate without coming into collision on account of political differences.' Politics, however, did sometimes obtrude, and war in particular naturally left its mark, not least a loss of subscriptions to the journal from libraries in enemy countries. German philology for Leaf in 1919 was implicated in her moral decline; but Sir Richard Livingstone in 1940 was more optimistic: he asserted that 'Greek studies would outlive dictators and their wars.' We should not be surprised that the society did not exist in a bubble: but the presidential addresses provide an unexpectedly personal view on the tumult of the early twentieth century.

d. Douglas Cairns (University of Edinburgh, UK)
JHS: Current trends and future prospects

As current Editor of *JHS,* my contribution will focus on recent trends in submission to and publication in the *Journal* and what these might tell us about the current state of Hellenic Studies (in terms of disciplinary focus, scholarly trends, and the demographics of *JHS* submission), before turning to prospects for the future, including the opportunities offered by the *Journal*'s online presence and the risks associated with the development of Open Access publishing and the rise of social sharing platforms. I shall endeavour to provide a behind-the-scenes look at the editorial and publication process, in consultation with our partners at CUP, and a more personal perspective on the directions that *JHS* has taken in the recent past and might take in the near future.

6C – THE MEANING OF FORM IN EARLY GREEK EPIC VERSE: Semantics, Poetics, and Grammar

PANEL ABSTRACT
In the last few years, questions about the meaning of form and the form of meaning have re-emerged as a significant new concern in critical discussions of literature. This panel explores the old and entrenched problem of the meaning of form in Homer in light of new arguments about Homeric diction that incorporate insights from recent usage-based and cognitive-functional grammars. Such methodologies offer innovative systematic solutions to, and new ways of understanding the

role of, semantics, symbolic function, and communicative exchange as central components of Homer's resonant yet highly structured language.

The speakers in this panel each offer new perspectives on questions of semantic reanalysis, the *kunstsprache*, and discourse boundaries in Homeric diction. 20 minute papers will be followed by a brief prepared response by the panel's respondents. A final 20-minute general discussion will allow for questions and responses from the audience and exploration of common themes and connections.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Rutger J. Allan (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Netherlans)
The Grammar of Immersion: An embodied simulation approach to Homeric vividness

Drawing on recent developments in cognitive linguistics and cognitive narratology, this paper will approach Homeric style as a form of immersive narrative, that is, narrative that is able to trigger the 'experience through which a fictional world acquires the presence of an autonomous, language-independent reality populated by live human beings' (Ryan 2015: 9). The immersive capacity of Homeric narrative can be attributed to a tight interplay of various textual properties, both of a linguistic and of a narratological character, such as the use of tense-aspect, intonation units, vocabulary grounded in emotional and sensorimotor experience, narrative speed, perspective (focalisation), empathy, and suspense. What these textual features have in common is that they are able to evoke in the audience an embodied mental simulation of the described situation.

b. Chiara Bozzone (Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, Munich, Germany)
"I'm an American guy faking a British accent faking an American accent": on the meaning of dialectal forms in Homer

Why does Homer make use of archaic and dialectal elements in his diction? The traditional answer (embedded in the various versions of *phase theory*) is that he largely does so opportunistically, in order to satisfy the meter. After Parry (*MHV*:340), a poet's preference would be to use local and contemporary language, and archaic and foreign traits are only preserved when useful (i.e., if meter prevents their substitution). As such, these formal elements should be regarded as mostly semantically inert.

Contemporary sociolinguistics research contradicts this assumption. The use of dialectally-mixed and genre-specific

Kunstsprachen is in fact widespread in popular-music today —a realm largely clear of metrical concerns. The present paper will review three case studies (including the *Kunstsprache* of Bob Dylan, the Beatles, and the punk rock genre) in order to illuminate how poets could use formal features to create meaning and negotiate their position within the stream of tradition.

c. Anna Bonifazi (University of Cologne, Germany)
The meaning of chunks: Rethinking discourse boundaries in Homer

The paper aims at demonstrating how much the meaning of word sequences changes if we dismiss modern punctuation and consider more linguistic features than metrical caesuras and syntactical hierarchies. The argument retrieves different theoretical insights provided by recent literature, and it re-affirms their contribution to rethinking discourse boundaries in Homeric poetry. The theoretical insights include the detection of intonational units in Homer (Bakker 1997), cognitive similarities about clause combining in Homeric and South Slavic epic (Bonifazi and Elmer 2012a, 2012b), the notion of performative pause in Homer (Blankenborg 2015), the pragmatic roles of particles, hyperbata, and anacolutha in introducing discourse acts and moves in Homer and Herodotus (De Kreij and Bonifazi in PAGD 2016), the relevance of resonance in Classical drama (Drummen in PAGD 2016), and clues about intonational phrases in Herodotus (Goldstein 2016). These views converge on indicating new meaning in perhaps still underestimated forms.

d. Ahuvia Kahane (Royal Holloway, University of London, UK)
The Complexity of Epic Diction: Poetics and Grammar

This paper sketches out a framework for the poetic interpretation of formal order in epic hexameters as a 'complex adaptive language system' (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008, Beckner and Bybee 2009, Kramsch 2012, etc.).

The paper builds on cognitive-functional approaches to grammar (Meillet 1912; recently Givón 1984, Tomasello 2003, Goldberg 2006, Bybee 2006, Hopper and Traugott 2013) that emphasise the primacy of communicative meaning and the derivative ('epiphenomenal') nature of grammatical rules. It expands usage-based work on Homer (Tsagalis 2008, 2014; Finkelberg 2015; Bakker 2013; Bozzone 2014) invoking scientific arguments about language as a complex adaptive system (above; for science, see Nicolis and Prigogine 1989, Byrne and Callaghan 2013). Complexity theory provide a critical methical bridge that allows us to explain

systematically (rather than ad-hoc) the relationship between regular patterns and on the other hand exceptions and singular expressions.

The paper briefly illustrates the argument by re-analysing the formula *ton d'apamebomenos*.

e. Adrian Kelly (University of Oxford, UK)
Intraformularity in Epos

The semantic potential of the 'formula' in early Greek epic poetry has long been a problematic notion, and metrical utility and meaning were not fully united in Homeric scholarship until J. M. Foley's idea that a formula invoked or 'resonated' with previous contexts and their associations ('of 'traditional referentiality'). Recently, however, Egbert Bakker has recently argued for 'interformularity', a dynamic in which the restriction of formulae to certain contexts is designed to activate the memory of that specific context, while Bruno Currie has extended this argument to suggest allusion across textual and even language barriers.

This kind of approach, used exclusively, ignores the central fact that a formula is typical, which must affect the audience's ability to 'hear' a marked usage. Yet it is not implausible that, as nodes of textual stability, formulae may have a specific referential function as well as the generic one supposed by traditional referentiality. To this end, this paper will focus on the κῆροθι μᾶλλον ‖ expressions in the Iliad and Odyssey (9x) to show that the generic association of the formulae is the audience's first port of call in the interpretative encounter, followed by its references to other examples of the expression within the same text or performance. Extra-textual allusion remains something of a final step, one which relies on a certain textual or performative integrity, and one which should never be taken too lightly nor considered as the scholar's first resort.

f. Respondents: Matthew Ward (Royal Holloway, University of London, UK) **and Katharine Shields** (University College London, UK)

6D – ANCIENT SOCIOLINGUISTICS: Exploring Latinization in the Roman West

PANEL ABSTRACT
A sociolinguistic approach privileges individuals and communities and explores the complexities of expressions of language–identity–culture. Supported by modern sociolinguistic tools, methods and findings, ancient sociolinguists investigate how language choice and features of language contact, variation and change can be correlated with social variables. The ERC project, LatinNow, combines sociolinguistics, epigraphy and archaeology to write a social history of the north-western Roman provinces with particular focuses on the spread of Latin, the fate of local languages, bi- and multi-lingualism, and levels of literacy. In this panel we explore Latinization and literacy in Britain, the Iberian peninsula, the Germanies and Gaul. The evidence includes not only the lapidary and non-lapidary Latin remains, but also loanwords, writing equipment, *non*-Latin epigraphy and subtle sociolinguistic features which must be considered in their immediate and broader historical, linguistic and archaeological context.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Alex Mullen (University of Nottingham, UK)
A sociolinguistic approach to the spread of the Latin language and literacy in Roman Britain

In recent years interdisciplinary methodologies and increasing interest in non-lapidary epigraphy and small finds archaeology have contributed significantly to our understanding of social practices in the Roman world. For Roman Britain, it is particularly important to use the full range of contextualized linguistic remains (including non-lapidary texts and loanwords in Latin, Celtic and Germanic languages) in an investigation of the spread and nature of the Latin language since much of the lapidary output is non-local. Roman Britain also offers a comparatively well-documented archaeological record accessible through excellent resources such as the Rural Settlement in Roman Britain database, which facilitates our ability to trace writing equipment as a proxy for Latinization. Our LatinNow research demonstrates that the traditional view that British Latin sounded 'old-fashioned' and that uptake of Latin, bilingualism and literacy was highly restricted cannot stand and must be replaced with a much more variegated picture showing complex social and regional patterning.

b. María José Estarán Tolosa (University of Zaragoza, Spain) **and Noemí Moncunill** (University of Barcelona, Spain)
Literacy and Latinization in the Iberian peninsula. Genesis, re-elaboration and adaptation of the Palaeohispanic epigraphy

Inscribed materials are our most valuable source of information for assessing how Latin was adopted by the locals in Hispania (literary testimonies are also significant, but they are quantitatively and qualitatively restricted). Although the epigraphic record in the local languages of Hispania is very rich, this documentation poses some problems to reconstruct

the process of Latinization. One of the main issues is to understand why Palaeohispanic epigraphy (e.g. Celtiberian, Lusitanian, Iberian) increased significantly in contact with Roman written culture from the 2nd century BC onwards. In other words, why do most Palaeohispanic inscriptions seem to be the result of the contact of the indigenous peoples with Rome? Is the literacy of the locals an indicator of 'Romanness' and, perhaps, of Latinization? In our paper we will show the different answers that Palaeohispanic epigraphy can offer to these questions, taking into account the cultural, linguistic and epigraphic diversity of ancient Hispania.

c. Francesca Cotugno (University of Nottingham and CSAD, University of Oxford, UK)
Exploring the Channel zone: religious and linguistic interactions

The Roman Empire was full of movement and connections. In particular the Channel zone was an interactive space and the provinces of Britannia, Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior are closely linked in terms of local languages and population movements, including the stationing of northern continental groups around Hadrian's Wall. A comparison of the religious epigraphy from this whole area can provide useful information concerning the process of Latinization and broader cultural experiences. Inscriptions such as *RIB* 1593, 1594, 1730 which bear signs of religious syncretism are key for understanding these interactions. The 'etymological origins' of the deities worshipped in these inscriptions – e.g. *Mars Thincsus* and *Veteris* – sparked interest about the overt usage of phonetic traits of local languages in Latin context. This analysis will offer a contextualized approach to the interaction of linguistic and religious elements in this Channel zone.

d. Morgane Andrieu (CNRS, Montpellier, France)
Latinization beyond the lapidary: tracing Latin and literacy through graffiti in Gaul

Until relatively recently exploring Latinization has mainly been undertaken by working with lapidary testimony and literary sources, excluding a large amount of material. Everyone is now aware that one cannot study a society by ignoring more than half of its written production–which can be found everywhere, on walls, vessels and *instrumenta*. By saying 'half' we are probably vastly underestimating as research has shown the large range and amount of epigraphy that was produced. The city of Le Mans (France), for example, has yielded over 500 graffiti on pottery compared with only 10 lapidary inscriptions. Having worked closely with other archaeologists and considered graffiti in their contexts, I will present the

fruits of this detailed research into graffiti on pottery from Gaul and will demonstrate its importance for broader themes, particularly those of the LatinNow project, which aims to integrate this output in studies of Latinization and literacy.

6E – QUEER 'RETURNS' TO CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY IN THE POST-STONEWALL ERA

PANEL ABSTRACT

In *Queer Fictions of the Past*, Scott Bravmann has persuasively argued that "imaginary 'returns' to ancient Greece" have played a central role in the articulation and definition of gay and lesbian identities from the nineteenth century onwards. This panel aims to expand Bravmann's conclusions by focusing on the ways in which queer subjects continued to "return" to the classical world in the years that followed the Stonewall uprising, even as, under the impulse of postcolonial theory, the privileged position assigned to Greco-Roman antiquity in queer genealogies began to be called into question. In addition to examining how the ancient world provided the vocabulary to describe the trauma experienced during the HIV/AIDS crisis and inspired the formulation of queer utopias, the papers in this panel will also explore how the desires of queer subjects have resulted in different approaches to the past, ranging from aestheticization to deconstruction to collaboration.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Emilio Capettini (UC Santa Barbara, USA)
'Like Picking Up a Shard of Red-Black Vase off a Greek Hillside': Fragmentation and Integrity in AIDS Literature and Art

Although scholars have often noticed how pervasive the trope of fragmentation is in literary and artistic responses to the HIV/AIDS crisis, the evocation and representation of material fragments of classical antiquity in some of these responses have not been fully explored yet. This paper will contribute to such an exploration by focusing on the photographer John Dugdale and the poet Paul Monette. Dugdale used as a self-portrait an image of the fragmented torso of a copy of Polykleitos' Doryphoros in order to highlight the contrast between his bodily integrity, guaranteed by numerous medications, and his psychological woundedness. Monette, for his part, evoked classical fragments to express the trauma of losing his lover, Roger Horwitz, and the burden of memory: living without Roger was for Monette tantamount to continuously "picking up a shard of red-black vase off a Greek hillside" and realizing that "half the phenomenal world is gone."

b. Kay Gabriel (Princeton University, USA)
John Jesurun's terra nullius

In his 1994 adaptation of the *Philoctetes*, the avant-garde playwright John Jesurun transformed Sophocles' drama into a damning commentary of the AIDS epidemic: Sophocles' lurid descriptions of Philoctetes' affliction and isolation offered Jesurun an Ur-text for narrating the homophobic inflections of AIDS stigma and the social marginalization of gay men. In this presentation I'll argue that Jesurun invokes a utopian horizon of queer social life under the sign of spatial separation, transvaluing the social abjection of the gay ghetto into the affirmative terms of a political separatism. In Jesurun's play the gay ghetto is endowed with utopian characteristics, a "sweetness" that "bloom[s] under the underworld." I'll argue that this gay utopianism of the imperial core remediates both the national liberation movements of the global south and the colonialist fantasies of a *terra nullius*, an uninhabited space to be remade in the image of its invasive claimant.

c. Robert Matera (University of Maryland, USA)
The truth about spoons: Stoppard's Housman and Queer History

Latin love poetry is full of what A.E. Housman, in Stoppard's *The Invention of Love*, calls "extreme spooniness," namely erotic intercourse between men. The trouble is that Latin poetry and unrequited love for Moses Jackson have consumed Housman's life. Through debates on the worth of textual criticism of Latin poetry and the scholar-poet's lifelong love for Jackson, the play asks whether classicists, our efforts, and love like Housman's are all spoony. In contrast, Latin poetry represents truth-telling, if only the texts could be restored, and Oscar Wilde represents the Aesthetes' shallowness but also fulfillment of self and erotic desires. There are no clear answers, but in the end there is hope. The elderly Housman has enjoyed revis(it)ing memories and history. He has enjoyed acting as a historian who aestheticizes the past, seemingly having accepted the idea that we cannot help but aestheticize the past as we remember and retell it.

d. Ella Haselswerdt (Cornell University, USA)
Love's archaeologies: Queer unhistoricism and Sappho's fragments in Frain and Mehretu

This paper examines two modern artists' collaboration with the fragments of Sappho in the form of artist's books. These projects, while similar in their general formation, offer two distinct paradigms, two different programs of anachronous, "unhistorical" engagement with antiquity, and, this paper

argues, two different visions of modern lesbian identity's relationship to antiquity. Julie Mehretu's *Poetry of Sappho* (2011) is a lavishly bound edition, replete with and valorized by various traditional academic paratextual elements, rendered avant-garde by the artist's richly chaotic abstract illustrations. Rose Frain's *Sappho Fragments: love songs to Adonis and a community of women* (1989) is a "book" only in that it contains paper and text. The hand-made pages are unbound, fragile, and imbued with delicate textures and offerings: a silver thread, a lock of hair. While Mehretu reconstructs antiquity in order to subvert it, Frain offers an intimate encounter, more a conjuring than a deconstruction.

6F – ENGAGEMENT, MATERIALITY AND PLAY: The Use of 3D Models of Antiquities in and out of the Classroom

PANEL ABSTRACT
This panel will explore the introduction of 3D technologies in the study, preservation and communication of ancient cultural heritage, its teaching and public engagement. The talks will highlight how 3D models seem to continue, although with new tools, a well established tradition of copying and documenting ancient artifacts that spans from Roman copies of Greek statues to nineteenth-century plaster casts. On the other hand, 3D technologies, and in particular 3D printing, offer an unprecedented potential to engage all kinds of audiences with some aspects of the physicality of ancient artefacts, creating a new and yet to be explored bond between the object and its remaker. The panel will be composed of five short contributions of about 15 minutes each, discussing experimental applications of 3D tools and methods in a variety of contexts inside and outside academia. The talks will be followed by 30 minutes structured discussion, between panel and audience.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Valeria Vitale (Institute of Classical Studies, UK)
Learning by Remaking

This talk will present the potential of 3D technologies, in particular 3D modelling, in the teaching of ancient architecture and art to expert and non expert audiences. The discussion spawns from the experience of several workshops for graduate students held at the Institute of Classical Studies, University of Sofia and École Pratique des Hautes Études, and the *Being Human* event for the general public *Clay, Marble, Pixels*. We will suggest that the task of rebuilding an ancient artefact in a digital environment stimulates a more active learning process, as well as a better understanding of the spatial relationships between architectural elements, and

the choice of materials. The process of re-building ancient architecture also invites the students to reflect on the provenance of the information, and points out very effectively how many conscious and unconscious biases are involved in the process of representation, consolidating a more critical approach to historical visual sources.

b. Claudina Romero Mayorga and Amy Smith (University of Reading, UK)
Object-based teaching through a new lens: 3D scanning and printing Cypriote figurines in the Ure Museum

The Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology (at UoR) houses a collection of 19 terracotta figurines of Cypriot origin that date to the Cypro-Archaic period (750-480 BC) and represent worshippers with offerings or musical instruments. As part of our educational programme, we have designed a special workshop to delve into the function and symbolic meaning of these figurines. Applying photogrammetry we created 3D models of the artefacts which allowed learners to study the objects in a new light, replacing the traditional observing-thinking-describing-drawing process.

This paper will explore how 3D printing proved to be a key resource in a museum focused on object-based pedagogies. 3D replicas enabled learners to engage with a series of subjects related to the materiality of the figurines themselves (scale, material resemblance, iconography, etc.) as well as to rethink the way these artefacts were traditionally used and interpreted.

c. Diana Burton (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand)
Herakles vs Pokemon: integrating 3D printing with Greek vase-painting

This talk presents an assignment designed to engage first-year Classics students in the complexities of vase design, by giving them a template, based on an ancient amphora, to fill in and using 3D modelling to present their vases to them as a 3D object. Students chose a myth, adapted it to make it relevant to themselves, depicted it using the conventions of Attic vases, and received a mapped version back that they could view in 3D. The assignment was designed as a way to make students think proactively about the three-dimensional character of ancient vases (easy to ignore in photos), and about the ways in vase-painters used mythical scenes as a focus for the expression and questioning of cultural mores. Students also found it an effective tool to think about sensitive issues such as youth suicide and student drinking with some degree of distance.

d. Ellen Swift and Jo Stoner (University of Kent, UK)
3D scanning and the creation of replica objects for museum education: the 'Sounds of Roman Egypt' exhibition at the UCL Petrie Museum

As part of a wider AHRC project on artefacts from Roman and Late Antique Egypt, 3D scanning and printing technologies have been used to create virtual and 3D printed models of a number of Roman musical instruments in the UCL Petrie Museum, including wooden clappers, metal bells, metal cymbals, ceramic rattles, and a set of reed panpipes. Craft replicas have also been created in more authentic materials using the 3D models as prototypes, for instance 3D prints have been used to create moulds for the production of ceramic and metal replicas. This paper will discuss the contribution of the replica objects to the temporary exhibition 'Sounds of Roman Egypt' (Jan-April 2019) and associated educational activities at the UCL Petrie Museum.

e. Will Wootton (King's College London, UK)
Documenting, printing and interpreting: from photogrammetry to 3D printing in the understanding and teaching of ancient craft production

During the 2018-19 academic year, MA students on the KCL 'Art of Making' module were given instruction in photogrammetry in order to produce 3D models which would document a range of objects selected to highlight different materials and techniques. When the models were complete, they were printed at the ICS in collaboration with the students, who were responsible for any finishing required. They were then used as the centrepiece for discussions about their original production and the contemporary process of reproduction. The intended outcomes are a better understanding of the value of different recording methods and the utility of contemporary manufacturing techniques to stimulate ideas about the similarities, and significant differences, between objects and their making in Classical and contemporary cultures.

6G − SEX AND THE CITIZEN: the Discourse of Status, Body, and Gender in Classical Athens

PANEL ABSTRACT
Fifth and fourth-century legislation defined Athenian citizenship restrictively: only those of dual citizen descent (*ex amphoin astoin*) could 'share in the city' (*metechein tēs poleōs*), and falsely claiming to be a citizen was penalised. Precisely what 'sharing in the city' meant for male and female citizens is the subject of lively scholarly debate, with Josine Blok's recent

contention that women were fully fledged citizens proving particularly controversial. Focusing on the distinctive roles of citizens of both sexes in the legal, political, and religious spheres, and their conceptualisation in Athenian thinking, we discuss the citizen's physical body as a major point of reference in Athenian law (Carey), legal restrictions on the marriage of non-citizen women with reference to refugees (Rubinstein), the language of participation in the *polis* seen both as a state and as a society (Filonik), and the different meanings and usage of *astē* and *politis* for 'female citizen' (Griffith-Williams).

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Chris Carey (University College London, UK)
The citizen body

By an incremental process which begins in the archaic period and culminates in the fourth century the privileged status of the citizen group becomes reified in the physical person of the citizen. The citizen body of either sex is from the mid fifth century circumscribed by rules which both delimit reproduction and set severe penalties on use and abuse by self and others. The citizen body is also from the late archaic period protected from torture to a degree which sets it apart from other status categories. The privilege extends to burial, since the physical link with Attic soil plays an important role in the definition of citizenship in the *dokimasia* of elected officials. Strikingly these privileges are not annuled by *atimia* (though they are by removal from the citizen list). This has a bearing on the relationship between concepts and terminology of rights and status ancient and modern.

b. Lene Rubinstein (Royal Holloway University of London, UK)
Refugees in classical Athens and the enforcement of the dual citizen-descent criterion

According to the conventional assumption, most free non-citizens settling voluntarily in fourth-century Athens were able-bodied men keen to improve their financial prospects, sometimes accompanied by female and under-age dependants. Although such immigration may have contributed to a growing desire to create sharper social boundaries, it does not fully explain why the Athenians decided to introduce and tighten the dual descent criterion. During periods of crisis, many settlers in Athens were refugees from devastated cities. The proportion of women and children among them was probably significantly higher than among economic migrants, and many female refugees would have lived in Athens for long periods unaccompanied by adult male relatives. The Athenian laws on maternal citizen-descent may be best understood as measures devised during periods of instability, when high numbers of immigrant women and children would have increased competition on the Athenian 'marriage market' unless the immigrants' marriage prospects were restricted by legislation.

c. Jakub Filonik (Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland)
Sharing in the polis: Athenian ideas of citizenship and participation

It may seem curious, considering the role civic status and norms played in Greece, that classical Greek, unlike modern European languages, did not have a single noun for 'citizenship'. Greek authors only occasionally refer to the 'privilege of citizenship' (*politeia*), usually as something either claimed by or bestowed on someone. Instead, they eagerly resort to the metaphorical language of 'sharing in the polis' (*metechein tēs poleōs*) to encapsulate their socio-political status. We find this language in Pericles' mid fifth-century citizenship law, and the definition of the male citizen introduced by Aristotle (320s BCE). This paper looks at its usage in fourth-century Athenian rhetoric, where it appears semantically broader, more diverse, and more widely applied than in normative philosophical and legal definitions. I argue that crucial distinctions should be made between the object (political or social sphere) and the subject (men/women, citizens/metics) when considering the meaning of this influential idea.

d. Brenda Griffith-Williams (University College London, UK)
Astē or politis? The vocabulary of female citizenship in the Attic orators

'If our mother was not a citizen (*politis*), neither are we' (Isaios 8.43). An Athenian woman's status was crucial when her son's citizenship or inheritance rights were disputed, but the word most frequently used by Athenian logographers for 'female citizen' is *astē* (Blok, 171-169 ,2017), reflecting the terminology of Pericles's law restricting Athenian citizenship to those *ex amphoin astoin* (*Ath. Pol.* 26.iv). Why did Isaios choose *politis* here, and what was the role of a female citizen in a *polis* where women had no political voice? According to Cartledge (,2016 37), Athenian women were 'considered the non-active half of the citizen body'; yet they did play an active part in the *polis*'s religious life (Blok, 2017, 144-5). A survey of the orators' usage suggests that Isaios's choice of *politis* is no mere coincidence, in a speech where his idealised portrayal of his client's mother emphasises her participation in religious cult.

6H – BOUNDARIES OF CHILDHOOD IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

PANEL ABSTRACT

Roman childhood studies has established its place among classical studies recently and thus has risen from its fringes to a more central position. There is still work to be done, especially in understanding the diversities of childhood in the Roman Empire and its fundamental boundaries and definitions. So far, the intermingled issues of gender, age, and social status have not been systematically scrutinized in connection with each other. The presentations will examine different boundaries of Roman childhood from various angles, from alternating definitions of childhood, to experience and commemoration of children themselves, between the 2nd century BCE and the 4th century CE. Also cultural identity, multiculturalism, and religion are important themes throughout the panel. As we want to highlight the fluidity of the definition of Roman childhood, we will examine children of different genders and various age groups, from infants to young adults.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Roosa Kallunki (University of Tampere, Finland)
The Religious Boundaries of Childhood

This paper concentrates on how childhood and its boundaries were defined in Roman religious life from the 1st century BCE until the 3rd century CE focusing mainly on Roman literary sources. The boundaries of childhood, as of any stage of the life course, can be defined in many ways, for instance by physiological, cognitive, social, or religious standards. The Romans had their own religious rites of passage to mark the ending of childhood (*toga virilis* ceremony, *depositio barbae*, wedding etc.). I argue that these rites marked only the ending of childhood in a religious sense, as adulthood in a social or legal (for boys) sense was usually reached later through other accomplishments. This rule is emphasized by the fact that not everyone reached "religious adulthood". For example, the Vestal virgins remained in a child-like religious state in order to perform their religious duties during their office.

b. Jasmin Lukkari (University of Helsinki, Finland and University of Cologne, Germany)
Boundaries of Identity in the Expanding Empire – Rearing Foreign Royal Child Hostages in Rome

Starting from the 2nd century BCE, young foreign princes and sometimes princesses from the fringes of the Roman Empire often spent many years of their lives in Rome as hostages, in practice temporarily adopted by the Romans who had defeated their parents in war. Most of these hostages were no older than ten years at the beginning of their hostage period. Several years later they returned to their homelands, where they sometimes became rulers. I will examine how Roman authors describe the lives of some child hostages in Rome during the late Republic and early Principate. How do the authors highlight the impact of these hostages' Roman sojourn and Roman "parents" for their later lives and identities? How did these authors perceive the boundaries of cultural identity in case of a partly Roman upbringing?

c. Sanna Joska (The National Archives of Finland)
Beyond the Boundary of Death: The Commemoration of Antonine Imperial Children as Strategy of Future

This paper examines childhood in the Roman Empire from the viewpoint of death and commemoration. Ancient Rome was a world where children formed a significant amount of the population, but also a world of high child mortality. The focus of this paper is on the boundary of life and death: the conflict that a child's death created for the future of a family and the strategies Romans used to cope with it. This question is discussed through examples of commemorative acts done by Roman emperors. Focus is on the commemoration of children belonging to the Antonine imperial family. Despite losing many of its children, the Antonine emperors of the second century CE maintained an image of an exceptionally fertile dynasty. The discussion covers epigraphic, numismatic and literal evidence. The acts of emperors are connected to the wider frame of the commemoration of children and future strategies in the Roman world.

d. Kristin Harper (University of Missouri – Columbia, USA)
Per sacra vela: The Boundaries between Childhood and Womanhood in Roman Late Antiquity

Embedded within the transition from life to death, epitaphs reveal aspects about important boundaries in life, and for young Roman women in late antiquity this boundary was between childhood and womanhood. Early Christianity accepted girls into marriage with either a man or with Christ (consecrated virgins). A case study of six verse epitaphs dedicated to young women reveal the emotive poetry of parents lamenting their daughters (*ICUR* 7.18944, *ICUR* 9.24125, *ICUR* 8.20819) or men grieving their wives (*ICUR* 10.27296, *ICI* 6.41, *ICI* 9.14). Because these women suffered from untimely deaths, they were never able to fulfill the expectations placed upon them; however, by studying the poetic descriptions of these individual young women, a

clearer understanding of the importance of young women in the development of the early Christian community appears. The boundary between life and death illuminates the collective and individual expectations thrust upon girls as they transitioned from childhood to womanhood.

6I – EDWARD SAID'S ORIENTALISM: Forty Years Later
INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Jeremy Tanner (University College London, UK)
Classical art history forty years after Orientalism: reconfigurations of the discipline?

Probably no sub-discipline within classics manifested the kind of cultural prejudice criticised in Edward Said's *Orientalism* more deeply than classical art history, with its dominant narratives largely shaped in terms of an essential opposition between Eastern and Western culture, manifested in the story of the development of an authentically ‹Western› Greek art. Correspondingly, Said›s *Orientalism* has been a significant point of reference in classical art history writing of the last generation, from Sarah Morris *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* to Sarah Martin›s *The Art of Contact: Comparative Approaches to Greek and Phoenician Art*. That said, the standard stories we tell of the history of Greek art, and the fundamental categories which inform them, have proven surprisingly resistant to change. This paper explores some of the reasons for this, and ways in which a more radical reconfiguration might be achieved, in the context of new focus in mainstream art history on world art and comparative art.

b. Hans Van Wees (University College London, UK)
Imperialism and Orientalism in classical Greece: is there a correlation?

Classical Greek images of the non-Greek 'barbarian' often feature elements similar to those associated by Said with Orientalism, yet classical Greeks rarely enjoyed the sort of imperial power over non-Greeks that would account for such Orientalisation on Said's model. For instance, the feminisation of Persians in certain passages in Herodotus and Xenophon serves to make the claim that Persians will be easy to defeat in battle and their wealth easy to plunder rather than that they will be suitable subjects of Greek imperial government. Moreover, other passages in the same authors suggest a rejection of the notion of effeminate Persians as mere rhetoric and a belief that the realities of fighting Persians were quite different. Similarly, a story in Herodotus suggests Greek military superiority over Egyptians, yet other authors present the opposite picture, and when Egypt came under Macedonian-Greek control after Alexander, Greek

ethnographic accounts of the Egyptians do not suggest a significant trend towards Orientalism. This paper will reconsider the extent to which there is a correlation between Orientalism and imperialism, and in particular consider whether slave-ownership rather than imperialism may have been a key factor in producing the Orientalising features in Greek images of the 'barbarian'.

c. Rosie Harman (University College London, UK)
Imperial conqueror and imperial subject in Xenophon's Cyropaedia

In its opening pages, Edward Said's *Orientalism* proposes ancient Greek literature as the starting point for the relationship of Western literature to the represented East which forms the basis of its analysis. Said's work has enabled a politicised re-reading of Greek literature's depiction of Asia, especially of the Persians, in terms of the construction of relations of power. However, in the light of more recent post-colonial criticism, the exact nature of those relations of power remains an open question. This talk will examine this question with reference to Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, a narrative of the origins of Persian imperialism for a Greek audience. It will examine the representation of the Persian imperialist and the non-Persian conquered subject, suggesting that the text's invitation to the reader to identify with both positions reveals the contradictions in Greek self-conception, and can be understood as the product of the 4th Century B.C. Greeks' historical role as potentially both perpetrators and victims of imperialism.

d. Corinna Riva (University College London, UK)
'The yoke of superstition' and the yoke of Orientalism: Etruria between the 19th and 21st century

Said's Orientalism has been influential in driving recent questions on the heuristic strength of the term Orientalising used to characterise the early Iron Age across the Mediterranean. Yet, those questions have been either ignored or have not prompted a proper debate since in Etruscology: this has left this discipline rather isolated in the field of Iron Age archaeology of the Mediterranean where, by contrast, post-colonial studies have been a particularly strong driving force in re-conceptualising east-west cultural contact. I would like to explore why this is the case by looking at some of the authoritative academic voices in early Etruscology and their impact in contemporary scholarship.

6J – AMPHIBOLY: Undecidable Language in the Rhetorical Tradition

....

PANEL ABSTRACT

Isocrates lauds as 'amphibolous' (ἀμφίβολοι) words which 'can turn both ways' (ἐπαμφοτερίζειν δυνάμενοι) and so please opposite parties (*Panath*., 240). Later tradition is less sanguine and more exact. Agreeing with Aristotle (*Soph. El*., 165b24-166a33), Quintilian and Hermogenes (*Stat*., 2.13) make 'amphiboly' a fault of undecidable lexeme, grammar, or syntax, one where 'it is clear that two things are signified' (*duas…res significari manifestum est, Orat*., 7.9.14). Postwar scholarship on ambiguity *qua* concept in Greek and Roman thought has tended to defer to philosophy, treating amphiboly as either a logical fallacy (Kirwan 1979; Hansen and Pinto 1995) or a component of a theory of language (Atherton 1993). This panel has a different aim: we, first, return to amphibology's earliest role as a crucial (if ethically dubious) element in classical theories of persuasion and we, second, contextualise amphiboly in light of those theories' broader understandings of signification, intention, and affect.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Thomas G.M. Blank (Johannes Gutenberg-University of Mainz, Germany)
The rhetorical boomerang: Disentangling inconsistent arguments with/in Isocrates

Isocrates coins the term *logos amphibolos* (*Panathenaicus* §240) with reference to the interpretation rather than the composition of speeches. He emphasises that rhetorical texts require close reading and independent judgment even in cases of seemingly indisputable argument. This paper explores the strategic use of amphiboly in Isocratean discourse. Isocrates regularly uses ambiguity to subvert 'common sense'– arguments, soliciting interpretations which highlight the fallibility of public opinion and consensual 'truth'. The *Antidosis* (§§85–139) deftly exploits this strategy by reacting to amphibolic argumentation.

Isocrates abstains from refuting his fictive accusers at court: instead, he suggests that the backlash to their accusations implies that neither the accusers nor the judges are capable of sound political judgment. It is in this instance rather than in *Panathenaicus* that Isocrates demonstrates how *amphibolia* can be put to use: as a means to reveal the inconsistency of arguments based upon common sense instead of personal judgement.

b. Henry Bowles (University of Oxford, UK)
Hermogenic Amphiboly: Obscurity at its Author's expense

Hermogenes' theory of decorum presupposes thought's intrinsically verbal nature (*Id*., 1.19). Beneath his prescriptivism, Hermogenes assumes every spontaneous thought (ἔννοια) to be inseparable from 'figures' (σχήματα), 'syntactic parts' (κῶλα), 'structure' (σύνθεσις), 'cadence' (ἀνάπαυσις), and 'rhythm' (ῥυθμός) (*Id*., 1.19; cf. *Id*., 2.7.1-2). Obscurity results not when the phenomenal level of discourse (λέξις) occludes thought, but when the synthesis of word and thought confounds the interlocutor (*Id*., 2.5.1ff). 'Skill' (δεινότης) consists in choreographing this with intent (*Id*., 9; cf. Cassin 1989, Kustas 1973). In contrast, 'amphiboly' (ἀμφιβολία) – the final 'issue' (στάσις) in Hermogenes' *De Statibus* – is obscurity's inverse: the unintentional loss of authorial intent. Language is now deprived of thought 'due to accentuation or the separation of syllables' (ἐκ προσῳδίας ἢ διαστάσεως συλλαβῶν, *Stat*., 2.13). Unlike obscurity, amphiboly is not a compositional but a hermeneutic tool: an invitation to turn 'what is said' (ῥητόν) to the pleader's advantage (*Stat*., 12.2-10).

c. Joanna Kenty (Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands)
Ambiguity and irony in Cicero's letter to Lucceius

Modern readers are often horrified by Cicero's letter to Lucceius (*Fam*., 5.12) asking that the historian write a monograph about his consulship and exile. However, Cicero himself described the letter as *valde bella* – 'quite smart' or 'clever' (*Att*., 4.6.4). In this paper, I argue that Cicero was particularly pleased with the masterful use of ambiguity and irony in the letter. He uses rhetorical figures and ornaments in a conciliatory *captatio benevolentiae* to win his reader's indulgence and to transform his potentially transgressive request into an erudite joke shared amongst friends. His repeated promises of the pleasure future readers will experience is an ironic response to Lucceius' own self-fashioning as an historian (5.12.3). His flattery of Lucceius, as an historian and as a politician (5.12.4, 7), pressure Lucceius into agreeing to Cicero's request, not only out of gratitude, but in order to live up to Cicero's characterization of him.

d. Michele Kennerly (Pennsylvania State University, USA)
Ambiguity, Suspicio, and the Ambiguity of Suspicio

Ancient Roman rhetoricians catalog several tropes and figures of ambiguity. Among them is *signification* (also known as emphasis, the transliteration of the equivalent Greek term) – speech that points. Both the auctor of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Quintilian use *suspicio* to describe what

significatio excites in its receivers. The state of heightened attention summoned by effective *significatio* can prompt its receivers to wonder at the orator, where wonder indexes feelings of admiration or mistrust (both are definitions of *suspicio*). Speech that points requires its receivers to work to understand what is being suggested, and this co-creation of meaning amuses and satisfies. Those resistant to a *significatio*-using orator, especially a public opponent, can, however, insist that the orator express clearly what they mean, putting the orator in an awkward spot. *Suspicio*, then, points to the dangers and delights of ambiguous speech.

6K – PHILOLOGY AND EPIGRAPHY: An Interdisciplinary Approach for the Edition and Study of the Carmina Latina Epigraphica (CLE)

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Peter Kruschwitz (University of Reading, UK)
Poetic Britannia

With only about two dozen or so Roman inscriptions in verse, Britannia was easily Rome's least poetic province, both in absolute and in relative terms. From lavish mosaics and text on wall paintings in Kent to graffiti and other hand-written notes by Hadrian's Wall, the material is as diverse and disparate as those members of the Roman-era society that engaged in this distinctive, creative cultural practice. Following a quick account of the evidence, this paper will focus on three specific items (*RIB* 1791, 758, and 103) to address forms of identity creation and assertion as reflected and conceptualised in Britain's most ancient surviving verbal art. It will be argued that monumental poetry in Britain, in resonance with literary classics across time and space, and drawing on diverse religious practices of their putative audience, was deemed to provide cohesion and continuity in a climate of constant disruption and threat.

b. Juan Jose Martos Fernández (Universidad de Sevilla, Spain)
Love motifs in Carmina Latina Epigraphica

With the rest of the Latin poems, the *CLE* welcome in different proportions a not inconsiderable number of literary topics that, for the ancients, were part of the essential framework of poetry. Among these were the love motifs that, scattered throughout classical literature, in many cases become the main theme of more than one composition. Naturally, many of these motifs are also found in the *CLE*, such as, for example, the flame of love, to which this study is dedicated, among others. It is very revealing both to study their presence and their function in epigraphy and to compare them with the use made of them in other poetic genres and even in the whole of classical Roman literature.

c. Alberto Bolaños-Herrera (Universidad de Sevilla, Spain)
Les Carmina Latina Epigraphica*: textes littéraires au-dessus de textes littérals (in French)*

The *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (*CLE*) offer an attractive material for analysis to experts on Antiquity. Their extension and the detail of the information provided are often wider than those given by further epigraphical texts. In this context, the study of these texts has a large tradition among philologists and historians of the Roman world. The *CLE* share a distinctive feature: their metrical form, a remarkable literary intention against all the other epigraphical documents. Historical studies have disregarded this literary side (metrics, language, structure and aesthetics). Such studies have taken these kind of texts as a literal proof of several practices in Antiquity, regardless of all the variables distinguishing them from prose inscriptions. In this regard, we show some new reflections about the *CLE* 465, from Aix-en-Provence, which has attracted the interest of both philologists and historians.

d. Victoria González Berdús (Universidad de Sevilla, Spain)
Carmina Latina Epigraphica *from Gallia Belgica: An Up-to-date Overview and a Study of the Erotic Carmina on Instrumenta*

At present, the verse epigraphy from the Gallia Belgica province consists of 42 inscriptions, including preserved and not preserved. An important percentage of them (c. 75 %) are funerary Christian *tituli*. The same proportion occurs in terms of provenance: 3 out of 4 originated from Trier (Germany), *Augusta Treverorum* in Roman times. Despite this apparent homogeneity, the study of the *carmina Belgica* raises interesting debates regarding the metric classification of some pieces, its dating or the potential nexus between *inhumatio ad sanctos* and verse epigraphy, inter alia. On this occasion I will outline some of this aspects in order to offer a general overview. After that, I will focus on a group that slips the 75 % I mentioned at the beginning: the erotic *carmina epigraphica* on *instrumenta*. The study and comparison of its text typologies from a philological standpoint will hopefully contribute to the research on the subject.

6L – OVID IN CHINA

PANEL ABSTRACT

"Globalizing Ovid," an International Conference in Commemoration of the Bimillennium of Ovid's Death, was held at Shanghai Normal University in 2017 in conjunction with a Chinese National Social Science Foundation project entitled "Translating the Complete Corpus of Ovid's poetry into Chinese with Commentaries." The aim of this panel, consisting of presenters from three continents, is to share the results of the Shanghai conference with a wider audience. Topics include a survey of the reception of Western Classics in China with special focus on the reception of Ovid, representations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on 18th-century Chinese export porcelain, a study of Dai Wangshu's 1929 translation of *Ars Amatoria*, reflections by the current Chinese translator of the *Heroides*, and a discussion of the challenges and benefits of international collaboration in translating Ovid's *Medicamina Faciei Femineae*. The organizer of the Shanghai Conference and director of the translation project serves as respondent.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Fritz-Heiner Mustchler (Universität Dresden, Germany and Guest Professor at Peking University, Beijing, China)
An Outsider's observations on the reception of Ovid in China

This paper presents glimpses of the Chinese reception of Western Classics in order to place the Shanghai Ovid-project in context. After looking briefly at early missionary mediators of Greco-Roman culture to China, the paper sketches the development in the last century and a half, subdivided into three periods: the end of the 19th and first half of the 20th century, the People's Republic before the opening, and the People's Republic after the opening. Analysis of this development suggests the differentiation between a political-patriotic current and a cultural-humanistic current in the reception of Western Classics, with the academic sphere participating in both. The paper argues for situating the reception of Ovid within the second current and substantiates this thesis by pursuing the involvement of Chinese writers and scholars with portions of Ovid's work up to the conception of the Shanghai project.

b. Will Motley (Cohen and Cohen, London) **and Thomas Sienkewicz** (Monmouth College, USA)
Ovid's Metamorphoses on 18th-century Chinese export porcelain

Increasing European contacts with China during the seventeenth century led to growing taste in Europe for Chinese artifacts, including porcelains. Originally, these Chinese export porcelains (CEP) depicted traditional Chinese scenes. In the early eighteenth-century, however, Chinese manufacturers began to produce ware specifically designed for the European market, using religious, political and other themes from Europe, including scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. These CEP were clearly commissioned by European purchasers and Chinese artists often modeled their works on book engravings sent from Europe. In this presentation an expert on CEP and a Classicist discuss examples of CEP depicting scenes from Ovid in conjunction with the engravings upon which they were based. These include illustrations for the 1732 Banier edition of Samuel Garth's English translation of *Metamorphoses* published in Amsterdam and others for a 1679 edition of Isaac de Bensérade's French translation also published in Amsterdam.

c. Xinyao Xiao (University of Texas at Austin, USA)
Ovid's debut in Chinese: Translating Ars Amatoria *in Republican China*

The first work of Ovid translated into Chinese was *Ars Amatoria* (published in Shanghai in 1929) by the poet-translator Dai Wangshu, later one of China's most prominent modernist poets. An instant success in the market, Dai's prose translation of *Ars Amatoria* remains the most widely read and circulated Chinese version of the poem. A close reading of this translation, based on the 1924 French Budé version of the poem, *Ovide: L'Art d'Aimer*, shows that Ovid's debut in China was a product of a two-fold "carry-over" (*translatio*). In this process, Dai strategically used his paratext ("Preface" and explanatory footnotes) and mobilized a literary repertoire (vocabulary, neologism, literary tropes, etc.) to introduce his eroto-didactic poem to a country at a time when its own tradition of amatory poetry and romance literature was being challenged in the New Culture movement.

d. Chun Liu (Peking University, Beijing, China)
The writing heroines in Ovid's Heroides*: How do they sound in Chinese?*

The highly emotional and dramatic fictional letters in Ovid's *Heroides*, written in the voices of mythical women, present multiple challenges of translation. Some are rooted in linguistic differences between Latin and Chinese. Since the construction of tense in Mandarin differs from that in inflected languages, for example, it is necessary to supply adverbs to highlight temporal features. Another challenge is to express the heroines' distinctive social positions, life experiences and personalities without making them sound unified or monotonous. The translator must use cautiously the stereotyped expressions frequently associated in Chinese poetry with deserted women. Translating Ovid's puns, which create multiple interpretations of the text in Latin and subtly reveal the heroine's mind and inner desires, presents a further challenge. Issues concerning the heroines' cursing, or words of blame, will also be discussed, with detailed examples from the text.

e. Steven Green (Yale-NUS College, Singapore) **and Pei Yun Chia** (Yale-NUS College, Singapore)
Medicamina into Mandarin: Ovid and the Linguistic Crossroads

The globalised Anglophone education at Yale-NUS liberal arts college in Singapore brings the classical world, including instruction in Latin and ancient Greek, to a bright cohort of students many of whom have fluency in Mandarin. Advanced Latin graduates from Yale-NUS are, therefore, well placed to assist in the Ovid translation project. But with opportunity comes challenges. Cultural differences between modern China and ancient Rome, and linguistic differences between Mandarin and Latin, result in complex choices for translation. This paper will look at some of these challenges with reference to Ovid's fragmentary didactic poem, *Medicamina Faciei Femineae* ('Cosmetics for the Female Face').

f. Respondent: Jinyu Liu (De Pauw University, USA and Shanghai Normal University, China)

7A – WHEN CLASSICS GETS CREATIVE: Creative Writing and the Classics. [2: Poetry, Pedagogy and Graphic Novels]

....

PANEL ABSTRACT
Please see 6A above

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Emma Bridges (Institute of Classical Studies, UK)
Rewriting the Ancient World: Creative Practice as Research

_____

In recent years, scholars of classical reception – accustomed to interrogating texts as subjects for study – have come to recognise the value of talking to creative practitioners about their work. This can yield valuable insights into the creative process and, in turn, allows us to bring fresh perspectives to the ancient texts whose long-departed authors we can no longer interview. This talk will look at what happens when researchers move beyond the model of talking to an author about their work, but instead engage in the creative process itself, either through working in collaboration with a writer, or by producing their own creative interpretations of ancient material. It will draw on the speaker's experience of interviewing practitioners for *Practitioners' Voices in Classical Reception Studies* and editing the 2018 anthology *Making Monsters*, a public-facing volume which combines fiction and short stories with accessible academic essays. It will also examine recent case studies (for example, Tom de Freston and Kiran Millwood Hargrave's *Orpheus and Eurydice* and Josephine Balmer's *The Paths of Survival*) in order to explore possible models for combining creative and scholarly work and to offer some thoughts on the opportunities which this presents, both as a form of practicebased research to enhance understanding of our field, and as a way of engaging new audiences with our research.

b. Ruth MacDonald (St John's College, University of Oxford, UK)
'The Cult of the Noble Amateur': Classical Reception, Intellectual Snobbery and the Democratisation of Classics

_____

Drawing on the influence of Homer, Ovid and a number of other ancient authors, Kate Tempest's poetry is a striking example of the ways in which allusions to the classical can be employed to address contemporary socio-political concerns. Works such as *Brand New Ancients* (2012) and *Hold Your Own* (2014) offer penetrating explorations of marginality and suffering, as well as bringing ancient myth and literature to increasingly diverse audiences.

Nominated twice for the Mercury Music Prize and winning the Ted Hughes Award in 2013, Tempest enjoys a level

of recognition in both popular and academic circles. Nevertheless, Tempest's very accessibility is, in fact, often levelled as a criticism against her. In the *PN Review*, poet Rebecca Watts decries Tempest's 'honesty' and 'accessibility' – terms she designates as 'buzzwords for the open denigration of intellectual engagement and rejection of craft that characterises [Tempest's] work.' For Watts, it seems, high-register vocabulary and opaque style are extolled over uncomplicated language; texts defined as popular or easy to read are regarded as unworthy of serious critical attention. Even Tempest's easy familiarity with established texts such as the *Iliad* and the *Metamorphoses* seems to fall short of the standard required to transpose her work into a realm worthy of scholarly consideration. Yet, for many, the popular reception is the very gateway through which the public come into contact with the classical. In a world where our engagement with the ancient world and classical scholarship are increasingly mediated by popular culture, the relationship between the critical and the creative must be re-examined. As such, using Tempest's poetry as an indicative example, this paper will explore the ways in which contemporary writing can intersect the scholarly and the poetic, the ancient and the modern, in new and interesting ways.

c. Helen Lovatt (University of Nottingham, UK)
Writing Fiction and Understanding Ancient History in the Independent Second Year Project at the University of Nottingham

_____

The Independent Second Year Project (ISYP) at Nottingham has been running for over twentyfive years: in it students respond to the ancient world in non-essay format. Many students choose to write fiction, and one of the main teaching methods of the module is to critique 'exemplars' in order to understand how to write in different ways for different audiences. The most important marking criterion is still 'knowledge of the ancient world' and this paper discusses how undertaking the project helps students to adopt a more critical approach to the information they encounter and to be aware that their perceptions of the ancient world are often driven by non-scholarly material. The paper will present some examples of recent fiction-based projects and will aim to also involve students in the presentation. It will look at various stages of teaching the project: problem statement, exemplar analysis and 'crits', and will discuss the problems and difficulties students often face in fiction-based projects.

d. Lynn Fortheringham (University of Nottingham, UK)
The (Graphic) Novelist and the Historian: Consultancy on 'Three'

Several publications dealing with on-screen fiction set in the ancient world have included firstperson accounts by academics acting as historical consultants to productions (e.g., Coleman in Winkler, *Gladiator*, 2004; Milnor in Cyrino, *Rome, Season One*, 2008). This paper will present a third-person account of the consultation process between a graphic novelist, Kieron Gillen, and a historian of Sparta, Stephen Hodkinson. The consulting took place in 2012-13, in advance of the publication of the graphic series, *Three* (Image comics, October 2013-February 2014; collected as a single novel, April 2014), which is set in 4th century B.C.E. Sparta. As a Classicist with contacts in the comics industry, I was in a position to introduce the two individuals concerned to one another; I took next to no part in the consulting process, but was provided with copies of all correspondence. I also interviewed both parties before and after the process, with a view to being able to write about the consultation from the outside. The first-person accounts mentioned above focus on the difficulties historians face due to the film-makers' aesthetic and commercial rather than historiographical motivations; these motivations can be critiqued or defended. This paper will explore instead the positive creative contributions that the consultant can make to the work of historical fiction. The consultation on *Three* provides an example of what Coleman in 2004 presented as the ideal: 'sophisticated collaboration between [creative artist] and historical consultant' – but while Coleman postulated that such sophistication would depend on the consultant getting involved at an early stage, in fact Hodkinson was not brought on board until quite late in the gestation of *Three*. It is possible that achieving this kind of sophisticated collaboration was made easier by relatively small scale of a graphic novel in comparison with a screen production, in terms of both audience reach and financial investment; also important, however, are the personalities and attitudes of the individuals concerned. It is my hope that a third-person account, by dint of being less personal, will provide a more analytical understanding of the success of this particular process, and positive suggestions for Classicists who may find themselves in the position of collaborating with a creator of fiction in the future.

e. One-hour poetry writing workshop led by poets SJ Brady and Emily Chow-Kambitsch.

7B – SEEN AND NOT HEARD? Children's Concerns in Graeco-Roman Egypt

PANEL ABSTRACT

How much were ancient children seen and not heard? With demographic dynamics favouring high proportions of young people, children's presence would have echoed throughout the streets, courtyards, workshops, gymnasia, temples, and fields of the ancient Mediterranean. Children are crucial to transmission of cultural values across their families and communities, yet their relationships, fears, hopes and ambitions feature infrequently in ancient texts and have rarely attracted the focus of classical scholarship. Their agency – or capacity to shape their worlds – is a central concept of modern childhood studies and so, as childhood historians of antiquity this panel collectively reflects on the meaningfulness of children's agency in the ancient world. We use of a wealth of Demotic, Greek and Coptic papyrological texts, along with material culture, from Graeco-Roman Egypt 1st-7th centuries C.E. to reconstruct children's lives and concerns in four areas: familial and social life; play; formal learning; and religion.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. April Pudsey (Manchester Metropolitan University, UK)
Beyond paidia. The meaning of play for Romano-Egyptian children

The importance of play in children's lives is a major theme of modern childhood studies, with good reason: it is through play that children learn the rules of social engagement in their own communities, engage with peers, adults and hierarchies, and develop their own individual capacities for creative pretence and self-reflection. Exploring how ancient children played helps us to paint a more textured picture of their physical, cultural, social and emotional world; it can help us understand ways in which children were key to shaping their lives and communities. This paper brings together a range of Romano-Egyptian material culture and papyrological texts related to children's play – toys, games, figurines, clothing and letters – and uses them to reconstruct ways in which children's play went far beyond what Plato had suggested was a means of socializing children, and was in fact an avenue for children's exploration and expression of their own concerns.

b. Ville Vuolanto (University of Tampere, Finland)
Fathers and Mothers in Roman Oxyrhynchos

Familial relationships and dynamics within households of the Roman Empire have been the focus of much research over the past few decades, yet studies have typically focused

on analysis of marriage strategies and gendered dynamics of conjugal relationships, or on motherhood and maternal relationships. These issues have been approached almost exclusively through the words and concerns of Roman male elites in literary texts or epigraphic material. This paper shifts the focus of the Roman family to everyday customs and concerns of the younger inhabitants of Roman Egypt, comparing children's responses toward, and relationships with, each parent – would daughters be more attached to their mothers, and fathers more detached from their children, as we might hypothezise? How were parental responsibilities distributed between parents? The source material is a database of hundreds of Greek papyri collected by Pudsey and Vuolanto, on their major project reconstructing children's lives in Roman Oxyrhynchos.

c. Ada Nifosi (University of Kent, Canterbury)
Used or abused? Children's role in divination in Greco-Roman Egypt

Graeco-Roman Egypt has extensive evidence for boys' roles in divination in Greek and Demotic papyri, dated mainly to the 3rd-4th centuries C.E. In these texts, some magical practitioners asked boys to recognise supernatural figures in the reflection of lamps and liquids, others encouraged a prophetic trance. Papyri also indicate that associated fear could affect children's ability to focus on their tasks. This evidence raises important questions on the agency and the status of the children involved: were these children used or abused by magical practitioners and how can we distinguish positive participation from abuse? Were these children slaves, boys working for acompensation, or sons of rich families chosen to perform prestigious religious services? This paper will look at the wording used to define children in magical papyri, and compare the Graeco-Egyptian tradition with other sources on children's divination from Classical and Early Medieval periods.

d. Jennifer Cromwell (Manchester Metropolitan University, UK)
Searching for Classrooms in Egyptian Villages in Late Antiquity

The nature and structure of Greek education in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt is relatively well understood. Yet Egypt was a bilingual country, and the same cannot be said for the situation of schooling in Coptic in Late Antiquity. Hundreds of surviving Coptic texts bear exercises produced during various stages of the education process, by teachers and students, which reveal a tendency towards meeting the more pragmatic requirements of literacy, such as letter-writing. I

will present the known evidence for Coptic education, paying specific attention to the question of where schooling took place. This approach will permit questions concerning who (or what) was responsible for providing education, and who were the students to be addressed. In so doing, schooling will be grounded in its physical, practical context, aiming to identify the players involved and to contribute to our understanding of the lived experience of children in the Egyptian hinterland.

7C − (IM)MATERIAL LIBRARIES: The Reconstruction of Greek and Latin Scholars' Libraries in Antiquity and Beyond

PANEL ABSTRACT
A substantial body of scholarship has explored the history of Greek and Latin libraries. So far, relatively less attention has been paid to private libraries (information on which is much more difficult to gather), and namely to the book-collections of scholars. Acquiring knowledge on this typology of ancient, Late-Antique, and medieval libraries is essential to understand how the authors worked, what they read, which texts they helped to save. Extant texts – excerpts, anthologies, reference works –, literary evidence, and surviving manuscripts allow to reconstruct lost private libraries. The panel will explore several case-studies of vanished libraries, both Greek and Latin, which belonged to famous authors or shadowy scholarly figures, from Antiquity up to the Renaissance. The panel will focus on the following questions: What did intellectuals read? What kind of books did they own? Which methods, sources, and tools can we exploit to virtually reconstruct their libraries?

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Rosa Otranto (Università degli Studi di Bari, Italy)
Cataloguing Books in the Ancient World: pinakes, indices, άναγραφαί.

Literary, papyrological, and epigraphical evidence shows that the archetypal model of the book catalogues are Callimachus' *Pinakes*. The study of the extant fragments of the *Pinakes*, as well as of other literary, papyrological and epigraphical sources, introduces us into the world of ancient books and libraries. This evidence may also provide with important traces of book collections, methods of book cataloguing, and sometimes also centers for book copying. In addition, it can also shed light on the figures of book production and circulation: scholars, librarians, and people interested in possessing, cataloguing, copying, requesting and exchanging literary works.

b. Margherita Losacco (Università degli Studi di Padova, Italy)
Reconstructing Authors' Vanished Libraries through Literary Sources: two case-studies

Only literary sources allow us, best if not only, to reconstruct the content of ancient authors' libraries. From Athenaeus to Photius, from Cicero to Isidorus, and beyond, quotations, allusions, and references hidden in the ancient texts shed light on authors' vanished libraries. Two case-studies show how different sources, methods, and results can be in this field. Atticus, the friend and correspondent of Cicero (1st c. BCE), owned his own library, which has attracted relatively little scholarly attention until now. Nevertheless, it might be at least partially reconstructed in its physical details and in its content through references, comments, and borrowing requests attested in Cicero's epistles. The treatise *Ad Autolycum* by Theophilus of Antioch (2nd c. CE) contains a vast amount of quotations from ancient writings, poorly studied as a whole until now. A survey points to a library which probably contained mostly anthologies and excerpt collections.

c. Ottavia Mazzon (Università degli Studi di Padova, Italy)
The Library of the Ancient Bookworm. An Enquiry on Plutarch, his Notes, and his Personal book collection

Plutarch was undoubtedly a very prolific reader. However, as is the case for any other ancient author, nothing of his private book collection survives. What we are able to know of his literary interests and his readings can only be deduced indirectly through the analysis of quotations found in his works. But what were the contents of his library? Did he own many *volumina* containing complete works or did he rely on ready-made anthologies? Starting from the analysis of one of his most erudite opuscules, the *Quaestiones convivales*, the paper aims at reconstructing a section of Plutarch's book collection. Quotations included in the *Quaest. Conv.* will be considered in light of the rest of the Plutarchean *corpus*, but will also be compared with other authors' works, in order to understand whether Plutarch read each author himself or made use of excerpt collections that contained selections of *memorabilia*.

d. Elena Spangenberg Yanes (Trinity College Dublin, Ireland)
The Library of the Grammarians. A case-study at the Intersection between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages: the anonymous De dubiis nominibus

This paper will open with a brief presentation of the state of the field for literary canons in late antique Latin grammar schools. Subsequently I will focus on the specific case of

De dubiis nominibus, an anonymous treatise on nouns with uncertain gender (southern France, second half of 7th century), which displays a rather uncommon selection of literary sources for examples, ranging from lost works of Republican and early Imperial Age to the *Vetus Latina* and 4th-7th-century Christian writers. Through the analysis of the structure of the work and the comparison with other grammatical treatises, I will clarify which literary texts were directly consulted by the Anonymous and which ones, on the contrary, he knew only through an intermediate source. The reconstruction of the Anonymous''library' will shed light on the wider issues of books availability and knowledge of classics at a time when the Roman school system was collapsing.

e. Martina Elice (Università degli Studi di Padova, Italy)
The Libraries of the Physicians. Classical Texts in the Libraries of some Anatomists of the Paduan Medical School

Between the 16th and the 17th century, the physicians of the Padua Medical School were responsible for reviving the classical medical tradition represented by the Galenic doctrine. At the same time, the research they carried on by dissecting and directly observing the human body revolutionized medical science: nowadays, they are considered the founders of modern anatomy. Because of their importance for the development of modern medicine, scholarship has so far focused on the scientific discoveries of the Padua physicians. Their works, however, are rich in allusions and quotations of classical literary texts, which are an essential part of their cultural background and in need to be investigated. Through the case-studies of Realdo Colombo's *De re anatomica* (1559) and Thomas Bartholin's *De bibliothecae incendio* (1670) and *De anatome practica consilium* (1674), the paper will attempt to shed light on the classical libraries of the anatomists of the *Studium patavinum*.

7D – THE MULTIVOCALITY OF MATERIAL CULTURE: Ancient Spindle Whorls in Context

PANEL ABSTRACT
The 'material turn' in Classical studies has led to a renewed interest in the role of material culture in informing our understanding of the lived experiences of the ancient world. Objects signify in many different ways, depending on the questions that are asked of them, and the ways in which they are put into dialogue with other sources of evidence. In order to highlight the multiplicity of meanings of material culture, this panel brings together four papers which take contrasting approaches to a single type of object from the ancient world –

the spindle whorl. Using different methodologies and focusing on different questions, the papers explore spindle whorls from north-west Italy, the Iberian peninsula, Britain and Cyprus, to explore questions of gender and identity, social practices and memory, textile production and post-excavation reception, and ask what they can tell us about their ancient and modern users and interpreters.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Sarah Scheffler (University of Leicester, UK)
Spinning gender identity: The role of spindle whorls in north-west Italian Iron Age/Roman archaeology

Spinning and female identity appear to be as interwoven as the textile made from the spun yarn. A Roman wife's life was supposed to be solely dedicated to the task of spinning (Plutarch, Lives. Romulus), and thus it does not surprise that in archaeology spindle whorls are almost exclusively associated with female identity. Mortuary contexts of the Iron Age/Roman transition of north-west Italy rely primarily on a material culture-focussed gender identification, often based on the presence and absence of female gender markers – first and foremost spindle whorls. This cognitive bias results in a conspicuous archaeological invisibility of men during a period that was historically dominated by the very same. Thus, the critical re-examination of spindle whorls and their role in assigning gender identity is an essential step towards understanding wider socio-cultural changes following the Roman conquest.

b. Henry Clarke (University of Leeds, UK)
Objects of the Living and the Dead: Reading spindle whorls in ancient Iberia

Spindle whorls recovered from the settlements and necropoleis of the ancient Iberian peninsula are characteristically viewed as representative of textile working and female identity. However, treating these objects straightforwardly as proxy data for practices and people can lead to partial readings of their impact on local communities. Multivocality and material agency encourage us to allow such mobile artefacts a greater role in presenting people with opportunities for use and the creation of meaning. These approaches likewise emphasise the relationship between objects, people, situations, and wider object-scapes. This paper will analyse what spindle whorls do in local contexts in the Durius Valley (north-central Spain and Portugal), beyond their basic representational value, before and after the establishment of Roman power. I will explore their complex role in, and influence on, diverse social practices

and behaviours, the discrepant experiences of different social groups, and the preservation of local memory.

c. Lisa Venables (University of Leicester, UK)
Beyond Mundanity – From tool to textile

Ubiquitous and mundane – the capabilities of spindle whorls have been, generally, overlooked as technologies of ancient textile production, in contrast to the evidence for (for example) iron and wood working technologies.

A lack of understanding of the functional capabilities of whorls as technologies of fibre spinning and their situation within the chaîne opératoire of yarn and cordage production has led to perceptions of the activity of hand spinning as 'hobbyist'. Equally, the lack of precise contextual information in the archaeological record combined with an uncritical, reductionist acceptance that they represent evidence for female domestic work has narrowed understanding of this category of artefact.

Yet, whorls represent archaeological evidence for the technological and social nature of yarn and cordage production. The functional parameters of textile tools in combination with textile craft knowledge, experimental archaeology and context analysis render textile craft visible. This paper will present case studies from Roman-period Britain.

d. Anna Reeve (University of Leeds, UK)
Disks, beads, ornaments: shifting perceptions of ancient Cypriot spindle whorls

Careful examination of spindle whorls and their contexts can shed light on their uses and values in their ancient contexts. Their post-excavation histories can also tell us a great deal about changing attitudes to ancient material culture since the 19th century, and the ways in which the values and meanings of objects have been asserted and contested. The history of archaeology can be explored through study of the ways in which objects have been brought together and dispersed, interpreted and displayed. Taking the case study of a group of spindle whorls from the Bronze Age site of Enkomi in Cyprus, this paper explores their post-excavation itineraries, and the changing ways in which they have been classified and interpreted by excavators and curators, and encountered by museum visitors. This provides an example of the polysemy of material culture, and the continual re-negotiation and construction of meaning in a museum context.

7E – CIVIC AGENCY AND INCENTIVES TO PARTICIPATION IN DEMOCRATIC ATHENS

PANEL ABSTRACT

From the herald's formulaic 'Who wants to speak?' opening Assembly debates to the lawcourts' reliance on prosecutions by *ho boulomenos*, the flourishing of their radical democracy was deeply rooted within Athenians' careful cultivation and diligent displays of civic agency.

Scholarship on the institutions and ideologies of Athenian democracy has scrutinized the starring roles without asking what motivated citizens to serve within the supporting cast. Moving beyond *rhetores* and litigants, this panel asks why an Athenian might choose to take up the script and embrace one of these supporting roles on the civic stage. By examining four key arenas – the Council, lawcourts, theatre, and demes – we reassess not just *how* but *why* Athenians enacted their civic agency. What were the material and non-material incentives to formal and informal participation, and how did Athens achieve the required level of participation while avoiding perverse incentives?

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

a. Benjamin Keim (Pomona College, USA)
How the Athenians incentivised wise counsel

The Council of 500 is rightly celebrated as the 'lynch-pin' of radical Athenian democracy: every year a new slate of *bouleutae*, chosen by lot from every tribe and deme, was entrusted with steering the ship of state. Councillors received a daily stipend, but such monetary rewards provide inadequate motivation for councillors first to serve and thereafter to serve well. Building on recent discussions by Liddel and Ober, I examine non-monetary incentives for exemplary service on the Council and how these changed over time. I argue for three conclusions: first, diverse forms of honour were key variables within the motivational calculus carried out by *ho boulomenos*; second, honour was essential to Athens' encouragement and employ of wise counsel; third, the Council – with its extraordinary rate of citizen participation and wide-ranging administrative oversight – was an integral means of acculturating Athenians into the negotiations of civic honour that enabled their democracy.

b. Adriaan Lanni (Harvard University, USA)
Civic encouragement and Athenian juries

Why did hundreds of Athenians show up for jury duty on each of the roughly 200 court days per year? After all, the vote of any one juror was unlikely to affect the outcome of a verdict issued by 201- or 501-person jury. The extensive discussions of the modern 'paradox of voter turnout' in political science literature offer an enlightening framework for approaching this puzzle. Contemporary theoretical and empirical literature highlights several possible factors to explain civic participation, including selective inducements such as material compensation, social rewards and punishments (particularly within smaller groups), the influence of social networks, the expressive benefits of participation, a robust sense of civic duty, and the perceived legitimacy of the public good. Examining each of these possible explanations for civic engagement enables us to understand just how remarkable the Athenian jury system was.

c. Noémie Villacèque (Reims Champagne-Ardenne, France)
Why the Athenians assembled in the theatre

Twice every year, the Athenians organised elaborate festivals in honour of Dionysos, the Lenaea and the Dionysia, each featuring dramatic competitions. Many were involved in the organisation of the festivals as well as in the dramatic productions themselves, and the Athenians attended *en masse*. Why did people go? Certainly for entertainment and for the festive camaraderie that arose from seeing and being seen together, as the city displayed its power. But might Athenians also have attended the theatre for the same reason that they went up to the Pnyx, to convene as assembled rulers? In this paper I argue that Athens' famous tragedies and comedies enabled the *demos* (i) individually to watch the powerful exercising their power on stage, (ii) collectively to discuss what they had seen, and thereby (iii) as the *demos* to reaffirm together their own abiding power.

d. Robin Osborne (University of Cambridge, UK)
Local Incentives to participation

Every year every deme had to produce a) a set number of its members for allotment to the Council – no fewer than 22 of them, in the case of Acharnai; b) members willing to be allotted demarch and take other deme offices; c) funding for extensive religious celebrations. Deme office might involve chasing up public debtors or contributions for Eleusis and make you hated, as the speaker of Demosthenes 57 found out; deme festivals hardly made big-time news. So why would anyone take deme office or fund deme events? Demarchs do not go on to play parts in central politics, so demes are not stepping stones for the ambitious. Materially all demes could do was say thank-you with a crown. Understanding why crowns secured deme participation is crucial to understanding how the acceptable inequality of honour helped democratic Athens avoid the problem of the freeloader.

7F – QUEER CLASSICS, QUEER RECEPTION: A Roundtable

PANEL ABSTRACT

Proposed here is a roundtable on non-binary sexual identities and LGBT+ Classical reception. To open the floor for discussion, Irene Salvo will offer an introduction on gender fluidity in ancient Greek religion. Jennifer Ingleheart will then introduce on reception, with the intervention of Christine Plastow and Ben Greet on, respectively, the reception of Orestes and Pylades in a new stage play (Jove Theatre Company) and Ganymede in *The Eagle* (a 2011 film). After these presentations encourage thought, the remaining time can be given over to discussion to flow where it likes. Mark Masterson will moderate the roundtable as needed with a light hand. If this is approved, it would be great if it could follow the panel the WCC-UK and LCC have proposed, to continue queer debates into this event. We hope to give voice to LGBT+ Classics creating an open and constructive space for dialogue and learning.

PARTICIPANTS

Mark Masterson (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand), **Irene Salvo** (University of Goettingen, Germany), **Jennifer Ingleheart** (Durham University, UK), **Marcus Bell** (By Jove Theatre Company) and **Christine Plastow** (Open University and By Jove Theatre Company, UK), **Benjamin Greet** (University of Reading, UK)

7G – SPEECH REPRESENTATION IN ANCIENT EPIC FROM HOMER TO NONNUS

PANEL ABSTRACT

The future of classical philology is firmly in the hands of digital methods and technologies. Digital publications and databases have opened up new possibilities, especially for the use and evaluation of large data sets. The speakers of this panel are currently in the process of developing a comprehensive database and a handbook of speech representation in ancient epic from Homer to Nonnus. The aim of this international collaboration is to combine qualitative and quantitative research in the diachronic study of character speech in Graeco-Roman epic in its conversational context in order to collect a reliable, comparable, and transferable data corpus, and develop a helpful and freely accessible tool for all scholars working in the field.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Deborah Beck (University of Texas at Austin, USA)
Speech Representation in Homeric Epic – A Case Study

The first paper explores the range of speech types and contexts in epic poetry by focusing on Homeric epic in particular. Readers since Plato have noted the fundamental importance of speech to Homeric narrative. Moreover, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* established the parameters of speech in epic for all of classical antiquity, and later epic poets shape their own narratives both by the ways in which they follow Homeric models and the ways in which they make different choices. The wide range of speech types found in Homeric epic can be understood in various overlapping ways. These include the dramatic contexts in which they appear (such as battle, hospitality, assembly, the gods); the social and linguistic frameworks (orders, prayers, questions, answers rebukes, and greetings are some of the more common); and the gender and social status of the speakers, both individually and in relation to their addressees.

b. Simone Finkmann (Heinrich Schliemann-Institut für Altertumswissenschaften, University of Rostock, Germany)
Direct Speech in the Argonautica *of Apollonius Rhodius and Valerius Flaccus*

The second paper exemplarily analyses the speech representation in what has commonly been recognised as the pair of (extant) ancient Greek and Roman epics with the closest agreement in their content and structure: the *Argonautica* of the Flavian epicist Valerius Flaccus and his Hellenistic model Apollonius Rhodius on the voyage of the Argo and the Argonauts' retrieval of the Golden Fleece with the help of Medea. In addition to addressing the general similarities and differences in some of the most important categories of speech representation such as speech length and frequency, the focus on individual speakers, speech types, and speech clusters, as well as embedded speeches and speeches in disguise, the presentation will compare the authors' use of direct speech in a selection of their many parallel episodes.

c. Berenice Verhelst (Ghent University, Belgium)
Adding Insult to Injury. Triumph speeches on the Epic Battlefield from Homer to Nonnus

The third paper uses a content-based classification of epic speech and aims to compare 'similar' speeches (belonging to a specific 'speech type') throughout the Greek and Latin epic tradition. As an exemplary case study, it discusses what

Fingerle (1939) called the triumph speech: words of triumph, gloating a dead or defeated enemy, usually spoken by a hero after a victory in single combat.[1] By mapping recurring structural patterns, themes and topoi of this relatively common type of speech for the entire epic tradition, it becomes possible to describe speech conventions, to define what is inherent to the epic tradition, to track evolutions through time and even to determine author-specific features. Perhaps even more interestingly, a more profound knowledge of epic speech conventions also allows us to pinpoint exceptional cases where conventions are broken, challenged or inverted. In the final part of this paper, these insights will be used as an analytic tool to lay bare the subtle humour in the closing part of Nonnus' mock-epic Typhonomachy.

d. Christopher W. Forstall (Mount Allison University in New Brunswick, Canada)
Distant Reading of Direct Speech in Epic: An Illustrated Workflow

The analysis of direct speech in epic has a unique advantage among corpus-based, or "distant reading" studies within Digital Classics, because in this case we actually have significant amounts of data, and much of it has already been coded in digital form. For example, libraries such as the Chicago Homer and Perseus under PhiloLogic include texts already marked up with metadata indicating who speaks every word. At the same time, open standards for canonical reference allow such data to be cited and correlated across repositories. This paper demonstrates how specific components of the digital ecosystem of epic texts and computational tools can be connected to collect data, perform analysis, and link published work back to primary sources as well as forward to future scholarship.

7H – ANACHRONISM AND ANTIQUITY

PANEL ABSTRACT
The past half-century has witnessed a sustained interrogation into the genealogy of historical periodization. Many scholars have suggested that true temporal understanding came into existence only with the Renaissance or with Historicism, since earlier societies lacked notions of anachronism. This panel, formed of scholars involved in the Leverhulme-funded 'Anachronism and Antiquity' project, challenges these assumptions by studying the concept of anachronism both within Greco-Roman antiquity and in relation to the dialectic

of antiquity and modernity. A short introduction to the conceptual background is followed by papers on a leading ancient practitioner of historiography; on the scholarly exegesis of Greek tragedy that survives in the scholia; and on modern critical and literary re-workings of canonical ancient texts. The variety of topics and theoretical approaches in the four papers illustrates the versatility of anachronism as a way of re-thinking the relation of ancient and modern understandings of time.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Tim Rood (St Hughs College, University of Oxford, UK)
Short Introduction

b. John Marincola (Florida State University, USA)
Polybian Temporalities

This paper deals with the different temporalities employed by Polybius, who, in his history, can be seen as postulating events along two axes. On the one hand, there is the particular moment (*kairos*) at which he is writing, where the entire Mediterranean world has moved towards one goal (*telos*) thanks to Roman conquest uniting a previously disparate world. The particular history that Polybius writes can thus *only* be written at that particular moment, since it is constructed as the perfection (*telos*) of a process that has been going on for centuries. On the other hand, Polybius postulates a recurrent (and predictable) cycle of human development and change, which might seem to run counter to the sense of the linear movement indicated elsewhere. This paper will argue that Polybius' use of different notions of anachronism in each of these models indicates his keen awareness of the differing modalities of historical time.

c. K. Scarlett Kingsley (Agnes Scott College, USA)
Chronopoiesis in the Scholia of Euripides

Tragic time on the Athenian stage unfolds in an intentional history distant in epic time and space. This expectation is evident in an important avenue of reception for Euripides, in the ancient scholia, which occasionally note that the tragedian has 'dated backward' a later object, event, or custom, rupturing Homeric time. In this paper I will argue that the scholiasts' somewhat banal historicism is at times nuanced through their willingness to attribute to Euripides an intrusive fifth-century voice operating beneath that of the ancient persona. The resulting asynchronicity or anachronism generates a distinctive time, chronopoiesis, to use Gilda de Simone's coinage (*Ending Analysis: Theory and Technique*, 1997). The interpretation of Euripides as blending temporalities past

and present will affirm the sophisticated understanding of time available to ancient critics and also their ability to treat non-linear time as a creative force aesthetically, politically, and philosophically.

d. Mathura Umachandran (University of Oxford)
Adorno and Homer's Late Style: Art as Catastrophe

In *Spätstil Beethovens* (1937) Theodor Adorno demolishes the orthodoxy that the works from the composer's final years were strikingly dissonant because of his increasing deafness. Rehabilitating these works from mere biographical document, Adorno understands their 'dissonance' in philosophical terms, that is, profoundly out of sync with the cultural context from which they emerge. Thus he re-tools the concept of 'late style' and construes Beethoven's late works: "In the history of art, late works are catastrophes". I show that Spätstil mobilizes anachronism as a productive hermeneutic strategy for ancient authors, releasing them from the narrow confines of periodization and historicity. I also track how Spätstil anticipates key moves in Adorno's reading of Homer in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947). Finally my key claim is that Spätstil allows us to fully grasp Adorno's insistence on Homer's cultural modernity, that is, an always untimely resource for understanding how violence is hardwired into Western civilization.

e. Carol Atack (University of Oxford)
Plato's Republic *and the politics of presentism*

The political turmoil of the present day has led commentators to seek answers in classical thought on the weaknesses of democracy, such as Plato's exploration of demagoguery and tyranny in his Republic. But what processes are involved in deploying ancient thought to address contemporary problems? Does identifying Plato's tyrant with contemporary figures lead to intellectually disreputable presentism in reading his texts? Recent reworkings of Plato's Republic in genre fiction (Jo Walton's *The Just City*) and political theory (Alain Badiou's *La République de Platon*) are preoccupied with updating elements seen as anachronisms, such as Kallipolis' plumbing and Plato's mathematics; Rebecca Newberger Goldstein imagines Plato at the Googleplex, debating with software engineers. Together these works suggest that encounters with classical thought can recognise its relevance to contemporary debate, without ignoring or collapsing the distance between past and present, or isolating the classical past through arid contextualism.

1. A. Fingerle. Die Typik der homerischen Reden. Diss. Munich 1939.

7I – HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE FAILURE OF EMPIRES

PANEL ABSTRACT
The purpose of this panel is to enable comparison between the way historians of two periods handled issues of imperial decline—the late Hellenistic/Republican period and the later Roman Empire. Papers will explore the factors historians stress in treating periods of major transition. Two papers will deal with the crisis of the Roman Republic and the end of Hellenistic kingdoms in the first century BC with offerings on Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Pompeius Trogus, the second pair will explore themes in historians of Fifth Century AD, Priscus and Malchus. At issue will be the questions of how robust were the instruments available to historians seeking to explain state failure and whether there were period-specific tendencies in the choice of explanatory tools by historians working within the Classical tradition.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Liv Mariah Yarrow (City University of New York, USA)
Dionysius and Rome's Failed Constitution

Dionysius arrived in Italy at the moment Caesar Augustus put an end to τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ('the civil war'; 1.7.2). While his stated purpose of his *Roman Antiquities* is to explain the origins of the Roman people, he is also writing very much in the Polybian tradition of explaining the imperial successes and failures of the Roman people to a Greek audience. Like Polybius, his explanations are constitutional and his historical narrative fulfills the expectations established by the Polybian anacyclosis ('cycle of constitutions'). In some ways he is less concerned with the evolution of the Roman republican constitution, than with its devolution and how the new regime might address these failures. This is best seen in his extended digression on the dictatorship and the consequences of its use by Sulla (5.73-77) and then his meditation on the use and abuse of the office of the tribunate (7.65), with its pregnant question: "how can great and good men become protectors of the people?"

b. David Potter (University of Michigan, USA)
Pompeius Trogus and the failures of Empires

Trogus is deceptively complicated. Organizing his history around the theme of "the transition of power" ultimately from the successor states of Alexander's empire to Rome, his explanations for the failure of states are notably unsystematic. He argues that empire is inherently a threat to virtue (J. 6.1.1; 4.1), that aristocratic governments will oppress the people (J. 5.3.1), and that the individual failings of monarchs destroy

kingdoms (J. 42.2.5). Trogus' scheme raises questions about the state into which these former states are incorporated. Trogus praises the virtues of victorious Roman generals (Justin 37.1.8) while advertising the fact that while his grandfather and uncle served Pompey, his father was Caesar's secretary (J. 43.5.12). At the same time, he draws attention to the fact that Asia "transmitted its vices to Rome" (J. 36.4.12) and the poor behavior of Roman magistrates threatens Rome (e.g. J. 38.8.8). The key to avoiding the fate of empire lies with individuals. Augustus did more by the magnitude of his own name than other generals did with arms (J. 42.5.12). Is that any guarantee for the future?

c. George Woudhuysen (University of Nottingham, UK)
Priscus and the problem of Rome's decline

Stuck deep in Hunnic territory, his baggage soaked, his colleagues lying to him, while they all scrambled to appease a barbarian monarch who had perfected the art of tormenting ambassadors, it is hardly surprising that Priscus of Panium's thoughts turned to the question of what had gone so horribly wrong for the eastern Roman Empire. The result of his ruminations is an extraordinary analysis of the causes and mechanisms of Rome's decline, one which tied a conventional moralism to a highly original account of the empire's political economy and why it had ceased to function as it should. Priscus offered a clear and undeceived portrait of a state struggling to cope with tumultuous change, but he also suggested that Rome's decline had specific and identifiable causes, causes which could be addressed, if there was a will so to do. This paper seeks to unpick the intricacies of his idea of a decline which Rome's rulers had set in motion, but which they could yet arrest.

d. Laura Mecella (Università di Milano 'La Statale', Italy)
Malchus of Philadelphia and the fall of the Western Roman Empire

Focused on the years 473-480 and probably composed during Anastasius I's reign, Malchus' work is pivotal for our knowledge of the Eastern view on the progressive weakening of the empire in the West until the deposition of Romulus Augustulus and Odoacer's settlement in Italy. Although Malchus witnessed some of the crucial events of his time, his work is judged with skepticism by recent scholarship. Furthermore, a correct evaluation of his writing is complicated as well by the loss of a larger part of the work and by the lack of an updated critical edition of the remaining fragments. This paper aims to underline the importance of his testimony for our understanding of the crisis of 5th century, and to present a better analysis of his historical thought. A specific attention

will be devoted to the key figures of his narrative, above all the emperor Zenon and the barbarian chiefs Theodericus Strabo and Theodericus Amalus.

7J – CLASSICAL RECEPTION IN WESTERN SIBERIA XVIIITH–XXIST CENTURIES: Education and Studies

PANEL ABSTRACT
The panel "Classical reception in Western Siberia XVIIIth–XXIst centuries: education and studies" is presented by four reports of five researchers affiliated with the Tobolsk Pedagogical Institute named after D. Mendeleev and with Tobolsk Theological Seminary. The reports will show the origin and development, some problems of the formation classical education and classical studies in Tobolsk, Western Siberian city, the former capital of Siberia, so called "Siberian Athens". The sequence of location of reports (following the logic of the development of classical education and studies in Western Siberia) should be the following. M. Lapteva's, P. Shitikov's, G. Skachkova's reports characterize regional features of classical education in schools and gymnasiums of Tobolsk in XVIIIth–beginning of the XXIst centuries. A. Gorochov's report is an example of regional classical studies in the field of ancient history. E. Sobolnikova's report is one of the modern Siberian studies in the sphere reception of ancient philosophy.

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS
a. Marina Lapteva (Tobolsk Pedagogical Institute (branch) of Tyumen State University, Russia)
Hippocrene and Irtysh: at the origins of classical education in Western Siberia

The report is devoted to the first steps of classical education in Western Siberia at the end of the XVIIIth century. People's schools creating in this time in all principal cities of Russian's provinces appeared also in Western Siberia in the capital of this region – Tobolsk. Children learned many subjects of the classical cycle: ancient languages, foreign history, literature, Holy Scripture and others. First teachers arrived from St. Petersburg theological schools. These young, educated men in addition to teaching were publishing, together with some intellectuals of city, the literary and educational magazine "Irtysh turns into Hippocrene". Then content of this magazine, the features of its publication and distribution will examine. In conclusion, transformation of Tobolsk people's school into the Tobolsk classical gymnasium discusses, the graduates of which became famous in Russia and abroad writers, poets, scientists, journalists, teachers, politicians. Author also analyzes an experience of the revival of classical traditions in the higher and secondary education of modern Tobolsk.

b. Galina Skachkova (Tobolsk Pedagogical Institute (branch) of Tyumen State University, Russia) **and Peter Shitikov** (Tobolsk Pedagogical Institute (branch) of Tyumen State University, Russia)
Classical Studies in theological and gymnasium schools in Siberia (from origin to present days)

The aim of the paper is to present the ways of classicism in Siberian educational field from origin to present days. Historically, the first public schools in Siberia arose at monasteries, and the first universities were theological. Therefore, the first part of the paper is devoted to theological education. The role of classical languages in the seminaries was enormous. Until the middle of XIX century the basic subjects were taught exclusively in Latin. The second part of the paper is devoted to women's education. In Russia women's education was carried out for the family, rather than continuing education at the university, so at the forefront were applied disciplines. Nevertheless, famous teachers, doctors, editors of newspapers came from the Siberian gymnasium. Archive studies show that the most successful women were those who studied Latin. The traditions of theological and gymnasium education, destroyed after the Russian revolution of 1917, are actively reviving from the 90s.

c. Anatoly Gorokhov (Tobolsk Pedagogical Institute (branch) of Tyumen State University, Tobolsk Theological Seminary, Russia)
The role of the Philistines the Cretans and Phoenicians in the rise of the Ancient Jewish Statehood (XI-VI centuries BC)

This paper is an example of classical studies in the Siberian region. The purpose of paper is to show the influence of the Philistines, Phoenicians and Cretans on the process of formation of the Hebrew statehood. The author shows that the result of wars with the Philistines was the appearance of a new type of ruler. Instead of traditional tribal and clan leaders, the type of the charismatic commander appeared. Military threat led to the emergence of a military-political confederation among the scattered tribes of Ancient Israel. It was the reason for the birth of a complex chiefdom and the formation of an early state. During the monarchy in Judea (X–VI BC) Philistines and Cretans served as mercenary military. The author comes to the conclusion that the socio-economic development of Ancient Israel and Judea is inconceivable without the participation of the Phoenicians. Thus, biblical studies directly border whith the classical one.

d. Elena Sobolnikova (Leningrad State University, Russia)
Hesychasm: the Philosophical Rationalization of Transpersonal Mystic Experience

It is accepted that the philosophical practice of the Hesychasm mystics determined the course of the Russian Neo-Platonic tradition, which was derived from Byzantine culture and was transmitted chiefly through the Hesychastics. Hesychasm was not the only determinant of Russian religious-philosophical ideas, but it was a notably powerful stimulus to the development of Russian philosophical culture. The purpose of the present report is to touch on the philosophical rationalization of mystical experience in the Hesychasm framework, and as that is understood within the Russian religious-philosophical tradition. So the focus of this research is the rational knowledge that lies hidden within mystical experience, whereas in author's opinion it is broader concern is the reflection of that experience in the world philosophical outlook. The rationalization of mystical experience found its most complete expression in Russian religious philosophy at the end of the XIXth– begining XXth centuries. In conclusion author shows prospects of philosophical classicism in Siberia.

Poster abstracts are arranged alphabetically by presenter. The Poster exhibition is located in the Drama Studio, Institute of Education, for the duration of the Conference.

The **Poster Session** will take place on Sunday 7 July, 1-3 pm, in the Drama Studio.

The **De Druyter** *Trends in Classics* **Poster Prize** will be awarded on Sunday 7 July, 6.30 pm, in Logan Hall, Institute of Education.

Philipp Brockkötter (Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen, Germany)
Imitatio Augusti. *References to the past in the Julio-Claudian Period*

The design of my poster is oriented towards ancient iconography. It shows the Prima-Porta statue of Augustus in the centre, not only as an example of the perception of Augustus, but also because its *adlocutio*-gesture refers to the symbolic-communication of the emperor, which the imitation was part of. Furthermore, there are smaller statues of Tiberius and Caligula on the left and Claudius and Nero on the right side, as an illustration of the time span I am aiming at. They are also depicted according to the *capite velato* scheme, thus symbolising the value of *pietas* to the great example Augustus. In the background is a *porticus* as a symbol of the *forum augusti*. Together with the statues between the columns, it portrays the gallery of *summi viri* and thus the construction of the past before and through Augustus, which influenced the imitation as well. Below each of the four bases of the statues of the emperors is a text box that contains further information on the research question, sources, the preliminary results and hypotheses. Below the picture there is also a text box with the theories and methods being used, showing their importance as foundation of the project.

Bárbara Cândido (University of Brasilia, Brazil)
Translation practice and aural reception: an analysis of Demosthenes' translations

This study proposes a reflection on translation practice and aural reception, by means of a critical analysis of the discourse of against evergus and mnesibulus, attributed to demosthenes, and its respective translation. Considering that meschonnic discusses about the need to think beyond the notion of sign and that grumbrecht proposes a reading of classical texts that surpasses interpretation and tries to recover elements of the original text going beyond the meaning, based on his concept of presence, we inquire about

how translations can reconstruct original effect and how the translator's freedom interferes in this production of presence, always thinking about how to face a tradition of Greek prose translations that do not have such elements. In summary, the main goal is to generate a refletion on how to translate Greek prose, in order to promote debates about aesthetics quality and aural reception that theses translations can produce.

Tiziana Carboni (Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Italy)
Libertino patre nati*: A research project on social mobility in the Roman Empire (1st-3rd centuries AD)*

The poster will present the forthcoming research project "*Libertino patre nati*: Equites and senators descended from freedmen between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD". The project will begin on 1st September 2018 and will be funded by Gerda Henkel Stiftung. The focus of this project lies in answering this question: how many and which among the equites and senators known between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD were actually descendants of freedmen? According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.27), Rome's aristocracy consisted mostly of freedmen. Up to now, it has been difficult to find confirmation or denial of this in literary and epigraphic sources, since direct information is scarce. A systematic prosopographic study, carried out using guiding criteria (e.g. the mention of the Palatine tribe), can allow us to gain indirect information, in order to elucidate if Tacitus's statement described a tangible reality.

Martine Diepenbroek (University of Bristol, UK)
From Fire Signals to ADFGX: A case study in the adaptation of ancient methods of secret communication

In a now lost work on military preparations, the 4th-century BCE strategist Aeneas Tacticus discussed a method for fire-signalling in secret communication, whereby water clocks and torches were used, a description of which can be found in Polybius' '*Histories*' (10.44). Aeneas' method was not only very laborious, but also open to errors. Therefore, Polybius improved the method (Polybius, *Histories*, 10.45.6-12). Out of Polybius' method, a modern cryptographic device developed, called the 'Polybius-square' or 'Polybius checkerboard'.

Analysing the remarks of Aeneas Tacticus and Polybius on fire-signalling as a starting point, in this presentation I will explore Aeneas' ancient use of fire-signalling, its development into the Polybius square, and its anticipation of the ADFGX and ADFGVX ciphers that were used by the German military intelligence services in the First World War. Hereby I will show the ways in which ancient Greek fire-signalling anticipates modern communication security.

Laëtitia Dolne (University of Liège, Belgium)
Vocabulary of the archives in the ancient Greek cities

In ancient Greek cities, archives were used to preserve public and private documents for both evidentiary and informatory purposes, in daily practical as well as long-term retrospective uses. They were therefore at the centre of institutional and civic activity and were proof of the increasing importance of writing in a society that had long been dominated by oral transmission of knowledge. My thesis project's goal is to highlight the various aspects of archiving in Roman Greece by developing a lexicon of the technical words related to them in the ancient written sources. This tool will be used to identify the components of the Greek archival system, i.e. supports, types of documents, actors, procedures and places, ensuring a better understanding of the features and mechanisms of the Greek cities archives and their place in the administrative and everyday life in Roman times.

Isadora Costa Fernandes (University of Brasilia, Brazil)
Hellenistic Women: a methodological approach

This study compares different methodologies that are used in three researches related at some level to the study of courtesans and royal women during the Hellenistic period, namely Polygamy, Prostitutes and Dead by Ogden (1999), Courtesans and Fishcakes by Davidson (1997) and King and Court in Ancient Macedonia by Carney (2015). Therefore, the following comparison parameters were established: (1) how the authors criticize the sources agendas, (2) how they approach women in Hellenistic politics and (3) how they understand the presence of women in Hellenistic Society. Thereby, this academic work proposes the formulation of a conjugated methodology based on the three criteria above mentioned for application in future researches.

Ezequiel Ferriol (presenting author) **and Maria Eugenia Steinberg** (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina)
Prolegomena to a new critical edition of the fragments of Lucilius' Satires*, with translation and commentaries*

The aim of this poster is to present our Prolegomena to a new critical edition with commentaries and translation of the satirical poet Lucilius fragments, which we are currently undertaking at the Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBACyT 2014-2017 and 2018) under the direction of Professor María Eugenia Steinberg. Our edition takes as its starting point the text established by Marx (Leipzig, 1904-1905), collationated with other ancient and modern ones, but rules out Marx's attempt to reconstruct a coherent and unequivocal Lucilius

text from the fragments, and seeks instead to edit each of them separately, analyzing its transmission context. The intertexts of the Lucilian text by later poets are being studied, with the hypothesis that those intertextualities shed more light on the meaning of the preserved fragments. Selected passages are being represented to demonstrate some problems and decisions taken in the processing of the ecdotic information.

Claire Frampton (Visitor Experience Assistant Ashmolean Museum, UK)
Contemporary performance of ancient Greek stories and engagement with current perspectives

I am undertaking a research portfolio about the scene and potential of creative theatre in heritage education. For this poster I wanted to present information about contemporary performances of Ancient Greek stories and engagement with current issues, such as oil sponsorship and feminism with some case studies.

Example case study:
Oil: Greek and Roman Drama and Anti Oil Sponsorship Protests.
I wanted to investigate instances of adaptations of ancient drama and responses to oil sponsorship of this area of the arts, in anti oil sponsorship protests. In 2008 Anti Oil Sponsorship Group Art not Oil staged stunts responding to oil company Shell sponsorship of a production of Oedipus at the National Theatre www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2009/01/417273.html. One night protestors handed out leaflets in Ancient Greek costume http://www.artnotoil.org.uk/about-us. Leafleting of the production included the quote 'is Shell buying our blindness' referencing what happens to Oedipus in the play http://www.artnotoil.org.uk/sites/default/files/ANO%202004-13%20 story%20so%20far%20longer.pdf.

Maria Serena Funghi (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Italy)
Corpus dei papiri filosofici [CPF], Parte II.1, Adespota

The CPF has for thirty-five years been making available the fruits of advanced research in a field requiring high-level interdisciplinary collaboration. During 2019 the preparation of the volume II.1, "Frammenti Adespoti", is scheduled to reach completion. By offering a collection of 90 unattributed texts (adespota), never before assembled, it represents a vital tool for attaining an overview of the reception of ancient philosophy from the 4th century BCE to the 7th CE. Some of these papyri have been thoroughly analysed in the series "Studi e Testi per il *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici*", allowing us, in

many cases, to challenge their usual interpretation and to cast new light on their philosophical background. By illuminating the main results obtained over the years, the poster offers a synopsis of the influence, both major and minor, of various philosophical movements in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.

Bruno Galmar (Tunghai University, Taiwan)
Translating the Dao De Jing into Latin: a study of translations by pioneering French sinologists

The Dao De Jing (道德經) by Laozi belongs to the core of Chinese traditional philosophy works. The text attempts to expose the primary but ungraspable concept of Dao (道) – The Way –, and articulates how a wise man should live in harmony with the Dao. I studied how some pioneering French sinologists from the late 17th century to the early 19th century - mainly the Jesuit Joseph de Prémare, Abel-Rémusat and Pauthier translated the classical Chinese of the Dao De Jing into Latin. Abel-Rémusat and Pauthier did translate into both Latin and French. Their Latin translations were intended to be more literal than the verbose French ones. The Latin translations reflect a more direct and concise linguistic mapping with Chinese, and they are counterbalancing the French overtranslations. Finally, by aligning Latin translations of Classical Chinese, I expanded my toolkit to better Chinese-Latin translations.

Duncan Keenan-Jones (presenting author – University of Queensland, Australia) **and Russell Drysdale** (University of Melbourne, Australia)
Rainfall and disaster in ancient Rome

Ancient Rome represents a rare opportunity to compare a longitudinal study of rainfall records with an unusually extensive historical record. The few existing climate records covering this period and region suffer from dating uncertainty, discontinuity and human impact, however. This paper investigates the potential of dark layering in calcium carbonate deposits formed in Rome›s Anio Novus aqueduct as a high-resolution proxy for rainfall distributions.

Dark-coloured layers within deposits from ancient Rome›s Anio Novus aqueduct have multi-scalar distribution and elevated organic concentrations consistent with formation during the organic-rich flows of the Anio Novus' source water during storm events (Keenan-Jones et al. 2014). This paper will present measurements from the Anio Novus deposits to investigate the time period over which these dark layers formed. Apart from its palaeoclimatic value, this rainfall record has the potential to illuminate the influence of climate on

flooding, disease and fire, all concerns in densely-populated ancient Rome.

Maria Kirillova (Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia)
Roman agrimensura in the political context of the Late Roman Republic

A present-day scholar knows the history of Roman land surveying mostly thanks to a specific type of source, i.e. the collection of writings by Roman land surveyors. It includes texts of different size treating different topics. Some of these texts are better studied and known, other are obscure and undated, and using them as historical sources requires a close textual criticism and a particular analysis of their historical context.

All these texts contain references to the activities of Roman statesmen, and some of these mentions can be called enigmatic. The aim of my poster is to present the results of their research and to present a picture of the evolution of Roman *agrimensura* and interconnections between practices of land surveying and political life in the time of the Late Roman Republic.

Kyo-Sun Koo (King's College London, UK)
The philosopher's eagerness for the pleasure of learning in the **Phaedo**

This poster argues that, in Plato's *Phaedo*, the philosopher ought to enjoy the pleasure of learning, i.e. the pleasure of doing philosophy, to retain his own characteristic life. For this argument, I first indicate that the philosopher is exposed to the risk of being deprived of his correct view on what true reality is and then losing his motive for maintaining philosophical life. This is because although he has to experience bodily pleasures deluding him into believing that what is real is something material, doing philosophy is not sufficient for defending himself against this delusion. I then argue that the intellectual pleasure helps the philosopher to keep his real motives and maintain his life by nullifying the deceptive power of bodily pleasures. I finally highlight that it is only the pleasure of learning among the many intellectual pleasures that can play this role.

Beatrice Larosa (Università La Sapienza di Roma, Italy)
In search of unity: meta-literary topoi *in the* Silvae *of Statius between poetic tradition and innovation*

After a long period of critical neglect, the *Silvae* of Statius have lately attracted considerable scholarly attention. Their content is primarily dictated by the needs of Statius› patrons, and many of the addressees come from the wealthy, privileged class of landowners and politicians. Statius› flattery of these elites has been interpreted in two ways by scholars; some maintain that the collection is highly subversive and is a subtle criticism of Domitian and the Roman aristocracy. Others urge a reading of the *Silvae* as individual pieces that respond to specific circumstances with their own unique viewpoints. An often overlooked aspect of the *Silvae* is their organization as a poetry collection, with the complex intertextuality of Statius' poetic language, its deep literary 'consciousness' and constant disposition to a brilliant dialogue of *imitatio/aemulatio* with its models. Metaliterary preoccupations play a key role in this oeuvre and give unity to its thematic hybridity.

Victoria Leonard (Royal Holloway, University of London, UK) **and Sarah Bond** (University of Iowa, USA)
The representation of women in Ancient History and Classics

This poster illuminates how the representation of women in ancient history and classics has been dramatically advanced since 2016 through two digital humanities initiatives. The *Women's Classical Committee* has developed #WCCWiki, a drive to reverse the absence of women classicists on English-language Wikipedia. Sarah Bond has created the Women of Ancient History (WOAH) initiative to increase the visibility of women ancient historians.

Both initiatives use digital tools to amplify and create access to the work of women in academia. Before 2017 only 7% of biographies of classicists on Wikipedia.org featured women. Through regular 'editathons', the WCC has created or improved more than 75 pages devoted to women classicists, including Dorothy Tarrant, the first female Professor of Greek in the UK and the first woman president of the Classical Association.

The WOAH database and its interactive visualizations feature women within the field of ancient history, enabling the inclusion of women by conference organizers, editors, and those public history initiatives. WOAH serves to combat the prevalence in classics of conference panels, journal editions, and lecture series made entirely of men.

With a limited amount of text-based information, this poster communicates mainly through sociograms from Gephi, maps, a range of relevant images, and concise statistics.

Danielle Chagas de Lima (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Brazil)
Character descriptions on Tacitus' works and the notion of uirtus

The main purpose of this poster is to present some characters' descriptions on Tacitus' works (esp. *De Vita Agricolae*, *Annales* and *Historiae*), depicted by qualities related to the notion of *uirtus*. By analysing the characters' virtues one intends to consider the meanings of *uirtus* in Tacitus, how the historian re-writes this concept and which vocabulary he employs in the descriptions. This work also observes different consequences of the conducts ruled by *uirtus* during the Principate. For this purpose, this research presents some conceptions of *uirtus* and notes about the language that describes characters as generals, consuls and others, like Agricola, Trasea Paetus, M. Lepidus, Germanicus or Galba. By observing recurrent virtues in the different conducts, it intends to think about a political vocabulary of virtues in the character development on Tacitus.

Victor Malo-Juvera (University of North Carolina, Wilmington, USA)
Pedagogical strategies for teaching mythology to High School students and in large University courses

Although classical works are the direct or indirect inspiration for innumerable texts and films that secondary and college students enjoy, one of the biggest challenges teachers face is motivating students to read original source materials.

This poster session will share strategies used to interest students in both secondary classrooms and in large university lecture courses which focus on identifying modern texts that are based on or that can be interpreted with classical narratives and then moving to the original sources.

Lesson guides will be shared with attendees detailing parings of modern texts and original sources such as: *Game of Thrones* and the sacrifice of Iphigenia in Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*; *Game of Thrones* and the abduction of Helen from various sources.; *SpongeBob SquarePants: The Movie* and Homer's *Odyssey*; and *8 Mile* and the argument between Achilles and Agamemnon from Homer's *Iliad*.

Poster Abstracts

Andrei Markelov (Centre for Classical Studies, The School for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Moscow, Russia)
The Reform of Augustan Senatorial Committee in AD 13

In the beginning of his rule Roman Emperor Augustus introduced senatorial committee (*consilium semenstre)*. This institution was semi-official. The main function of it was to discuss matter of future *senatus consultum*. The other one was to assist Augustus in court. The committee was reformed in AD 13. Cassius Dio is the only one source of information about this action.

There are divergent opinions among classical scholars on the topics concerning the reform of the senatorial committee. First of all, was it actually a reform of *consilium semenstre*? How deep were changes in the structure and in the working process of the committee caused by the reform? Have we any examples of functioning of reformed committee?

In my paper I am going to consider all this questions and to show that the reform of the senatorial committee led to deep changes in political structure of Rome at the end of Augustan rule.

Silvia Orlandi (Università di Roma, Italy)
The Association Internationale d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine (AIEGL) and its role in the field of classical studies

A.I.E.G.L. was established in Munich in 1972 with the aim of promoting communication and cooperation among students, epigraphers, and other associations focused on the study of Greek and Latin epigraphy throughout the world, by sponsoring the International Epigraphic Congress every five years, by acting as a patron of several other academic meetings and conferences, by awarding prizes and grants to outstanding early career scholars, and by providing financial support for specialised epigraphic training. In so doing, A.I.E.G.L. intends to support an interdisciplinary approach to ancient inscriptions. In addition, A.I.E.G.L. intends to promote a specific type of knowledge that is based on reading and interpreting the ever-increasing number of ancient inscriptions – a precious and direct heritage from the ancient world – in order to make them available to historical research on ancient societies. The Association has been constantly playing this role for nearly 50 years, despite the limitations of university systems and the little interest that the academic community often takes in epigraphic studies.

Olga Osipova (Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)
Organising the library: Diodorus Siculus on the structure of the Bibliotheke

The aim of this poster is to present a case study of Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheke* as a complex narrative, with a focus on authorial comments on the structure of historian's work included in paratextual elements such as prefaces, conclusions, tables of contents etc. In the extant books of the *Bibliotheke*, there are, firstly, summaries referring back to the topics of the preceding book or books (prefaces and tables of contents), secondly, abstracts providing announcements for the topics of the present book or next books (prefaces and inner titles) and, thirdly, transitions connecting the present book to the next one by referring to the topics of both (conclusions). Finally, by remarking on where the historians' works, which the *Bibliotheke* is based on, begin and end, Diodorus Siculus places them within the framework of his own. To sum up, authorial comments contribute to the organisation of the coherent narrative in multidimensional universal history.

Matheus Ely C. de L.V. Pessoa (Universidade de Brasilia, Brazil)
Performance in ancient Greek prose: Remarks on the reception of Attic oratory

This study explores the possibilities of embodying in modern translations aspects of performance of ancient Greek prose, considering Demosthenes' speech *Against Policles* as an object of scrutiny. Bearing in mind concepts such as Simon Goldhill's spectacle and performance culture, Hans U. Gumbrecht's presentification and epiphany, Paul Zumthor's rhythm and orality, and Henri Meschonnic's regards on translation theory, we investigate rhetorical and performative aspects of the speech to understand how to enable an experience more aesthetically tangible for modern readers, paying special attention to the oral/aural reception in reading both translations and the originals. Since the aspects of orality are inherent to such texts precisely because such speeches are embedded in rhythm and prosody, the analysis undertaken revolves around identifying higher and lower points of pathetic effects of language within the speech. Thus, our overall purpose is to spawn a debate about the importance of considering oral/aural aspects in conveying and receiving ancient Greek prose, especially through its translations into modern languages.

Maria Savva (Sorbonne Université – Paris IV, France)
Corporeal corruption in the Hippocratic Corpus

Nowadays, corruption is mostly related to the concept of bribery or abuse of power for personal benefit. For the Ancient Greeks though, corruption was also associated with the notions of decay or, impurity. Additionally, corruption was used to described distortion or the loss of unity or integrity. Corruption viewed through this theoretical prism appears in several ancient Greek texts, however it aroused little interest and is, therefore, not sufficiently studied. The *Hippocratic Corpus* is particularly relevant because reports of corruption, as described above, can be found in several passages. Through the analysis of selected texts, we aimed to map and comprehend corruption in several body parts such as face, eyes, chest or uterus. This textual analysis indicated that corruption, in the selected texts, is described as an evolutionary process consisting of several stages. Also, this method of description is used consistently for the characterization of corruption in several body parts.

Jimena Schere (Universidad de Buenos Aires and CONICET, Argentina)
The comic couple and its argumentative function in the early comedy of Aristophanes

We define the aristophanic comic couple as a structure composed of two typified, opposed and antagonistic characters (the mocker and the mocked), which represent a positive and a negative discourse. This binary scheme dominates in the early preserved comedies of the author, dated from 425 to 421 a. C., which are characterized by a virulent satire against their central targets. The comic pair has antecedents in the epic, the fable and the iambic poetry; in this sense, it favors the argumentative strategy in early comedy because, like rhetorical topics, it is based on traditional ideas shared by the community. The topical structure of the mocker and the mockery, the victor and the vanquished, makes thus it possible to attack effectively the central satirical targets of comedy, with the endorsement of the literary tradition. From our point of view, it constitutes its main resource of comic persuasion.

Philippa Steele, Philip J. Boyes, Robert Crellin, Natalia Elvira Astoreca (University of Cambridge, UK)
Script birth and script death: an interdisciplinary investigation

Script changes are a recurring theme of the CREWS project, which unites researchers working on Aegean and Near Eastern writing systems from multiple disciplinary perspectives.

'Script death' (examples: Linear B, Ugaritic cuneiform) is arguably an unhelpful label for the disappearance of a writing system, an 'event' typically marked by significant social change affecting the core spheres in which writing operated. Investigating the social role of writing is therefore crucial to understanding why a script was discontinued. Equally, 'script birth' (examples: Greek alphabet, Phoenician, Punic) usually does not involve *ex novo* creation, but rather borrowing writing from elsewhere, involving adaptive processes that are social and contextual as much as linguistic.

This wider comparative perspective identifies common factors of script change and emphasises the cultural background to writing traditions, spanning the eastern Mediterranean and Levant. We also demonstrate contemporary relevance of script change, which plays a pedagogical role in our outreach activities.

Maria Uvarova (Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUND University) Moscow, Russia)
The role of Kabeiroi in the formation of Dionysos' image in Nonnos' Dionysiaca

Poems of Nonnos of Panopolis (V cent. AD) mark the end of Ancient epic poetry after the millennium of evolution of this genre. Recently, an increase of research interest has been observed towards Nonnos' *Dionysiaca*. It has been suggested that the "methodology" applied by Nonnos was based on two main principles: '*poikilia*' (variety in any aspect of text structure and composition) and '*antitypia*' (reflection: any aspect or character is counterposed to other aspect(s) or character(s)). I analyze the role played in *Dionysiaca* by Kabeiroi brothers, two prominent warriors in Dionysos' army, sons of Hephaistos and hosts of Samothracian mysteries (a religious cult widespread throughout the Oecumena). Nonnos was the only Ancient author to use Kabeiroi as literary characters. In *Dionysiaca*, the 'mythological' image of Kabeiroi was altered by Nonnos' fantasy according to the principles of *poikilia* and *antitypia*, to reflect the appearance, deeds, and importance of the main hero, Dionysos.

Mariana S. Ventura (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina)
Nemesianus, editor vetustissimus *of Calpurnius Siculus?*

In 1976 Luigi Castagna (*I bucolici latini minori*, Firenze, Olschki, 254-255) raised the possibility of considering Nemesianus the author of Calpurnius Siculus's *editio vetustissima*, but he dismissed it, among other reasons, because this would have entailed some kind of "self-harm" (*autolesionesimo*), in view that, middle way between allusion and cento, his poetry often

turns into plagiarism. Fifty years later, after the reappraisal of Nemesianus as a master of imitation (Horst Walter, *Studien zur Hirtendichtung Nemesians*, Wiesbaden-Stuttgart, Steiner, 1987) and the assessment of his poetic technique as a form of extreme intertextuality, the question whether this poet rescued Calpurnius from oblivion in the second half of the 3rd Century and gave rise to his *editio vetustissima* may be asked again. In my poster, I intend to gather and briefly analize textual evidence on this subject.

Eugenia Vitello (Università La Sapienza di Roma, Italy)
"Storia romana in scuola fascista": Gramsci, Togliatti and the didactics of Ancient History in Italian schools

Starting from a note of Palmiro Togliatti (dated 1942 and titled *Storia romana in scuola fascista* – 'Roman History in Fascist school'), my research will pursue a twofold aim. On one hand, it will discuss the relationship between Antonio Gramsci and Togliatti himself: I will show how it influenced the possible adulteration of the Prison Notebooks, affecting the spread of Gramsci's work and, in general, the reception of his political thought. On the other hand, the research will deal with the problem of the didactics of Roman history that rose during the Fascist period, even taking into consideration Gramscian reflections about the pre-fascist school. In particular, I will detect what Gramsci read about the Ancient World, in order to draw some new hypothesis on his ideas about it and the context in which they came to light.

Benjamin Wilck (Humboldt University Berlin, Germany)
What's Odd about Euclid's Definitions of Odd and Even?

The present study considers Aristotle's theory of definition in the *Organon* in light of actual mathematical practice, in particular Euclid's uses of definitions in the *Elements*. In the *Topics*, Aristotle sets out a catalogue of dialectical tests and rules with which he attacks putative definitions of mathematical terms such as *point*, *line*, *surface*, *solid*, *straight line*, *odd*, and *even*. Proceeding from the fact that variants of those mathematical definitions attacked by Aristotle in the *Topics* are restated in Euclid's *Elements*, I raise a problem for Aristotelian dialectic: Even though Euclid's definitions of *even* and *odd* fail Aristotle's dialectical tests, they are successfully employed as explanatory premises in mathematical proofs in *Elements* IX–X. By determining the extent to which the meta-mathematical commitments of Aristotle's dialectical refutations can or cannot be ascribed to Euclid, I discuss whether or not this problem can be solved.

Liqiong Yang (Sorbonne Université, France)
The notion of disease in Greek and Chinese medicine (2nd century BC – 2nd century AD)

I will specifically compare the notion of illness in *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* and in *Galien: Tome II, Exhortation à la médecine art médical*. From *Galien: Tome II, Exhortation à la médecine art médical,* we find out that the galenic corpus is based on his subjective experiential, on the contrary, the "disease" in *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* is regarded as an explanatory model of an expert's disorder. The numerous treatises traditionally attributed to Yellow Emperor actually form a composite collection with different pieces. In its almost totality, the galenic corpus is the work of a single man. I would like to focus on the discourse on the disease in both cases. My poster will presented from the following points: the writing styles, the definition of the disease(who decide you are ill or not), pain and disease, beauty and health, diet, exercise and disease, the transformation between healthy body, unhealthy body and neutral bodies etc …).

Yana Zabudskaya (Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)
Functions of tragic contexts in Plutarch's Lives

Though "tragedy" often appears in Plutarch as a synonym for deception or pomposity, tragic quotations and theatrical images in *Lives* play a significant role[1] and have various functions depending on the principles of the presentation of the material: a maxim from tragedy can act as a decorative citation, the dramatic episode can be used to analogy with the episode from the biography of the hero, the narration can cause allusions to the tragedy and, finally, the structure of the biography as a whole can be subordinated to the dramatic principle and in that way tragedy becomes a mode of organizing a narrative. The poster presents an attempt to define and analyze different functions (information, decoration, estimation, analogy and allusion, plot-forming) of tragic contexts in Plutarch (not, as usual, selected biographies, but the whole corpus of *Lives,* what leads us to a table form as well). This subject is a part of a broader theme which is "forms of intracultural reception of tragic genre".

---

1. The idea of tragic influence on biographic narrative, started from the paper of P. de Lacy, has found a development in the works of D. Braund, J. Mossman, A.V. Zadorojnyi, C.B.R. Pelling, G. Harrison, D. Papadi.

Including speakers whose papers will be read by colleagues.

Abad-del Vecchio, Julene	43
Alexandridou, Alexandra	56
Alieva, Olga	5
Allan, Rutger J.	81
Allen, Lindsay	29
Almagor, Eran	14
Alvaréz Salas, Omar	29
Amendola, Davide	72
Ames, Cecilia	24
Andrieu, Morgane	83
Andújar, Rosa	44
Atack, Carol	101
Augoustakis, Antony	60
Avalli, Andrea	36
Barker, Elton	64
Bartoletti, Tomás	11
Baruch, Eyal	74
Basile, Gastón J.	11
Beck, Deborah	99
Bell, Marcus	99
Berardi, Roberta	72
Blank, Thomas G.M.	89
Bodard, Gabriel	48, 64
Boehringer, Sandra	70
Bolaños-Herrera, Alberto	90
Bonifazi, Anna	81
Borg, Barbara	24
Bosak-Schroeder, Clara	26
Bowie, Ewen	76
Bowles, Henry	89
Bozzone, Chiara	81
Brady, S.J.	94
Braund, Susanna	7
Bremmer, Jan N.	51
Bridges, Emma	93
Briggs, Mariamne	6
Bristow, Caroline	28
Burton, Diana	85
Cairns, Douglas	80
Capettini, Emilio	83
Cardi, Luciana	39
Carey, Chris	86
Carey, Moya	29
Cartlidge, Ben	67
Carvalheiro Porto, Vagner	50

Cavalcante de Moura, Valquíria Maria	18
Cavallero, Pablo	40
Chavarria, Sophie	12
Chesi, Giulia Maria	33
Chia, Pei Yun	92
Chiu, Angeline	60
Chow-Kambitsch, Emily	94
Cimino, Anna Maria	36
Cirillo, Olga	67
Ciucciovè, Roberto	37
Civitillo, Matilde	21
Clarke, Henry	97
Clarke, Michael	6
Coles, William	19
Conti, Luz	35
Cornell, Tim	46
Costantini, Leonardo	9
Cotugno, Francesca	83
Cowan, Robert	54
Crespo, Emilio	35
Cromwell, Jennifer	95
Crone, Thomas	31
Crystal, Donald	58
Cullick, Rachael	6
Daifa, Ilia	56
Daskas, Beatrice	40
de Fátima Souza e Silva, Maria	18
Deacy, Susan	63
Debrew, Sarah	58
Demetriou, Chrysanthi	74
Dessimone-Pallavera, Matteo	42
Dimova, Bela	59
Diver, Robin	63
Domínguez, María Carolina	71
Donelan, Jasper	37
Dunsch, Boris	73
Eck, Werner	46
Eckardt, Hella	46
Edwards, Catharine	23
Egelhaaf-Gaiser, Ulrike	23
Elice, Martina	96
Estarán Tolosa, María José	82
Fabre-Serris, Jacqueline	11, 43
Falcone, Maria Jennifer	8
Fantuzzi, Marco	45

Fernández, Tomás	40
Figueira da Hora, Juliana	50
Filonik, Jakub	86
Filos, Panagiotis	35
Finkmann, Simone	99
Foradi, Maryam	30
Forstall, Christopher W.	100
Fortes, Fábio	18
Fortheringham, Lynn	94
Fountoulakis, Andreas	27
Fragoulaki, Maria	59
Fromentin, Valérie	3
Futo Kennedy, Rebecca	68
Gabriel, Kay	84
Garraffoni, Renata S.	3, 71
Giannadaki, Ifigeneia	53
Gibson, Roy	4
Gkikaki, Mairi	66
Glazebrook, Allison	53
Glomski, Jacqueline	41
Gold, Mara	12
González Berdús, Victoria	90
Gorokhov, Anatoly	103
Granados García, Paula	49
Graverini, Luca	10
Gray, Christa	10
Green, Steven	92
Greensmith, Emma	17
Greenwood, Emily	57
Greet, Benjamin	99
Grieshaber, Frank	48
Griffiths, Jonathan	20
Griffith-Williams, Brenda	86
Grigsby, Paul	47
Gruber, Ethan	49
Guijarro, Paloma	36
Gullo, Arianna	25
Günther, Elisabeth	15
Günther, Sven	15
Hald, Bradley	52
Hall, Edith	22, 47
Halper, Edward C.	4
Hanaghan, Michael	76
Hänninen, Marja-Leena	34
Hardie, Philip	62
Harloe, Katherine	70, 80
Harman, Rosie	88
Harper, Kristin	87
Haselswerdt, Ella	84
Hauser, Emily	78

Hawkins, Tom	43
Helle, Sophus	17
Hodgkinson, David	32
Hodkinson, Owen	9
Holliday, Sarah	32
Holmes-Henderson, Arlene	47
Huidobro Salazar, María Gabriela	71
Iacoviello, Antonio	72
Ilieva, Petya	58
Ingleheart, Jennifer	99
Isaksen, Leif	64
Iwata, Keiichi	55
Jäger, Nils	23
Janko, Richard	51
Jazdzewska, Katarzyna	38
Jolowicz, Daniel	61
Joska, Sanna	87
Judson, Anna P.	67
Kahane, Ahuvia	81
Kahn, Rebecca	64
Kalb, Judith	75
Kallunki, Roosa	87
Kapparis, Konstantinos	53
Karanasiou, Argyri	73
Karvounis, Katerina	62
Katsumata, Yasuhiro	39
Keaveney, Arthur	14
Keen, Tony	78
Keim, Benjamin	98
Kelly, Adrian	82
Kennerly, Michele	89
Kenty, Joanna	89
Kershner, Stephen	6
Kingsley, K. Scarlett	100
Kiritsi, Stavroula	27
Kirk, Athena	13
Kiss, Dániel	67
Kitago, Aya	55
Kondo, Tomohiko	39
Kotlińska-Toma, Agnieszka	26
Kotwick, Mirjam E.	51
Kourayos, Yannos	56
Kremmydas, Christos	19
Kruschwitz, Peter	90
Kulhánková, Markéta	40
L' Allier, Louis	52
Lanni, Adriaan	98