

ASCS 36TH CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS In Alphabetical Order

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Session 1a

The old problem of archaic *imperium*

The enigmatic *curiae* and their assembly, the *comitia curiata*, seem to have stood at the centre of Roman society and politics during the Regal period and early Republic - representing the basic units of Rome's three tribes and the constituent members of Rome's archaic assembly which elected the first plebeian tribunes in the early 5th century BC and, perhaps most importantly, granted (or confirmed) the *imperium* of the *reges* and later the consuls/praetors. However, with even the basic nature and composition of the *curiae* still debated, the real power of the *comitia* and its relationship with the other archaic Roman institutions/magistracies remains a mystery. Likewise, although the nature of the power held by Rome's *reges* has been hinted by studies looking at later incarnations of *imperium*, the exact nature of the relationship between the *rex* and the archaic community remains elusive. Although a full investigation of the various aspects of these two connected issues is obviously beyond the scope of a short conference presentation, the present paper will endeavour to explore some aspects of both the archaic *curiae* and the Roman *rex* by focusing on their main point of connection, the passing of what was known in the late Republic as the *lex curiata de imperio*, and how the granting (or confirming) of *imperium* by the *comitia curiata* to the *rex* might be able to shed a bit more light on these two often discussed, yet still shrouded, institutions.

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Session 6a

Multi-dimensional effects in Roman Art

The complex displays of architectural perspective in certain Roman wall paintings have been much discussed. In 2011 Stinson argued for the application of two particular types of perspective: convergence perspective and parallel perspective with a special variation involving multiple systems of convergence perspective. However, convergence perspective and parallel perspective are only two of a number of techniques employed by the artists in providing a 3-dimensional effect for the viewer. This paper aims to show that ancient artists were aware of a number of ways in which the human visual system uses disparities to gain a sense of depth and spatial separation, it examines some of the other devices employed by the ancient artists and mosaicists in their efforts to map a 3-dimensional effect onto a 2-dimensional surface: occlusion, familiar or relative size, shadows and shading, texture gradient. This combined approach is supported by Vitruvius (De arch.1.2.2) who acknowledges the use of architectural perspective as a tool to be used with other devices, such as shadowing. Attempting to simulate a 3-D image on a 2-D computer or phone screen presents essentially the same challenge today as faced by the ancient artists. However, as will be shown, there are technological advantages like the ability to employ additional visual cues, such as

movement.

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Session 10a

Crowds and Leaders in *Thebaid* 3

This paper examines Statius' conception of crowd behaviour in *Thebaid* 3, with a focus on the literary techniques used to describe collective thought and action. After Tydeus' return from his failed embassy, Statius describes a series of negotiations in Argos concerning the movement towards war, and the book ends with the sense that war is imminent (*Theb.* 3.345-721). During this sequence crowd activity is sometimes independent and sometimes galvanised by individual characters, and clearly recalls parallel scenes in *Aeneid* 7.

Despite differences of genre, Ash's monograph on Tacitus' *Histories* (1999) provides a framework for the characterisation of leaders in relation to their armies – and vice-versa - within the strictures of a single literary work. Hardie (2010) shows how crowds and leaders in epic may share patterns of action with historiography, and how epic features such as personification and simile further our understanding of this dynamic. By using categories of analysis derived from both authors and applying them to *Thebaid* 3, I hope to demonstrate that crowd-leader interaction pointedly frustrates the reader's natural inclination to try to identify the leaders' and people's motivations, fracturing our understanding of the causes of war.

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Session 2b

Women as Symbol in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousae*

In the thirty years since the publication of Zeitlin (1981), esp. pp.303-12, and Muecke (1982), see pp. 49-55, much has been made of the connection in *Thesmo.* between the play's focus on the connections between the performance of female roles and the playwright's attention to the nature and status of dramatic art. *Metatheatre* in particular has been a central theme of most treatments. While many discussions (e.g. Bobrick 1997, esp. pp.197-89, and more recent work) treat the topic primarily in terms of gender relations (as if Aristophanes wanted to comment on these for their own sake), I will argue that in *Thesmo.* women function rather as a symbol for the falsity of theatre (since they were played by men), and this corresponds with the way the goal of liberation for the protagonist in the plot, and in the parodied tragedies, functions as a symbol for the liberation Aristophanes argues theatre is meant to provide and comedy does, where Euripides' tragedy fails since even his stagecraft appeals to the principle of audience (self-)deception enunciated in *Gorgias* B23 (cf. *Thesmo.* 1102; apparently overlooked by Zeitlin 1981, pp.324-7, who discusses rather *Gorgias'* *Helen*).

Bourke, Graeme

Elis and Pisa: Archaic conflict or Classical construction?

This paper considers the significance of the report in *Pausanias* (6.22.2-4) of conflicts between the Eleians and Pisaians in the Archaic period. Scholars, readily converting the Olympiad numbers recorded by Pausanias into dates in the Julian calendar, have often seen this passage as evidence of a conflict between Elis and Pisa over control of Olympia early in the sixth century BC. In 1910, however, Niese argued that this report was most likely a construction of the mid-fourth century BC, when the Arcadian League captured Olympia and a newly-established polity called 'the Pisatans' presided over the Olympic games. Although Niese's view failed to gain acceptance during the twentieth century, Nafissi in 2000 and Möller in 2004 also argued against the traditional interpretation, and their conclusions have generally been embraced by scholars in the field. This paper outlines and evaluates the arguments of Niese and these later scholars, but also considers in the light of their interpretations the implications of apparent discrepancies in the Olympiad dating recorded by Pausanias. It argues that certain leading figures mentioned by Pausanias in this report, such as Pantaleon, Damophon and Pyrrhos, may well have existed, and this passage may yet have significance for our understanding of the history of Elis and Olympia in the Archaic period.

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Session 3b

Twin Frogs: the *Dioscuri* in Greek maritime religion

Those who dwell between the pillars of Hercules and the river Phasis, wrote Plato (*Phaedo* 109a-b), live in a small part, like ants or frogs, around the pond of the Mediterranean. Maritime religion was an important element of this coastal Greek culture. With many cults to deities having a seafaring aspect, the Classical world featured many rituals involving the sea, including prayers and physical offerings. Common references to powerful sea-gods included Poseidon, Aphrodite, Apollo, and many demigods. In cult practice as well as ancient Greek literature such as tragedy or epic a strong saving role at sea was also granted to the *Dioscuri*: Castor and Polydeuces.

The *Dioscuri* have a long tradition linking them to maritime religion. Tragedies such as Euripides' *Helen* display the two post-ascension, and in the *Argonautica* their rise to immortal protectors of seafarers is foretold. In the *Homeric Hymns* they are the protectors of sailors and receive sacrifices, while *Diodorus* (4.56.4) attests to a widespread and prominent position granted them within Mediterranean maritime religion. By examining the role played by the *Dioscuri* in Classical and Hellenistic Greek literature, this paper seeks to explore their status within ancient Greek society, the emphasis placed on their salvation of seafarers, and the contribution of their cult and legend to Greek maritime identity.

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Session 10b

Philostratus and the Octoberfest: How the rediscovery of a classical text shaped the modern Olympics

As classicists we enjoy the public interest in our field every four years: before the Olympic Games! We eagerly refer to Olympic disciplines like running, jumping, javelin and discus throwing as well as (after a recent debate: still) wrestling as clear signs for the continuing influence of the ancient on the modern world. However, other well-known ancient Olympic disciplines like horse racing or chariot competitions have not been adopted for the modern Games. Why is this the case? And how does this contribute to the relevance of classics for our contemporary world?

The paper will explore the (as yet under-researched) connection of both the rediscovery and delayed, but consciously timed publication of an ancient text, Philostratus' *peri gymnastikes*, in the mid-19th century, and the Munich Oktoberfest, as seminal contributions to the shape the modern Olympics.

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Session 3b

Maritime Aphrodite Sanctuaries and the Colonization of *Magna Graecia*

This paper explores the cult of Aphrodite in *Magna Graecia*, and how it developed in relation to maritime colonization and connectivity. Modern scholarship of Aphrodite often focuses on her origins, iconography and literary profile rather than cultic significance (Smith and Pickup 2010). Unlike Apollo or Herakles, Aphrodite is rarely connected with colonization, or the development of civic religion and Greek identity abroad (Malkin 2011). Yet Aphrodite's many maritime epithets, role as protector of sailors, families and cities, and network of harbourside sanctuaries all show her cult played a key role in the development and practice of Greek colonial religion. The builders and devotees of Aphrodite shrines and cults at specific colonies like Locri, Paestum and Ancona were linked by sea-travel to one another, and to *metropoleis* of mainland Greece and Sicily (for Locri, see Schindler 2007). Aphrodite cults are often viewed through a lens of Phoenician influence, the practice of sacred prostitution or later literary sources like Strabo and Juvenal. Yet maritime Aphrodite's cult was practiced from early archaic times throughout the Greek world in very distinctive ways, at ports and at sites with a view of the sea. Sacred enclosures, rich dedications and Aphrodite's civic role point to devotees ranging from courtesans to city fathers, grateful travellers and victorious warriors. Aphrodite's network of maritime sanctuaries thus illuminates the many immaterial rituals of colonization, travel by sea and civic development which guided the development of religion in *Magna Graecia*.

Bur, Tatiana

Mechanical Miracles: Ancient Automata and Festival Processions

This paper examines technology in paratheatrical forms of entertainment and in particular explores the place of automata in religious processions. Excluding stage machinery which is well represented in modern scholarship, entertainment technology has been almost entirely excluded from the discourse on ancient festivals. Denard (2007) is one of the rare scholars who has urged that extra-canonical theatre and performance traditions in classical antiquity be introduced into the discourse on ancient performance. In the past, discussions on ancient automata have been characterised by a misguided undervaluing of ancient technological capabilities and scepticism about reported 'marvels'. The reconstruction of the automated snail of Demetrius of Phalerum by Rehm (1937) is a good example.

I will examine the evidence for the use of automata in the ritualised and public performative space of the festival, from Demetrius' snail in 308/7 BC and the mechanised statue of Nysa in the parade of Ptolemy II, through to the automated *Panathenaic* ship of Herodes Atticus in AD 143. I will then look to understand both the symbolic and aesthetic value of these machines, and how they might have been conceptualised by spectators. In this, the paper aims to go beyond viewing automata as mere illustrations of ancient mechanics. Instead, the study will investigate the place that automata occupied more broadly in the ancient imagination in order to understand the role of mechanical ingenuity within the fundamentally religious arena of the festival.

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Session 1a

Déjà-vu All Over Again: Rome, Perseus, and the Hellenistic Kingdoms, 174-171 BCE

The causes of Rome's war against Perseus of Macedon, 'the Third Macedonian War' (171-168 BCE), was enshrouded in polemics and propaganda from antiquity onward. This paper will attempt to revive and modify a theory, originally propounded by Bickermann in 1953, that it was the deteriorating security situation in the East, as Antiochus IV and the regime in Egypt, under the nominal leadership of Ptolemy VI (but actually controlled by the regents Eulaeus and Lenaeus), were heading for an inevitable and eminently predictable clash over possession of Coele-Syria, that caused the Romans to act against Perseus when they did. The paper argues that earlier theories, based on Roman fear of a coalition of Hellenistic kings, require modification: it was not so much fear of a coalition of kings as Rome's concern over the deterioration of its position in the Aegean, through long years of neglect, and the recent regime changes in Syria and Alexandria, that motivated Rome to act against Perseus in 171.

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When you say Concord, you mean Competition: numismatic witness to Colossae's conflict with Laodicea

The two *homonioia* coins from Colossae direct attention to an on-going tension with its nearest neighbor, Laodicea. The (re-)founding of the city of Laodicea by Antiochus II in the mid-third century BCE is said to have marked a gradual lowering of status for Colossae, whose pride and memory was yet nourished by Herodotus: "a city prosperous and large" (7.30). Laodicea claimed a singular loyalty to Roman authority amongst Lycus Valley cities, harbouring eminent Romans against the revolts of Mithridates VI (89 BCE) and Labienus (39 BCE). Laodicea's reward can be seen through the prism of the gain of the assize centre for the Kibyra district in the Roman province of Asia, and a continuity in the minting of its own coins from Hellenistic to Republican to Imperial periods. The coins of Colossae on the other hand display a marked break in its (pseudo-)autonomous coins. Hellenistic coins suddenly stop some time in the early first century BCE and revive only in the time of the Roman emperor Hadrian (von Aulock 1987, 2.83–94, as corrected by Burnett 1998, 35 §2891), a revival that is initially marked by a mimesis of Laodicean numismatic iconography. The insecure award of *neokorate* status to Laodicea in the time of Commodus and (by reiteration) under Caracalla ushered in the only *homonioia* coins known from Colossae. This paper explores the ways in which the "*homonioia/concordia*" coins indicate different political agendas and manoeuvring by Colossae and Laodicea (Howgego 2005).

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Session 11a

Dorotheus of Gaza, exempla and monastic morality in Gaza

I analyse the use of exempla and the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (*Apothegmata Patrum*) to create moral norms for Palestinian monasticism in the *Discourses* of the sixth-century Gazan monk, Dorotheus (c. 505-565 CE). My argument builds on the pioneering work of Rubenson's Monasticism and Classical *Paideia* project (e.g. Vinzent and Rubenson [2013]) and shares methodological assumptions with works such as Morgan 2007. My study of Dorotheus' use of the *Apothegmata* contributes to studies of the role played by the Sayings tradition in Palestinian monasticism by exploring how the tradition helps to form ethical expectations. The exempla and sayings together play a key role in defining the content of monastic morality, and they also perform in the text moral and spiritual practices which Dorotheus wishes to model for monks. I argue that Dorotheus uses exempla and the *Apothegmata* to construct and model a novel view of the virtues and passions, although it shares much with a wide range of biblical and early Christian. Foregrounding the exempla and sayings, however, also suggests connections with classical ethical and rhetorical traditions, pointing to the utility of viewing monastic *paideia* within wider discourses of Classical education.

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Space, directionality and movement in Republican Latin

While ancient conceptions of space are extensively studied from archaeological and literary perspectives, the issue is rarely approached via language structure and usage. Yet the fundamental influence language has in shaping our spatial perceptions is widely recognised in cognitive science and has the potential to offer much to our understanding of ancient Roman space.

The theories and methods of cognitive linguistics highlight the diverse linguistic systems employed by world cultures to describe location and movement through space (Levinson and Wilkins 2006). These studies also demonstrate how language structure and usage privileges different spatial information, indicating a higher degree of cultural import for certain spatial categories (Slobin 2006). By applying these techniques in an analysis of Republican Latin usage and vocabulary, interesting conclusions can be drawn about how spatial relationships were perceived and communicated and their interaction with directionality and systems of orientation.

This paper examines the spatial thought-landscape of Republican Rome through the application of this theoretical framework to Latin literature and language use. The plays of Plautus and Terence, in addition to the fragmentary sources, provide a wealth of spatial terms and references (Dixon 2010), and are therefore an ideal starting place for discussion of the relationship between Latin language and Roman spatial cognition. Directionality in Republican Latin allows a fascinating insight into the mental map of the Romans at a formative stage of their culture and thought.

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Session 3a

Optimus Status

This paper contends that one of the crucial achievements of the *Principate* was the conceptual change undergone by the expression '*optimus status*'. I shall argue that there was a deliberate de-politicizing of this concept during the regimes of Augustus and Tiberius through an emphasis on the psychological condition of the community (its happiness or tranquillity) rather than on the constitutional form of the *novus status*. Beginning with Cicero (*Rep.* 1.42-69) and Sallust (*Cat* 5.9), I shall track references to the status of the Roman community across a range of evidence dating from the 40s B.C. down to the end of the regime of Tiberius. This evidence will include: Liv. 1.42.2, 2.44.10, 3.20.8, 3.9.1; RIC 358; ILS 8393; Suet. *Aug.* 58; Gel. 15.7.3; the SCPP and Velleius. I shall argue that it was this reconceptualizing of the status of their community which informed claims made about the status of the *res publica* (its conservation, restoration, health) and hence that the modern debate about Augustus' restoration of the *res publica*/Republic needs to be viewed in this context. Finally, I shall suggest that Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.2.2; 1.4.1) is a deliberate intervention into the debate about the meaning and interpretation of *optimus status*.

Dart, Christopher

Contested Triumphs over *amici et socii* in the Second Punic War

The Hannibalic War represented a crisis for the Roman state on multiple fronts: military campaigns in disparate regions, Punic armies at large in Italy, wavering support of *amici et socii* in Italy and critically, fierce aristocratic competition to claim the glory of decisively turning the course of the war. Between 211 and 209 Roman commanders delivered a number of key victories over regional powers: Capua, the wealthy centre of Campanian agriculture; Syracuse, the dominate city of Sicily; and Tarentum, the powerful Spartan colony of southern Italy. In each instance the Roman commander requested the honour of a full public triumph; the surviving ancient sources preserve contrary accounts of the outcome. The relevant section of the *Fasti Triumphales* is lost; Livy's silence on several petitions is conspicuous and is contradicted by Val. Max. 2.8, the *elogium* of Fabius and others.

The practices and customary 'laws' which the Roman Senate applied when determining the award of a public triumph to a victorious commander evolved considerably over time. This important feature of triumphal procedure is now often recognized by modern scholarship and is essential to modern study of the triumph (for instance see, Auliard 2001, Itgenhorst 2005 and Pelikan Pittenger 2008). The paper investigates a select number of unsuccessful triumphal petitions from the period, investigating the interpersonal political rivalries which influenced the outcomes in each case and with implications for how we assess so-called triumphal 'law' at the time and as it was retrospectively interpreted by the scholars of the early imperial period.

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Session 7a

Freedom of Speech in Virgil and Ovid

The concept of liberty is rarely invoked in Augustan epic, with *libertas* (a broad concept that includes freedom of speech) occurring only once in the *Aeneid's* narrative and only once in *Metamorphoses*. But if verbal statistics suggest that Augustan epic poets are indifferent to this major republican freedom (Brunt, 1988), their narratives suggest otherwise. This paper will focus primarily on the council of the Latins in *Aeneid 11* and a sequence of stories in *Metamorphoses 2*.

The council in *Aeneid 11* presents the only extended human political debate in the *Aeneid* (Hardie, 1998). My analysis will compare Drances with his primary Homeric model, Thersites, and argue that Drances' insistence on *libertatem fandi* (11.346) is respected because of the constitutional character of the meeting.

Although Keith (1992) has devoted a monograph to *Metamorphoses 2*, much remains to be said about the political implications of the stories of the crow and the raven, Ocyroe and Battus, stories that focus on the dangers inherent in speaking freely. In dealing with these stories I will concentrate

on the differences from their Greek models and argue that their connections with the exile poetry point to their self-referential character.

I will conclude that the differences between the Virgilian and Ovidian treatments of free speech are in part a result of the Augustan regime's increasingly oppressive attempts to control communication, attempts which culminated in Ovid's exile in 8 CE.

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Session 7a

O Faunus, Where Art Thou? Elusive Faunus in Republican Rome

The purpose of this paper is to question the assumption that the Roman deity Faunus was one of the oldest Italic deities. It is striking that there are no extant passages from Latin literature containing references to Faunus that can be convincingly dated to the Republic, yet scholars such as Fantham (2009, 30) assign Faunus the epithet 'ancient'. Wiseman (2008, 62) likewise argues that Faunus is first mentioned in the mid second-century BCE by Acilius in Plutarch's *Romulus* 21.7.

The most compelling evidence for Faunus from the Republic is an inscription on the *Fasti Antiatres Maiores*, dated between 84 and 46 BCE. Livy records the vowing in 196 and dedication in 194 BCE of a temple to Faunus (*Ab Urbe Condita* 33.42.10, 34.53.3). I will suggest that although Livy is considered reliable for the dating of temples, we must take into consideration the time period elapsed between the events and when Livy is writing.

I will analyse the fragments that may allude to Faunus as a Republican god and demonstrate that their dating is either dubious or that they can be interpreted as alluding to fauns. For instance, Cornell (2013, 182) argues that a third-century BCE fragment from the annalist Cincius is the earliest evidence for Faunus, but it may belong to Cincius the antiquarian. In this way I will demonstrate that there are clearly grounds for revision of the argument that Faunus should be assigned the epithet 'ancient'.

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Session 11a

Flavius Constantius and the Aquitanian Settlement of the Goths

In 418/419 the Goths under Wallia were settled in Aquitania Secunda at the instigation of Flavius Constantius, *patricius* and *magister utriusque militiae*, married at the start of 417 to the emperor's half-sister Galla Placidia, who only recently had been returned from the Goths. Evidence for this is found in Philostorgius (who implies it took place in 416), Prosper of Aquitaine (who dates it to 419), and Hydatius (who seems to date it to 418 in Mommsen's edition). Andreas Schwarcz has argued for 419. Jordanes notes the Gothic presence at Toulouse but said nothing about how they acquired it and Sidonius Apollinaris mentions hostages given to the Goths. Motives for this settlement have

occupied scholars for generations, including Andrew Gillett's argument that a settlement between the Vandals in Spain and Rome necessitated moving the Goths elsewhere. Michael Kulikowski has argued recently that the settlement was part of Ravenna's strategy of anticipating future usurpations by having an army present ready to respond to local upheavals. In this paper I shall explore the possibility that the settlement also needs to be seen in the context of Constantius' marriage to Galla and that her agreement to marry might have come only in exchange for a promise to settle the Goths, thus adding an element of Gothic benefit to Kulikowski's notion of Roman benefit. This point was not explored in Sivan's biography of Galla.

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Session 6a

The Iconography of Funerary Commemoration in Roman Lusitania

The province of Lusitania (comprising all of modern Portugal south of the Douro River and part of modern Spain) was the last area of Hispania to be annexed by the Romans. The pre-Roman province was not populated by one homogenous group of people, but a number of tribes. In the south the Cunei had strong links with their neighbours, whom the Romans called the Turdetani. The Lusitani and the Vettones inhabited central Lusitania, and the more mountainous north was the home of a large number of smaller tribes. The major cultural influences in the west of the peninsula were Celtic and Lusitanian.

There is evidence for some funerary commemoration prior to the arrival of the Romans, but this increased rapidly following the Roman occupation. My research to date, however, has revealed that there is a marked difference between forms of commemoration in the north compared to the south. Following a brief introduction to the pre-Roman environment of Lusitania, this paper will discuss several of these different forms of funerary commemoration. In particular, the iconography and form of funerary *stelae* will be examined, including the unusual barrel tombstones particularly prevalent in the area of Sintra, near modern Lisbon, and Merida. This paper will demonstrate that the variety of epigraphy provides evidence that forms of commemoration with indigenous influence lasted at least into the second century AD, although the level of such commemoration differed significantly between the north and south, despite the development of Roman settlements and Roman rule.

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Session 8b

The Religion of Alexander the Great: Did he believe in Hellenistic Anthropomorphic Gods, Egyptian Therianthropic Gods, Persian Monotheism or Aristotelian Philosophy?

Alexander the Great was King of Macedon, Pharaoh of Egypt, Hegemon of the Hellenic League and Lord of Asia. He built and commissioned a multitude of shrines, altars and places of worship dedicated to many different religious systems, as well as temples to Olympian Zeus, Egyptian Isis and

Babylonian Bel. He received divine honours from the Greeks (Arr. 7.23), was proclaimed to be the son of God by Egyptian priests and while in Persia he adopted Persian dress and court customs.

So, how does one reconcile these events? What was Alexander's religion? Notable historians AB Bosworth and Ian Worthington argue at great length that he believed he was Zeus Ammon incarnate. The aim of this paper, however, is to deconstruct and dismantle the theory that Alexander believed in his own divinity. I will argue that Alexander the Great was a philosopher rather than an early version of Caligula. To support my argument I will correlate Aristotelian philosophy, writings like "A successful ruler must show devotion to religion because people are less fearful of those who pay regards to the gods" (*Politics*, V, 1314, b39), with Alexander's religious acts and behaviour. I will attempt to determine if Alexander, who was under direct tutelage of Aristotle for years and would have had these types of statements drummed into him, was influenced by them? And I will also explore Plutarch's interpretation that Alexander used religion "to assert his authority over others" (Plutarch, *Alex*, 28).

Evans, Rhiannon

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Session 11b

Jules César de la Guerre des Gaules: On Translating Caesar

This paper investigates late eighteenth to early twentieth century French translations of and commentaries on Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*, in particular the sections of the work which depict the Gallic and Germanic enemy. It seeks to show that decisions concerning vocabulary choices and even the omission of some passages are historically determined and influenced by the environment in which the translation or commentary was created. Recent work on Caesar, such as that of Schadee (2008) and Rawlings (1998), has done much to show that the *Bellum Gallicum* is a sophisticated work which employs historiographical tropes of the foreign enemy in a number of ways: for example, to highlight Roman strength, to show the disunity, primitivism or otherness of the northern Europeans, and to locate the ideal boundary of the Roman empire. It has also long been recognised that the figure of Caesar and this text have often functioned as an ideological text for a number of European regimes (Wyke, 2008). Building on these studies, I will demonstrate that translations such as the 1865 Collection Nisard edition interpret Caesar as an advocate of the Gauls and sees them clearly as proto-French peoples. The same edition tends to emphasise the barbarism of the *Germani*, mirroring the late nineteenth century antagonism between the French and German nations. The paper will conclude with a brief look at translations into other northern European languages for comparison, and a consideration of where Caesar's text sits in current debates on European identity.

Evans, Trevor

The Most Devout in Action: Honorifics and the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon

This paper will introduce a new project investigating the use of honorific adjectives in the Acts of Chalcedon (451 CE). It aims to contribute to the general analysis of ecclesiastical honorifics in late antiquity. As ‘speech-related’ texts (Culpeper and Kytö 2000: 176) the stenographically recorded Acts from Chalcedon (and other councils) bring us as close as we can expect to come to spoken Greek in the ancient world (cf. Millar 2006: 249–51). Consequently they provide a unique text type for assessing the deployment of honorifics, distinct from other sources.

The use of honorific adjectives is a pervasive feature of the Acts. There are many thousands of examples. Participants, using the contemporary language of deference in a formal council setting, speak of friend and foe alike as ‘most devout’, ‘most god-beloved’, ‘holy’, and so on. The framing text, which tells the reader who speaks, shouts out, or interrupts, employs a similar practice when introducing speakers to the reader. Price and Gaddis, in their important translation and study, observe that “‘Most devout’ (εὐλαβέστατος) is the standard honorific for all clergy and religious, from archbishops to simple monks.’ (Price and Gaddis 2005: 1.123 n. 36). The specific purpose of this paper is to argue that their assertion requires reassessment. We will consider not only the rank of those described, but also the personal preferences and geographical backgrounds of individual speakers.

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Session 4c

Counting Dactyls: an early statistical characterisation of the *Aeneid*

Intended as only one of a number of unrelated illustrations of application of “the law of error”, the analyses by Francis Ysidro Edgeworth of the frequency of appearance of dactyls in Virgil’s *Aeneid* must count as an early, and not previously remarked, example of stylistic analysis. For this purpose, and for the later criticism of it by his fellow statistician-economist John Maynard Keynes, competence in two seemingly unrelated fields – scansion, and statistical analysis – was required. As to the former we may presume that Edgeworth, who had taken Firsts and prizes in Classics at Trinity College Dublin and Oxford, would have had this competence; Keynes, as shown in two presently unpublished papers, had been similarly trained to a high standard at Eton. As to statistical competence, Edgeworth’s papers appeared in the leading journal of his day; and Keynes’s criticism is in his *Treatise on Probability*, an expanded version of his earlier Fellowship dissertation for King’s College, Cambridge.

The first purpose of the present paper is to present the analyses of Edgeworth and the subsequent criticism (of Edgeworth 1885a) by Keynes. In evaluating Keynes it is argued that he was correct, and that indeed he could have found corroboration of his argument in a later paper by Edgeworth (Edgeworth 1885b) with which he appears not to have been familiar. However, the fundamental

“sampling” procedures used by Edgeworth and not disputed as such by Keynes, would be unacceptable under modern rules of statistical inference.

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Session 5a

Mommsen’s Legacy – The Creation of an Enduring Image of Rome’s Past

Theodor Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte* has long been regarded a watershed moment in Roman history and historiography. It raised the profile of Ancient Rome to the level of ancient Greece by posing key questions for scholars of 19th century Germany. Its translation into English in the late 19th century and its award of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1902 ensured that its significance was trans-national. Today, however, it is an icon more famous than read.

To contextualise Mommsen's significance, my paper compares his narrative with that of eminent scholars whose work chronologically precedes and succeeds the *Römische Geschichte*. Niebuhr (1776-1831) and Heitland (1847-1935) offer rich grounds for comparison. Each of these historians was also markedly astute and at the forefront of historical thought in his respective times.

My presentation focuses on the treatment of two major political figures from the late republic - Pompey and Cicero - within the aforementioned histories. Two patterns of representation can be discerned – in each of them Pompey is the incompetent politician. In each of them the presentation of Cicero is completely diverse.

These patterns expose the limits of Mommsen's vision of Roman realities on successive generations of German and English scholars as well as his continuing influence upon modern (mis)conceptions of Ancient Rome and its most renowned political figures. Only by reading the icons can we keep track of their influence.

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Session 2b

Mythical & ritual *katabasis* in Aristophanes’ *Frogs*

Aristophanes’ *Frogs* has long posed something of an interpretative challenge. In part the problems have been structural: with its positioning of the formal *agon* (contest) at the end of the play, *Frogs* departs from the structural template of Aristophanes’ earlier comedies. This paper offers a new rationale for this atypical patterning, and thus a new interpretative framework for the closure of the play, by drawing on the mythical and ritual elements embedded within it. Key is the notion of the *katabasis*, or descent into the underworld (often to find an inhabitant of that underworld or to gain enlightenment). While the narrative centrality of the *katabasis* motif in *Frogs* has been recognised (Bonnechere 2003, Edmonds 2004, Lada-Richards 1999), it will be argued here that important features of that motif have been misidentified within the play. Previous scholarship (Edmonds 2004:

113-6) identifies the challenges surmounted by Dionysus in earlier parts of the play as integral to a *katabasis*; drawing upon a wealth of literary traditions (from Homer to Vergil) and on ritual enactments in a variety of Greek cults such as that of Trophonius, this paper argues that the poetic *agon* itself functions as comedic representation of experiences characteristic of *katabaseis*. For Aristophanes' audience, familiar with the vital elements of ritual and mythical descents, the *agon* would have been readily recognisable — and naturally positioned — within the *katabasis* enacted in *Frogs*, and not the perplexing conundrum it poses to modern readers.

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Session 8b

Show Me the Money: Funding Warmaking in Fourth-Century BC Athens

This paper seeks to investigate the hitherto neglected issue of the costs and funding of warmaking in Athens in the course of the fourth century. Fourth-century Athens has traditionally been seen as a city in decline, critically short of the revenue needed to fund its democracy, festival programs and war. The costs of warmaking particularly, were exceedingly high and, without its tribute-bearing empire, difficult to finance. Yet Athens at this time initiated an ambitious foreign policy and went to war more often than it had previously. This paper seeks to address this anomaly and provide a fresh look at how Athens funded its warmaking program of the fourth century. Using primary evidence from the 370s (Pritchard 2010: 45-57) and drawing on recent debates on the politics and finances of fourth-century Athens, this paper will show that Athens relied on tried and true methods of revenue-raising that had their roots in Attic history: the *eisphora* (Christ 2007), the trierarchy and the so called 'disreputable trio' of plunder, extortion and protection money (Gabrielsen 2013). Thereupon, this paper will shed a light on the innovative measures and reforms put in place by the Athenians to cope with the decline of their traditional sources of revenues. These included reforms in the *eisphora*, the grain tax and silver coinage, the establishment of the *stratiotika* and a call for contributions from its allies. Drawing on this analysis, my paper will show that in the course of the fourth century Athens was constantly extending and modifying its financial systems as needed to maximise revenue.

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Session 6c

Suetonius' rubrics

In Suetonius' Augustus the biographer explains that he will be describing Augustus' life *neque per tempora sed per species* —by category, 'rubric,' not by chronology (Aug. 9). In fact, this programme extends to most of the *Lives* in the series to a greater or lesser extent. Suetonius' arrangement of material by rubric is a crucial characteristic of his writing and is what enables him to build his characters so convincingly, without appearing to manipulate the facts or express an opinion. Similar rubrics recur from one *Life* to another, with variation in placement and emphasis subtly influencing how the reader receives this seemingly impartial information.

The rubric has become one of the most productive approaches to Suetonius' method and style, spawning several studies of individual rubrics and what they add to the construction of character in Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, e.g. Couissin (1953) on physical appearance; Bradley (1981) on spectacles; Goddard (1994) on eating habits; Chong-Gossard (2010) on sexuality.

An understanding of the mechanism of the rubric system is essential to the reader of Suetonius, but it is too rarely properly explained. The recent chapter by Donna Hurley (2014) addresses the overall structure of the *Lives* rather than the function of the individual rubrics. This paper adds to that study by describing and explaining the rubric system of Suetonius and what it contributes to characterisation, through an analysis of several examples of rubrics from across *the Lives of the Caesars* and how the same rubrics can create very different effects.

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Session 9b

“Constantius can see a Rainbow” Iris and Ammianus' use of poetry

In 359CE, while Constantius II attempted to recover Bezbade from the Persians, an abundance of rainbows was seen in the sky. In a much maligned excursus, characterised by Rolfe as “often inexact and sometimes not clear,” Ammianus Marcellinus attempted to explain their origin, drawing upon Pliny the Elder and Cicero (XX.11.26-32). His explanation, short on meteorological accuracy, asserts that Iris' presence in poetry indicates a change of circumstances akin to the change of weather forecast by a rainbow (Mazzoli 2012).

I argue that Ammianus draws upon the description of Iris by Roman poets, especially Virgil (see Frantauano 2013), but also Ovid, Statius and Valerius Flaccus. I propose that a comparison of this passage with Ammianus' account of the source of the Nile can improve our understanding of how Ammianus uses poetic sources (XX.15.3-13).

In Ammianus' account, Constantius' decision to withdraw from Bezbade is linked to the repeated presence of the rainbows as omens of a pending change in fortune. The passage is critical to understanding Ammianus' portrayal of Constantius' psychology; his justification for withdrawal is only partly attributed to the physical hindrance of the weather; he hesitates but ultimately, as if pulled by some fatal constellation (*fatali constellatione*), decides it is better that his army conquer through his generals' leadership than his own.

Ammianus thus substantiates his view that Constantius was doomed, and projects his reading of the rainbows onto Constantius, who acts as if cognizant of Iris' portent.

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Session 5b

Pagan Angels: revisiting the epigraphic evidence

Since the time of Deissmann (1908, 1923) and Cumont (1906, 1909) a century ago desultory debate has continued about the relatively small number of inscriptions from various locations in Asia Minor (Ionia, Caria, Lydia, Galatia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Lykia) and the Greek island of Thera which refer to *angeloi* in various contexts. All belong to the Roman Imperial period before the Peace of the Church. No consensus exists whether these texts reflect Jewish, Christian or other—Iranian (Hirschmann, 2007), or indigenous— influence.

The relevant inscriptions are (in date order as proposed by the editors):

IG XII 3 (1898) [ed. von Gaertringen] contains a considerable number from Thera

Rehm/Harder, *Didyma*, 2.406 (Didyma in Ionia, AD I?)

Robert, *La Carie* 191 frag. A (Kidrama in Caria, AD I-II)

Petzl, *Beichtinschriften* 3 (territory of Saittai in Lydia, AD 164/5)

Sahin, *I.Stratonikeia* 2.1.1117, 1118, 1119, 1120 (Stratonikeia in Caria, AD II)

Barbel, *Christos Angelos* (1941) pp. 7-18; cf. Guarducci, *Mélanges Daux* (1974) p. 155 (Thera?, AD II)

Mitchell, *I.North Galatia* 209b (Kalecik in Galatia, AD II-III)

Kearsley in Horsley, *I.BurdurMus.* 32 (Pisidia, AD II-III)

Ricl, *Epig. Anat.* 20 (1992) 95 no. 1 (Bozan Köyü in Phrygia, AD II-III)

Ricl, *Epig. Anat.* 18 (1991) 2 no. 1 (Temrek, SW of Saittai in Lydia, AD II-III)

[cf. Horsley, *I.BurdurMus.* 19 (Pisidia, AD II)

Horsley, *I.BurdurMus.* 92 (Hadrianoi in Pisidia, AD II- early III)]

Ricl, *Epig. Anat.* 18 (1991) 25 no. 48 (Yaylababa Köyü in Phrygia, AD III)

Robert, *CRAI* (1971) pp. 597-619 (Oinoanda in Lykia, AD III) - metrical

Sheppard, *Anat Stud* 29 (1979) 172 (Eumeneia in Phrygia, AD III)

Petzl, *Beichtinschriften* 38 (Lydia, AD III?)

Guarducci, *Mélanges Daux* (1974) p. 150 (Thera, AD III-IV)

Guarducci, *Mélanges Daux* (1974) p. 153 (Thera, AD III-IV)

IG XII 3.1238 [= Grégoire, 209; Guarducci, *Epigrafiá Greca* 4 (1987) 368-70 no. 2 (Melos, AD IV)]

CIG 2895 (Miletos in Ionia, AD IV-V?)

This paper will examine some of this surviving material and propose that a ‘messier’ solution is inevitable: that no single stream of influence is realistically likely. Instead, local conditions in various cities and villages favour different currents of influence, and not necessarily a single one in any particular location.

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Session 7a

Livy's Translation of Polybius

In recent years a great deal of work has been done to analyse Livy's text on its own terms. However, in this process the aspects of his text which are translated from Polybius have been entirely neglected. The prevailing view in some recent scholarship has been that Livy's handling of Greek was often poor, with focus tending to fall on a handful of misunderstandings of the original (Briscoe (2013)). This paper looks beyond these works and, using some of the techniques of Translation Studies (Lefevere (1992), McElduff (2013)), looks at translation as a cultural product. This means that translations are best understood as creations of their society and context. This paper will examine Livy's translation of Polybius' *tyche* with *fortuna*. Despite being similar to *tyche* in most respects, it will be shown that *fortuna* could also respond to the moral actions of individuals in Latin historiographical texts. Thus it could be deployed by Latin historians to imply moral causation of events. This observation will be applied to two distinct passages (Liv. 23.24.6 = Plb. 3.118.6 and Liv. 22.22.19-20 = Plb. 3.99.7-9) in which Livy translates from Polybius, to show that Livy was making a conscious effort to construct a text that was more appropriate to the concerns of the Augustan age. Thus it will be shown that translation is best understood as a construction that is culturally situated and that there is a way to more constructively understand Livy's translated passages.

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Session 11c

saepe ego cu[m] media uigilare[m] perdita nocte: gender identity, sexual preference and status designation in the non-official inscriptions of Roman Pompeii

The object of this paper is to find evidence in informal inscriptions of how women and men living in the Mediterranean under Roman rule represented themselves with respect to sexual ideas and practices. This will entail a brief survey of a select corpus of graffiti to determine how socio-sexual discourse found expression in non-official inscriptions of the Roman world. To this end, a sample of graffiti found in Pompeii, conforming to a specifically erotic taxonomy will be examined. This study will identify a productive initial point of entry into elucidating potential sites of gender construction outside the literary record, not to mention an additional tool of analysis through which regulatory *and* transgressive discourses of gender identity, sexual preference, and status designation in Roman antiquity might be engaged.

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Session 5a

The Making of the Roman Empire: Perceptions of Military Asymmetries and how they shaped the Roman Mind

Asymmetrical warfare is a matter of intense research and debate within the political sciences, modern history and security studies and closely related to ongoing armed conflicts across the globe. Despite a growing body of research on this topic, there are only a few studies on the historical dimension of this phenomenon over a long period of time, and especially ancient societies. Focussing on Roman examples, the key question I am pursuing with my paper is how perceptions of asymmetries shaped the collective identity of ancient societies. In the first part some source texts will be analyzed which document a specific Roman learning process (as the *Ineditum Vaticanum* FGrHist 839 F 1.3 or Sall. Cat. 51.38): the Romans always tried to turn any inferiority into superiority by constantly adapting any superior means of their enemies. In the second part I will argue that the Romans were successful because they were able to perceive asymmetry in a double perspective, of both strengths and weaknesses. They never recognized superiority as given naturally. This will be done by analysing ancient descriptions and evidences dealing with the Roman technological superiority in long range combat (mainly Caesar and Flavius Josephus but with hints on recent results of battlefield archaeology). At the end I will stress the point that the Roman culture of asymmetrical relationships with its enemies was one important factor of the success the Roman Empire had for such a long time.

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Session 4c

Petronius' *Satyrica* and Computer-Supported Methods for Traditional Text-Criticism

Fragments of Petronius' work have been transmitted in at least sixty manuscripts, but in the text-critical editions of the last three centuries fewer than thirty have been used to produce the critical apparatus. The reasons for this now seemingly insufficient basis for the text production are simple: neither location nor existence of some of the neglected manuscripts have been known, while it is only recently that many manuscript catalogues of smaller collections have been digitised, and thereby made searchable for scholars. According to Paul Maas, Karl Lachmann, and Martin West, traditional text-criticism is based on *recensio*, *examinatio*, and optional *divinatio*. The mandatory first step is the *recensio*, that is, the sighting, collating, and categorising of the manuscripts and witnesses. This is the most mathematical step of the process and so it is not surprising that computational methods can help. These methods and tools range from finding aids, digitisation tools, and open data methods, to classification algorithms. In this talk I will present a fully-reworked catalogue of Petronian manuscripts and showcase a new workflow for editing Petronius' *Satyrica* by highlighting the computational methods and tools used. Although the talk focuses on Petronius' *Satyrica*, the workflow I showcase may be helpful for the reconstruction of other classical texts. Special emphasis will be on a machine-readable text digitisation and on the computer-supported

classification of individual manuscripts.

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Session 8a

Remembering and Forgetting in Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae*

Quintilian, in the *Institutio Oratoria*, could not be clearer on the importance of memory for an orator; he states, simply, *omnis disciplina memoria constat* (11.2.2). He argues for the key role of memory even in impromptu oratory and details strategies for memorising information and speeches. Without memory, he asserts, oratory is impossible. In *de senectute*, Cicero has Cato the Elder argue for the natural vigour of memory into old age and suggests that only idleness or inherent deficiency can diminish its power (7.21). Given the crucial links between memory and oratory and even between memory and moral worth, it seems unlikely that any Roman would choose to begin a work on declamation by describing the decay of their own memory. And yet, this is exactly what Seneca the Elder does in the preface to the *Controversiae*, a work itself dedicated to accurately preserving the memory of past declaimers. Here, Seneca details the unpredictable nature of his *memoria*, a formerly loyal assistant who *iam olim precario paret*, and finally admits that he recognises the consequent potential for error. This striking, and moving, depiction of a man fighting a losing battle against a memory that had been a *miraculum* in his youth has attracted only passing attention in scholarship (Sussman, 1971, 289-91) and rarely for its literary qualities. This paper will explore Seneca's presentation of himself and his memory through language and imagery in order to address the broader question of remembering and forgetting in the preface of the *Controversiae*.

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Session 6a

Exekias & Co. Evidence of cooperative work in the workshop of Exekias, Group E and their associates.

Anyone who has worked closely on the pots of Exekias will have wrestled with the problem of some 'B-sides', where certain characteristic stylistic features on the reverse do not coincide with those on the obverse. The problem is particularly to be seen on the vases of Exekias' middle phase, several of which present a superbly observed obverse, teamed with a reverse that is by comparison noticeably less impressive in composition and execution. Although one must allow for artistic variation of quality, it is puzzling to encounter a divergence of style from obverse to reverse of the same vase: within days, if not hours, the master apparently represented numerous small and relatively insignificant details of human and equine anatomy in a quite different way, thus running counter to the expectations of Morellian attribution. Some of these 'alternative' details recur in scenes by painters variously identified as Near Group E, Manner of Exekias, Near Exekias, as well as the Lysippides Painter and his Manner, on vases that in some cases present other similarities to Exekias' works. These scenes cannot be attributed to Exekias, but the phenomenon calls for a

reconsideration of how we understand the relationships between members of a group of vase-painters working close to one another, and also challenges our purist expectation that an ancient vase-painting is the jealously guarded creation of a single hand.

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Session 3a

Pompeius' *Praevaricatio*

Recently Vervaeke put forward the view (conference on "Deceptions and Lies", 2012) that Pompeius advanced his career through downright *dissimulatio* (paving the way for Augustus' similar approach later). This begs a deeper question, about which scholars are divided: was Pompeius basically great as a military commander but inept as a politician (like the hero Marius a generation before), or did he have political skills? If one holds the former view (e.g. Green 1978 and 1990; Greenhalgh 1980), then one would have to argue that he could not have had the ability to tell successful and deliberate lies (hence disagreeing with Vervaeke's thesis). If the second view is held (e.g. Leach 1978; Seager 1979 and 2002), then he would have been able to advance his career by deliberate deception. Now there is no doubting the successful advancement of his career and his long dominance in late Roman republican affairs, which suggests a certain level of political skill.

This paper argues for a different slant on Pompeius' success as a politician: *praevaricatio* rather than *dissimulatio*. But only later. Early on his success politically was based on the threat of an undisbanded army to extort what he wanted. But later, having established his military reputation and, like a Marius, wanting to be recognised as one of the *principes* (if not the leading man), he chose to obfuscate his wishes for powerful positions, so as not to upset the *optimates* and so secure their recognition of him for his outstanding services.

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Session 6b

The Stoic-Epicurean debate about 'natural affection' (φιλοστοργία)

Epicurus notoriously maintained that the sage should not raise children (19, 525, 526 Usener). A key premise in his argument is the denial that human beings have natural affection towards their children (φιλοστοργία) (527, 528, 529 Usener). In certain *Discourses* (1.11, 1.23, 2.20, 3.22, 3.24) the Stoic Epictetus attacks Epicurus vigorously over this. He presents three arguments: Despite denying that humans have natural affection for their offspring, through his insistence that we are social beings Epicurus in fact affirms it, thus refuting himself. Choosing not to raise one's children leads to mental anguish greater than the inconveniences involved in raising them: thus, an Epicurean hedonist ought to raise his children. The unnatural act of neglecting one's children is abhorrent, and to do so would place the human beneath even the irrational animals; normal humans do have natural affection towards their children, even if some perverse specimens (such as Epicurus) do not. In this paper, I assess the cogency of Epictetus' objections, focusing in particular on some neglected

evidence in Demetrius of Laconia (*PHerc.* 1012 cols. LXVI–LXVIII Puglia; Brennan 1996 does not discuss it), who in the late second century BC presents some counter-arguments against unnamed critics of Epicurus that apply readily to the points made by Epictetus in the second century AD. I suggest that Epicurus' followers ultimately conceded that human beings do have natural affection for their children, but they argued vigorously against the ethical implications the Stoics saw in this fact (Blundell 1990).

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Session 10b

Painting Anzacs in an Epic Landscape: Classical Allusions in Sidney Nolan's 'Gallipoli Series'

When talking about his 'Gallipoli Series' (1955-1975) in 1978, Sidney Nolan said, 'there is a kind of grandeur ... natural about Homer one can feel is related to Anzac' (Page, 1978: 5). From antiquity, the Dardanelles have been renowned as the mythological site of the Trojan War, and when Anzac soldiers landed at Gallipoli on 25th April 1915 this landscape also came to occupy the collective Australian imagination as a mythological place of national origin. Nolan's series is the product of the artist's exploration of the concept of war and its human consequences. The central contention of this paper is that Nolan integrated classical aesthetics, his understanding of Homer's *Iliad*, and his personal experience of war in an attempt to understand war's impact on individuals. Nolan's classical allusions highlight the human consequences of the Gallipoli campaign and emphasise the devastating cost of war more generally. Nolan uses the geographical proximity of the Gallipoli Peninsula and the Trojan plains to create an imaginary landscape where both conflicts coexist. This follows Gilles Deleuze's contention that the past and present coincide in the same moment (Deleuze, 1966: 59). Nolan expresses Deleuze's premise in the diptych 'Gallipoli' (1963) which depicts Gallipoli as a landscape pregnant with the past. This paper will focus on Nolan's 'Gallipoli' and conclude that the artist used this painting and his 'Gallipoli Series' to explore the human dimension of war elucidated in Homer's *Iliad* in order to better understand the meaning of his own brother's death in World War II.

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Session 7b

Rise and Demise of a Geometric Settlement. Zagora (Andros), The 2014 Season

Excavation at Zagora by an Australian team led by Alexander Cambitoglou in the 1960s-1970s yielded a settlement that has become the textbook example of life 'in the time of Homer.' The ceramic profile indicated prosperous growth through the 9th century to the late 8th century BC, followed by complete abandonment. Why did the settlement fail?

The Zagora Archaeological Project, funded by an ARC Discovery Grant for 2012-2014, holds its second digging season in September-October 2014. A prime goal is to gain information that allows secure reconstruction of Zagora's economic life and so assists with assessment of its social life. Past

finds show that in addition to agriculture, local industry included metalworking and manufacture of a sophisticated type of domestic pottery.

On the basis of information gained from the 2012 and 2013 seasons, six areas were selected for excavation, including two more promising locations for the hitherto elusive metalworking and two areas suspected to have functioned as house “courtyards” (at other sites open-air enclosed spaces were arguably a locus of manufacture). The intriguing town dump area identified in 2013, with its extensive accumulation of faunal remains and unparalleled MG cooking pots, promises to give insight into pastoral practices and ceramic production. Excavation will continue at three residential units from across the site. Though variable in design, their final pottery consistently dates to the last decades of the eighth century BC. Not only do they yield a tighter abandonment date; they help articulate the question of differentiation, and so perhaps provide answers.

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Session 10b

Heritage in the landscape: the 'heroic' tumuli in the Troad

The tumuli in the Troad traditionally associated with the heroes of Troy--Achilles, Patroklos, Ajax-- have been a focus of attention for centuries. Apart from their attraction for tomb-robbers across time, these tumuli were for many in the ancient world the object of pilgrimage and cult worship; in modern times they have been a curio in the landscape for those with antiquarian interests. In recent decades they have been excavated systematically and carefully studied, as archaeologists try to reconstruct the history of their presence (and, indeed, clarify their status) in the vicinity of Troy/Ilion/Hisarlık.

My approach to these tumuli will be via two phenomena of memory: on the one hand, the memory system that cognitive psychology refers to as spatial memory--in particular, the capacity of spatial information to cue the recall of associated material; and, on the other, collective memory, which has the capacity to store and transmit the traditional memories that we associate with any culture. I shall bring together the work of scholars who have studied the landscape of the Troad with research at that junction where mind and memory meet. I shall consider how the story of Troy and cultural values associated with it were shaped over centuries (long after the end of the Bronze Age) by the presence of these tumuli in the landscape; and I shall observe how a particular landscape can serve, not only in a pre-literate world but also in the modern world, as a significant repository for a culture's traditions.

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Session 2a

Clodius' candidature for the praetorship and the *lex annalis* in the late Republic

P. Clodius Pulcher died in January 52 as a candidate for the praetorship of that year. According to

Cicero (*Pro Milone* 24), Clodius had been eligible for 53 *suo anno* but deferred his candidacy in order to have a full year in office and to avoid having L. Aemilius Paullus as his colleague. Many scholars accept Cicero's evidence, which also accords with the date of Clodius' aedileship in 56. Badian, on the other hand, maintains that Clodius' year was 52, though the interregnum in 53 may have rendered him technically eligible to stand a year early (Badian 1964, 150, followed by Tatum 1999, 226-7). For Badian, Cicero's story is a "lawyer's trick", played after Clodius' death "with no fear of contradiction". But Cicero made the same claim in the fragmentary *De aere alieno Milonis* of 53, when Clodius was alive and present. We should therefore accept at least the possibility of a praetorship in 53, which Clodius declined in favour of 52 and the prospect of Milo as consul. Indeed, if Sumner (1973, 7-10) is right in discerning a minimum age for the aedileship in the late Republic, 53 must have been Clodius' year (and his quaestorship in 61 one year 'late'). Either way, Clodius' decision has important ramifications for our analysis of his programme and the politics of 54-52 more generally.

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Session 4a

Will the real Maecenas please stand up?

The only biography of Maecenas is that of Avallone (1962) in Italian. He is a rarity among commentators, as he presents a positive picture of Maecenas. Commentaries on the Augustan Age tend to concentrate naturally on Augustus himself and give significant consideration to the role of Agrippa, but do not do justice to the importance of the role of Maecenas in establishing the principate. This paper attempts to explain the importance of Maecenas' role and highlights the significance of his role in helping to establish the principate. The paper also shows that certain misconceptions about Maecenas have gained traction in spite of the fact that there is no primary evidence to support them. It considers the sustainability of descriptions by commentators of his personality, his relationships with Agrippa and Bathyllus and the question of whether he lost favour with Augustus after 23 B.C. The paper is based on all the primary sources (119 in all) which mention Maecenas. The paper considers the reliability of Seneca when compared to sources contemporary to Maecenas, especially Horace and the two anonymous elegies. The paper establishes what we can say about Maecenas from the information contained in primary sources and refutes commentators who have created a myth based on unfounded supposition. While the paper is not as effusive in praise of Maecenas as the work of Avallone, it does aim to redress the balance and to give Maecenas more consideration than he has been given in many works on the Augustan Age.

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Session 9a

Trilingual Love on the Bay of Naples: Philodemus AP 5. 132 and Ovidian elegy

David Sider and others have shown that one particular epigram of Philodemus, AP 5.132 (or Sider 12, as I shall now refer to it), influenced Ovid's *Amores* 1.5, the key poem in which he first introduces his

girlfriend Corinna. Philodemus' epigram concerns the poet's infatuation with an Oscan girl with an Oscan/ Latin name Flora who cannot sing the Greek poetry of Sappho. Philodemus' epigram, short though it is, reveals a poet interacting with the linguistic and cultural diversity of Campania at this time. What I shall also argue is that Philodemus' play in his epigram with the dynamic multiculturalism of Campania transfers in Ovid's *Amores* and *Fasti* to a fuller exploration of the cross-cultural resonances in the name of the elegiac woman, including the Roman goddess Flora.

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Session 1b

Characters' Paradigms, Narrator's Similes: Paranarrative Strategies in the *Iliad*

This paper will discuss the ways in which the Iliadic narrator differs from his characters when presenting material from outside their respective primary narrative settings. Scholars of the *Iliad* have increasingly come to recognise that the voices of the poem's narrator and those of his characters are distinct, and that characters and narrator have different goals and use different rhetorical techniques to achieve these goals (de Jong, 1987). This is particularly true of their approaches to paranarratives. Whereas internal narrators within the poem tend to introduce external material in the form of paradigm which draws on stories from the mythic history they share with their audience (Alden, 2001), the *Iliad's* external narrator prefers to punctuate his narrative with extended similes, which take his listeners outside the heroic world in its entirety and which evoke a simultaneously quotidian and timeless setting; what Redfield (1994, 186) calls: 'a window through which we glimpse a world beyond the battlefield of Troy'. This paper will look at the techniques used by the poem's internal and external narrators to evoke these different worlds, and discuss some of the potential reasons for their divergent preferences. The voice of the Iliadic narrator and the voices of his characters are put to very different uses by the poem as a whole, and by examining this particular instance I hope to show some of the ways in which the *Iliad* manipulates this polyphony for its broader poetic purposes.

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Session 9b

Living amidst the ruins: Private and public space in late antique Augusta Emerita

In this paper, I present archaeological evidence from Augusta Emerita (Mérida, Spain) to illustrate changes to the city's urban plan in late antiquity. Emerita's excavated remains fit broadly within the narrative of urban transformation/decline in the fourth and fifth century, and my analysis of materials excavated from Emerita's public forum complexes indicates that the departure from any classical urban ideal was well underway by the late fourth century (Liebeschuetz 2001). This new excavation evidence highlights the increasing influence of private interests in the use of public space, but it also supports the idea that certain governing principles were still at work in the changes that took place during the transition from late Roman to post-Roman Emerita (Baldini Lippolis 2007; Mattingly 2006).

Beginning in the later fourth century, Emerita's *fora* were abandoned and their decorative elements removed, their temples and associated structures dismantled, and their open spaces repurposed for public and private activities. In the course of the fifth century, these public spaces saw the construction of new buildings, the accumulation of waste deposits, and, in one case, the insertion of a road across the forum courtyard. From this evidence, I argue that the late antique dismantling and reuse of Emerita's traditional Roman structures actually emphasises the ongoing vitality of the city centre. Rather than a simple story of abandonment and decay, the archaeological record shows how Emerita's residents and – probably – city officials reshaped their urban environment in order to adapt to the demands of life in the late antique city.

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Session 4b

Fighting with the Gods: epiphany narratives in Hellenistic warfare

With the rise of the great Hellenistic armies and innovations in siege technology, Hellenistic *poleis* experienced violence on a scale that outstripped classical precedents (Chaniotis 2005 456). This paper examines ways in which cities engaged with divine discourses in their responses to this climate of heightened vulnerability. In particular, the focus falls on the *topos* of divine manifestation, or epiphany, in the early Hellenistic period. That phenomenon had arguably been given added impetus by the bestowal of cult on kings and potentates; this had served to introduce new 'living gods' into warfare and thereby encouraged the restoration of a world in which an Athena or an Apollo might, in Homeric fashion, bestride the mortal field of battle. Scrutiny will be given to narratives concerning the manifestation of the traditional Olympian gods in warfare, of which Pritchett's survey (1979: 11-46) identified a spate in early Hellenistic contexts (key here is Delphi in 279 BCE, but Rhodes (305/4 BCE) and Argos (303 and 272 BCE) among others also claimed epiphanies); considered too is the employment of the language of epiphany by individual *poleis* in relation to the Hellenistic potentates. Drawing on Platt's recent and nuanced scholarship on Greek encounters with the divine (Platt 2011, esp. 135-69), it will be suggested that such religious narratives, with their interplay of epiphanies by gods old and new, functioned as tools by which the *poleis* sought both to influence the behaviour of Hellenistic war-lords, and to articulate a case for their own protection.

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Session 6c

Greek characters: writing the names of some Hellenes in Cicero's works

Cicero's use of Greek is a field in need of further investigation. Among the aspects of it almost entirely ignored is his deployment of 'alphabet switching', the writing of a word now in one alphabet, now in another (see in general Adams 71–6; there are brief allusions to Cicero's use of it in Swain 156–7 and Dubuisson 71–2). While that area is a large one with implications for European

intellectual history, this paper restricts itself to just one subset of the words occurring in both scripts. The MSS of Cicero's works show the vast majority of Greek names in Latin transliteration, although some are written in Greek. A score of names occur in both alphabets, and this paper investigates those, considering both the reliability of the transmission and Cicero's rationale for varying his practice. The two issues are closely related, for a consistent pattern in the MSS will be explained most economically by the hypothesis that they reflect the writer's original choice. The paper shows that most of these Hellenic names are those of authors, and that the writing of them in Greek often occurs in contexts in which the physical presence of a Greek book is explicitly or implicitly suggested. In support of this claim, evidence for the external identifying features of books in Cicero's time is presented. Even when the Greek name is not that of an author, its appearance in Greek characters is invariably linked to the audience's experience of reading a Greek text.

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Session 2b

Beauty and the Beasts: Danae and the Satyrs in Aeschylus' *Dictyulci*

The story of Danae and her infant son Perseus on the island of Seriphos where they are initially rescued by Dictys — only to be his molested by his brother and local regent Polydectes — appeared in Greek lyric, tragedy and comedy. Aeschylus' satyric handling of the story has frequently been read as a light-hearted, romantic romp with Silenos and the chorus purporting to act as benign foster-parents to the infant hero (e.g. Podlecki 2005; cf. KPS 1999). Building on recent scholarship (O'Sullivan and Collard 2013), this paper argues that Aeschylus gives Silenos and the chorus of satyrs a more menacing identity than is often inferred, not least by emphasising the plight of Danae who seems to evoke much in Simonides' lyric treatment of the story. With its inevitable happy ending, *Dictyulci* conforms ostensibly to many of the tropes of satyr play, but I suggest that Aeschylus recasts these to make the satyrs the collective ogre of the piece. Silenos can be seen as the comical counterpart of the villainous Polydectes, and has the full support of his sons, something he often does not enjoy in other satyric dramas. The chorus of satyrs, then, in *Dictyulci* stand in contrast to the often more sympathetic, if clownish, creatures they are elsewhere (e.g. Sophocles' *Ichneutae*, Euripides' *Cyclops*). As a satyr drama, *Dictyulci* combines serious and burlesque elements typical of a medium dubbed in antiquity 'tragedy at play' (Demetrius *Eloc.* 169); but it does so in paradoxical ways and not without moments of pathos.

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Session 11a

“Does the reader need a summary of her virtues? She left her friends and family poor, but she was even poorer.” Wealth, status, and women’s religious experience in the letters of Jerome.

The surviving letters of Jerome contain correspondence both to and about Christian women; they are a valuable source of evidence on women and Christianity during the 4th and early 5th centuries CE. The collection has been studied in relation to a range of topics, from women’s study of the scriptures (e.g. Graves 2011, 375 - 391) to Jerome’s use of the letters to fashion his self-image (Cain 2009). However, the texts are yet to be fully analysed for the evidence they can provide on women’s religious experience during this period. Andrew Jacobs (2000) has used a social logic methodology to analyse three letters of advice from prominent theologians, including Jerome, to an aristocratic virgin, Demetrias; he finds that all three authors’ attempts to accommodate Demetrias’ nobility within Christian hierarchy provide insight into the importance of social status to her religious experience. In this paper, I will analyse a selection of letters by Jerome, particularly his letters of consolation following the deaths of his most well-known female patrons Paula and Marcella, using a similar methodology. Jerome focuses not only on the women’s asceticism, but also on their social status, and, importantly, on how they use their wealth. Using examples from the letters, my discussion will focus on how, alongside gender, issues of status and wealth were formative for these women’s religiosity.

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Session 11b

Petrarch, Machiavelli, and Milton on Scipio Africanus

Archetypal Greek and Roman heroes loom large in the Classical reception. Figures such as Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar have been the subject of various works of art and propaganda throughout the ages. The reception of Scipio Africanus, conqueror of Hannibal—an equally important figure from Roman times—has been largely overlooked. While scholars have analysed some specific genres of the reception of Scipio, no study considers the literary reception of him. This paper looks to present an overview of the literary reception of Scipio as presented by three authors whose treatment of Scipio is most noteworthy: Petrarch, Machiavelli, and Milton.

Authors have typically adapted the image of Scipio to suit their own agendas. Petrarch wants to praise Scipio in his Latin poem, the *Africa*, which provides an epic about Scipio’s actions in the second Punic war. Petrarch focuses on Scipio because he took a special interest in him. Machiavelli, on the other hand, uses Scipio to illustrate various points in his political work, *The Prince*. Machiavelli refers to Scipio because this usage helps prove Machiavelli’s argument; Machiavelli has no emotional bias towards Scipio, unlike Petrarch. Milton utilizes Scipio in yet another way, namely to

contrast a well-known pagan with the Christian hero of Christ in his *Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained*.

Petrarch's and Machiavelli's positive portrayals of Scipio contrast with the negative representation in Milton. Thus Petrarch, Machiavelli, and Milton have utilized the image of Scipio for contrasting reasons and to suit their own particular agendas.

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Session 10a

Scipio and Marcellus in *Punica* 13-15

This paper examines the way in which Silius arranges his material and employs intertextual allusion to develop a contrast between Scipio and Marcellus. Book 14 of Silius' *Punica* is entirely devoted to Marcellus' Sicilian campaign; it is modelled closely on Books 6 and 7 of Thucydides, and like its model it makes of the campaign a narrative unit within the larger whole. Claire Stocks sees Book 14 as a kind of mini-epic reiterating the themes of the *Punica* as a whole; against this I argue that it serves rather to locate Marcellus firmly in the world of historiography, in contrast to Scipio whose descent into the underworld and confronting the apparitions of Virtue and Pleasure which frame Book 14 mark him as belonging to the world of myth and epic. This structuring is clearly deliberate, since, as Burck observes, Silius has changed the order of events as narrated in Livy in order to achieve it. Making Book 14 a self-contained narrative unit in the manner of Thucydides sets up a contrast between the success of Marcellus' Sicilian expedition and the failure of the Athenian one; framing Book 14 with narratives involving Scipio sets up a contrast between two very different Roman commanders. Against Fucecchi I argue that Marcellus' death (which as the narrator observes no god intervenes to prevent) is unheroic and marks him as no true rival to Scipio. The champion of Jupiter's city has to be Jupiter's son and a genuine epic hero.

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Session 8b

Cassander's Elephants: failed invasion or successful raid?

In the summer of 317, Cassander embarked upon his first military venture into Macedonian territory from southern Greece against the regent, Polyperchon (Diod. 18. 75. 1-2). This was his first return to the region since his departure in 319 after the death of his father, Antipater. Little is known about the events that took place during this short campaign save for a brief passage, which appears later in Diodorus' account (19. 35. 7) recording the capture of Polyperchon's war elephants by Cassander. The campaign has been treated with brevity by modern scholars, as Cassander had returned to southern Greece by the winter of 317 (Diod. 19. 35. 1). Questions have been raised, and subsequently dismissed as to whether the campaign happened at all, or if a duplication has occurred within Diodorus' account.

Despite the lack of extensive literary information, the contextualisation of Cassander's actions during the summer of 317 allows for the possibility that his efforts were in aid of his ally, Antigonus Monophthalmus. Evidence suggests that Polyperchon was in Asia Minor with Eumenes at the time of Cassander's undertaking. Not being able to launch a full invasion of Macedon, Cassander instead sent a smaller force to harass Polyperchon's base of operations, forcing his swift departure from Asia Minor to defend Macedon. This paper discusses the first invasion of Macedon by Cassander within the context of the greater Macedonian Empire in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of events in Greece during the summer of 317.

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Session 8a

Pliny and Silius

Pliny's letter on the death of Silius has often been mined for information about the poet's career. This paper will instead examine the literary and cultural assumptions in this description, showing that Pliny's description of Silius as a Neronian figure is most readily explicable in terms of dynastic rivalries. While Silius saw himself as a Flavian poet, Pliny, in a letter written to a poet friend who intends to compose a Homeric epic on Trajan, indicates that Silius is Neronian and so Hellenistic in his habits and literary output. This is underlined by a Thucydidean quip, where Silius is described as *philokalos* (an ambiguous term indicating either connoisseurship or extravagance) and *emax* (an archaic Latin term for a shopaholic). In reality, Pliny's attempt to identify himself with the new, parsimonious intake of senators from the Flavian age against Neronian extravagance merely reflects a desire for positive self-definition against a previous political group, reflected elsewhere in his comparison of a restrained Trajan compared to an extravagant Domitian. Similarly, Pliny's implied literary history actually reflects the combined classical Greek and Roman milieu that can also be seen in Silius' *Punica*, now commonly referred to as the Second Sophistic.

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Session 4b

War on Stage

Euripides was a prolific author of tragedies in the Greek city of Athens in the fifth century BC. During his career Athens dominated the eastern Mediterranean militarily. It had 175 subject allies and spent more money on its armed forces than on all of its other public activities. *Polemos* was glorified in political debates and was prominent in the annual dramatic festival which Athens staged. War was a major theme of the tragedies themselves. In *Trojan Women* and other plays Euripides dramatised war's high cost for civilians and the war crimes which the victors of some mythical battles committed. Traditionally scholars viewed these plays as a criticism of the bellicosity of fifth-century Athens. In doing so – it was argued – Euripides provided a critique of war which balanced what was otherwise a pro-war culture. Over time this interpretation of Euripides has almost entirely collapsed. When Euripides had mythical Athenians waging wars, they did so for just reasons and were always

victorious. Euripides portrayed mythical Sparta and Thebes as impious and immoral and these cities being contemporary enemies of Athens, his plays actually made it easier to justify wars against them.

In this paper I will place Greek tragedy within its socio-political context so as to provide an interpretive framework for Euripides' plays. I will also discuss the competing theories of interpretation in contemporary scholarship. Through examination of *Suppliants*, *Children of Heracles*, *Hecuba*, and *Trojan Women* I will show that while Euripides portrayed some of the negative effects of war he was careful not to indict Athenian warmaking.

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Session 2a

Praetorian provincial assignments in the late Roman Republic

This paper aims to show that the current scholarly understanding is wrong concerning the tenure of provincial governorships by praetors who had already held an urban assignment (what Brennan calls *ex praetura* assignments) both before and after Sulla's dictatorship. The scholarship on this subject, such as Hantos (1988 pp. 89-120) and Brennan (2000 pp. 388-402), puts forth the view that while *ex praetura* assignments did exist before Sulla, they were a minor feature of the provincial system and it was Sulla during his dictatorship who made this practice the norm. However, the growth in the number of permanent courts (*quaestiones perpetuae*) at Rome in the 100s and 90s makes it highly likely that all six praetors (as there then were) were already needed for legal business in the *Urbs*, and thus would only be available to go to a territorial province near the end of their year of office. Also, a close analysis of provincial allocations in the 70s and 60s shows that there were not normally enough provinces available for all eight outgoing praetors to receive one. For instance, as Martin Stone has noted (2013 p. 112), in 75 five provinces were held by commanders of consular rank engaged in major wars, leaving at most five provinces to go into the praetorian sortition. This contradicts the usual view that it was a shortage of praetors which led to repeated prorogations in the post-Sullan period.

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Session 5a

Surgery for Varicose Veins in Antiquity

The purpose of this paper is to present the literary evidence that surgery for varicose veins was performed in Classical Antiquity and the possible reasons for this surgery. Two techniques described by Cornelius Celsus in the first century CE for the surgical treatment of varicose veins will be presented. Previous, generally accessible, recent literature discussing these topics has not been found. Celsus' technical description will be accompanied by illustrations in which comparable surgery has been performed using some replica Roman surgical instruments on post-mortem porcine material.

There is literary evidence from Cicero and Pliny that surgery for varicose veins was performed prior to the first century BCE. Plutarch states that varicose vein surgery was performed on Gaius Marius for cosmetic reasons. That the pain of this surgery was bearable is evident from these three authors and also in a brief reference by Seneca.

Cornelius Celsus, in the first century CE, was the first Latin author to describe the surgery for treating varicose veins. Cauterisation of the veins was used for 'mild' varicose veins and for more advanced disease surgical extirpation of the veins was used. In both these techniques the veins were first surgically exposed by skin incisions at intervals of about eight centimetres along the lengths of the diseased veins. The description of the surgery will be accompanied by illustrations in which replica, or comparable, Roman instruments have been used on post-mortem porcine material.

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Session 4a

Audi alteram partem: Livy as counsel for the enemy

The problem of speeches in classical historiography is a timeless agony. Such dramatisation of situations and viewpoints was an integral part of such history, however bizarre it seems to moderns. Thucydides alone told us his method—and oceans of ink have (quite needlessly) been spilt ever since. Herodotus, Livy and Tacitus vouchsafe no such confidences. In the case of Livy, his speeches have received erratic attention. Classic general studies (e.g. Taine 1874, Burck 1933, Walsh 1970) comment on them, of course, but offer nothing on the category in question, while Luce (1977), amid much ground-breaking work, said little about them at all. The commentators (Ogilvie [1965], Briscoe [1973-2012] and Oakley [1997-2005]) also miss this special subject. Adler (2011) alone deals with a tiny handful.

The focus of this paper is not, then, on Livy's speeches in general, but a very special category: the more than two dozen written for Rome's enemies, whether peoples, such as the Latins, Samnites, Carthaginians, Spaniards and Aitolians, or individuals: Hannibal, Philip, Perseus. It is likely that few of them are based on real sources: rather, they are Livy's own constructions. So much the better: they offer us a precious, but neglected insight into his historical understanding and humanity.

A handout will list them all, but there will be time to discuss only three or four of the most illuminating, including passages from 9.1, 31.29, 33.31, and 37.35.

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Session 9a

Docta Medea: geographical lore in Metamorphoses 7

This paper discusses Ovid's use of geographical details in the *Medea* episode of the *Metamorphoses*,

focusing on the generic and metapoetic implications of Ovid's use of toponyms. In Book 7, Ovid offers a comprehensive treatment of the well-known life-story of Medea, beginning with her first encounter with Jason in Colchis and ending with her escape from Athens. Along the way, Medea makes two journeys by air, one around Thessaly (*Met.* 7.222-236), and one from Iolcos to Corinth (*Met.* 7.350-392). These journeys, which Ovid describes at length and in detail, are the focus of the present paper.

Recently, Pavlock (2009, 38-60) and Williams (2012) have discussed Medea's journey from Iolcos to Corinth as a reflection in microcosm of the *Metamorphoses* itself. This paper builds on Pavlock's and Williams' recognition of the metapoetic aspects of Medea's journeys, but will focus more closely on the geographical details of Medea's flights. During both flights, Medea visits a number of places with resonances from Hellenistic poetry and from elsewhere in the *Metamorphoses*. I will argue that a close examination, following the practice of Mayer (1986), of the toponyms encountered on Medea's journeys will elucidate both the Medea episode's generic affiliations, and its relation to the overarching structure of the *Metamorphoses*.

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Session 6b

The *apparatus testimoniorum* in the new edition of the doxographer Aëtius

Since 1989 Professor Jaap Mansfeld and the author have been collaborating on a long-term project which focuses on the ancient genre of doxography. These extensively utilised but seldom studied texts provide us with much invaluable information on early Greek philosophy up to the beginning of our era. Since 2005 the aim has been to produce a new edition of the main work, the *Placita* attributed to an otherwise unknown author called Aëtius, who was active in the 1st century C.E.

In my paper I will focus on a crucial and innovative aspect of the edition, the *apparatus testimoniorum*. I will first explain the aims and main features of the *apparatus*, notably its division into five sub-sections and the way it treats the key aspect of chapter titles and question topics in Aëtius' compendium. I shall also explain how it differs from the apparatus in previous editions; including the standard edition of Diels which our edition aims to replace. I will then briefly survey the *apparatus* as it will appear in the five books of the *Placita*. It will emerge that the *apparatus* will enable the user of the edition to locate and trace the doxographic treatment of key philosophical topics in the area of physics in ancient philosophical literature over a period of nearly a millenium.

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Session 3b

Maritime Aphrodite Sanctuaries and the Colonization of *Magna Graecia*

Please look above at the abstract under Brown, Amelia.

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Session 1b

Helen's Other Voices

Δόλος, is a feature of the *Odyssey*. As a theme, it contributes significantly not only to the development of the hero but also to the victorious return and reestablishment of order in the epic. While Odysseus, the central character, is acknowledged for his *δόλος*, Helen also displays this quality. The speeches by Helen (IV.235-264) and by Menelaos directly after hers (IV.265-289) detail Odysseus' exploits in entering Troy to gain information, and restraining the men from crying out in the Trojan horse. On the surface the speeches are intended to relate to Telemachus the extraordinary heroic character of his father. Upon closer examination the speeches detail Helen's uncanny ability to deceive by assuming the voices of the Achaeans' wives. Blondell (OUP, 2013), Austin (Cornell, 2008) and Suzuki (Cornell, 1989) interpret Helen's actions as evidence of her supernatural ability to persuade others and an indication of her divine status. While such an interpretation focuses on the kind of ability Helen displays, the type of behaviour she exhibits has not been discussed: and this is *δόλος*. While Helen's powers of deception may be supernatural, unnerving and even treacherous, her actions contribute to the dominant *δόλος* theme in the *Odyssey*.

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Session 2a

A Tale of Two Cities: Carthage and Corinth

In 146 BCE, the Romans effected the destruction of two significant cities: Carthage and Corinth. This paper will examine the parallels between these two cases through the paradigm of the comparative study of mass-violence, particularly genocide. In this regard, Carthage's destruction has been discussed with respect to whether the events could be described as genocide, with one scholar even referring to it as the 'first genocide' (Kiernan 2004). Corinth's destruction, in contrast, has not generally attracted such consideration. It will be argued that there are some similarities between Corinth and Carthage with respect to those ideological factors identified by Kiernan as driving the destruction of Carthage (Kiernan 2004). It will further be argued that the destruction of both Corinth and Carthage should be seen as acts of 'conspicuous destruction' (Van Wees 2010, 253, 257) – symbolic violence designed to have a deterrent effect on others (Kallet-Marx 1996, 87-88). The two events can be distinguished in that there is evidence suggesting that the destruction of Carthage was a Roman aim from the commencement of hostilities (e.g., Cato's injunction: *Carthago delenda est*: Plutarch, *Cato* 27). Corinth's destruction, however, appears to be a response directed more immediately towards Corinth's recent participation in a war against Rome. It is thus more analogous to other acts of conspicuous, retributive violence by the Romans. While the application of the concept of genocide is not unproblematic, both cases warrant consideration as analogous to other instances of mass-violence aimed at destroying distinctive groupings of people.

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Session 11c

Camels, Ships, and Profiteers: Re-analysing the Movement of Frankincense to the Mediterranean during the Roman Imperial Period

The supply of frankincense to the shores of the Roman Mediterranean has long evoked romantic images of camel caravans and exotic locations such as Petra on the overland trade route, but it has also been suggested that there simultaneously existed a seaborne route via the Red Sea through to Egypt and Alexandria, in conjunction with archaeological finds and new analyses of the *Periplus Maris Rubri* (Peacock and Peacock 2007: 25-30). Such studies have raised many questions, and it is clear that this includes the need for further critical analysis of the classical sources such as Theophrastus, Pliny the Elder, and Strabo, as well as of the trade routes and the product itself.

This paper will synthesize a range of archaeological and historical sources with scientific studies, such as botanical analyses of various *Boswellia* species from which the product is derived (Tucker 1986: 425), and chemical analyses of trace elements which explain its many applications (Ben-Yehoshua et al. 2012: 27-39), in order to discuss the implications of a second and seaborne trade route. It will be argued that a concurrent sea route would not have diminished the importance of the Arabian caravan, as the type and quality of frankincense in both routes was still controlled near the source, and that this control ensured security and profit to the South Arabian regions, and to the merchants who traversed the more important desert route through to Gaza.

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Session 5b

The enigma of “He of the Camp” and el-Hibeh - aspects of ancient Egyptian religious life found in Twenty-first Dynasty personal correspondence

Situated at a strategic point on the Nile, the fortress of el-Hibeh has been seen as the provenance of an extensive archive of letters from the Twenty-first Dynasty. This paper looks in detail at a selection of these letters, showing how they reveal the presence and importance of an otherwise obscure deity known as “Horus of the Camp” or “He of the Camp”, and also how they give insight into the lives of the “god’s father priests” associated with his temple and the diverse societal issues of daily life that are additional to their religious duties. The historical information provided by these pieces of correspondence will be discussed, and additionally the questions that have been raised regarding both the provenance of these letters as el-Hibeh, and the actual existence of such a deity as “He of the Camp” will be addressed.

Spiegelberg (1917, 1-30) has provided translation and commentary, and there has been a focus on the el-Hibeh “archive” by Muller (2009, 251-264) and Lefèvre (2006, 32-47). These references have

provided the original texts, background and an overall analysis on which to base this in-depth study of individual letters. By focusing on a selection of specific letters in the manner detailed above, this paper will provide additional knowledge and show the importance of such personal correspondence as a primary source of social and historical information.

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Session 7b

Citizens, Foreigners and Slaves: Who Rowed the Athenian Fleet?

Rachel Sargent argued a long time ago that Athenians predominantly crewed Athenian ships in the fifth century BCE. Recently this position has been re-stated by John Hale's *Lords of the Sea*. A. J. Graham (1992 and 1998) and Peter Hunt (1998), however, have both suggested that significant numbers of oarsmen came from non-Athenians, both free and slave. This paper examines Athenian crews in the context of the changing nature of the Delian League through the fifth century. I argue that as Athens became increasingly imperial and rapacious so the league became increasingly monetised as Athenian coins flowed from Laurium into wider circulation, and from subject states back to Athens in the form of tribute and then once again from Athens to its military and political servants. This money go-round encouraged more mercenary behaviour both amongst Athenian citizens, but also amongst islanders seeking coins with which to pay tribute back to Athens. By the 430s BCE the Athenian navy had become, effectively, a mercenary navy crewed primarily, though not exclusively by non-Athenian citizens. Hence, at the start of the Peloponnesian War Pericles allayed any fears that the Athenians had that the Spartans might lure away their crewmen with offers of higher pay (Thuc. 1.141-144). In concluding, I would like to examine how and why this occurred and ultimately identify when the Athenian fleet that appears so "Athenian" in the Persian War era and its aftermath became a fleet of mercenaries drawn from various identities and states from within the Athenian *archē*.

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Session 2c

Constantine: The Revisionist Tetrarch 306-308

Modern commentators view Constantine teleologically as an emperor either intent on sole leadership or willing to dismantle the tetrarchy established by Diocletian in search of a better deal (e.g. Nixon & Rodgers 1994, pp. 185-186), while at the other end of the spectrum a select few attribute too little ambition to Constantine.

I argue that in the early years of his rise to power, Constantine was focussed on the desire to attain and hold the rank of Augustus. Rather than taking an antipathetic stance toward the tetrarchic system in this period, he consistently attempted to maintain himself within it.

My argument is based upon reinterpretations of coins, chronicles and the Wedding Panegyric, which celebrates the alliance of Constantine and the usurper Maximian. For example, I argue that the panegyric is not evidence for a break with the tetrarchy, but is rather evidence for a Maximianic-Constantinian version of the tetrarchy. Coins are too often neglected when assessing Constantine's early reign, and my argumentation is indebted to the chronological efforts of numismatists, including Sutherland (e.g. RIC 6.151-158). With regard to the panegyric, I will be adding to and reinterpreting the results of Rees' study (2002, pp. 153-184), which explored the propagandistic aspects of the panegyric. Establishing Constantine as a tetrarch during his early reign offers a more nuanced understanding of the post-Diocletianic tetrarchy and the rise of Constantine.

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Session 10a

Three Epigrams of Martial

This paper examines three epigrams, the implications of which have not been fully teased out by scholars.

4.45 contains significant but undetected verbal and thematic overlaps with Callimachus' 12th *Iambos*, Martial's debt being flagged by the coincidence of the name of his addressee, Parthenius, with that of the homonymous figure widely credited with transmitting Callimachus' doctrines to Rome in the first century BC.

In 6.6 'Paula' is described as loving three *comoedi*, but in addition a *kōphon prosōpon*, a non-speaking actor. Parker (1994) has argued convincingly that the last of these will be reduced to silence by Paula's demand for oral sex, but there is more to the epigram. *Comoedi* were infibulated, in the belief that sex would ruin their voices. Hence the erotic rapacity of Paula will reduce not one, but all four lovers, to silence.

In 11.40 Luperus complains that his sex-life with the beautiful Glycera has been stalled for a month, and when asked the reason explains that she has toothache. Kay (1985) correctly discerns the point: Luperus pretends to be a *fututor*, but inadvertently gives away that they practise not *fututio* but *fellatio*. But the real question is why Luperus is unable to have sex with Glycera if she can't *fellate* him. A clue is offered by the emphatic positioning of *formosam* in line 1, recalling Ovid, *Amores* 3.7.1: a poem on impotence. Moreover, the wording of 1-2 suggests Luperus' self-advertisement as a successful lover - an image which he is unable to live up to.

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Session 11b

Martial's Sabidius: Layers of Reception

Martial's epigram which begins '*non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare*' (1.32) is apparently an

adaptation of Catullus' *'odi et amo'*, the epigrammatist's dislike for the man being, like Catullus' conflicted feelings, inexplicable to him. Some scholars however (including Farnaby in his early 17th century editions) have discerned a less innocent meaning - the poet is unable to state the reason why he doesn't like Sabidius because it's shameful: in favour of this interpretation is Martial's later use (3.17) of the same name, Sabidius, to refer to a man with an *os impurum*. Thomas Brown's famous rendition of the poem, beginning 'I do not love you Dr Fell, The reason why I cannot tell' has reached a wider audience than the original. If Brown was aware of Farnaby's obscene interpretation, he may have additionally exploited the possible etymological connection between Dr Fell's name and *fellatio* to engage, Martial-style, in a bilingual pun.

The paper will examine what is known of Dr Fell and Thomas Brown in an attempt to determine the likelihood that Brown cast sexual aspersions on the character of a respected and powerful clergyman. It will also address the question of whether Martial himself hid an obscene meaning beneath the surface of this apparently straightforward piece and if so, whether this was his original intention or whether in his second poem on Sabidius he invites the reader to revisit and reinterpret the first.

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Session 4a

The Shield of Virtue Revisited

Very rarely is a famous man's description of his career in antiquity backed up by a physical object. Yet the copy of the Clupeus Virtutis from Arles indeed reflects Caesar Augustus' penultimate chapter of the *Res Gestae* (34).

Reflects, but not replicates. Instead of Augustus' seventh consulship, we have mention of his eighth. Where Augustus simply mentions the award for untrammelled *virtus*, *iustitia*, *clementia* and *pietas*, the Arles copy adds after *pietas* the limiting phrase *erga deos patriamque*.

This paper will compare the text of the *Res Gestae* and the shield for Arles. It will suggest why the differences in wording are significant and what the original wording might have been. The senate's decision to award the honour to the new *princeps* was perhaps not meant to signify acceptance of the past (or the present) but to establish a blueprint and a promise for the future. However, even though the *princeps* retained the original symbolism (and almost all of the original wording), he found a way to modify the text. The outcome was very different from the original contract.

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Session 9a

Celebrating the Defeat of the Fun Police: Ovid, *Fasti* 6.651-692

Cornelius Nepos in the preface to his biographies asks his Roman readers not to be prejudiced against Epaminondas because he was highly skilled at performing on the flute. The fate of Rome's most famous musician, Nero, illustrates the persistence into the empire of an ambivalence about the place of music and musicians in Roman culture (See Champlin 203: 53-83). Yet music was integral to the performance of religious rituals, at the games and at funerals; and the use of musical instruments was essential to communications in the Roman army.

Ovid in *Fasti* 6 rewrites Livy's account of the great musicians' strike of 311BC in a passage described by Murgatroyd (2005: 60) as 'disappointing – rather dry and dull, and also unclear.' Notably, Carole Newlands (1995: 197-8) interpreted it more positively in terms of the theme of patronage. This paper will re-examine Ovid's account, in comparison with other sources, as commemorating a successful resistance to official censorship, and as an aetiological tale that endorses the important principle that Romans are allowed to have fun.

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Session 4b

Critias, cultural conflict, and anti-democratic literature in fifth-century Athens

Critias, key member of the despotic regime of the Thirty Tyrants, has never enjoyed much popularity. This is perhaps unsurprising, given his political beliefs and actions. Nevertheless, in addition to his political activities, Critias produced a substantial and unusually varied literary output, including prose and verse works on political theory, *symptotic* poetry, and dramas (of contested authorship), all of it fragmentary. These works, at the very least, should provide some insight into a man whose role in Athenian life, both political and intellectual, renders him eminently worthy of study, however distasteful to modern democratic sensibilities.

In spite of recent work critically re-examining the literature of anti-democratic intellectuals in Athens, notably Ober (1999), there has not been any recent substantial study of Critias in English; moreover, the majority of research which does discuss his literary output tends to do so in a narrow, selective manner. Drawing on Peter Wilson's (2003) work on Critias' interaction with the culture of *mousikē* in Athens, as well as on a proliferation of Italian scholarship set in train by Vanotti (1997), I will attempt to provide a more integrated reading of Critias as a literary and cultural figure opposed to the democracy in fifth-century Athens - and perhaps find him in some unexpected places.

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Session 6b

With a little help from friends: Philodemus on Epicurean friendship

This paper argues that Epicurean friendship cannot be altruistic or choiceworthy for itself. This understanding of Epicurean friendship is consistent with the school's egoistical hedonism and view of virtues as instrumental. Support for this position will be drawn from Philodemus of Gadara's *De*

oeconomia, De electionibus et fugis, De morte and De libertate dicendi. In these texts, Philodemus argues that, although affection is felt for friends, we have friends because they contribute to the Epicurean *telos* of pleasure (i.e. *ataraxia* and *aponia*). Friends add to *ataraxia* by allaying fears of death and to *aponia* through reciprocal acts of philanthropy. Philodemus also argues that making friends is a virtue. Given that all virtues are instrumental for Epicureans, then Philodemus does not regard friendship as choiceworthy for itself.

This paper contributes to scholarly debate as to whether or not Epicurean friendship is altruistic and whether it is choiceworthy for itself. Phillip Mitsis (Mitsis 1989) argues that Epicurean friendship is altruistic and that friendship is choiceworthy for itself, which means that, for Mitsis, Epicurean friendship is inconsistent with their egoistical hedonism. In contrast, Tim O'Keefe (O'Keefe 2001) argues that Epicurean friendship is not altruistic *because* they are proponents of ethical and psychological hedonism, which is egoistic. O'Keefe also shows that Epicurus did not regard friendship as choiceworthy. Lastly, Armstrong contends that Epicurean friendship is choiceworthy for itself, saying that *making* friends is an instrumental virtue but that *having* friends is a pleasure itself.

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Session 1b

The Use of Rhythm in Two Stories from the Inaros Cycle

The Demotic story cycle of Inaros has received much attention over the past few decades, with a growing interest in its composition, reception, and potential entertainment value. However, analysis and interpretation of the story cycle can be problematic due to the gaps in our knowledge of the external author and reader/audience of the story cycle. Therefore, rather than focusing on the external or historical level, where evidence is insufficient, the present research will take a narratological approach. This approach was established by Bal and has successfully been applied to Homeric epic by de Jong. In narratology, the internal and external narrators can be perceived as having parallel motivation behind the presentation of the narration. Thus, for the purpose of this paper, the question being asked is what narrative devices these internal narrators use to make their story interesting, and how this can aid our understanding of the presentation of the author and the reception of the reader/audience. The present paper will focus on one such device: rhythm, a device relating to the deliberate manipulation of time and speed in the narration of a story.

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Session 2c

The Most Devout in Action: Honorifics and the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon

Please look above at the abstract under Evans, Trevor.