Table of Contents

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(up to 1 February 2018)

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(For further contact information, see the list of emails below – pages 10ff.)

Transport to and from UQ

(https://maps.uq.edu.au/st-lucia)

Buses

1. From Chancellors Place (Map ref. 77A)
2. From UQ Lakes (Map ref. 58A)

Ferries

1. From the UQ CityCat Stop on the Brisbane River, William McGregor Drive (Map ref. 58C)

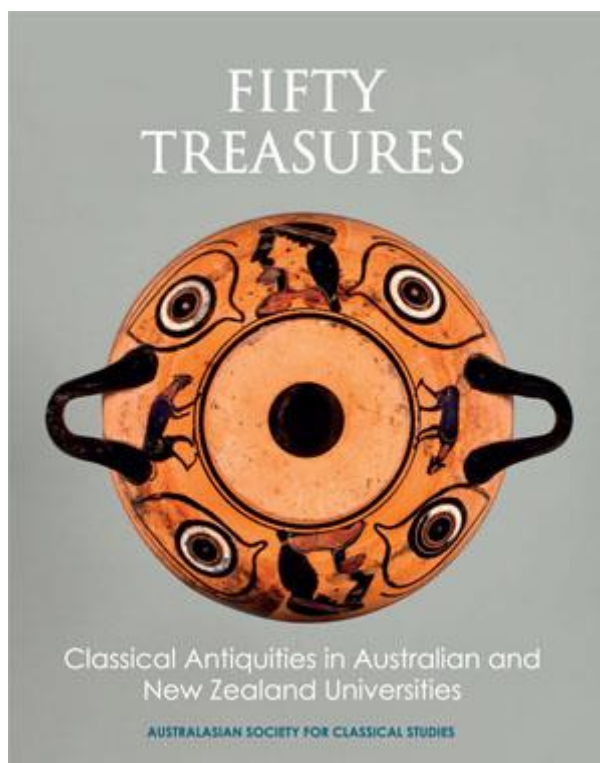*Taxis*

Brisbane Maxi Taxis (seat 9) – Ph. (07) 13 19 24 / 13 62 94
Yellow Cabs   – Ph. (07) 13 19 24
Black and White Cabs   – Ph. (07) 13 32 22

There is also a taxi rank at Chancellors Place (Map ref. 77A)

Special Publication for Sale

Fifty Treasures: Classical Antiquities in Australian and New Zealand Universities

Edited by Ronald T. Ridley with Bruce Marshall and Kit Morrell

Published by the Australasian Society for Classical Studies, Melbourne, 2016

148 pages

ISBN: 978-0-9954249-0-6

From the back cover:
The year 2016 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Australian Society for Classical Studies, changed to the Australasian Society for Classical Studies in 2003-4, when New Zealand campuses were officially incorporated. This volume has been published to mark that occasion. It contains a catalogue of fifty of the finest and most significant artefacts, one for each year of the Society's existence, in more than a dozen museums and collections of antiquities in the two countries.

For pricing and online orders, see http://www.ascs.org.au/fiftytreasures.html

Preliminary Remarks

Welcome to ASCS 39

Welcome to the 39th Conference of the Australasian Society for Classical Studies. It is heartening to see so many participants. We hope you enjoy both the conference and your stay in Queensland.

Student Volunteers

If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to ask our student volunteers, who are wearing distinctive maroon T-shirts of The Classics and Ancient History Society (UQ). They will do their utmost to help with general enquiries or with pesky computer problems.

Papers and Sessions

Please keep to time, for the sake of others in your panel and for the timing of the conference overall. Cellphones must be switched off during papers, and we request that you be considerate when using cellphones and social media for the duration of the conference. We recommend that you install your PowerPoints or film clips well in advance of your session. The student volunteers will be only too happy to help with this, as will we. Any changes to the programme will be advertised in the Level 2 foyer of the Llew Edwards Building.

Meetings

Please help yourself to items from the lunch buffet and take them with you to any meetings in which you are involved. Separate lunches will not be provided.

Sponsors

ASCS 39 is supported by a number of generous sponsors, who deserve our heartfelt gratitude. They include:
   - The Australasian Society for Classical Studies
   - The Australian Academy of the Humanities
   - Australasian Women in Ancient World Studies
   - The Friends of Antiquity (UQ)
   - The Queensland Friends of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens
   - The School of Historical and Philosophical Inquiry (HaPI @ UQ)
   - The R.D. Milns Antiquities Museum
   - The Classics and Ancient History Society (UQ)

Best wishes,

Amelia Brown and Tom Stevenson
Convenors

The 20th Trendall Lecture

The 20th Annual Trendall Lecture for distinguished scholarship in Classical Studies will be delivered in conjunction with ASCS 39 at The University of Queensland, St Lucia campus, Brisbane. This is a free public lecture.

Speaker: Associate-Professor Anne Mackay, University of Auckland, President of the Australasian Society for Classical Studies

Title of Paper: 'The Force of Tradition in Early Greek Poetry and Painting'

Date: Tuesday 30 January 2018
Time: 6.00 - 7.00 p.m.
Location: Sir Llew Edwards Building Auditorium (Building 14, Room 212)

Overview: The Australian Academy of the Humanities' Trendall Lecture was made possible through a bequest made by Professor A.D. (Dale) Trendall AC CMG FAHA (1909–95), a Foundation Fellow of the Academy. He envisaged the lecture series as 'an annual lecture or lectures by a scholar on some theme associated with classical studies'. The Trendall lecturer alternates between an Australian and an international scholar who is selected, where possible, on the basis of their scholarly ties to Professor Trendall or to his research interests.

Biography

From her undergraduate years at the University of Canterbury, Associate-Professor Anne Mackay developed a special passion for Athenian vase-painting, nurtured by the James Logie Memorial Collection under the care of Marion K. Steven. Consequently, her PhD from Victoria

University of Wellington explored the chronological development of the great Athenian potter and painter Exekias, active in the latter half of the 6th century BC. Her fascination with Exekias continued, culminating after some 20 years of further work in her *magnum opus*: a monograph entitled *Tradition and Originality. A Study of Exekias* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), still to date the most comprehensive study of this great master of archaic Athens. She has simultaneously been engaged in a comparative study of the separate but largely parallel narrative traditions of archaic Greek vase-painting and early Greek oral epic as represented by the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, leading to new insights into the narrative techniques and strategies of both traditions; her findings have been published in a number of articles over the past decades. Furthermore, she has edited two sets of selected proceedings of Orality conferences (Leiden: Brill 1999 and 2008), as the organiser of the respective conferences in Durban 1996 and Auckland 2006.

Convinced of the value for students of having direct access to ancient artefacts, she founded and curated the Museum of Classical Archaeology at the (then) University of Natal, Durban, and more recently has become curator of a small but growing teaching collection of antiquities at the University of Auckland.

Her first academic employment was at Victoria University as a Junior Lecturer, following which she was appointed first Lecturer, then Senior Lecturer and finally Professor of Classics at the (then) University of Natal in Durban, South Africa; since 2001 she has been Associate-Professor of Classics at the University of Auckland. She is currently the President of the Australasian Society for Classical Studies.

Links
Academia: https://auckland.academia.edu/AnneMacKay
Australian Academy of the Humanities: https://www.humanities.org.au/events/20th-trendall-lecture/
The Legacy of Arthur Dale Trendall: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ip7T9civXtU

Keynote Lecture for ASCS 39

The keynote lecture for ASCS 39 will be delivered at The University of Queensland, St Lucia campus, Brisbane. This is a free public lecture.

Speaker: Prof. Christopher Faraone, University of Chicago
Title of Paper: 'Women and Children First: The Earliest Evidence for Ancient Greek Body Amulets'

Date: Wednesday 31 January 2018
Time: 6.00 - 7.00 p.m.
Location: Sir Llew Edwards Building Auditorium (Building 14, Room 212)

Abstract
This power-point lecture will explore the evidence of vase-paintings, votive statues and grave deposits that shows how in the Classical and Hellenistic periods Greek women and children wore amulets to protect their bodies. The absence of similar amulets on images of naked adult males suggests that they did not wear amulets, although literary evidence is clear that men – even the famous Pericles – did wear amulets when they were ill. This talk will also show how the wearing of childhood amulets by boys (especially on Cyprus and in Athens) seems intertwined with assertions of citizenship and other forms of status.

Biography

Title: Frank and Gertrude Springer Professor in the Humanities
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Education: PhD Stanford University (1988)
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Email: cf12@midway.uchicago.edu

Areas of Specialization

Ancient Greek Poetry, Religion, Magic

Recent Books

The Transformation of Greek Amulets in Roman Imperial Times (University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming 2018)

Vanishing Acts: Deletio Morbi as Speech Act and Visual Design on Ancient Greek Amulets, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 115 (London, 2013).

(with Dirk Obbink), *The Getty Hexameters: Poetry, Magic and Mystery in Ancient Greek Selinous* (Oxford 2013).

The Stanzaic Architecture of Archaic Greek Elegy (Oxford University Press 2008).

Prof. Faraone's new book, *The Transformation of Greek Amulets in Roman Imperial Times*, will appear with the University of Pennsylvania Press in early 2018. His next book project is entitled *Hymn, Oracle, Incantation and Lament: Short Hexametrical Genres from Homer to Theocritus*.

Links

https://classics.uchicago.edu/faculty/faraone
http://chicago.academia.edu/ChristopherFaraone

Places to Eat and Drink

(http://www.uq.edu.au/services/places-to-eat-at-st-lucia-campus-42662)

During the day, we recommend the following:

1. The UQ Union Complex
- The Pizza Caffé (licenced)
- Subway
- Red Room Bar and Grill (licenced)

2. The Biological Sciences Precinct, Building 94, across from the Art Museum
- Darwin's Café (licenced)
- Burger Urge

3. The Great Court, near the Duhig Building
- Bar Merlo (for coffee and snacks)

4. Next to the Co-op Bookshop, off the Great Court
- Wordsmith's

5. Bioscience Precinct
- Genies café restaurant

During the evening, there are fewer options on campus but many options elsewhere:

1. Saint Lucy Café et Cucina (3-min walk from the Llew Edwards Bldg)
- adjacent to the UQ Tennis Courts (licenced), **open until 9 p.m.**

2. Restaurants at the St. Lucia Village (15-min walk from the Llew Edwards Bldg)
- Hawken Drive, St Lucia (family friendly, incl. Coles, bottle shop)

3. Restaurants, hotels at Toowong (5/10-minute car/bus ride from Chancellor's Place, or 3 stops down river from the UQ ferry/CityCat stop, see the timetables at each stop)
- note the Regatta Hotel on Coronation Drive, close by the 'Regatta' CityCat stop
- other restaurants are a short walk from the bus and ferry stops

4. Restaurants, hotels in Brisbane City or South Bank (5 [North Quay] or 6 [South Bank] stops down river from the UQ ferry/CityCat stop, see the timetables at each stop)
- the 'North Quay' ferry stop gives you access to central Brisbane
- the 'South Bank' ferry stop gives you access to numerous al fresco opportunities

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ASCS 39 Abstracts

Callum Aldiss, 'Bees and Bulls and Blood, Oh My! Literary and Cultural Polemic in Vergil's *Bugonia*'

Somewhat gory, and utterly fantastical, *bugonia* was the practice of generating bees from the putrid carcasses of cattle. In his Fourth *Georgic* Vergil describes the procedure, and its discovery by the shepherd Aristaeus. However, the *bugonia* that Vergil details is not the *bugonia* that Aristaeus in fact performs. Where the first closely resembles the typical Egyptian *thaumasion*, the second takes the form of a Greco-Roman blood sacrifice. Vergil neither acknowledges, nor explains, this striking discrepancy. It has been the routine, and fair, assumption of Vergilian scholarship that the *bugonia* constitutes an integral component of any holistic reading of the Fourth *Georgic*. Thus, the question of the variance between the two *bugoniae* that Vergil presents is of quite some relevance. Building on Benjamin Acosta-Hughes and Susan Stephen's suggestion that Vergil's transformation of a bizarre Egyptian ritual into a familiar Greco-Roman form mirrors Vergil's interaction with Callimachus' poetry, this paper contextualises Vergil's *bugonia* within the wider literary and cultural polemic of his *Georgics*. Through this polemic Vergil figures his own interaction with the Alexandrian poets with Octavian's triumph over Ptolemaic Egypt, and from a foreign poetic tradition creates a Roman poetics.

References:
1. Acosta-Hughes, Benjamin and Stephens, Susan. 2012. *Callimachus in Context*: *From Plato to the Augustan Poets*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
2. Peraki-Kyriakidou, Helen. 2003. "The Bull and the Bees." *LEC* 71: 151-174.
3. Clément-Tarantino, Séverine. 2006. "La poétique romaine comme hybridation féconde. Les leçons de la greffe (Virgile, Géorgiques, 2, 9-82)." Interférences - Ars Scribendi 4. http://ars-scribendi.ens-lyon.fr/IMG/pdf/Clement_Tarantino.pdf.

Arlene Allan, 'Rethinking Hermes' "Sacrifice" (*HHer* 4.115-37)'

For as long as the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* has been available for study by scholars, attempts to identify the nature of the procedure the young god performs on the cows have been made. Most recently H. Versnel (2011) has suggested that J. Clay's 1987 proposal, is viable *except* that, *as a god*, Hermes should not crave meat. In this paper, I offer another way to explain Hermes' activities: it requires that we go back to the scene at Mekone and reconsider what *that* event entailed and what it may tell us about Hermes' own engagement with shared portions.

References:
1. Clay, J-S. (1987) 'Hermes' *dais* by the Alpheus, *Hymn to Hermes* 105-41', *Metis* 2: 221-34.
2. Kahn, L. (1978) *Hermès Passe: les ambiguïtés de la communication*, Paris.

3. Versnel, H. (2011) *Coping with the Gods*: *Wayward Readings in Greek Theology*, Leiden.

Natasha Amendola, 'Penelope's Voice in two twenty-first century plays'

The figure of Penelope has inspired two plays in recent years: the *Penelopiad* by Margaret Atwood (2012) and *Penelope* by Enda Walsh (2010). Most academic literature recognises the historical uses of Penelope as perpetuating the ideal for woman in a patriarchal society as she patiently and chastely waited at home for her husband. Neither of these two plays present this version of the Greek heroine, despite contributing to a discourse on gender using Homer's *Odyssey* as the foundation. Their approaches are quite distinct, especially if one uses the concept of voice to analyse how they approach gender. The play by Atwood does not necessarily present a comfortable Penelope, but it is one which is consistent with characteristics developed in Homer. She speaks, manipulating our perception of her character and displays a complexity that challenges a clear-cut identity. The play by Walsh, in contrast, lends little to its Greek origins in its representation of Penelope. In this text, Penelope is silent, as the playwright adopts a model consistent with Latin origins. Both plays use the figure of Penelope to ground their works into a discourse on gender, but in relation to the depiction of women and agency, the latter play recalls the medieval trope of the female figure used to discuss issues of masculinity.

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Eva Anagnostou-Laoutides, 'The Use of Propertius in Vergilian and Lucanian Roman Epic'

My paper examines Vergil's and Lucan's use of Propertius' elegies in their epics. I focus especially on the elegiac motifs employed by Vergil to characterise Dido, the ill-fated queen of Carthage, and fury-like creatures such as Allecto (cf. Cairns 1989, 129-150; Desmond 1994, 31-33). I argue that, appreciative of Vergil's elegiac investment of these figures, Lucan acknowledges his model's poetic techniques by expanding on them. Accordingly, he introduces even more Propertian motifs which he additionally subverts in order to achieve a more intense, more "epic," characterisation of the protagonists of the Roman civil war (cf. McCune 2014, esp. 185-192). Thus, he casts Pompey not only as an overbearing lover, totally

infatuated with his mistress, implied here as political ambition or thirst for ever more power, but also, as an elegiac *puella*. Furthermore, I reconsider Lucan's engagement with Greek elegiac and lyric poems based on Seneca's evident use of these genres (i.e. Renehan 1969), the recent suggestion that the Theognidea may have been compiled at the time of the Roman Empire (Kowreski 2015) and the undiminished admiration of the Romans for Solon, reflected in Cicero (i.e. *Tusc.Disp.*1.55.15-25 and 56.1-4, King) and Plutarch (i.e. Plut.*Sol*.3 = *Moral.Progr*.78c9-10).

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Jeremy Armstrong, 'Laws and Authority in Early Rome'

The legislative situation in archaic Rome is interesting, if only because of its complexity and 'haziness'. Although obviously problematic, our literary sources suggest that archaic Rome featured various 'layers' of legislative authority, which seem to have functioned concurrently. Within a Roman family, the 'word' of the paterfamilias was akin to law (the enigmatic *patria potestas*), but, in the wider community, behaviour was also controlled by laws issued by a number of different institutions and entities. The Roman *reges* supposedly had legislative powers of some sort, although evidently moderated in some way by both the Senate and the *curiae*. And in the early Republic, our sources suggest three distinct assemblies could legislate – the *comitia centuriata*, the *comitia curiata*, and the *comitia tributa* – not to mention the boards of the *decemviri* c. 450 BC or the edicts of the Senate. The present paper will explore the role and relationship of Rome's legislative bodies c. 500 BC, and the nature of their legislative authority, against the backdrop of our constantly evolving understanding of early Roman society. Seeking to associate distinct social identities with each type of legislative authority, looking at various (and seemingly overlapping or 'nested') conceptions of 'the group', it will attempt to unpick at least some of the social and political complexities hiding beneath the surface of what might simply be called 'early Roman law'.

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Han Baltussen, 'The Use of Θεῖος in Eunapius' *Lives of Philosophers and Sophists***'**

Eunapius' *Lives of Philosophers and Sophists* (ca. 395 CE) not only offer a unique perspective on Platonist educational and religious practices in the third and fourth centuries, but the work can also be read as a witness to the tensions between pagan and Christian groups. The lives (*bioi*) are selective accounts of some 25 individuals (teachers-pupil successions or "intellectual genealogies", as Watts has suggested). One peculiar feature of the text attracts attention for its special emphasis on the 'divine qualities' of the individuals described (θεῖος, occurs 35x). Goulet has discussed the religious aspects of the work in vol. 1, Chs. XII-XIII, but focuses only on the unusual term θειασμός (ibid., 367–76), without special attention to the use of θεῖος. This paper will focus on Eunapius' use of the word θεῖος (and cognates) in order to clarify further what Eunapius has in mind when he declared these men or their actions 'divine'. My analysis will show that his vocabulary serves an implicit polemical agenda against the Christian lives, which sprang up in the mid fourth century, such as the influential *Life of Anthony* by Athanasius (ca. 350 CE) and Jerome's *Lives of Renowned Men* (391-2 CE). Thus, the paper aims to elucidate his subtle polemical narrative by analysing the religious language employed in the battle over spiritual domination in the late fourth century, after Julian's failed attempt to reinstate pagan Hellenism (361-63 CE). [233 words]

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Dirk Baltzly, 'Neoplatonic Piety'

Late antique Platonism identifies the goal of living with assimilation to the divine a truth that the Neoplatonists supposed to be revealed most clearly by Plato at Theaetetus 176a5—b2. From the Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy it is possible to assemble a picture of Neoplatonic virtue ethics in which each of the four cardinal virtues (wisdom, justice, self-control, and courage) is manifested at different levels or gradations (natural, ethical, constitutional, kathartic, and contemplative or theoretic). Given the nature of the goal likeness to god the absence of the virtue of piety in this list seems puzzling. It is doubly puzzling when one considers that Plato's Euthyphro is dedicated to this virtue in particular and hints at connections to the virtue of justice. This paper seeks to remedy this omission in previous studies of Neoplatonic ethics by considering what light can be shed on the topic of the virtue of piety by reference to one of the few late antique texts to give it a separate discussion: Hierocles' Commentary on the Golden Verses.

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Craig Barker, 'Recent archaeological research in the ancient theatrical precinct at Nea Paphos, Cyprus' (Poster Presentation)

The University of Sydney's Paphos Theatre Archaeological Project has been excavating at the World Heritage-listed site of the ancient theatre of Nea Paphos under the auspices of the Department of Antiquites of Cyprus since 1995. Stratigraphic excavation of the theatre has revealed much about the architectural development of the building from its construction in c. 300 BC through to its destruction by earthquake in the late fourth century AD, and the role of theatrical performance in life in the Hellenistic and Roman eastern Mediterranean.

In more recent fieldwork seasons the project has shifted its focus to excavating the precinct surrounding the theatre. These excavations have revealed a wide colonnaded road, a nymphaeum and suggestions of other major building infrastructure of the second century AD. Chronologically, this urban innovation matches one of the major redevelopments of the theatre, during the Antonine phase, when the stage building was faced with marble and adorned with imperial sculpture.

Together these structures provide a picture of the significance of the urban layout of the city and the role the theatre played in anchoring key infrastructure close to the north-western city gate and access to the pilgrim's route to the sanctuary of Aphrodite.

This poster will review the most recent findings of the Paphos Theatre Archaeological Project and demonstrate the archaeological significance of this district of Roman Nea Paphos, as well as discuss the conceptualisation of ancient theatres not as individual buildings, but as part of complex urban environments.

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Jonathan Barlow, 'P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus and the "Life of Austerity"'

As part of a list of contrasting moral temperaments in *De Officiis* 1.108, Scipio Aemilianus is paired with his friend Gaius Laelius. Laelius is described as an affable and genial man, while Scipio possessed a severer temperament and he lived 'a life more austere' (*vita tristior* [with *OLD*, *tristis* 4]). The conceptualisation of Scipio in terms of the moral quality of austerity is different from the emphasis he is given in scholarship. Astin and Badian, although they allow education and interest in Greek literature and philosophy, interpret him through the values, aims, and objectives of traditional Roman statecraft, and they present a man sunk in the passion for glory and war (Astin), ruthless to enemies and patron to friends (Badian). Műnzer, who had accepted more seriously Scipio's tutelage by the Stoic philosopher Panaetius of Rhodes and his attachment to Hellenistic philosophy, like Astin and Badian, does not assess the theme of leading a moral life.

The aim of this paper is to set out and assess the primary source evidence of the life and character of Scipio Aemilianus. I shall argue from the evidence that different source traditions indicate the same pattern, namely that Scipio was characterised in his own lifetime and after his death in moral terms as leading a life of austerity. The theme of leading the moral life had been drawn from Greek refection and adapted by Scipio, and his Greek friends, to Roman realities.

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Jane Bellemore, 'Cicero, Cleopatra and Clodia?'

In letters to Atticus of April to June 44, Cicero (*Att.* 14.8.1, 14.20.2, 15.1.5, 15.4.4, 15.15.2-3, 15.17.2) refers six times to a queen, *regina*, whom he also associates once with a 'so-called Caesar' and later, with a certain Ammonius. The *regina* has been identified as Cleopatra, *Caesar ille*, as her son, 'Caesarion', and Ammonius as the one-time legate of Cleopatra's father Ptolemy Auletes (Cic. *Fam* 1.1.1). From this, it has been assumed that Cleopatra was in Rome at the time of the death of Caesar in March 44.

Suetonius (*Iul*. 52.3), however, stresses that Cleopatra, having visited Rome, departed from the city while Caesar was still alive, and Dio Cassius (43.21.1-4) confirms this, recording that Cleopatra visited Rome only once, in 46 BC. Although scholars have argued that Cleopatra either loitered in Italy for nearly two years or made two visits to Rome in quick succession, these suggestions appear unlikely, and neither is supported by the later sources.

Since Cicero's evidence points only indirectly to Cleopatra, I will argue for a new identification of his *regina*, as Clodia Metelli. I will then re-examine Cicero's references to the *regina* in 44 and argue that these show that Cicero was involved in buying Clodia's Transtiberine *horti*, as we know from his correspondence to Atticus from 45.

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Jason Blockley, 'The Roman Colonate in Africa'

Of the various innovations of the Late Empire the *colonate* is among the most notorious, and allegedly despotic. For much of the twentieth century the colonate was considered a novel institution that rapidly reduced the *coloni* to a class of dependent and unfree rural labourers. Since then new studies have made a seemingly settled matter '… more fragmented than ever, in Scheidel's words. Although it is still recognised that the legal status of the *coloni* did deteriorate, it was through decades of *ad hoc* laws aimed at resolving provincial or prefectural issues, not through implementation of considered policy. Only under the successor kings in the west and Justinian in the east, was the full subjection of the *coloni* accomplished. Prior to this *coloni* occupied an intermediate position between free and servile with considerable regional distinctions, which Roman law and jurisprudence recognised.

This paper focuses on the legal evolution of the *coloni* in Africa from c. 300 until the Vandal conquests. In terms of the colonate Africa is rather anomalous. Africa was the direct recipient of few laws relating to *coloni*, with many of them addressing administrative matters. The *Lex Manciana*, a Principate-era and Africa-specific set of rules and privileges for *coloni*, endured through Late Antiquity as a sort of *ius colonatus*. Furthermore, evidence suggests that many African *coloni* were already tied to their hereditary soil even before Diocletian. Thus, this paper will examine both continuity and change in the status of the African *coloni*, and investigate the relative paucity of imperial intervention vis-à-vis *coloni* in Africa.

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Michelle Borg, 'Tiberius and Domitian: A Study on Introversion in the Ancient World?'

Two of the most thoroughly disliked of the Roman emperors, Tiberius and Domitian, have been roundly criticised for two thousand years by both ancient sources and modern authors for being (among other things) secretive, insidious, unapproachable – the hallmarks of an aloof and malignant character. Part of what made them so objectionable here was their love of solitude and extreme reluctance to participate in public life. Were these traits a cloak for indolence, debauchery and ineptitude, as Suetonius and others claimed, or did they merely sit ill with the Roman social and political demand for openness and accessibility from its leaders? How may the *Res Publica,* its very name concerned with the idea of communality and visibility, have set itself in opposition to leaders who might have been, by temperament, reserved and introverted?

A personality type first identified by Carl Jung in 1946, recent studies by Susan Cain and others have sought to understand and rehabilitate the reputation of the misunderstood introvert but Roman conceptualisation of personality types did not include the introvert/extrovert paradigm. Therefore, were Tiberius' and Domitian's reclusive demeanours misunderstood and misconstrued?

This paper will outline modern theories on introversion and apply these, for the first time, to both ancient and scholarly opinions on Tiberius and Domitian. It will show that these men can be considered from alternative angles and illustrate how expanding one's scope of inquiry to other scholarly disciplines can reap rewards for historians when assessing evidence and ancient personalities.

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Philip Bosman, 'Julian and the Cynics: past ideals and current realities'

The writings of the emperor Julian reveal the relationship of attraction and repulsion towards Cynicism not uncommon among Roman elites for – by his time – many centuries already.[1] Julian himself even dressed as a Cynic ascetic and incorporated the Cynics of old in his idealised version of the Greek past. His memory of the utopia of classical Greece formed an integral part of his programme of reviving paganism at a time when the known world had been tilting towards novel cultural patterns. When confronted with provocation from the contemporary Cynic Herakleios, Julian acts with due restraint in the moment, but writes a scathing response some time afterwards. In his responses, both to Herakleios and the *apaideutoi kynes (Or.* 6 and 7), Julian is able to fall back on an established tradition (also in Dio Chrysostom and Lucian) of rejecting the contemporary Cynics for not living up to the standards of the late classical/early Hellenistic predecessors, and the fact that early Cynicism had long since diverted into different strands.[2] The fact of the matter, however, is that the Cynics of the Herakleios-variety not only remained true to crucial traits in Diogenes and company (i.e. anti-establishment sentiments; contempt for power; brutal *parrhesia*), they also moved uncomfortably close to Julian's real adversaries, the Christians.

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Graeme Bourke, 'Pelops at Olympia: the "archaeology" of a myth'

This paper considers the question of when and under what circumstances the hero Pelops, eponym of the Peloponnese, first became associated with the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. While scholars have often believed that the cult of Pelops at the site of the prehistoric tumulus in the Altis went back to the Mycenaean period, its appearance there is now more commonly dated c.600 BC or later (Kyrieleis 2006, 55-61; Ekroth 2012, 95-107), and cultic activity at the site may not have been associated with this particular hero until quite late in the Archaic period. In addition, certain versions of the myth of the chariot race in which Pelops won the hand of Hippodameia, the daughter of king Oinomaos, seem to suggest that this event was originally located elsewhere in Greece. In order to explore the lines of development of the relevant mythology, this paper employs the 'archaeological' method advocated by Gehrke (2005, 23-4), in which various layers of myth are 'excavated' from the relevant ancient texts and

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[1] Cf. Griffin 1996.
[2] Goulet-Cazé 1990; Marcone 2012.

correlated, where possible, with political events. These texts include, aside from the more detailed accounts in Pindar, Pseudo-Apollodoros, Diodoros and Pausanias, works by a wide selection of Greek poets, dramatists, historians, philosophers and sophists. The paper will contribute to our understanding of the historical importance of the cult of Pelops in the sanctuary at Olympia, but also exemplify the use of the 'archaeological' method to reveal how and for what purposes myths have been transformed.

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Kara Braithwaite-Westoby, 'Epameinondas and Pelopidas at the siege of Mantinea? c. 386 B.C.'

The political alliance and friendship between the Theban generals Epameinondas and Pelopidas were integral to the success of the Boeotian league between 379 and 364 B.C. Plutarch tells us that this friendship began while fighting alongside the Spartans at Mantinea (Plut. *Pel.* 4. 4-5). This may refer to the siege described by both Xenophon and Diodorus that occurred around 386 B.C. (Xen. *Hell*. 5. 2. 1-7; Diod. 15. 5. 1-5, 12. 1-2). Nevertheless, some of Plutarch's details are clearly spurious, which has led scholars to conclude that his account is essentially fictional (Stern 1884, 36; Buckler 1980, 179-184; Buck 1994, 63).

On close inspection, however, much of the passage is wholly reconcilable with our historical sources and may therefore bear some historical value. It is the purpose of this paper to establish the plausibility of Plutarch's account within the context of changing political circumstances at Thebes from the end of the Peloponnesian war in 404 B.C. to the Spartan occupation of Thebes in 382 B.C. This study will provide insight into the inception of the most significant political partnership that the city of Thebes would ever know.

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Sinead Brennan-McMahon, 'Expurgating Martial: erasing "homosexuality" from nineteenth-century Latin editions'

Although Martial's *Epigrams* were tremendously popular in nineteenth-century Britain, they were heavily censored. Their Martial was not our Martial: editors and translators censored a variety of topics in the corpus but the erotic and same-sex poems were hit particularly hard. In this paper, I will explain how nineteenth-century editors expurgated Martial's same-sex poems through a variety of strategies, be it omitting poems, excising lines and even emending the text. Taken collectively, I will show that these practices constitute the censorship of homosexuality.

The study of expurgating ancient texts has only recently taken shape.[1] Scholars address the expurgation of 'homosexuality' to some extent, but there are very few resources on the expurgation of Martial, and none on the expurgation of Martial's same-sex poems in the editions. Leary argues that that there is clear evidence of expurgation of "sexual material" from the corpus, but does not differentiate between the types of sexual material and refers to only three editions in his study.[2] Williams specifically addresses male 'homosexuality' in nineteenth-century Britain, but his study is limited to a small selection of poems across two translations.[3]

My paper addresses this gap in the scholarship by presenting the first systematic account of the expurgation, based on my comprehensive data from all the editions. I will demonstrate that the same-sex poems are expurgated at a much higher rate than any other type of poem, a conclusion which expands our understanding of Classical Reception in the 1800s, which was a major period in Martial's afterlife.

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Alan Cadwallader, '"I'm so sorry, I'll bare my bum" – bodily display and epigraphical confession at Apollo Lairbenos'

'Confession inscriptions' have gained increased attention since the publication of Georg Petzl's *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens* (1994). The rural sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos in south-west Turkey has made a significant contribution to this grouping. The natural setting, the temple architecture, the admission memorialized in stone and on public display, the performative function of writing, and the catechetical witness to the power of the gods in human transactions have all begun to gain heuristic attention (Nicole Belayche). This paper builds on

this work in the light of a recently published confession text from Apollo Lairbenos (Akıncı-Öztürk/Tanrıver). This text and a few others refer to punishments inflicted on the buttocks. The inscription is directly related to a relief that visually demonstrated the penitent's body parts as the locus of divine attention, human punishment, penitentiary appeal and community restoration. Stylistically, the images are little different from thanksgiving votives at healing sanctuaries (for which Apollo Lairbenos was not renowned). They problematize how the relationship between the visual and textual, as a gendered, emotive site, might be understood, as also the relationship with the actual embodied person and his/her community. A spectrum of human emotions ranging from sorrow and shame to liberation and relief is found to be embedded in a complex of material *realia*. Just as the spiritual demands a physical locus (from temple to body) in the ancient world, so also are human emotions given public, sacral and even gendered authentication in a material exchange.

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Campbell Calverley, 'A Sin Against God: The Rhetoric of Incest in Seneca the Younger and Tacitus'

The depiction of Agrippina the Younger in Tacitus' *Annales* is controversial, as certain scenes in her depiction appear to have been directly lifted from the plays by Seneca the Younger that depict incest, as well as the *Octavia*. Hind (1972) compares the scenes of Jocasta's and Agrippina's deaths in Seneca's *Oedipus*, the *Octavia* and Tacitus' *Annales* in order to rationalize the historical truth of the *Annales*. Baltussen (2002) also compares these scenes, though primarily within the framework of a literary interpretation of the *Annales*. Adding to these approaches, this paper argues that these similarities exist because Tacitus was part of a tradition of rhetoric that was essential in Roman depictions of female characters who had committed incest, and that Tacitus primarily drew upon the works of Seneca the Younger as his inspiration for Agrippina the Younger, consciously or otherwise.

This paper briefly presents the features of this system of rhetoric, and builds on the framework established by L'Hoir (2006). Roman rhetorical education, common to both Seneca and Tacitus, utilized literary stereotypes of family members that reflected the values of the Roman *paterfamilias* and the expected criminal behaviours of women and mothers in particular. Seneca the Younger utilizes the powerful incestuous mother as a character who atones for her crime either by committing suicide or pursuing her sons' wellbeing – such as in the *Phoenissae*

– while Tacitus frames Agrippina's incest with Claudius and Nero as key components of the narrative of her power consolidation.

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Michael Champion, 'Becoming Godlike and Christian Aesthetics'

In this paper, I investigate ways in which Christians appropriated ancient philosophy, especially Neoplatonism, to mediate between the claim that godlikeness ends in the vision of God, and the claim that God is unrepresentable, focusing on the consequences for Christian aesthetics (Iozzia 2015). I first briefly trace ways in which this commitment to the radical otherness of God motivated attacks on art, noting how closely such attacks are related to common Graeco-Roman philosophical claims (see also Finney 1994). I will then explore the Byzantine polymath Michael Psellos (d. 1078), probing his account of artistic production, viewing, and the emotional and ethical dispositions, and physical, intellectual, ethical and spiritual perception involved in art. Psellos' account is explicitly formed in dialogue with the Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus. Psellos was deeply indebted to earlier traditions of rhetoric, medicine, and philosophy, so much so that his recent translator identifies his 'late-antique intellectual formation' (Barber and Papaioannou 2017). The process of seeing and artistic production for Psellos is bound up in the philosophical goal of perfecting humanity, because only a viewer who has the right moral and emotional disposition is able to see with the eyes of the soul the reality the image depicts, yet the material object, not merely its prototype, remains valuable in Psellos' account.

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K.O. Chong-Gossard, 'Seneca's Tragedies, Nicholas Trevet, and Commentary on the Unspoken'

Around 1315 the Oxford Dominican Nicholas Trevet (1258-*c*.1334) was commissioned to write a commentary on Seneca's tragedies. Recent work on Trevet has emphasized his commentary's explanatory approach, in keeping with scholastic methodology, avoiding allegory and focusing mainly on linguistics (Guastella 2016). Trevet's citation of classical literature (especially Ovid and Isidore) in his glosses on mythological and geographical references is also noteworthy (Roberti 2004). This paper adds to this scholarship by examining Trevet's use of the common phrase *quasi dicat* to signal a deeper meaning behind Seneca's often succinct and ambiguous style. In such instances, Trevet glosses not only what is said, but also a character's intention behind what is not said. When the Nurse in Seneca's *Medea* tries to persuade her mistress to flee Creon of Corinth and then addresses her simply with 'Medea' (171), Trevet imagines an entire scenario behind this one word: 'As if she were to say: "Look at yourself and how you are responding, since it was not your persecutor whom you fled before, just as I am advising now, but a father who loved you; and so it is not amazing if you are sorry."' It is a surprising amount to read into one vocative. Similar instances indicate Trevet's awareness of drama that is created by the tension of what is unspoken. As his contemporary Albertino Mussato (1261-1329) praised in his *Life of Seneca*: 'true poetry contains one thing at first sight and conceals another upon further reflection.'

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Andrew Collins, 'From Man to God: Understanding Alexander the Great's Divinity'

The issue of Alexander the Great's divinity has produced an enormous literature. Modern scholars are divided in their view of how Alexander understood his divinity. A. B. Bosworth (1988) argued that Alexander really believed that he had a divine nature, and so therefore demanded divine honours. In contrast, Badian (1996) argued that Alexander thought he was merely *worthy* to receive *isotheoi timai* ("honours equal to those given to the gods"), but understood that he was not divine per se, despite his claim to be the son of Zeus (see also Collins 2012). This talk critically analyses the modern debate on Alexander's divinity, and traces the steps by which Alexander came to demand divine honours, by looking at Alexander's conception of his divine sonship; his time in Egypt and his visit to Siwah; his emulation of his father, the Great King, the ancient heroes and Dionysus; his experiment with *proskynesis*; the

role of his poets and flatterers at court; and his views at the end of his life. I argue that the truth is closer to Badian's interpretation of Alexander's divinity.

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Laura Conroy, 'The Influence of Achaemenid Royal Ideology on Alexander's Use of Punishment and Reward'

The theme of truth (*arta*) and lies (*drauga*) is one of the more common motifs found in Old Persian inscriptions. The importance of this motif in Achaemenid royal ideology is well-established, and previous scholarship explores connections between the relevant Old Persian inscriptions and Herodotus (Desmond 2004, Harrison 2004, Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1999). Yet, no connection between these inscriptions and the Alexander histories has been made to date. This paper seeks to fill this gap by exploring the ways in which Achaemenid ideology is reflected in the extant Alexander histories (Arrian, Plutarch, Curtius, Justin, Diodorus). Specifically, it focuses on the way in which Alexander's adoption of the aforementioned *arta-drauga* foil influenced his use and style of punishment. Descriptions of coups and the punishment of Liar-Kings in Darius' Behistun Inscription forms the main comparative evidence for this discussion.

Overall, this paper argues that there are indeed parallels between Achaemenid ideologies found in Old Persian inscriptions and the Alexander histories. A distinctly Achaemenid paradigm shows through aspects of the narrative dealing with issues of lying, rebellion, usurpation. Similarly, while some specific examples of punishment are typically Macedonian in style, others are explicitly Achaemenid. What is less clear – and which will be discussed briefly to conclude - is whether these Achaemenid references are a reflection of Alexander's historical adoptions of these ideologies or if they are better explained as literary representations generated by Greco-Roman authors, either as a reflection of their own sources or as a way to comment on Alexander's increasing Persianism.

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Kylie Constantine, '*I Sing in Change*: The reception of Philomela's voice in Milton Babbitt's 1964 cantata, *Philomel*'

The story of Philomela in book VI of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is a vibrant lesson in powerlessness and empowerment, teaching us that a voice, even when silenced by violence, can still be heard. In fact, Ovid's Philomela has more than one voice, as her human voice transforms into the voice of her loom and then bird song. Over the centuries, Philomela has learned many new ways of speaking, as the cultural trope of Philomela-nightingale has been appropriated and adapted. Philomela's internal, silent voice is present in early Christian traditions while she whispers like a lover to Romantic poets to incite creativity. More recently, her voice has become a war cry, as her story is used to champion the rights of women and victims of sexual violence. Philomela also inspires musicians, with early evidence in Ovid's own *tempora carmen* and the traditions of ancient poetry (*Met.* I. iv). The plurality of Philomela's voice is perfectly captured in music, since music itself weaves together voice, text, melody, and rhythm to tell a story. Despite this, very little research has been conducted on the reception of Ovid's Philomela in music, particularly in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In this paper, I consider Milton Babbitt's 1964 cantata, *Philomel*, which combines live voice, pre-recorded voice, and electronics to capture Philomela's voice at the point of her metamorphosis. Babbitt's serial composition, incorporating John Hollander's purpose-written text, is an experiment in creating a new form of vocal and musical expression, with Philomela's voice perfectly positioned as its conduit.

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Sam Cook, 'Linguistic continuity and change in Late Antique Greek and Coptic legal formulae'

In the study of Coptic legal papyri from Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt, the relationship between Greek and Coptic legal formulae, as well as the matter of linguistic continuity between Demotic and Coptic legal documents, has remained largely understudied. While already in the

late 19th and early 20th centuries Krall (1894) and Revillout (1902) had noted similarities in the formulae of Demotic and Coptic documents, no major study of the language Coptic legal texts existed until the publication in 2002 of the first edition of Richter's *Rechtssemantik und forensische Rhetorik* (Richter, 2008). This monograph demonstrated clear links between particular Coptic, Greek, and Demotic legal terminology. However, a large-scale and systematic investigation of Greek and Coptic legal formulae is still yet to be attempted.

This paper aims to address the problem of how to understand and describe the relationship between Greek and Coptic legal formulae. Drawing on preliminary findings from a comparative study of Greek and Coptic legal texts, it focuses on whether the Coptic formulae can be viewed as translations of their Greek counterparts, the level of continuity between the language of Coptic, Greek, and Demotic legal documents, and the extent of Greek grammatical interference in Coptic legal formulae. The case study for this paper will be Byzantine and Early Islamic sales documents, drawn primarily from two major collections of legal papyri in Egypt; the extensive corpus of Coptic papyri from the Theban village of Djeme, and the bilingual Greek/Coptic archive of Patermouthis son of Menas from Elephantine.

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Robert Cowan, 'Knowing me, knowing you: epic *anagnorisis* and the recognition of tragedy'

Although *anagnorisis* is by no means an exclusively tragic motif—it features heavily in the *Odyssey* already and is a staple of the plots of New Comedy (though even there it perhaps bears the influence of late Euripides)—its actual prominence in Attic and later tragedy combines with its theoretical emphasis in Aristotle's *Poetics* to give it a strong generic marking. In Roman epic, it is frequently marked as tragic through its association with kin-killing and other internecine conflict, or through intertextuality. Key examples include Amphiaraus recognition of his own tragic fate in the auspicy of *Thebaid* 3 and the belated recognition of father-and-son Satricus and Solimus on the eve of Cannae in *Punica* 9. Such *anagnoreseis* not only serve as instances of tragic contamination in epic narratives, but have a metaphorical and even metapoetic force as sites where the generic status of the text can be 'recognized' (cf. Buckley 2013). A range of examples will be discussed before focusing on the Cyzicus episode in *Argonautica* 3. All will be examined in relation to the foundational moment of '*anagnorisis*', when Aeneas 'recognizes' Turnus as the killer of Pallas through the token of the sword-belt, either a perversion of the recognition which averts kin-killing, or an allusion to Alcmaeon's being prompted to kill Eriphyle by seeing Harmonia's necklace (La Penna 2002).

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Matthew Crawford, 'Cyril of Alexandria's Attitude towards Greek Philosophy'

Among early Christian authors who wrote in Greek, Cyril of Alexandria is the penultimate in terms of the size of his surviving corpus, occupying ten volumes of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. One of the peculiarities of the considerable amount of text that has survived from the bishop's hand is the rarity of the terms *philosophia*, *philosophos*, and *philosopheō*, despite the fact that Alexandria was home to a thriving philosophical community during Cyril's tenure, which he himself had apparently benefited from during his education (Siddals 1987). The oddity of this studied avoidance of these words is further heightened by the recognition that other Christian bishops of the time, such as John Chrysostom, appropriated such language for the purpose of propagating Christianity, describing the burgeoning movement of Christian asceticism as a 'philosophical' way of life. Cyril's attitude towards Greek philosophy can nevertheless be elucidated in the one work in which he extensively engaged with philosophical sources – his treatise *Contra Iulianum* with which he sought to defend the Christian faith against the attacks of the Emperor Julian. This paper will examine Cyril's comments about philosophy in *Contra Iulianum* in order to argue that, while he recognised the necessity of conceding some legitimate insight to the long tradition of Greek philosophers, he consistenly undercut their claims to authority by maligning the motives driving their intellectual pursuits. Such an attitude casts light on the source of Cyril's own philosophical education, as well the on relations between himself and his more philosophical contemporaries in Alexandria.

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James Crooks, 'Rome's First Billboards: Temple Placement and Elite Identity in Early Rome'

Despite its title, *Romulus' Asylum*, Emma Dench's impressive volume on Roman identity, begins in the third century BC, neglecting the city's formative years during the Regal Period and Early Republic (1). In part, this is to be expected; the literary record prior to the third century BC is highly problematic and reconstructing identity on the basis of archaeology is, even at the best of times, difficult. That is not to say that it is impossible or ought not to be attempted, however.

The splendour of Rome during the sixth century BC – '*La grande Roma dei Tarquini*' – has long been noted (see 2). Chief among the notable architectural developments of the century was the Roman podium temple. The adoption of this new temple form provides a glimpse of elite competition and display through conspicuous consumption (see 3). Aside from their religious and practical functions, these structures acted as large, permanent billboards, advertising the wealth and prosperity of those who sponsored their creation. One might expect, therefore, the positioning and orientation of these temples to have served to maximise the exposure of this message. In this paper, I will briefly situate the eight temples attested in the period between 600 and 400 BC in order to reconstruct developments in the focus of the elite at Rome. The fluctuations of elite focus seen through this study between the centre and the periphery of the urban area may help us to recreate a nuanced picture of the development of Roman civic identity.

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Caroline Crowhurst, 'Reassessing the New Kingdom femme fatale: dangerous women in ancient Egyptian narrative tales'

Dating to the Nineteenth Dynasty of New Kingdom Egypt, c.1290-1189 BC, the narrative tales feature female characters who appear to occupy one end of an extreme duality. In this genre, they are either wicked and dangerous, or virtuous and supportive of the male protagonist. This paper will examine the speech, actions, and overall portrayal of two women who fall into the former category. Bata's wife in the *Tale of the Two Brothers*, and the Lady from *The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood*, will be the focus of this analysis. They both hinder and impede the hero, and as they create some, if not all, of the obstacles that must be overcome through their actions, the audience is presumably expected to condemn the two characters and agree with their subsequent punishment. However, as a modern Feminist reader of the texts, certain elements can be viewed as problematic, and induce more ambiguous feelings towards the women than would be felt, potentially, by a male receiver, especially a contemporaneous male audience member who lived in the culture that produced the tales. This leads to what Umberto Eco has termed 'aberrant decoding' in which the receiver of the text can derive different meaning(s) from that intended by the original composer or copyist. I will suggest an alternative reading regarding the portrayal of these two women, one in which the punishment meted out to them is in itself condemned, and their positioning as stereotypically deviant, evil characters is contested.

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John Davidson, 'Strange Bed Fellows: The Reception of Greek Drama by Richard Wagner and James K. Baxter'

At first sight, there seems to be little in common between Richard Wagner (1813-83), a German composer of operas, and James K. Baxter (1926-72), a New Zealand poet. In fact, they are very similar in a variety of ways, both in terms of their personalities and life stories in general, and also their artistic endeavours. The similarity which is central to this paper is their shared admiration for Greek drama, especially tragedy. Wagner had an idealized view of Greek tragedy, especially the work of Aeschylus, and often referred to it in his prose writings. In addition, there are clear echoes of a Greek tragic background in his operas, particularly in *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, his *magnum opus*, but not confined to that. Baxter frequently alludes to Greek mythology in his poetry and also wrote a number of plays based on Greek models, two of which preserve an ancient setting, two of which update the action to the New Zealand of the 1960s. It is the aim of this paper to explore the approaches to Greek drama adopted by Wagner and Baxter and to show, through a social and cultural comparison, how Greek drama can be the glue which binds together modern artists working in very different media and circumstances.

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Nile de Jonge, 'To the Rhodian Winds: Protection Poetry for Sailing on the Ancient Sea'

The ancient Mediterranean Sea was a dangerous place, full of rough weather, long voyages, and pirates. Protection for those travelling upon the sea was thought to be vital, and it was thus unsurprising that sailors would do anything they could to ensure their safe arrival at their destination. One such religious action they could perform was to pray or to create hymns or songs to different gods or elements for protection. This paper will analyse and discuss one of the few such hymns to survive, known as *To the Rhodian Winds,* or *Sailor's Song*, a poem to the Rhodian winds for a calm voyage, put on papyrus in the 3rd century A.D. (Grenfell and Hunt 1915: 236). This poem has been included in a range of collections, including the *Papyri Graecae Magicae,* the *Lyrica Adespota* and the *Nautarum Cantiunculae*. Despite being

included in the *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 'it is not (as it has sometimes been alleged) a magic incantation.' (Page 1941: 431; Betz 1991: 266). This poem is a poetic version of the sort of prayers made for safe passage across the sea. In this paper I intend to discuss the language, grammar, and different features of this poem, as well as to compare it to other literary poems for safe passage in the Palatine Anthology, and to historical evidence for actual recitation of poetic prayers in historians such as Herodotus.

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Sarah Dickinson, 'Aphrodite-Hathor Syncretism in the Archaic Period: The evidence from Naukratis'

This paper will examine the use of Egyptian-style female figurines at Naukratis, and suggest that they provide evidence for syncretism between Aphrodite and Hathor during the Archaic Period. Egyptian-style figurines have been found in abundance at the Greek harbour city of Naukratis in Egypt's Western Delta. These figurines have a long history in Pharaonic Egypt: often dedicated in temples and shrines, they have been associated with the Egyptian deity Hathor (Pinch 1993: 198-234). However, the identity and function of these figurines in Greek religious contexts requires further examination.

At least eight Egyptian-style female figurines have been found alongside dedications to Aphrodite at the Hellenion. In his recent study of the Egyptian-style figurines from the site, Ross Thomas (2015: 76) questioned whether these figurines were offered by Greeks who were 'using locally available figurines in the absence of Greek figures.' However, this paper will propose that rather than merely being a dedication of convenience, this phenomenon is suggestive of religious syncretism. Such an interpretation is supported by examples from Greek literature (chiefly Herodotus), which often identified Egyptian deities with their Greek counterparts. It has been suggested that these associations were already well-established when Herodotus came to write his *Histories* in the Fifth Century BC (Harrison 2000: 214). Through a reappraisal of the archaeological and literary evidence, this paper suggests that the use of Egyptian-style female figurines in Greek ritual contexts at Naukratis is indicative of early syncretism between Aphrodite and Hathor.

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James Donaldson, 'Antiquities as Souvenirs in the First World War'

This paper explores the practice of souveniring antiquities by Australian service personnel during the First World War. It argues that souvenir antiquities (both genuine and forged) are an underappreciated class of object, worthy of study in their own right, and seeks to understand how and why service personnel souvenired antiquities. It builds on studies of archaeological discoveries and excavations undertaken during the war, and classical reception during and after the war.

A significant number of these souvenir antiquities survive today in both public and private hands. Although there are exceptions such as the Shellal Mosaic, these antiquities are generally unpublished and poorly understood. This paper draws case studies primarily from the Australian War Memorial collection in Canberra, as it houses the most representative public collection of First World War souvenir antiquities in Australia. This includes major pieces such as a Palmyrene bust for a woman named Hagar, collections such as the Maitland Woods mosaic collection, and discrete artefacts including coins, ceramic fragments and forgeries.

Three broad questions are used to frame the study and select case study artefacts for inclusion: What types of artefacts were souvenired? How were these artefacts acquired? What role do these artefacts fulfil in the Australian War Memorial collection? Preliminary research suggests souvenir antiquities can be placed into four broad categories: opportunistic souveniring; systematic collecting; gifts; and antiquities used as trench art.

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Emma Donnelly, 'Role-playing and narrative ability in Petronius' *Satyricon*'

Though the *Satyricon* is often called a picaresque novel, its main character, Encolpius, is far from a successful picaro. His inability to sustain a role, to deceive or manipulate others, or to adapt quickly to a situation means that he fails to meet any of the typical traits of a picaro. With each successive episode of the text, Encolpius' passive nature becomes clearer, not only through his behaviour, but by his use of language (George, 1966). In contrast, Eumolpus provides a far better example of the successful picaro, being a "first-rate raconteur" (Beck,

1979). He masterfully adapts to situations, such as when he meets Encolpius in the gallery, and when he plays the role of the wealthy, grieving father on Croton.

Examining these two characters and their respective natures reveals Eumolpus as almost the idealised version of Encolpius. That is, Eumolpus possesses qualities that Encolpius tries to possess, but cannot successfully attain. This examination also shows the consequences of Encolpius' susceptibility and gullibility on the narrative: although Eumolpus lies more, his narrative is more reliable than Encolpius'. For Eumolpus, the lines between reality and pretence do not blur, whereas it is often difficult for Encolpius to perceive or appreciate the difference. Finally, the disparity between the language of the two men solidifies the variance in their abilities to construct a narrative, and illustrates Petronius' unique use of characterised Latin within the *Satyricon*.

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Rachel Dowe, 'Gods on the Comic Stage: Aristophanes' Wealth'

Aristophanes clearly disrespected the gods and their worship on numerous occasions, and seemingly did so without fear of legal or divine retribution. It is striking that the old comic poets could depict the gods in such a sacrilegious matter, because the Athenians, outside of the theatre of Dionysus, certainly prosecuted individuals who engaged in such sacrilege or otherwise promoted unconventional religious beliefs. Further, this disrespectful treatment was actually sponsored by the Athenian democracy itself, as part of the annual, grand-scale festivals held in Dionysus' honour. This paper thus examines the extent to which the old comic poets could engage in the democratic right to *parrhesia* ('frank speech'), using Aristophanes' *Wealth* as a case-study. It will be argued that the license that the old comic poets enjoyed extended even to the divine realm. This sacrilegious treatment of gods was part of the ritual abuse and *aiskhrologia* ('shameful speech') that was usually directed at prominent citizens. Further, the carnivalesque context of the Dionysian festival allowed for a greater freedom of expression, free from social and political norms (e.g. Bakhtin, 1984). While good work has certainly been done on festival license (e.g. Henderson, 1975; Halliwell, 2008), the sacrilegious dimension of it has hardly been explored. At the same time however, this paper will argue that Aristophanes relied on the conventional religious knowledge of his audience as a foundation for his impious jokes. Thus, notwithstanding Aristophanes' comic and irreverent treatment of the gods, popular religious values were never rejected, but subject to comic exaggeration.

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Robert Drummond, '"Duel meanings": the body-recovery type scene in the *Iliad*'

This paper will examine a specific set of instances of the well-known phenomenon of the oral-traditional type scene (for definition, see Edwards 1992). It aims to illustrate both the existence and the narrative significance of the body-recovery type scene in the *Iliad*. The formulaic patterns of such type scenes are an integral component of the oral traditional language of Homeric poetry, and an understanding of these formulations informs one's process of reception of the poems. Building on the oral-theoretical foundation established by Parry and Lord, subsequent scholarship has focused on the implications of oral composition in performance for the generation of meaning and the reception process.

While Fenik (1968) analysed an extensive collection of the different patterns the bard employs in battle scenes, there is still comparatively little scholarship detailing the body-recovery sequence as separate from the broader motif of the fight over a corpse. By considering recent advances in oral theory, such as those of Foley (culminating in his 1999 publication), there is now the analytical mechanism to expand and elaborate this catalogue of battle type scenes.

The body-recovery sequence will be examined first, demonstrating how the different elements of the sequence function together in a typical pattern. This will then form the basis for an analysis of what the body-recovery signifies in selected examples, and how these brief moments of battle indeed signal meaning beyond their immediate context within the broader narrative sequence.

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Lauren Dundler, '(Re)Defining Provenance: Origins, Authenticity, and a Performance of Taste in the Internet Market for Papyrus'

In its simplest terms, provenance is defined as the original find spot – provenience – of an object and its subsequent sales history. It should ideally reveal whether an artefact was legally or illegally excavated. Historically, the quality of provenance in the antiquities market is very poor. Antiquities are commonly sold without verifiable provenance, creating a market that lacks transparency and actively conceals criminal activity, making it difficult to apply general legal principles to cultural property disputes.

An examination into the Internet Market for Papyrus for my Master of Research Thesis revealed some interesting findings regarding modern market definitions of provenance. Instead of providing legal testimony, provenance in the context of the Internet Market for Papyrus draws connections between ideas and origins, authenticity and the refined taste of renowned antiquities collectors and connoisseurs. These enduring market values are identified by cultural theorist Jean Baudrillard as the distinct features of the antique object: a nostalgia for origins; and an obsession with authenticity.

This paper will utilise Baudrillard's object-value system as a framework for redefining provenance in response to conclusions drawn about the Internet Market for Papyrus. In doing so, it will challenge existing, and outdated, ways of perceiving provenance and its role in the antiquities market. Ultimately, by redefining provenance in response to the realities of modern antiquities trading we have a better chance of creating policing and regulatory approaches that will adequately protect our shared cultural heritage.

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Geoffrey Dunn, 'The Non-Literary Evidence for the Marriage of Flavius Constantius and Galla Placidia'

The literary evidence from Olympiodorus (*frag.* 33.1) is that Galla Placidia was a reluctant bride to Honorius' leading general, the little-studied Flavius Constantius, in 417. He states that Constantius had long demanded the return of Galla Placidia from the Goths so he could marry her. What does the material cultural evidence contribute to this picture? There are three pieces of evidence that are sometimes taken as relevant here: the Trier and Halberstadt consular diptychs, and the Romulus intaglio in the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. Analysis indicates that the Trier diptych of 417 says nothing about Constantius' marriage into the imperial family,

that the Halberstadt diptych of 414 is probably not even from Constantius, and it is only the Romulus intaglio that seems to speak of Constantius' view of his marriage, which actually concentrates on his son to the exclusion of his wife. This paper argues that, as others have recognised, marriage to Galla Placidia was only a means to an end for Constantius' ambtions. However, the thesis advanced here is that this connection with the imperial family was not something advertised by Constantius himself until his son Valentinian was firmly on the path to inheriting the western crown. Indeed, other evidence suggests that Constantius' relationship with Galla Placidia continued to be stormy after their wedding and that it is little wonder that Constantius did not highlight his marriage after the event.

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Nicola Ernst, 'Julian: The (Anti-)Constantinian Emperor'

The emperor Julian (A.D. 361-363) was not only the last pagan emperor of Rome, but also the last ruling member of the Constantinian dynasty. Despite relying on the legitimacy that came with his link to the dynasty founded by his Christian uncle, Constantine (A.D. 306-337), Julian frequently tried to distance himself from his Christian predecessors. This particularly is clear through Julian's attempts to remove himself from the actions and imperial persona of his cousin and immediate predecessor, Constantius II (A.D. 337-361) (Flower 2013: 102). In this paper, I will argue that Julian sought to style his imperial image far from that of Constantius in several ways, while also exploiting his dynastic lineage. This will be achieved through three case studies. First, I will discuss the difference in the ceremonial behaviours of both men in a period where the role of the emperor as *civilis princeps* was ambivalent, and how Julian deliberately presented himself in a less ceremonial manner than Constantius, who was criticised for his ostentation. Second, I will discuss the relationship both men had with the citizens of Antioch, where both were based for their respective Persian campaigns: while Constantius provided the Antiochenes with many Christian benefactions, Julian frequently offended the citizens with his pagan practices, resulting in his final gesture to the Antiochenes, the *Misopogon* (Gleason 1986: 116). Finally, this paper will consider the treatment of Christians under both emperors, and how the pagan Julian exploited Constantinian treatment of Christian groups for his own ends through his recall of exiled bishops (Elm 2003: 501).

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Ashley Flavell, 'All the Small Things: Regal Building in Archaic Rome'

As the most apparent and imposing archaeological remnants of the early city, temples have greatly impacted and aided our understanding of early Rome. Increasing insight into their construction, accessible through both the archaeology and more critical approaches to the literature, has hinted at new aspects of Central Italy's society, culture, and economy. In particular, evidence increasingly suggests that the construction of temples in sixth century BC Rome was not only part of a much wider cultural discourse than usually thought, but the construction of these structures was likely part of an important negotiation between the growing urban centres and a wider, regional elite, perhaps seen in the institution of the Roman *rex*. In contrast, smaller constructions, such as the *regia*, *curia, and comitium,* remain enigmatic objects in scholarly debates – their role in this developing narrative uncertain. This paper will discuss the role and importance of these smaller structures in the regal period and in the suggested negotiation between urban centres and the regional elite. In particular it will explore how these structures (which often have later political associations) may have related to regal power, how the '*reges*' may have been able to inform and influence them, and how these buildings are indicative of social and communal hierarchies which were being formed within Central Italy. It will be suggested that these smaller structures offer important insight into the nature of regal authority in Rome which is less visible in the city's more monumental constructions.

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Aaron Floky, '*Petit ardua dirae Sphingos*: The Sphinx, Tydeus, and their grove in Statius' *Thebaid* 2.496-526'

Statius presages the scene of Tydeus' ambush (*monomachy*) with a digression on the Sphinx, and the landscape of the ambush, a grove which has become polluted by her death. This paper argues that the ominous landscape description presaging the ambush episode frames the passage such that the audience is aware of the Sphinx as a chthonic agent expressing fate, and Tydeus' identification with her. I will supplement this by exploring the following ideas: the Sphinx is a chthonic entity similar to the Furies – a being concerned with enforcing fundamental rules of the Greek *cosmos;* that this role is inherited from existing Greek traditions

about the Sphinx and underworld entities and their roles in the *Thebaid*; and that it is informed by Tydeus' assumption of the role of the Sphinx in his conflict with the Thebans. To do this I will draw upon existing Greek and Roman literature concerning chthonic figures, notably Cerberus' landscape interaction in the mortal world, as well as Winter's (2016) recent work on landscape and *Stimmung* in the tragedies of Seneca, and Gervais' (2015) work on Tydeus' failed heroism in his *monomachy* in the *Thebaid*.

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Annabel Florence, 'In Defence of the *dēmos*: Raising Revenue for Athenian Warmaking 400/399 – 370/69 BC'

For two hundred years scholars have argued that early fourth-century Athens had very little public revenue with which to fund its military campaigns (Böckh 1817). The central tenet of this argument is the belief that Athens was not able to generate annual surplus revenues after its defeat in the Peloponnesian War (Ober 2015). Consequently, the state had to depend heavily on other, less reliable ways to fund its considerably high military expenditure of the period. Much of the blame for this is levelled at the Athenian *dēmos*: its inability to organize its public finances after the war, and its failure to anticipate and plan for the state's military expenditures (Brun 1986).

This paper argues the opposite: that Athens did, in fact, produce annual surplus revenues from as early as the beginning of the fourth century, and that by constantly adapting and reforming its revenue-raising strategies, the *dēmos* anticipated, planned for and successfully funded its military campaigns of the early fourth century. Using literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence the paper initially reconstructs the financial and military situation at Athens in the 390s to show how annual revenue surpluses were generated. Secondly, in light of this finding, the paper traces the development of Athenian revenue-raising strategies across the three decades and reconsiders the importance of each to the funding of warmaking. And finally, the paper concludes that Athens successfully funded its military expenses of the early fourth century because the *dēmos* was proactive, innovative and forward thinking in its financial decision-making.

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Leonela Fundic, 'Transformation of Ritual Spaces in the Name of Utopian Ideals in the Mediterranean from Late Antiquity to early Arab Conquests: Archaeological Evidence'

Over the period from the fourth to the beginning of the eighth centuries, sacred landscapes in the Mediterranean underwent fundamental changes, which were caused by (or were the reflection of) cultural and artistic interactions between different religions and their utopian ideals. Firstly, the expansion of Christianity and decline of paganism contributed to destruction of local sacral shrines and temples or their transformation into Christian churches. Afterwards, Persian and especially Islamic conquests resulted in even more dramatic and permanent transformations of sacred topography in the same region.

This paper intends to shed new light on some aspects of these transformations to show how religious shrines were used and reshaped to create an ideal future. A good example for this is the religious site today preserved as Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. It was constructed as a pagan temple; the Christians converted it into a church and when the Arabs prevailed, it was ultimately transformed into a mosque. This reflects, among other things, the belief that each new religion improves upon and is the fulfilment of the promises of the ones preceding it. The sacred places and landscapes of previous religions are thus incorporated into the succeeding/current ritual narrative. My examination of this phenomenon is based on a diverse set of visual evidence, ranging from architecture and sculpture to religious images and objects of minor art.

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Phoebe Garrett, 'Structure and persuasion in Suetonius' *De uita Caesarum*: the structure of *Lives* and Books'

I have set out at previous conferences of ASCS to explain the principles of structure in Suetonius' *Lives* and the importance of that careful arrangement to the way we in the twenty-first century read and use Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*. I want here to go further than the rubric and the *diuisio* and to discuss the structure of whole *Lives* and the structure of Books

(sometimes an overlapping category), and in particular the way that the seemingly neutral, seemingly 'cut-and-paste' method is in fact carefully arranged in sequence to create a persuasive portrait. In this paper I will discuss Hurley's characterisation of Suetonius' method as a 'sandwich,' as well as the various ways Suetonius collects and then categorises material, such as Caligula's *princeps* and *monstrum*, Claudius' *princeps* and *minister,* Augustus' triumvir and *princeps,* Nero's *laude digna ... probris ac sceleribus.* I will briefly discuss the interesting way Suetonius uses the word *princeps* to describe a moral, rather than legal, status. I will also discuss what we (can) know about the way Suetonius' books were/are organised and what this means for how we (could) read the series.

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Roy Gibson, 'Writing the Modern Biography of an Ancient Roman: the case of Pliny the Younger'

Mary Beard has been a consistent critic of modern biographies of ancient figures (Beard 2013), particularly where lives are written on patchy evidence. Evidence is not the only problem. Modern biographers are under pressure to construct their subjects as unique individuals (Lee 2009, Sturrock 1993). But demands for the reconstruction of an idiosyncratic personality, for understanding the effect of the child on the man, for insight into the subject's inner-life – all of these are unsuited to the evidence we have for most Greco-Roman individuals. How can we best write the life of ancient figures who lived in societies with different ideas of self and personhood? How can we talk about them without imposing modern biographical categories and distorting our subjects? These are relevant questions for the author of a biography on Pliny the Younger. The present paper first examines the lack of fit between modern biographical categories and Pliny's *Epistles*. It then observes that ancient writers often express their individuality through locale, no more obviously than Pliny: Comum, Rome, Campania, Etruria, the *ager Laurens* and Pontus-Bithynia. By recreating Pliny's life within each region, one by one, we can grasp his particularity without having to impose modern biographical norms, or construct a linear narrative for parts of his life lacking evidence. We may begin to understand his individuality in a way that is a better reflection of the ancient man than any attempt to reconstruct him as a "unique" individual. This approach might be extended to Cicero, Horace, Seneca, etc.

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Joel Gordon, 'Cartography vs. Word-painting: Eschatological topography and the Grove of Persephone'

The underworld is inherently paradoxical; it is a realm wherein, as Burkert (1985: 196) has noted, "contradictions are freely tolerated". Yet studies of Homeric underworld geography often overlook this detail, preferring to 'map out' eschatological topography in terms of place and space (e.g., Marinatos 2009, Cousin 2012). Such analyses remain unconvincing since they are required either to imply precision despite blatant inconsistencies or to omit 'problematic' sections of text as interpolations (e.g. Marinatos 2009: 12).

This paper offers an alternative methodology for surveying the underworld which removes the necessity of foregrounding topography within the concepts of place and space. Instead, topographical descriptions are analysed as poetic constructions which utilize connotative language (rather than denotative) to express a metaphysical reality (rather than an empirical one). This paradigm-shift allows for underworld imaginings to maintain their 'contradictory' nature while also being contextually logical and congruous.

In order to demonstrate how such a methodology functions in practice, this paper shall examine the Grove of Persephone – described by Circe in Homer's *Odyssey* (10.509-10) – as a case study. Central to this thesis of connotative association is the contextualization of the Grove within the larger narrative of Odysseus' wanderings (i.e. places such as Ogygia, Scheria, Aeaea and Polyphemus' island). A close examination of the language used in the Grove's description reveals how this has been carefully constructed to emphasize certain situational similarities and differences and thus paints for the audience a very particular eschatological reality – albeit one not cartographically focused.

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Alison Griffith, 'Verginia and Nga Roimata: Examining a Roman Myth through a Bi-cultural Lens'

Livy's account of Verginia is a tale of a daughter's filial trust pitted against the moral courage of her father, Verginius, who is forced to kill her for her own safety. Livy explicitly compares the origin of the problem—*libido*—and the nature of the outcome—*foedus*—to Lucretia's rape and suicide (3.44.1). In drawing attention to the moral lessons of both stories, Livy seems to hint at their allegorical value: that Verginia, like Lucretia before her, represents the Roman

plebs at the mercy of a morally corrupt tyrant. The dramatic flair of Livy's account, which features emotive speeches by the main actors, and a level of detail that almost reads as stage directions, reinforces the possible mythical aspect of the stories.

This paper will examine the story of Verginia in parallel with the (oral) historical account of Nga Roimata, the daughter of the Ngai Tahu chief Te Maiharanui, who was strangled by her parents in 1830 when they had become prisoners of the Ngati Toa chief, Te Rauparaha. I will show how the Māori concepts of *mana* (authority/control), *utu* (revenge), and *mana whenua* (power associated with occupation of tribal land) help identify and differentiate the complex underlying issues around moral actions, social status, and political power in the story of Verginia. Finally, I will address the thorny issue of historical fact versus literary topos embedded in such stories of justifiable filicide, with particular reference to Alistair Campbell's poem "Nga Roimata", and to his study of ancient Classical literature.

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Sven Günther, 'Private Law as *potestas populi Romani* – The Impact of Legal Procedures on the Formation of the *imperium Romanum* in the Late Roman Republic'

The formation of the *imperium Romanum* from the 2nd century BC onwards has mainly been seen as a military achievement, often under the label 'imperialism', accompanied by diplomatic, political and socio-economic contacts and power relations of, among others, the Roman elite (recently emphasized by Harris 2016, 1-111). Some attention has also been paid to the creation of legal frameworks for the polities and persons nominally ruled by the *res publica Romana* (e.g. status of *coloniae*, *municipia*, *civitates*, citizenship; cf. the overview in Rowe 2015). However, still missing is a scholarly treatment of the extant regulations concerning the introduction and enforcement of procedures of private law under this perspective, even though they reveal the impact of Rome throughout the *imperium Romanum* on a daily noticeable micro-level. By using *potestas*, i.e. the defined office-power, the creation of such frameworks by Roman authorities was a substantial one, e.g. in respect of property rights and law suit procedures. It influenced fundamentally the shaping, development and embedding of the conquered and/or newly founded polities into the Roman rule as well as affected the rise of the Roman 'state' that we know from the Late Roman Republic (see Ando 2011). The paper will examine the established legal frames by analyzing inscriptions (e.g. *SC de Asclepiade Clazomenio sociisque*, CIL I^2 588) in connection with fragments of juristic writers of the Late Roman Republic.

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Christopher J. Haddad, 'Sparks in the Darkness: Reconstructing the Nature of Latin official Letters in the mid-Republic'

By the Late Republic, letter writing had become an important feature of Roman society, both private and public. But the nature of Latin letters is not well understood for the mid-Republic, largely because of a lack of direct evidence. Although we are without letters in Latin from the second century BCE, we have some enlightening evidence for official letters in some often-unexpected places. This paper examines the literary and epigraphic evidence and proposes that Latin official letters possessed a high degree of conventionalization already in the second century BCE.

By examining the linguistic evidence in Roman documents surviving in inscriptions and described in literature, it is possible to identify some defining features of Latin official letters in the mid-Republic. Roman official letters in Greek provide the best evidence (Sherk 1969). Although markedly resembling Greek letters, there are several phraseological and syntactical features which are not Greek. These reflect the practices of Latin letter writing, as a comparison with the Latin letters parodied by Plautus demonstrates (Cugusi 1970; Cugusi 1983). The epistolary evidence can be supplemented by analysing the language of Roman and Italic decrees, laws, and treaties surviving in contemporaneous inscriptions.

The linguistic analysis of the second-century evidence reveals an array of formulaic expressions; a penchant for technical, legalistic phraseology, and the recycling of set vocabulary; and a preference for a strict, high-register word order. This allows the conclusion to be drawn that there was a highly-structured and formalized official letter writing practice in Latin in the mid-Republic.

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Daniel Hanigan, 'Nomina Sacra? Etymology and "Negative Theology" in Clement of Alexandria's Protrepticus'

Clement of Alexandria's Protrepticus has been described as a 'fertile field for the analysis of apologetic strategies' (Herrero de Jáuregui, 2010). One such strategy is etymology. Although scholars have long been aware of Clement's frequent use of etymology, almost no effort has

been made to study this practice in the context of his Christian theology. Only two dedicated studies have been conducted – Treu (1961) and Van Den Hoek (2004). The stated objective of both, however, is to utilize Clement as a conduit through which to speculate on the relationship between etymology and allegory in Early Christian thought. Neither makes any effort to consider the relationship between Clement's etymologies and his Christian theology.

My paper aims to rectify this omission. It examines one particular sub-group of Clement's etymologies – the names of Greek divinities – and argues that he uses it as an apologetic tool for converting former countrymen to his newfound Christianity. Such a conclusion is possible when the etymologies are viewed as a product of his Christian theology – namely, Christian Apophaticism (colloquially termed 'negative theology'). By analyzing key passages from across the entirety of Clement's extant corpus, I demonstrate that Clement understood God as entirely transcendent. He regarded human language as incapable of expressing anything positive about the nature or character of the divine – God, for Clement, is ineffable (ἄρρητος). Thus, the names of Greek divinities in the Protrepticus function as a rhetorical tool to refute the divine status of the Greek Pantheon.

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Jacqueline Harris, 'Men Painting Women, Women Killing Men: The effect that modern male depictions of women in antiquity has had on their classical reception'

Our understanding of ancient events, people, and social structures is bound by those who have studied the same topics before us. The scholarship of women in antiquity has historically been coloured by male interpretation due to its male domination. I aim to shine a light on the negative impact this interpretation has had on the topic's modern classical reception.

The revival of classical themes in the Renaissance period is one of the first examples in which the theme of classical antiquity re-emerges after the middle ages. Renaissance artists, primarily male, regularly used characters from Greek and Roman mythology, biblical images, and historical accounts in their works. Using Renaissance and Italian Baroque art from this period as a conduit, I will discuss how the resurgence of classical themes in Renaissance art heavily, and negatively, influenced the perception of women in antiquity.

By using the work of female artist Artemisia Gentileschi as a counterpoint to the high volume of pieces by male artists during this period I will demonstrate how women of antiquity painted

by men differ in the most fundamental ways to the renderings of a female artist. Overall this case study will allow us to see how the portrayal of women as seen through the artistic male gaze has damaged the scholarship of women in antiquity.

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Greg Horsley, 'Five inscriptions from Turkey recorded among the Nachlaß of J.R.B. Stewart'

In 1936 J.R.B. Stewart (1913-62) spent nearly a month (Fri. 14 Feb. – Sat. 7 March) in Anatolia, mostly in Mysia near Bandırma and Balıkesir. His notebook includes several pages of detailed notes on fabrics of pots from Kusura, and references to drawings he made and photos he took. He also recorded an occasional inscription which he came across *in situ* in that region. Four are epitaphs, three either fragmentary or very straightforward, and one of rather greater interest due to its impressive size and the occurrence of the word *phaulotes*, rare in such a context. A further text is a dedication relating to the Imperial cult (AD 41-54), published later in *FS Pekary* and understandably without knowledge of Stewart's earlier recording of it. Apparently, none of the others have been published subsequently, so should be regarded as now lost. These texts will be presented in the session.

Permission to publish these texts has been given to me by Dr Andrew McCarthy, Director of CAARI in Nicosia, where are located some of Stewart's Nachlaß.

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Yvette Hunt, 'Hares' Hearts and Laurel Leaves: contextualising non-Plinian magical remedies in the *Medicina Plinii*'

Written the latter half of the third century CE, the *Medicina Plinii* has been described as a *breviarium* of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis,* devoted to the provision of medical advice to

travellers to allow its readers to avoid the "perfidy" of dishonest doctors when away from home. As a *breviarium*, recent scholarship has focussed upon its relationship to Pliny's text and addressed issues of the writer's authority.[1] The focus on its relationship to Pliny led to Temkin stating that it "has nothing original to offer".[2] This statement is not borne out by a close reading of the text.

This paper will differ significantly from this approach, focussing on the magical remedies included in the third book which are non-Plinian in origin. While Temkin claimed that even the author's rhetoric was derived from Pliny, the way magical remedies were included in this text is indicative of a shift from Pliny's invective against (mostly) foreign forms of medical magic. By contextualising these six remedies within both medical and magical literature, and where possible material culture, in a similar manner to that used by Faraone,[3] this paper will give a sense of the author of the *Medicina Plinii* free from the lens of Pliny the Elder, providing a hint at his broader reading, and illustrating how magical approaches to medicine had developed since Pliny's day.

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Naoki Kamimura, 'Constructing the Sacred in Late Antiquity: Jerome as a Guide for Christian Identity'

Jerome's conflict with church leaders and the Christian communities in Rome and Jerusalem affected the development of his interest in the sacred geography and the religious significance of pilgrimage to holy places. Since both cities had functioned as centres of liturgical, spiritual and pastoral life in the Mediterranean world, Jerome was not reluctant to voice his criticism of local ecclesiastical leaders. His enthusiasm for shaping a new Christian landscape of sacred sites is not only indicative of his concern for the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but also of his search for a new religious identity that was based on a putative, primitive early Christian (and by corollary, Jewish) creation of utopia. It is interesting to note that in the two well-known *Letters* 46 (386) and 58 (395), Jerome gave mutually contradictory stances; varying from firm support for pilgrimage to the biblical sites, to his denunciation of pilgrimage. This change raises the question as to how Jerome sought to prove his position, and refine the identity and behaviour of fourth- and fifth-century Christians in the Middle East. In this paper, I demonstrate that an examination of both the interest in a new identity and the importance of

pilgrimage produce a more holistic view of Jerome's perception of religious images in his corpus.

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Peter Keegan, 'The *Fasti* and the Curious: critiquing critical receptions of Ovid'

Leslie Cahoon once noted the degrees of difference in 'understandings of the interpretative task' brought to bear on classical literature in general and the Ovidian corpus in particular. (1) This apprehension of critical reception should not necessarily surprise the reader of ancient (or modern) texts, but its implications for the continuing appraisal of gender relations, sexuality, and the body are considerable and warrant discussion. To that end, this paper explores the praxis underlying different interpretative receptions of canonical narratives, with particular reference to the first two books of Ovid's *Fasti*; and the extent to which these variations illuminate or occlude the (con)textualised female figures which often feature as entrées to critical exegesis. Specifically, it is the speaker's contention that the ways by which Ovid engages in the process of meaning-production regarding *l'autre femme* are reflected (refracted?) in the interpretative practices of certain modern literary-critical commentators. (2)

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James Kierstead, 'Democracy's Humility: A Reading of Sophocles' *Antigone*'

Hegelian readings of *Antigone* would have us believe that Creon and Antigone are both heroes and villains at once. In this essay, I argue that Creon is in fact the villain of the piece, and a paradigmatic tyrant. Far from representing democratic rationalism, Creon is in fact the antitype of the epistemic humility that was one of the foundational ideals of Athenian democracy. As the Ode to Man in *Antigone* and Protagoras' Great Speech in Plato's dialogue both suggest, human expertise ultimately reaches its limits in the sphere of ethics, an area overseen by the gods. For both Protagoras and Sophocles, in my reconstruction, democratic and religious

practices are not an arrogant attempt to deny this fact, but a way of humbly accepting it. Through the humbling of Creon and the piety and reasonableness of Teiresias, Haimon, and even the Guard, the *Antigone* illustrates an essential characteristic of democracy: its humility.

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Jayne Knight, 'Anger and Discord in Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy*'

Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy*, first published in 1531, is a remarkably nostalgic work of political theory that seeks to elucidate problems of government by consulting examples drawn from the Roman past. Public emotions were a central challenge for the Romans of the early Republic as well as for the statesmen of Machiavelli's time: public passions could make or break a developing state. This paper focuses on Machiavelli's treatment of public anger and discord in the *Discourses*, and considers how his views on the roles of anger and conflict in politics were informed by his study of Roman sources. John McCormick (2011) has shed new light on Machiavelli's views on socio-political discord, but their relationship to Roman representations of public emotions has not been explored in detail. Ann Vasaly (2015) has drawn attention to themes of political *concordia* and *discordia* in Livy; her work aids this paper's analysis of Machiavelli's reception of Livy's text. By examining Machiavelli's interpretation of emotional episodes drawn from Livy's history of Rome, this paper supplements Machiavellian scholarship concerning the Florentine's relationship with classical literature (e.g. Coby 1999).

This paper concludes by evaluating Machiavelli's provocative assertion that emotions remain the same across time periods. In Machiavelli's view, the future is predictable because emotions are predictable. By underplaying the influence of historical context on political emotions, Machiavelli is able to justify his undertaking in the *Discourses*. This prompts us to question how emotions of the past are used to substantiate contemporary political claims.

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Clemens Koehn, 'Able Archer: Procopius' Preface to the *Wars* Reconsidered'

Procopius' *Wars* in eight books are the longest work ever written of historiography that are preserved from the ancient world. It describes in the most detailed manner the fighting of the armies sent by emperor Justinian (527-565) to re-conquer the lost Western provinces of the Imperium Romanum. Standing at the edge of a millennium of Greek historical writing, its author introduces his topic by alluding to the great classics such as Herodotus and Thucydides. However, the discussion of the greatness these wars obviously had, is quite suddenly interrupted by a lengthy digression on the different fighting capabilities of Homeric archers and contemporary soldiers. Modern scholarship has discussed the reasons by which Procopius sacrificed so much space of his introduction for discussing such a particular issue. The various explanations range from playing with classical tradition (R. Scott) over criticizing ironically imperial politics (A. Kaldellis) to a complex construction of allusions to the famous historiographical predecessors (F. Basso and G. Greatrex). Oddly enough, the question never occurred to modern scholars to what extent Procopius' digression is based not only on historiographical models but also on philological ones. Therefore, by discussing the allusions and parallels to ancient commentaries on Homer the paper argues that the comparison between Homeric and contemporary fighting styles had a long tradition in Greek literary scholarship and that Procopius just used a known model for his special purposes to justify the topic for himself and his readership.

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Anna M. (Ania) Kotarba-Morley, 'Maritime connectivity networks of the Greco-Roman Red Sea. The case study of *Berenike Troglodytica* – port of trade in Southern Egypt'

The Red Sea region is unfavourable for long-shore nautical activity as it lacks natural topographic features that could be used as harbours; there are only a few suitable bays for landing along its coasts, where wadi mouths allow for a break in the reef. However, experiencing seasonally variable winds and currents, parts of the Red Sea constituted favourable marine environments for sea voyaging, contact and trade long before the arrival of Ptolemies and Romans. This paper focuses on the influence that the local environmental and climatic context (including land- and sea-scape), had on the location, development, and ultimate success or decline of key Classical (Greco-Roman) ports of trade on the Red Sea coast, most pertinently those involved in exchange on the Spice, Incense and Maritime Silk Routes. One of the most important harbours on the Egyptian Red Sea during the Ptolemaic and Roman

periods was *Berenike Troglodytica* – a major hub connecting trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. The importance of changes in geomorphological, climatic, landscape and sea level configurations that led to the alternation of human-adapted landscapes on this site will be discussed within the new theoretical framework of 'Parameters of Attractiveness' developed during the author's Phd research. These parameters – grouped into 4 main categories: Sea, Land, Resources, and Socio-Economic and Political – were designed in order to statistically quantify the attractiveness of particular sites along the rims of the Red Sea for use as trade ports.

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Alina Kozlovski, 'The material anachronism of *imagines*: Bringing Romulus and Pompey to visit Augustan Rome'

In this paper, I examine the place that objects can have in creating deliberate anachronisms. My focus is on Roman elite funerals where objects such as *imagines* and representations of the insignia of office were used to bring ancestors into the present city. These events have been studied before by those interested in their political implications (Flower, 1996), and by those who emphasised the importance of the funeral route within the topography of Rome (Favro & Johanson, 2010). Following on from such studies, I examine the practice of using *imagines* from the perspective of historical re-enactment, where the bringing of the past into the present is not only legitimised through material things such as props and costumes but is also brought in to intermingle with and react to the present. Though we know little about what the *imagines* specifically looked like, I argue that when we look at interactions with objects representing ancestors in Roman art, we can see these objects are given agency and a gaze of their own. In these situations, the past is not only seen *by* the present but also sees the present in its own right. With Cassius Dio's claim that the *imagines* of Romulus and Pompey were seen at Augustus funeral (56.34) as my case study, I examine the political and cultural repercussions of bringing these two characters *to see* Augustan Rome at this event and *to be seen* doing so.

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Alex Kujanpaa, 'Administrating the Emperor or the Emperor Administrating? A Reassessment of Theodosius II in His Government'

The fifth century Roman Emperor Theodosius II (402-450 A.D.) is described in the literature, both ancient and modern, as weak, ineffectual and dominated by those who surrounded him. In this paper, I will refute the notions first presented by Holum and will further the ideas proposed by Cameron and Harries, arguing that Theodosius II was involved directly in the administration of his government. Holum focused solely on the role of the Theodosian women, Pulcheria and Eudocia, and emphasised their role in the administration of the government through their male 'agents' (Holum 1982: 96-103; 118-123). Harries, rejecting this, focused on the function of the consistory and Cameron, approaching the event from a different angle, on activities of the court eunuch Chrysaphius (Cameron 2016: 63; Harries 2013: 73). This paper will focus on Theodosius II himself and argue that the emperor was, in fact, actively and successfully involved in the administration of his government and management of its key officials. This will be undertaken by analysing the politics surrounding the downfall of three prominent men involved in the emperor's life: his *praepositus sacri cubiculi* Antiochus, lead government administrator Cyrus, and childhood friend Paul. Through these three case studies, I will argue that Theodosius II was actively involved in ensuring his rule remained stable and eliminated those who posed a threat to his reign; further, I will suggest that Theodosius II understood the machinations of ceremonial rule and the power of ensuring populace support.

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Astrid Lane, 'Ancient Stoicism, emancipation and proto-feminism in the Enlightenment'

My paper is a study in the history of philosophy, which aims to complement the increasing interest in the reception of Ancient Stoic philosophy during the Enlightenment in Europe (Brooke 2012). Stoicism erroneously earned the reputation as a philosophy of fatalistic

resignation during the period of its renaissance recovery, and this characterisation remains. Misunderstanding the Stoics as hard-determinists who preach only un-examined forbearance in the face of misfortune, many have rejected that Stoicism has anything to offer an active political emancipatory project. And yet, the Stoics theoretically insisted upon universal natural equality; justice (dikaiosyne) was counted amongst the highest virtue; they strove for appropriate relationships between self-determining individuals and society in the form of a universal cosmopolis; and saw the relentless pursuit of moral freedom as part of the ultimate goal. Works by Lisa Hill (2001) on the feminism inherent in the Stoic project, and Peter Garnsey (1996) which touch on theoretical criticism of slavery by the Stoics, have gone some way to redress the mischaracterisation. My paper will argue that this emancipatory capacity of Stoicism was recognised in proto feminist authors as early as the seventeenth century. I will conclude that a number of authors, whose work has thus far been characterised as Christian and Aristotelian, (Green 2015) consciously utilised the tradition and philosophy of Stoicism in their pursuit of emancipation.

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Peter Londey, 'The Riddle of Thermopylai'

It has long been clear that there are serious problems with Herodotos' generation-and-a-half later account of the heavily mythologised battle of Thermopylai. The most obvious is that Xerxes, having expended time and resources annihilating the Greek defenders at Thermopylai, then takes his army by a completely different route into central Greece. But the difficulties go deeper: generations of historians have tied themselves in knots trying to reconcile the contradictions in Herodotos' geographical description of events. Obviously, the coastline at Thermopylai has changed, but by itself that is not enough to provide a solution.

This paper will attempt to address the topographical questions in a two-fold manner: first, by making some suggestions about Herodotos' historiographical method; and second, by following R.H. Tawney's often quoted (though varyingly reported) dictum that historians should 'lay aside their books in favour of their boots'. The paper will therefore draw both on Herodotos and on the results of some recent ramblings on the ground in central Greece, to offer – I hope – some new solutions.

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Edward L'Orange, 'Anachronisms and Aetiologies: Euripides' Treatment of Non-Athenian Greeks'

In this paper, I seek to re-evaluate how Euripides portrayed non-Athenian Greeks. I will demonstrate that, when not constrained by other factors, Euripides relegated non-Athenians to a barbarian status, portraying them as opposed to Athenian ideas. I will argue that this was done in an attempt to affirm contemporary Athenian action.

This paper is situated in the work of Sophie Mills (2010: 163-83), who has shown that Euripides tends to praise Athenian action, rather than condemn or criticise it. However, her work passes over how Euripides treats non-Athenians. William Poole (1994: 1-34) and more recently Ellen Millender (2009) go some way to answering this question by arguing that Euripides seems to have deliberately, and anachronistically, portrayed Spartan characters in a negative way. I wish to expand these ideas further by exploring Euripides' portrayal of non-Athenian characters in general.

Focusing mainly on plays produced during the Peloponnesian War, I shall show that Euripides repeatedly characterises non-Athenians in a way diametrically opposed to the ideals of Classical Athens. By doing this Euripides sets up an aetiological link between the mythic past and the contemporary military actions of Classical Athens, justifying them by implying that their modern enemies are somehow 'sub-Hellenic'.

Building on the work of Mills, Poole and Millender, this paper seeks to re-evaluate the portrayal of non-Athenians in Euripides' tragedies. It will argue that Euripides actively sought to dehumanise non-Athenians in an attempt to affirm Athenian ideals and military action.

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Bernadette Luciano, 'Female Power on Screen: Enrico Guazzoni's *Agrippina* (1911) and *Messalina* (1924)'

The success of Enrico Guazzoni's films set in ancient Rome were due not only to the spectacles he created, particularly his mastery of composition and monumental scenes but also to the way these films spoke to audiences of the time. Marie Wyke has suggested that 'the projection of ancient Rome on the screen has often worked to place its spectators on the side of decadence and tyranny.'[3] In this paper I focus on the representation of female power and sexuality in the films *Agrippina* (1911) and *Messalina* (1924), two films that take their titles from the names of the historical women at their centre, Julia Agrippina or Agrippina the Younger (15-59 CE) and Valeria Messalina (c. 20-48 CE), both wives of Roman Emperor Claudius. The personal histories of both these women and the myths surrounding them have been reinvented in numerous art forms, many of which tell us as much about the time in which the works were conceived as they do about the historical period in which they lived. I will consider the filmic representations of Agrippina and Messalina in terms of the gendered political and cultural context of early 20th century Italy and the institutional and creative context of the Italian film industry.

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Anne Mackay, 'Circles of Influence. An Investigation of Selected Black-figure "Workshops" in Archaic Athens'

In attributing black-figure vases to specific painters' hands, Beazley in his monumental *ABV* catalogue of attributions included also numerous vases on which he recognised stylistic reminiscences of his major painters, in varying degrees of proximity. These he commonly categorised as Manner of X, Near X, or Related to X; sometimes he gathered a number of vases with certain shared characteristics and identified them simply as a Group; but most often he made no further comment on these lesser hands. Such clusters tend to be regarded as the 'workshop' of the major painter with whom they are associated, a useful but loose term whose connotations of a Renaissance *atelier* are inappropriate to the ancient production situation, where a 'workshop' most likely comprised members of a single extended family. Close study of these 'fringe groups' has begun to be undertaken in the last decade or two, for instance by Heide Mommsen (2002) and Bettina Kreuzer (2016): this shows that such analysis can lead to a deeper understanding of the stylistic relationship between major and minor painters. Furthermore, when conducted across diverse groups, there is the potential for closer definition of the chronological relationship between different 'workshops'. Accordingly, this paper will present some new findings that have emerged from a detailed investigation of vases attributed

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[3] Maria Wyke, *Projecting the Past: Ancient Rome, Cinema and History* (New York Routledge, 1997), 24.

by Beazley as Group E, Near Group E, Manner of Exekias, Near Exekias, Manner of the Lysippides Painter, and Related to the Lysippides Painter.

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Christopher Malone, 'Battlefield Miracles and Roman Army Religion'

Christianity and religious change in the Roman army is a well-trod issue, but one still lacking any real scholarly consensus. One aspect of the topic that could use more attention is the occasional stories we find of miracles on the battlefield, and how they relate to religious change within the army itself. It was a truism, of course, that victory in battle was a function of divine favour, regardless of religious persuasion. Omens appear frequently in the ancient sources, but direct acts of divine intervention are reasonably rare. The majority of such stories take the form of personal divine epiphanies, which have been well-studied in scholarship; less frequent but more impressive are tales of miraculous events on the battlefield, either sent from above or conjured by one of the participants. While several individual narratives are well known – the most famous are probably Constantine's vision and Marcus Aurelius' rain miracle – battlefield miracles of this kind have not been extensively treated as a unitary phenomenon; neither has the connection between the supposed occurrence of these miracles and periods of religious change. This paper therefore examines miraculous events on Roman battlefields within the religious and cultural contexts (and contests) around the stories and their transmission, with a particular focus on what they can tell us about religious change within the Roman military.

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Kristen Mann, 'Behavioural Archaeology and the Greek Oikos: Understanding the Material Household in Geometric Greece'

During the 9th-7th centuries BC the Aegean world underwent processes of rapid urbanism, extensive social and political transformation, and expanding external networks that gave rise to Greek poleis. The Geometric settlement of Zagora on Andros is central to discussion of these processes. Specifically, the site has been variously argued as evidence for the formulation of ideological frameworks to govern civic space, urban planning, and property inheritance in the 8th century, alongside coalescing ideas concerning gendered behaviour and social interactions (Morris 1999; Coucouzeli 2007; Haggis 2015).

The value of Zagora to understanding Aegean social transformations is uncontested here. However, this paper addresses several persistent statements about the Zagora material that are founded on assumptions drawn from later evidence, or on superficial readings of the site plan. Specifically, it challenges discussion of Zagora as a formally planned settlement (e.g. Coucouzeli 2007; Haggis 2015), and the politicised contrast frequently made between the larger central-plateau houses and the smaller-roomed houses elsewhere on site (e.g. Coucouzeli 2007). It also challenges the argument put forward by Ian Morris and other scholars (Morris 1999; Coucouzeli 2007) that changes in household configurations at Zagora can be associated with 'hardening gender ideologies' (Morris 1999: 311).

This research aggregates evidence from the built environment, artefact distribution patterns, and cultural formation processes to query the experience and social perception of household space. It argues the need to develop multi-layered, material understandings of people and their houses in antiquity, before attempting to extrapolate larger socio-political inferences from settlement evidence.

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Wendy Mayer, 'Desecration and disgust: The obliteration of Christian tombs under Julian'

When we contemplate the destruction of religious sites in the Mediterranean East in Late Antiquity, attention usually turns to Libanius' complaints about the destruction of pagan

temples by Christian monks, the destruction by Christians of the synagogue at Callinicum, or on events surrounding the temple of Apollo at Daphne and the relics of the Christian martyr Babylas (e.g. Hahn 2004). That is, focus typically rests on devotees of the relatively new religion (Christianity) as perpetrators and on Jews and 'pagans' as victims. That such activities are not religion-specific is evidenced by the brief reign of the emperor Julian. When we turn to the three years in which he was able to exert his policies, we find a similar erasure process focused on Christian bodies (exemplified by the cult of the martyrs) and their polluting effect. The relationship between the martyr cult, place, and the construction of memory has been well discussed in recent years (e.g. Shepardson 2014). What has been less well explained are the mechanisms that drive individuals to rewrite the landscape that results, moving from the narrative to literal erasure of cultic bodies or buildings from memory and perception. Focusing on the language of pollution and disgust that permeates Julian's writings on the topic, this paper explores the utility of moral foundations theory for explaining the agency of Julian's discourse in escalating anti-Christian feelings of disgust and why the bodies of the Christian dead were a particular target.

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Lachlan McColl, 'From oppression to cooperation? Diachronic change in the Chian slave system.'

Recent years have seen changes in how we examine slavery in the ancient world. The works of authors such as Peter Hunt, Sarah Forsdyke and Kostas Vlassopoulos have suggested new approaches to the study of slavery and raised new questions about the slaves' experience, their agency in moulding the world around them, and their social interactions with free people. In antiquity, Chios was strongly associated with slavery, but modern academic interest has been quite limited (Φραγκομίχαλος, 1993 offers the most comprehensive treatment). Although the study of slavery has recently benefited from more nuanced analytical approaches, evidence for Chian slavery is mostly employed as illustrative exempla within more general works. Our understanding of slavery, as specific to Chios, lacks a unifying diachronic focus. Thucydides (8.40.2) claims that 5th century Chios was home to a vast number of slaves who were harshly treated because of their multitude, yet, by the 3rd century, we hear of a shrine to a slave-hero worshipped not only by slaves but by the Chians themselves (Athenaeus, 265b-266). The conflict between these different narratives of Chian slavery suggests that it should be understood not in terms of static stereotypes, but rather as a complex and evolving relationship between slaves and free Chians. Drawing on philological, archaeological and epigraphic evidence, this paper examines diachronic change in the system of Chian slavery and argues

that the marked change in local attitudes can be explicated by examining the historical contexts of Chios in the late Archaic, Classical and early Hellenistic eras.

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Gwynaeth McIntyre, 'Incest Invective and the Tyrannical Caligula'

In recent years, rehabilitation of some of the most notorious Roman emperors has been undertaken by modern scholars. In her rehabilitation of Domitian, Vinson argues that allegations of incest and adultery allowed writers under Trajan to attack and denigrate his predecessor in order to gain support for his own claim to power. [1] Writing under Hadrian, Suetonius constructs his own *De Vita Caesarum* following this tradition and uses his text to attack hereditary succession as used by the Julio-Claudian and Flavian families to facilitate the transition of power.

This paper examines Suetonius' *Life of Caligula* with regard to one of the common invective tropes, sexual misconduct. [2] It compares this text with other sources representing and relating to his reign and presents a case for why the charge of incest in particular would resonate with Suetonius' audience. First, incest was commonly used in ancient rhetoric as a way of categorizing tyrannical behaviour. Therefore, Suetonius' charge of incest helps to support his presentation of Caligula as a tyrant and highlight the ease at which hereditary succession can devolve into tyranny. Second, this charge of incest would resonate with his audience because of the public position of his sisters during the beginning of his reign. [3] It suggests that this invective attack on Caligula and his sisters is part of a larger commentary on the exceptional public position of his sisters and the increase in power of imperial family members at the expense of the senate and traditional magistracies.

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Dustin McKenzie, 'There's No Place Like Home: Diodorus Siculus, Agyrium, and the Young Caesar'

Throughout the *Bibliotheca Historica*, Diodorus Siculus' hometown of Agyrium appears again and again, seemingly out of place next to mentions of Syracuse, Henna, and Messana. It is honoured by Hercules, instrumental in a Sicilian victory over Carthage, and notable for its fecund landscape. Despite this, the town is mentioned rarely outside of the *Bibliotheca*. This paper will examine why Diodorus' inclusion of Agyrium in the *Bibliotheca Historica* is of importance, with a particular focus on the glorification of its mythical past (Diod. Sic. 4.24), the city's apparent strength in both politics and warfare (Diod. Sic. 14.95, 16.82-83), and the fertility of its environs (Diod. Sic. 4.84). Following the revionist methodologies of Kenneth Sacks, Peter Green, and Iris Sulimani (who all move away from Diodorus as mere compiler), this paper argues that these inclusions throughout the text are a reaction to the younger Caesar's victory over Sextus Pompeius in 36 BCE, and the subsequent punishments levied against Sicily for siding with Pompeius during the Sicilian Revolt. These punishments included the destruction of cities, large-scale confiscations of land, and mass relocations of people. As Diodorus was a contemporary of these events, living at Rome through the 40s and 30s BCE, this paper will demonstrate that the author's glorification of Agyrium is not simply an attempt at self-aggrandisement or vanity, but aims to justify the continued importance of Sicily to Rome, all the while pointing subtle barbs at imperial rule and the hegemony of the younger Caesar.

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Kate McLardy, 'Variation in the Thesmophoria Festival: The Importance of Local Influences'

The Thesmophoria festival, in honour of Demeter Thesmophoros and Kore, has long been discussed in the scholarly literature. In the early scholarship, the Thesmophoria was typically represented in the literature as a single concrete festival and variations were not the focus of much discussion. One example of this is Schmitz 1856, 1127-1128 who tries to explain away variation as merely discrepancies in the surviving evidence. More recent publications, such as Dillon 2002, 110-120, still focus on a general reconstruction of the festival; although some evidence of variation is normally enumerated, there is not much consideration of the deeper reason and meaning for this variation. Recent contributions to the literature on ancient religion display a new appreciation for the importance of variation in our interpretations. Some scholars, for example, Johnston 2013, even argue that different local mythic variants are to some extent

independent myths and I argue we can apply this approach to the festivals as well. In this paper I will outline literary, epigraphical and archaeological evidence for variations to the festival throughout the Greek world, including changes to the date, length and timing of the festival and evidence of possible syncretistic relationships. Using this evidence, I will consider the reason for these variations and how this affects the way that we reconstruct the festival itself. Ultimately, I argue that some aspects of the Thesmophoria festival were open to variation in order to increase the relevance of the festival to the local community.

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Beatrice McLoughlin, 'Homeric Audiences: Potters, singers and harvest festivals in the eighth century BCE'

The earliest, and certainly the most dramatic represenations of the epic cycles are preserved on monumental neck handled pithoi, decorated with applied relief, from the Cyclades, Eretria and Boeotia, the best known of which is the Mykonos Pithos – preserving the Trojan horse and the sacking of Troy. Most examples of these vessels have not been recovered from their primary context of use, making it difficult to reconstruct the social role of these story pithoi at the time of their commisioning. The recovery of this pithos type from the houses at the Geometric settlement of Zagora, as only one of three pithos types in use by the inhabitants, has provided sufficient evidence to establish their manufacture by travelling potters; while the other two pithos types were made by local highly skilled potters to fulfil a wide range of storage needs. With the aid of current paradigms in ethnoarchaeology, it is now possible to propose a model in which the production of these specialty storage vessels is likely to have been linked to the wine harvest, and the festivities associated with it, in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. Such a model allows us to revisit the mechanisms of movement of the travelling demiourgoi, and the role of oral performance in the context of celebrating surpluses, as mechanisms for social and political change in the Archaic period.

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James McNamara, 'Tacitus' *Germania* and Ecphrasis'

In more than one sense, Tacitus' *Germania*, as an ethnographic monograph from antiquity, stands alone. Without the survival of other texts of the same kind, we are left to compare it with ethnographic passages in other texts, though these differ from it in having a narrative framework by which to contextualise the ethnography.

This paper offers a reading of the *Germania* as a portrait, albeit a portrait focused on *mores* rather than appearance. Formally, geographic ecphrases from oratory will provide one framework for comparison, but I shall draw on modern scholarship on poetic ecphrases to consider ways in which the *Germania* may be presented to the reader in a manner reminiscent of these.

An impulse is provided by Richard Thomas' suggestive piece on genre in the *Germania*, which recently reaffirmed the view that the *Germania* has a 'poetic' character in places. Further influences on the present enquiry are scholarship on poetic ecphrasis such as Fowler's discussion of ecphrastic dynamics, as well as a long-overlooked comparison of style and content between Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* and Tacitus' *Germania* by Thielscher.

The aim of this paper will be to develop a better understanding of the literary and political implications of Tacitus' composition of a text that leaves the reader so barely equipped with historical context and authorial commentary.

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Scot Mcphee, 'The Alps and the Limits of History in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*'

The narrative techniques that Livy employed to describe the Alps reveal the mountain range as not merely a geographic boundary, but also a site of moral complexity and a limit of knowledge and history itself. This paper explores the ways in which Livy's representations of multiple Alpine crossings define and transform the people who both inhabit and pass through them. It demonstrates that Livy's descriptions of these crossings underpin his historiographical techniques and structures (Kraus 1994; Jaeger 2006). Each crossing was a discrete episode, but also fulfilled broader historical aims. Livy situated the passages at important structural

boundaries of the history, which were part of larger episodes which Livy constructed as forming historical pivots in Roman history.

Like many other elements of the history, Livy carefully tailored his narrative in order to reflect both the fleeting needs of the particular narrative, and to fulfil his broader historical aims. The Alps are a site of historical contestation: a mythological landscape, a site of moral transformation (Buxton 1992), and the frontier of both knowledge and history (Jaeger 2006). The Alps are, in this reading, a reminder of the boundaries of Roman knowledge and history, and also a reflection on Roman *imperium* and the historian's unique role in uncovering and displaying it to the reader.

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John McTavish, 'The Royal Costume and Insignia of Demetrius Poliorcetes'

Demetrius the Besieger was better known for his excesses rather than his victories on the battlefield. While he was an amorous and extravagant character – whose turbulent fortunes certainly resonate more than his accomplishments – the fashion in which this Hellenistic war-leader chose to present himself was not simply an expression of oriental excess.

Much scholarship on Demetrius focuses on his political and military career, or the numerous ritual honours he received in Greece between 307 and 294 BCE (e.g., Kuhn 2013: 265). While many studies have examined Alexander's adoption of oriental modes of kingship (Collins 2013: 130), the Alexander-centric nature of both the primary and secondary classical sources typically overshadows the careers of the Diadochi (Wheatley 2009: 54), despite efforts by the second generation of the Successors, of whom Demetrius was arguably the most prominent, to establish an image befitting their unique pedigree and accomplishments.

This paper will assess the royal costume and insignia of Demetrius throughout his tumultuous career, and will investigate the strength of the links between Alexander's newly-forged ideology of kingship and the personality and legitimacy of Demetrius himself as an Antigonid monarch. In a climate of profound political and social turmoil, Demetrius stressed the importance of his own position in relation to his rival dynasts by incorporating elements of both Persian and Macedonian costumes and insignia, attempting to portray himself as a second Alexander the Great through spectacle and the magnitude of his own achievements.

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John Melville-Jones, '*Obrussa* or ὄβρυζα; which came first?'

Obrussa appears in Latin literature from Cicero to Suetonius: Cicero, Brutus (*De Claris Oratoribus*) 74 (258), Petronius, Satyricon 67.6, Pliny, *NH* 33.19.59, Seneca, *Epistulae* 13.1, *Naturales Quaestiones* 4.5, Suetonius, Nero 44. It means either 'testing' or 'pure gold', and may have been formed from *(ob)russus*, 'reddish, russet'. Pliny explains this as meaning that gold is reddened when purified by heat.

From the time of Valentinian I onwards –OB begins to appear on gold coins, first at Constantinople (CONOB), then at other mints (TESOB. MDOB, ANTOB, AQOB). Numismatists believe that this is a shortened form of the word, and indicates that the coins were of pure gold.

In Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices (A.D. 301), a pound of gold is described in the Latin version as being *obryzae*, and in the Greek version as *(o)bryzês*. The Greek form then appears later in many official documents.

Mommsen (1890, at pp. 25-6) believed that the Latin form was the original one. This has been challenged by Wiener (1915, at pp. 185-9), Vittinghoff (1937, at cols 1741-3) and Benveniste (1953 at pp. 122-6). Vittinghoff dismissed Pliny's interpretation as 'vielleicht nur Volksetymologie'. Wiener and Benveniste could not find any Greek origin for the word, and therefore offered some 'interesting' suggestions concerning its possible importation into Greek from other languages.

This paper supports Mommsen's opinion.

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Elizabeth Minchin, 'Odysseus, emotional intelligence, and the plot of the *Odyssey*'

Two epithets, πολύμητις and πολυμήχανος, are used in the Homeric epics as descriptors of Odysseus alone (Rutherford, 2011: 582); both have the meanings 'of many devices', 'resourceful'. What distinguishes the hero from his peers, according to Homer, is his ability to think his way out of difficult situations. But his problem-solving ability is not his only cognitive attribute. It is well recognized amongst psychologists that individuals exhibit not one but multiple intelligences (Gardner 1993). Perhaps the most conspicuous of these, especially in social contexts, is emotional intelligence: that ability to understand and predict one's own emotions, and the emotions of others, and to use this information to guide one's thinking and behaviour (Mayer, Salovey and Caruso: 2008).

This paper begins with a brief discussion of emotional intelligence and its scope. I then observe how the poet, in his development of the narrative of the *Odyssey*, allows us to observe this ability in Odysseus—his emotional intelligence serves the hero well in some social situations but (as happens to us all) fails him in others. I shall argue, with reference to a number of examples, that the poet has an implicit understanding of emotional intelligence; that he uses his hero's uneven performance with respect to this ability as an enabling or motivating factor in his development of the plot; and that this attribute of Odysseus, along with his craftiness, is what makes this character--and ultimately this story--so engaging.

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Nicole Moffatt, 'Concealing Volturcius: Lentulus and his letter-bearer'

P. Cornelius Lentulus, a member of the Catiline conspiracy, authored one of history's more curious messages: a brief and ambiguous letter to Catiline which famously bore no names. This paper will consider the absence of one name: not the author's, not the recipient's, but that of its bearer - T. Volturcius. Earlier scholarship suggested that Lentulus envisaged a minor role for the bearer of this letter. However, Francis Cairns' recent reading of the text (Cicero's *In Catilinam* 3.12, and Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* 44.3-6) increases the scope of Lentulus' oral *mandata* and therefore Volturcius' role in its delivery.[1]

This paper examines an epistolary practice: the identification of a sole bearer who will deliver the letter to its recipient, therefore enabling authentication and clarification of the text and any oral *mandata* given by the correspondent. The paper asks if the concealment of Volturcius' name reflects similar behaviour by contemporaries of Lentulus in situations of uncertainty. The answer will be found in the Ciceronian letter collection. This paper extends research on

Cicero's letter-bearers by Pérez,[2] who links the type of bearer to particular messages, and McCutcheon,[3] who examines the bearer as part of a letter's paratext. The question will be resolved by collating, then chronologically mapping, all instances where a bearer is named as a portion of the total letters. This will reveal patterns in the practice of identifying or concealing the bearer's name, and therefore advance our understanding of their dynamic role in the communication networks of the late Roman Republic.

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Katherine Moignard, '"So much *aither* in your soul": Second Sophistic understandings of Apollonios of Tyana's powers'

In Philostratos' *Life* of Apollonios of Tyana, the Indian sage Iarchas attributes Apollonios' prophetic powers to the fact that he has so much *aither* in his soul (τοσοῦτον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέρων αἰθέρα, 3.42.2). In this paper, I will unpack the concept of '*aither* in the soul', associating it with Plato's conception of the composition of the soul and its Middle Platonic developments, and with contemporary ideas about the structure and composition of the kosmos. I will then investigate whether, in the thought-world of the time, the predominance of *aither* in his soul is sufficient to account for *all* of Apollonios' powers as they are presented in Philostratos' account. I will show that, while an ethereal soul can account for supernatural knowledge, it is insufficient to explain Apollonios' demonstrated freedom from normal bodily restraints. This can best be understood in the context of belief in traditional gods and in the possibility of apotheosis to join their ranks, a still-present part of the Second Sophistic world-view.

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Kit Morrell, 'Scaevola and Rutilius in Asia'

The Asian governorship of Q. Mucius Scaevola and his legate P. Rutilius Rufus in the 90s BCE is broadly familiar as an exception to the norm of exploitative provincial governance; however, mostly it is the date of Scaevola's command that has occupied scholars. This paper focuses instead on the pair's aims and methods. I argue that Scaevola and Rutilius went to Asia with the intention of reforming both the administration of that province and provincial governance more generally at a time when complicity between governors and *publicani* had intensified the exploitation of Rome's provinces. Scaevola's solution entailed a new provincial edict, including novel legal protections for provincials (Bauman 1983), and a programme of ethical governance. According to Diodorus (37.6), Scaevola's efforts quelled the hatred that had arisen against Roman rule. In Asia, he was celebrated with games and honours. In Rome, he was commended as a model for future governors. But the reform project was short-lived. Rutilius' conviction by a resentful equestrian jury deterred other governors from protecting provincials (Gruen 1968). Conditions in Asia deteriorated again, to the point where Mithridates was able to seize the province with enthusiastic participation from its inhabitants – precisely the sort of situation, I suggest, that Scaevola had attempted to forestall. These lessons were not lost on subsequent reformers. Later attempts to improve provincial governance were guided by consciousness of what Mithridates had been able to achieve (Morrell 2017). It is no coincidence that Scaevola's name and *exemplum* were closely associated with these efforts.

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Peter Mountford, 'The Question of the Anonymity of the *Elegiae in Maecenatem*'

The two *Elegies on Maecenas* were initially included as one elegy in the minor works of Virgil in a ninth century catalogue from the monastery at Murbach. Virgil, however, had died eleven years before Maecenas and could not have described his death, which is the focus of the second elegy. Various other poets of the period have been suggested, but no-one has successfully proved who the author was. Some commentators, such as Dyer (1984) and Levi (2012), dismiss the elegies as of little value. This paper argues that there are good reasons for concluding that the author was none other than Augustus himself. If this argument has validity, it has implications for the authorship of the *Consolatio ad Liviam*, as both the Duffs (1934) and Schoonhoven (1980) suggest that the author of that poem is the same as that of the elegies. This paper argues that there are good reasons to believe that this is indeed the case. The paper offers reasons why other candidates for authorship should be rejected.

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Elke Nash, 'ζῶσα γόοις με τιμῶ: Representations of honor in Aeschylus's *Persians* and *Suppliants*'

In the ancient Greek world, honor, *timē*, functioned as a system of exchange, one which scholars today often think of as androcentric and firmly situated within the ethos of heroic warfare and masculine valor. Within this framework, the status of woman as object is well accepted and much discussed, and scholars of both ancient and modern cultures for many years have suggested that a woman's main source of value within an honor system lies in her sexual chastity. Inviolate, in her exchange she solidifies bonds between men; failure to guard her chastity results in dishonor for the man to whom she belongs. (Lévi-Strauss 1969, Pitt-Rivers 1977, Cohen 1991).

This paper interrogates such long-held assumptions, and seeks to provide a more nuanced understanding of honor in the ancient world. I argue that honor at its core is a measure of the value a person holds in their community. Using the tragedies of Aeschylus as my central focus, I suggest that there are various spheres in which we might find access points for women to the Athenian system of honor, such as that of religion. I focus on two plays, *Persians* and *Suppliants*, in order to consider the ways in which honor is constructed as a critical component of ritual performances, and as a means of articulating the relationship between mortal and divine. Through such examinations, I aim to understand more fully the function and thus value of women in Athenian society.

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Theo Nash, 'P. Oxy. 3698: Eumelus and the Seers of the Argo'

Though the myth of the Argonauts is presupposed by both of the Homeric epics, it survives in no extant text earlier than Pindar's Fourth Pythian Ode, and a fully detailed account is lacking until Apollonius' Hellenistic *Argonautica*. Reconstructions of earlier forms of the myth are therefore highly dependent on the scanty fragments of early epic, especially those of Eumelus' *Corinthiaca* and the anonymous *Carmen Naupactium*. As such, the publication in 1986 of P. Oxy. 3698, a fragment of hexameter poetry featuring Orpheus, Mopsus, Medea and Jason,

represented a significant contribution to that corpus. While Andrea Debiasi has recently argued that this (and another fragment from the same papyrus, P. Oxy. 2513) should be attributed to Eumelus' *Corinthiaca*, the presence of the seer Mopsus complicates any ascription to know Archaic poetry: in both the *Corinthiaca* and the *Carmen Naupactium* the seer of the Argo is Idmon. This talk will therefore explore the fragment's attribution to Eumelus as well as the evidence it offers for an early and under-explored variant in one of the most enduring Greek myths.

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Bronwen Neil, 'Remembering Utopia in Gregory of Tours' *Lives* of the Saints'

Miracle stories such as appear in Gregory of Tours' collections of saints' *Lives* are not unusual in themselves. The dead are raised, the blind are given sight, the mute made to speak (even formerly mute animals in some cases). What is unusual about his hagiography is the frequent violence of these miracles, and the agency that Gregory accords to relics as vehicles of divine power. It is no longer just monks or bishops who can channel the divine, but their earthly remains. I argue that these tales call to mind an eschatological utopia, grounded in the recast past but functioning to remind people of their eternal future. Both the recent past and the life to come take on frightening new characteristics in these texts. The impious are given a foretaste of eternal condemnation, through blinding, maiming, even murder by the hand of "saints". These cautionary tales served to remind people not only of the eternal consequences of their actions in this life, but also to recast the newly Christianised Frankish society as a violent dystopia. Through the intersection of the old with the new, Gregory aims to establish both the ideal of an eschatological utopia and a new political order in the present, an alternative to the dystopia of the past, but one which is possibly even more violent.

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Leah O'Hearn, 'Catullus *amator* and the akratic self'

He who hates and loves, Catullus defines himself by his emotional intensity and inconsistency. Poem 8 (*miser Catulle, desinas ineptire*) famously vacillates between erotic passion and strict demands for self-control. However, many critics have been troubled by the presence of tropes

from Roman and New Comedy in poem 8: critical opinion divides between the tears of Macaulay and the tinkling of Plautine laughter, only rarely meeting to find a seriously poetic use for the poem's comedic drama.

I will argue that agonised internal conflict is the subject of poem 8 and that Catullus deploys comedic personae, language, and ideas to explore this. By vacillating between the stereotypical *senex* and *adulescens amator*, Catullus plays out a typically akratic struggle for self-control against the excesses of passion, and reveals the role of the emotions in making ethical choices. Some critics have offhandedly referred to an akratic Catullus before but the idea has not been examined in depth. Doing so is vital because it helps us to understand ancient discourse around the emotions, a popular subject in recent scholarship which needs further integration into Catullan studies. Furthermore, the philosophical concept of *akrasia* can illuminate these shifts and inconsistencies in the Catullan persona in a meaningful and ultimately satisfying way for the reader, revealing a more philosophic Catullan persona that can be extended into other difficult and seemingly divided poems in the corpus.

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Daniel Osland, 'Just How Augustan was Colonia Augusta Emerita? Some Practical and Chronological Considerations'

This paper offers a new reconstruction of *Colonia Iulia Augusta Emerita* (Mérida, Spain) as it developed from its foundation under Augustus down to the mid first century CE. Evidence from the University of Otago / Consorcio de Mérida 2016 excavation is presented alongside a re-evaluation of finds from a number of key sites around the city, casting the foundational period of the city in a new light. The portrait that emerges provides insights into both urban ideals and some of the practical problems surrounding the creation of a new colony on the edge of the Empire.

According to Cassius Dio (53.26.1), Augustus established Emerita in 25 BCE as a retirement colony for veterans of the Cantabrian Wars (29-19 BCE). Within a few years of its foundation, the colony issued a series of coins with imagery linked to Augustus' post-Actium propaganda (*RIC* I^2, 1-25; *RPC* I, 5-11), and monumental inscriptions date the theatre and amphitheatre to 16 and 8 BCE, respectively (1). On the ground, however, there is surprisingly little physical evidence for the initial phases of what must have been an important propagandistic foundation for Augustus, despite more than 200 excavations and decades of scientific investigation (2: 425-6). Indeed, the scarcity of Augustan period remains has led some to question Dio's account

and to seek alternative explanations for the apparently-Augustan epigraphic remains (3: 184-6). Thanks to new evidence uncovered in the University of Otago excavations in 2016, it is now possible to propose a more straightforward history of this Roman colony's foundational period.

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Katherin Papadopoulos, 'The late Eusebia (Ἡ μακαρῖτης Εὐσεβία): Memory and Manipulation'

Eusebia, the wife of Constantius II (337–361 CE), earned the public praise of Julian the Apostate, but what is known of her remains scant, scattered in various sources, and sometimes contradictory. While some modern historians have attempted to reconcile these disparate portraits (Seeck 1907), or otherwise explain them (Tougher 2000), others have argued that these are merely creations or else recognisable 'types' which say nothing about the 'real' Eusebia (James 2012). This paper eschews the search for the historical Eusebia and instead examines how Eusebia's memory was constructed and manipulated in literary sources, and how her portrait and its signification changed over time, and why. It nevertheless suggests (as would John Chrysostom) that there is likely a historical kernel in these depictions and concludes with a brief assessment on the usefulness of a memory paradigm in evaluating sources.

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Kirsten Parkin, 'Valerius Maximus and *Clementia:* converting clemency?'

Clementia has long been understood as one of the ideologically significant virtues that a Roman leader was to possess. Indeed, it was claimed by Tiberius through the exigencies of the Senate during the trial of Cn. Piso in 20 CE, it was struck on a *clementia dupondii*, and is recorded by Tacitus *Ann.* 4.74 as on an altar in 28 CE. However, the extant literary evidence suggests otherwise. With the exception of Cowan (2016), little attention has been paid to the specific use of *clementia* in contemporary Tiberian authors.

This paper will present a case study of the, still, largely overlooked Valerius Maximus despite the seminal work of Bloomer (1992), and show that Valerius was partaking in a contemporary discussion that attempted to articulate when, where, and by whom *clementia* should be used, and perhaps what could have motivated such a shift in Tiberian Rome. While the unique nature of Valerius' *exempla* accounts for the absence of *clementia* indebted to Tiberius, its specific deployment remains illuminating. Valerius appears to be negotiating a sphere for *clementia* to belong to, which can be mapped throughout his work. Between books I to VIII, Valerius is thinking of *clementia* as a virtue belonging to the battlefield and wartime senatorial politics. By book IX there is a remarkable shift, as *clementia* in its culminating use, becomes a virtue of the judicial arena.

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Sonia Pertsinidis, 'It's all a matter of style: a new reading of Theophrastus' *Characters*'

Theophrastus' style of writing in the *Characters* is highly distinctive and quite unique in Greek literature but it has also been extensively criticised. Ussher (1993) comments that "the Greek is not Greek at its most limpid"; Vellacott (1973) describes it as "unvaried and abrupt"; Boyce (1947) claims that it "lacks subtlety" and Jebb (1909) judges that the style is "incompatible with work of the highest kind". These negative judgments belie reports that Theophrastus wrote extensively on matters of style; that he was renamed by Aristotle for his eloquence; that he was described as a *philologos*; and that he was easily identified as a metic not because he spoke Attic Greek poorly, but because he spoke it *too* well. In this paper, I will argue that critics of Theophrastus' style in the *Characters* have been unduly harsh. The *Characters* represents a new type of work, straddling both comedy and ethics, and it called for a new and distinctive style. As I will show, the style is artfully simple, reflecting Theophrastus' appreciation of clarity and compactness and demonstrating a clever use of cataloguing and direct speech. The

style was highly suited to lively delivery and the use of repetition and short successive clauses comes to life in oral performance. In this way, Theophrastus' *Characters* gives a practical illustration of Theophrastus' unique contribution to the theories of rhetoric and delivery.

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Nova (Dana) Petrechko, 'And Then There Were Four: Historical-Legal Problems of the First Tetrarchy'

The place of the Tetrarchy in the study of Roman history, even within the burgeoning field of Late Antiquity, is overlooked and understudied. The legal output has been crucial in trying to recreate and interpret this unusual governmental structure which lasted from 285-313. The First Tetrarchy promoted *Concordia* and *similitudo* in all of their works, including attributing all constitutions to *all* emperors. This poses enormous historical-legal problems of how to understand the Tetrarchy itself which few have strived to answer. This paper will argue that Tetrarchic laws in the *Codex Justinianus* (CJ) should either be treated as representative of a unit or can analysed in conjunction with known historical information in order to attribute them to a specific emperor or to a specific event. The first method can shed a brighter light on how the Tetrarchs saw themselves and interacted with the people they ruled; the second can provide a more detailed reconstruction of the new and, briefly, successful government that was able to stabilise the empire after the disastrous third century. Roger Rees and Bill Leadbetter are the main historians attempting to grapple with the Tetrarchy in its own right by trying to reconstruct a politico-historical timeline for the Tetrarchic period, using *constitutiones* and other written texts, including inscriptions and literary works, to track each emperor's movements and actions. This paper seeks to build upon their work by suggesting a framework in which historians may approach the Tetrarchy.

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Arthur Pomeroy, 'Guazzoni after the War'

While up to 1914 Italian film-making had led the world, with Guazzoni's *Quo Vadis?* and *Julius Caesar* only being eclipsed by Pastrone's *Cabiria*, Italy's participation in the First World War led to a post-war economic crisis that reduced cinematic output. Technically, cinema in the United States had also advanced, led by D.W. Griffith and the Hollywood studios. In this paper, I will examine Guazzoni's adaptation to these changes. In *Fabiola* (1918), he is still using a static camera (despite the invention of Pastrone's dolly), but changing his shooting length and lighting to emphasize the figures of the Christian martyrs – in effect, creating paintings of their deaths in line with his artistic background. He had already experimented with this style with his 1911 *Bride of the Nile*, later to influence Fellini. By 1924, in his *Messalina*, he is embracing fast-flowing action sequences that are quite innovative (the chariot race is the model for *Ben-Hur* 1925 and ones since). The logical conclusion is that Guazzoni's films reflect the double style of films set in ancient Rome: reverential religious themes set against the enticing decadence of the Roman aristocracy, a formula that was to serve Cecil B. DeMille well in the years to come, but reflective of Guazzoni's own Italian and Catholic tastes.

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Karen Possingham, 'A Modernist Marriage: James Joyce's Reversal of a Homeric Tale'

At first glance, James Joyce's portrayal of an unfaithful wife in *Ulysses* is the complete opposite of Homer's famously faithful wife Penelope in the *Odyssey*. But a closer examination of the words and actions of Penelope actually demonstrates that the depiction of her fidelity is contested in the poem and certainly has been questioned by scholars recently (Ames 2003). Joyce, who was influenced by the ideas of Freud among others, was determined to expose as myth the idea of the monogamous marriage (Valente 2004). Molly Bloom, in particular, has attracted a lot of criticism from (predominantly male) scholars for her frank disclosures of her sexual desires and infidelity. Yet neither the liaisons of Leopold Bloom, nor those of Odysseus have attracted the same criticism. Despite this, however, Molly and Leopold Bloom share a similar like-mindedness with their ancient counterparts Penelope and Odysseus. In this paper, I examine the similarities and the differences between the Homeric and the Joycean ideal marriage, as they also reveal conventions of gender and sexuality prevalent at the time of their composition. It is one of the tenets of Reception Theory that modern receptions can also reflect back on ancient texts and ask new questions about a text or re-examine previous interpretations (Hardwick 2003); I argue that it is possible to see, through Joyce, that Homer too explored issues of gender that allowed for a new kind of heroism not limited by sexual identity.

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Siobhan Privitera, 'Collaborative Memory and Intimate Relationships in *Odyssey* 19'

Recent developments in transactive memory and extended cognition suggest that the recollection of past events by long-term, intimate partners is distinct from other social groups (Harris et. al. 2014; Clarke 2008). In particular, collaborative strategies used by couples such as interactive cuing and repetition tend to produce richer and more detailed accounts of their shared past, even if the amount of detail recalled is reduced (Harris et. al. 2014).

Studies such as these have been fruitfully used to expand and enrich our understanding of (for example) personal, social, and cultural memory in Homer (Minchin 2012); this relatively new category of collaborative memory has, however, not yet been applied to the epics. This paper aims to fill this gap by embarking on initial analysis of Odysseus' and Penelope's interview in *Odyssey* 19. It suggests that Homeric couples engage in comparable forms of collaborative memory as reported by modern clinical studies, and in turn, that systematic analysis of examples such as Odysseus' and Penelope's interview in light of these studies can expand our knowledge of how conjugal intimacy and (more generally) transactive memory is represented by the poet.

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Nicky Rawnsley, 'Historical Inquiry as a Sensory Experience: Looking for Colour in Herodotus' Travels in Egypt'

The many different modern theories on visual perception all agree that colour is one of the first things we perceive when we observe the world. Colours help us to understand and distinguish between different things within our field of vision.

In the ancient world colour was seen differently. The vocabulary used to describe colours was more limited and far less precise. Homer's epithets and references to colour in various fifth

century plays provide most of our evidence on colour perception prior to 400 BCE. Many of the Pre-Socratic philosophers posited theories on what "colour" was, what colours there were and how these related to the "real world."

Colour is only sporadically mentioned by historical prose writers. Herodotus mentions colour rarely. This is surprising as his work aims to describe foreign countries, tales of marvellous things and monuments beyond belief, especially during his extended treatment of Egypt. One would expect he was surrounded by colour at every stage of his travels. This paper will address this lack of colour as a descriptive element in Herodotus' travels in Egypt. It will suggest that Herodotus uses colour when it helped to prove a theory correct. That it was a useful tool, but not a necessity for description. This paper will therefore attempt to add to the scholarly work surrounding ancient attitudes to colour.

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Aaron Rhodes-Schroder, 'Tarquinia and Attic Vases: The Significance of Black-Figure Amphorae in Funerary Contexts'

Scholars continue to debate why so many Greek vases were imported into Etruria (for instance, Paleothodoros 2002). This paper presents the results of a quantitative analysis of Attic vases from Tarquinia, based on data collated from the Beazley Archive and the holdings of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia; the intention was to identify patterns of preference in the changes in shape and technique from the late 6th century to the early 5th century BC, building on the initial study by Hannestad 1988. It can be clearly demonstrated that vase-shape was not the sole determining factor for selection by the Tarquinians (as suggested by de la Genière 1986), but that decorative technique also played a part: the data show preference for the amphora over other vase-shapes, and almost exclusively for black-figure amphorae, whereas other vase-shapes, and almost exclusively for black-figure amphorae, whereas other vase-shapes were readily accepted in the red-figure tecnique when it became available. Furthermore, this distribution pattern seems unique to Tarquinian funerary contexts, and is not matched in the pottery found in other non-funerary contexts in the region of Tarquinia such as the extensive votive deposits from Gravisca. The implications of this are that for the Tarquinians, the selection of vases for burials was determined by specific local cultural practices, within which the black-figure amphora seems to have had particular significance.

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Candace Richards, 'In the footsteps of Woodhouse: Reframing the historic photographic archive of William J Woodhouse and exploring new methods for its documentation'

William J Woodhouse (1866-1937), Professor of Greek, The Sydney University 1901-1937, travelled extensively throughout Greece between 1892 and 1935, capturing the archaeological sites and finds of Bronze Age and Classical Greece in over 1500 glass plate negatives. The photographic archive, now housed at the Nicholson Museum, records the landscapes of Attica, Aetolia and the Peloponnese often prior to extensive modern excavations, and key classical monuments before and during their early restoration phases. A selection of some of his earliest photographs were published by Woodhouse in *Aetolia: Its Geography, Topography and Antiquities* (1897). Recent scholarship has begun to re-examine the role of 19th century archaeological photography archives not only for their role in the development of archaeological photography but for their often ideological and political framing of the classical world. This paper will firstly contextualise the Woodhouse photographic archive in this growing area of research and analyse Woodhouse's influences and ideologies as represented in his photography.

In 2017 two new initiatives were undertaken by the Nicholson Museum to document the Woodhouse photographic archive. The first was to crowdsource information, including locality data for each image, using Flickr (an online image sharing platform) and openly available satellite imaging using Google Earth. The second was to ground-truth this collected data through a photographic survey of targeted Peloponnesian archaeological sites and the site of Delphi (undertaken September 2017). This paper will present the results of these two initiatives and evaluate the usefulness of the citizen science model of documentation for archaeological photographic archives.

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James Richardson, '"Hereditary kingship did not exist": Hereditary Succession and the Historiographical Tradition of Regal Rome'

Although the historicity of the Romans' account of their regal period is highly uncertain, there is one element of it which is nonetheless widely accepted as historical. This is the idea that Rome's monarchy was not hereditary and that Rome's kings were chosen by the Senate and people of Rome. This acceptance is surprising, given that there are numerous episodes throughout the evidence which presuppose hereditary succession, while the procedures for the appointment of the king include a number of possible anachronistic retrojections, as Mommsen argued long ago. The best evidence for the existence of a system for appointing kings is the appearance in the republican period of the office of *interrex*, but when the regal *interrex* is presented as doing essentially what the later republican *interrex* did, there is reason to be suspicious. The juxtaposition, of elements which presuppose hereditary succession and of stories of the appointment of kings, suggests that what the Romans later wrote about their kings is an amalgamation of different accounts and episodes, probably from a range of different eras. The evidence should be handled accordingly, and the nature of Rome's monarchy reassessed.

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Ron Ridley, 'Livy's Detractors'

The changing fortunes of Livy are amazing. The Renaissance discovered and adored his history, for its Republican virtues, political instruction and style. It was the model for Humanist historical writing. The missing books were sought to the ends of the earth. Alfonso I of Naples treated a bone of Livy as a holy relic. How did we reach the modern heavy critical assessment as exemplified by the canonical de Sanctis? There were several turning-points: the *editio princeps* of Tacitus, *Annales* 1-5 (1515) incited invidious comparisons. The sack of Rome (1527) caused a wave of cynicism. Not everyone, however, followed suit. Macchiavelli still produced his *Discorsi* (1531), Erasmus in the same year still declared Livy 'easily the first of Roman historians', and Guicciardini's history of Italy (1561) was still modelled on him. Then Glareanus (1555) accused Livy of malice towards the French, Bodin asserted (1566) that without his speeches there would be nothing left, and Orsini (1582) was unhappy with his use of Polybios. For Casaubon (1609), however, he was 'the only mind possessed by the Roman people equal to their empire' and he was a major inspiration for the English Republicans and the French revolutionaries. Livy was necessarily caught up in the first major attack on the credibility of early Roman history by de Beaufort (1738), but so were all other historians of the Republic. The nineteenth century put the knives in. I will identify the first modern attackers of Livy: *a story never before told*.

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Christina Robertson, 'Reflections of Troy: space and place in Ovid's "Hecuba"'

Hecuba's lamentation (*Met*. 13.481–575) represents the *Metamorphoses*' final perspective on the Trojan War. As a generically liminal figure positioned between epic and tragedy, situated in the liminal space of the Thracian shore (Papaioannou 2007; Curley 2013), Ovid's Hecuba leaves Troy for the last time, just as Ovid's audience prepares to leave the literary territory of the *Iliad*. The episode looks back over both the Trojan plain and the Trojan literary tradition, contributing to Ovid's generic negotiation of this well-trodden ground.

This paper analyses Hecuba's lamentation alongside Ovid's metaliterary reflections on the Trojan literary landscape, arguing that a spatial reading of the episode sheds light on both Hecuba's rhetorical strategies and Ovid's engagement with his predecessors. From her first appearance at her sons' tombs to the new landmark which commemorates Hecuba's final transformation, memorialisation is thematised (Augoustakis 2016), and this memorialisation is fundamentally spatial: Hecuba's use of toponyms and her frequent recourse to landmarks such as the tombs of her sons and of Achilles inscribe her children's fates on to the landscape. Hecuba thus seeks to exert rhetorical control over the the sites of Troy, constructing the Trojan plain as a site of remembrance and lamentation. Ovid, too, seeks to demonstrate his power over the epic and tragic literary landscape: in Hecuba's lament, Ovid shows us the sites of Troy as seen through Homeric and Virgilian epic, through Euripidean tragedy, and ultimately through the multiply refracting lens of the *Metamorphoses*.

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Andrea Rotstein, 'Vergil's *Dicolon Abundans* in Comparative Perspective'

In this talk I shall engage with one of the most disturbing features of Vergil's style: his tendency to say the same thing twice. Codified by ancient rhetoric among the figures of "amplification" (*expolitio, interpretatio, iteratio*), non-verbatim repetition is often termed "theme and

variation" (Henry), while consecutive cola of similar structure are labelled "parallelism" (*parison, parisosis, isocolia*; Norden). Both semantic and formal features are encapsulated by the term "*dicolon abundans*" (Conte). This figure is held as a hallmark of Vergil's style, particularly in the *Aeneid* (Görler 1985). However, its specific literary and rhetorical functions have not been sufficiently explored beyond the notions of *hendiadys* and *hysteron proteron*. Given similarities with the synonymous *parallelismus membrorum* that structures many forms of poetry in the ancient Near East and elsewhere (Wagner 2007), a comparative perspective is a desirable contribution. In this talk I shall compare samples of Vergil (*Ecl.* 1, 4; *Aen.* 2.1-400) and ancient Hebrew poetry (from *Psalms* and *Isaiah*), noting not only similarities but also differences (e.g. in distribution). I shall claim that the *dicolon abundans* is a structural principle of composition that aids comprehension (Ong) in a way similar to binocular or stereoscopic vision (Boodberg) and with similar stereophonic effects (Fox 2014). Discussing the origins of Vergil's poetics of redundancy is beyond the scope of this paper. Still, given that the *dicolon abundans* belongs to the paratactic, appositional style, the possibility that it was intended to evoke forms of orality alternative to the Homeric epic register will be succinctly explored.

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Gina Salapata, 'Death at the Adonia Festival: An Epigram by Posidippos of Pella'

Among the epigrams contained in the Milan papyrus (P. Mil. Volg. VIII. 309), attributed to the third century BC poet Posidippos of Pella, is epitaph no. 53 (Austin-Bastianini), which commemorates the death of the maiden Kalliope, lamented by her female companions. The epigram poignantly expresses sadness for a life cut short, but the circumstances of Kalliope's death – falling from a rooftop during an all-night festival – are very unusual.

This epigram has received little attention by literary scholars and has been overlooked by Greek religion specialists. In this paper I argue that, whether this epigram was composed as a literary exercise or inscribed on an actual grave marker, it contains a variety of key words and images that point to this incident having occurred during the celebration of the Adonia. During this nocturnal festival, held annually in various parts of the Greek world, groups of women mourned the death of Adonis, the young lover of Aphrodite. I also argue that this epigram probably refers to the celebration of the Adonia in Macedonia, for which we have both literary and material evidence. It may refer even specifically to Posidippos's hometown of Pella with which the poet, though resident of Alexandria, had close contacts. This view is strengthened by the presence in the same section of the papyrus of an epitaph for a female participant in the cult of Dionysos from Pella.

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Elisabeth Slingsby, 'Articulating Assassination: Julius Caesar and Cornelius Nepos' "Life of Dion"'

In the closing chapters of his *Life of Dion*, Cornelius Nepos relates the assassination of its eponymous general at the hands of supposedly loyal allies. Dion, who had curbed the cruelty of one tyrant and forcibly removed another from his native Sicily, is slain on account of becoming a despot in his own right. Yet the notion that his death is not glorified as a tyrannicide, but rather is mourned as the passing of a hero by the populace he had cruelly oppressed has not been considered. Why would Nepos portray the assassination of Dion in this manner?

My proposed solution to this question rests on an examination of the parallels between the final two chapters of *Life of Dion* and the assassination of Julius Caesar. While the similarity between Nepos' treatment of Dion and contemporary responses to Caesar's death has been noted (Sanders, 2008), the significance of such a resemblance has not yet been explored. In this paper, I contend that the divisive assassination of Caesar compelled Nepos to write Dion's murder not as a clear-cut tyrannicide but as a murky, morally ambiguous deed. Specifically, I will focus on the shifting definition of Dion in the eyes of the populace, as well as Nepos' unwillingness to personally endorse their claims. I will demonstrate that the manner in which Nepos both utilises and problematises depictions of Caesar's death in *Life of Dion* represents an endeavour to question the viability of assassination when its target can be considered both a hero and a tyrant.

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Guy Smoot, 'The Death of Palinurus and the Foundation of a New Troy'

It is well known that Palinurus in Vergil's *Aeneid* is presented as a sacrificial scapegoat (*unum pro multis dabitur caput:* 5.857*)*, whose death allows the successful voyage of the Trojans to Italy and Aeneas' subsequent foundation of Rome. Ambrose (and Paschalis) convincingly argued that *Iasius* at 3.167-168*,* joint ancestor of the Trojans together with his more famous

brother Dardanus (*hinc Dardanus ortus Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum*), is the same as Palinurus' patronymic at 5.843: *Iaside Palinure.*

What hasn't been observed, however, is the pertinence of *Iaside Palinure* to the implicit parallel between Dardanus' erstwhile foundation of Troy and Aeneas' foundation of Rome: like his descendant Aeneas, Dardanus too had to *complete a sea voyage* as a prerequisite to founding Troy. Survivor of a flood, Dardanus escapes to the Troad, leaving his brother Iasius (aka Iasion / Eetion) behind, who appears to have been ritually murdered or sacrificed (see Burkert 2011:424). I contend that the death of Palinurus functions in part as an atavistic re-enactment of the death of Dardanus' brother. More broadly, this primordial sacrifice can be further illuminated by taking into account the association of Dardanus and his brother with the Samothracian Mysteries, a neglected aspect of Trojan War studies that deserves further scrutiny.

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Linda Sonego, 'Functional vs figurative: glass in early Roman wall and vault mosaics'

Does functionality alone explain the appearance of glass in Roman wall and vault mosaics? Was it the dark damp atmosphere of the cave that called for the durability of glass? Or was it symbolic value that led to its introduction?

New discoveries and the explosion of archaeometric studies over the last few decades have allowed us to review our knowledge concerning the origins of wall and vault mosaics in Republican Rome. This has enabled a more in-depth investigation into when and why glass was introduced. It has been argued that glass was deliberately absent from early mosaics because its luxurious nature did not coincide with the ideal of the sacred grotto. However, a recent discovery from Segni suggests that glass appeared in the decoration of nymphaea much earlier than previously thought. This site is commonly dated to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century BCE, which is up to eighty years earlier than other known examples. It is also a time before the invention of glass blowing and when glass was still highly coloured, rare and extremely expensive. Its use in any wall decoration was a sign of status and wealth. Therefore, given the established links between Roman nymphaea, the sacred grottoes of ancient Greece and the luxury grottoes of the Hellenistic East and Egypt, I propose that glass was not deliberately absent from early mosaics due to its luxurious nature, rather it was deliberately included due to its symbolic and religious significance.

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Cameron Stanton, 'Knowledge, belief, and contradiction in Euripides' tragedies'

This talk will discuss the requirements for knowledge and belief as depicted in Euripidean tragedy and will ask whether Euripides made use of a Parmenidean approach to knowledge. Comparisons to the epistemological approaches of the early Greek philosophers help to identify uniquely Greek ways of justifying belief and arriving at knowledge. These philosophers sought intellectual consistency and had argued for various basic principles that governed both the arrangement of the cosmos and our ability to perceive it. Amidst the search for consistency the philosopher Parmenides provides a particularly interesting example of the coexistence of two seemingly contradictory bodies of knowledge. This Parmenidean precedent might offer a new explanation for the competing conceptions of truth that are expressed by Euripides' characters, which have lead some scholars to conclude that confusion (*aporia*) was Euripides' intended effect. A recent paper by Mirto (2016) discusses the relationship between humans and gods in Euripidean tragedy and identifies a cautionary formula that human characters adopt in order to interact with beings they do not fully understand. This formula involves considering multiple possible explanations for the unknowable. The influence of the early philosophers has received much less attention than that of the Sophists when considering Euripidean tragedy, however some recent works provide excellent starting-points. Laks and Most (2016) and Egli (2003) have collected references to philosophical themes in Euripides' extant and fragmentary works and Egli argues that Euripides was indeed influenced by the early Greek philosophers. This influence becomes visible as Euripides' characters search for the truth.

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Tom Stevenson, ''Enrico Guazzoni's *Quo Vadis* (1913) and *Julius Caesar* (*Giulio Cesare*) (1914): Formative Visions of Ancient Rome on the Big Screen'

The Italian director Enrico Guazzoni (1876-1949) was not just a father of modern cinema but a formative influence in the creation of popular visions of ancient Rome. His *Quo Vadis* (1913)

is regularly described as the first blockbuster, given its widespread international success, while his *Julius Caesar* (*Giulio Cesare*) (1914) is likewise an epic masterpiece. Both films boast colossal sets, thousands of extras, running times approaching two hours, and notable precision in the design of scenes. These and other elements greatly influenced subsequent film-making in Hollywood and elsewhere. There is a common view that Guazzoni's *Giulio Cesare* is a version of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (1599), but while there are clear borrowings in the latter stages of the film, Guazzoni gives considerable attention to Caesar's early career and conquest of Gaul. So, the film is a work of originality and construction, which combines various themes and plot points from a number of influences. Was Guazzoni partly thinking about conflict with Austria-Hungary and the projection of Italian power over the Alps? His *Quo Vadis* was based, of course, on Henryk Sienkiewicz's great novel (1896), which was clearly a statement of Polish resistance to Germanic oppressors. In any event, it seems obvious that in assessing these films we must credit Guazzoni's genius, his founding role in the creation of popular conceptions of ancient Rome, the political and cultural aspirations of Italy in 1913-14, and the promotion of Italian power and self-image through depictions of ancient Rome on the screen.

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Owen Stewart, 'Competition and Compliance: The "Roman Art" of Alliance Management'

Polybius (3.4.3-6) suggests that it was one thing to conquer but another to govern. While this statement generally holds true, the success of Rome somewhat challenges this observation. Indeed, Gabba (1989, 208) concludes military superiority played a significant role in the cohesion of the Italic alliances. However, Rome had not always possessed this clear superiority. When Rome began exerting control upon regions beyond Latium in the mid-fourth century BCE, Rome's military strength was regularly challenged. Another explanation is needed for this period. One can be readily supplied. Strauss (1997, 134) and Rosenstein (2007, 235) have outlined the 'carrot and stick' approach adopted by Rome to promote compliance among the allies. Rome would reward loyalty on one hand and punish misbehaviour on the other. The aim of this approach was to make compliance both profitable and the safest course of action. Yet had this approach solely given rise to the cohesion of alliances, the large-scale revolts of the Hannibalic War were unlikely to have occurred considering the period of loyalty that preceded them.

This paper seeks to explore how we might best understand the role of and relationship between military strength and the 'carrot and stick' approach in maintaining alliances. Through this process I hope to place new significance upon the presence or absence of hegemonic

competitors such as the Samnites. Revolts in Italy occurred far more frequently in periods of competition. I will, therefore, argue that Rome solidified its alliances by defeating competitors on the battlefield.

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Judy Stove, 'Harriet Martineau's *Agricola*: scholarship, tradition, and Dissent'

The achievements of Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) across a wide range of genres – sociology, economics, feminism, education – have recently received renewed scholarly attention (in, e.g., Sanders and Weiner 2017). However, Martineau as translator and interpreter of the classical world has, to date, received less comprehensive notice.

Martineau wrote in her *Autobiography* that her first sustained intellectual work was a translation, while she was still in her teens, of Tacitus' *Agricola*, the biography of the Roman historian's father-in-law, Cn. Iulius Agricola. The *Agricola* enjoyed particular status in England, dealing as it did with one of the earliest identifiable 'great men' to have made his career in the Roman province of Britain. Martineau's translation was in conscious emulation of that by John Aikin, brother of Anna Laetitia Barbauld, representatives of Rational Dissenting tradition (James and Inkster 2012).

This paper will examine the role of the *Agricola* as a text in early nineteenth-century Britain, and its significance for a young woman writer aspiring to literary accomplishment. It will seek to position the young Martineau as a translator both within, and reaching beyond, the Dissenting tradition.

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Ryan Strickler, 'Paradise Regained? Utopias of Deliverance in Seventh-Century Apocalyptic Discourse'

For most of the long seventh century, Byzantine subjects found themselves in difficult times. Those on the Eastern *limes* faced peril on the front lines of the Persian, Avar, and later Arab invasions. The century ended with Byzantines of Syria and Palestine under Arab domination. Even Constantinople failed to guarantee safety, narrowly warding off sieges in 626 by the Avars, and by the Arabs in 674-678. Jewish subjects, after being afforded a modicum of autonomy during the Persian occupation of Jerusalem, found themselves persecuted by the Heraclian dynasty.

God's favour for the Roman Empire, or his chosen people, the Jews, seemed absent. Nevertheless, hope prevailed. Jewish and Christian authors employed apocalyptic discourse to imagine a future in which God would avenge their plight, deliver his people, and restore their lost paradise. While scholars such as Paul Magdalino, Wolfram Brandes, and Andras Kraft have drawn attention to the eschatological aspects of the major apocalypses composed during this period, less attention has been paid to the more immediate restoration of autonomy imagined by Byzantine authors. This paper examines the restored, pre-millennial utopias imagined by Jewish and Christian authors of the seventh century. Here we include the restoration of the Roman Empire under Heraclius hoped for by George of Pisidia, final defeat of the Arabs and material restoration by the "last King of the Greeks" predicted by pseudo-Methodius, and the messianic Jewish kingdoms predicted by Jewish authors in the *Sefer Zerubbabel* and the *piyyut* titled *On That Day.*

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Tristan Taylor, 'Shadows of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the *Orlando Innamorato*'

Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is an important intertext for Boiardo's Quattrocento epic, the *Orlando Innamorato*. This paper examines two principal ways in which Boiardo exploits his classical intertext: as a source of allegory, and as a means of heroic characterisation. Boiardo follows the Medieval tradition of exploiting Ovid as a source of allegorical tales, often modifying the Ovidian original to clarify the moral. Thus, for example, in Boiardo's story of Leodilla's footrace with Folderico, which draws on the Ovidian tale of the footrace between Atlanta and Hippomenes (*Orlando Innamorato* 1.21.49-69; *Metamorphoses* 10.650-680), Boiardo removes the elements in the Ovidian version that give Atlanta a sympathetic representation, and instead

makes Leodilla's fate the result of her own innate lust and avarice (Gragnolati 1998; Cavallo 1993). A similar pattern can be found in other allegorical allusions in the *Innamorato*, including Boiardo's use of the Ovidian version of Narcissus' fate (*Orlando Innamorato* 2.17.50-59; *Metamorphoses* 3.351-510) and Boiardo's manipulation of Ovid's tale of Tereus and Procne in the *Innamorato*'s story of Marachino and Stella (*Orlando Innamorato* 1.8-9; *Metamorphoses* 6.412-74) (Cavallo 1993). Beyond such allegorical uses, Boiardo also alludes to tales of heroic action in Ovid's epic to invite a contrast between the actions of the heroes of classical mtyh and the *Innamorato*'s protagonists (Everson 2001). Thus, for example, Boiardo's tale of the horn test conflates two Ovidian stories – Cadmus and Jason – to develop the characterisation of Orlando. Here, Boiardo's allusion to Jason reflects positively on the *Innamorato*'s titular hero, whereas allusions to Cadmus have the opposite effect.

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Wesley Theobald, 'The Cilician franchise: Eastern reception of Trojan material culture'

Troy's stylistic influence during the Early Bronze Age (EBA) was geographically expansive through Western Anatolia and the Aegean, but the last phase of this age also saw a dramatic increase in Trojan material culture in Cilicia and its neighbouring regions. Maritime and overland trade routes between Troy and Cilicia have invariably been touted as the cause (Mellink 1998; Efe 2007), but a trade-only explanation is inadequately supported by the original excavation evidence from Tarsus (Goldman 1956), and this is where the problems begin.

This paper will review the architectural, ceramic, and jewellery evidence of Trojan style that infiltrated Cilicia, the Cappadocian Plateau, and northwest Syria, and argue that Cilicia was the primary conduit of such stylistic dispersal, with due allowance for maritime trade. The possibility that Tarsus was also overtaken or at least infiltrated by Trojan migrants at the beginning of the EBA III period is not a new theory for explaining this distribution, but has long been discounted. Favour has instead been given to the grand overland route theory, despite practical issues such as distance, and more importantly, a lack of relative Trojan influence on the likely paths to the southeast. In light of this dilemma, a critical appraisal of both theories will be offered.

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Hugh Thomas, 'The Zagora Infrared Photogrammetry Project: Results of the 2017 Season'

The settlement of Zagora is located on the Western coast of the island of Andros and is one of the most important Early Iron Age sites in the Aegean. Excavated between the 1960s-1970s and subsequently between 2012-2014, at present less than 10% of the settlement has been exposed and little attention has been paid to the wider hinterland of the site. The inherent slow nature of archaeological excavation encourages the employment of non-destructive analysis of the site, including geophysical survey and remote sensing, in order to elicit as much information as possible about the ancient town. Between May and June 2017, the Zagora Infrared Photogrammetry Project conducted an aerial infrared analysis of Zagora, with funding secured through an Australian Govermnent Endeavour Research Fellowship.

The primary focus of the Zagora Infrared Photogrammetry Project was to use drones to record the site in two types of electromagnetic spectrums, visible light (RGB photography) and infrared, more commonly known as thermal imaging. Thermal imaging, or thermography, detects subtle changes in the ground's temperature caused by exposed or subsurface archaeological remains either radiating or absorbing heat. This paper will outline the results of the project, which analysed approximately 26,000 m^2 of both the site and hinterland, discovering over 60 thermal signatures caused by archaeological remains. These features include unknown houses both within the town and on nearby hills, a possible kiln and evidence of a monumental structure that may represent a two-storey building.

Susan Thorpe, 'Military duties, responsibilities and an assassination plot: the extra dimension found in ancient Egyptian personal correspondence'

While current and previous research has provided considerable information regarding ancient Egyptian military campaigns, equipment, rank and custom, this has come primarily from reliefs, inscriptions and military scribal documents. The personal touch found in private correspondence gives an extra dimension to these visual representations and official textual documents. This is evidenced in the following selection of letters dated to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. The first pieces of correspondence from this timeframe provide first-hand information about the responsibilities of a soldier's life in society when not involved in active service. Additionally, their content provides personal background for the individuals involved, as well as reflecting their thoughts and attitudes regarding the tasks allotted to them. Still in a military context the letters from the Twentieth Dynasty reveal an ancient Egyptian assassination plot. They contain orders from a high-ranking general to several recipients. He

instructs them, in letters addressed to each individual personally, how they should kill two policemen and have them thrown into the river by night. By its discussion of these pieces of personal correspondence this paper will illustrate the importance of letters as primary sources regarding ancient Egyptian life. In these instances, they provide details about a soldier's life away from the battlefield and an assassination conspiracy – information that would otherwise have remained unknown.

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Matthew Trundle, 'The Athenian Imposition of the *Eikostê* in 413 BCE'

After the Spartans had seized Decelea, the Athenians imposed an *eikostê* (5% tax) on seaborne goods as a tribute (Thucydides 7.28.4). Thucydides gives the reason for its imposition as a combination of costs (*analômata*) resulting from Decelea and other issues (probably the Sicilian expedition), as well as increasing expenses (*dapanai*). He does not explain if this tax replaced or ran parallel with the older *phoros*. Many scholars believe it replaced the *phoros* entirely (e.g. Kallet 2013). Aristophanes' *Frogs* (363) mentions an *eikostologos*, suggesting the *eikostê* still existed in 406 BCE. Perhaps it ran parallel with the regular *phoros* (Samons 2000, 250-254). The absence of tribute inscriptions for 413 BCE suggests a suspended *phoros*. Regular *phoros* is attested for 410 BCE (*IG* 1(3) 100). Xenophon (*Hell*. 1.3.9) proves its collection in 409 BCE.

The *eikostê* aimed to boost revenues in a time of dire need. Perhaps it sought to bring money into the *archê* by taxing those who traded goods into it. Athenians introduced similar schemes to bring money at specific entry points, like the 10% tax for goods coming through the Bosporus in 410 BCE (Xen. *Hell*. 1.1.22). Kallet (2013, 43-60) rightly suggests that the purpose of the empire had become financial. Money became the means to power.

This paper discusses the nature and purpose of the *eikostê* in light of recent thinking about the Empire as an economic rather than political entity. It will explore its implications for the imperial system in the last years of the Peloponnesian War.

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Aimee Turner, '"She acted with arrogance": Orosius on Women'

"Fulvia, exercised power in the way one would expect of a woman ... she acted with arrogance..." (Oros. 6.18.17).

Paulus Orosius (c.385 CE – c.420 CE) offers this judgement of Fulvia, the wife of Marc Antony in his depiction of the conflict at the end of the second triumvirate. He presents similar assessments on a number of historical and mythical Greek and Roman women over the course of his *History Against the Pagans*, including such figures as Helen of Troy, Penthesilea, Olympias, the mother of Alexander, Dido, Rhea Silvia, Lucretia and Cleopatra. This work became a key text for the medieval understanding of the pagan past, and, enjoying popularity from as early as 460 CE, experienced wide geographical dissemination.

While scholars have examined Orosius in terms of his religious intolerance, his connection with Augustine and Jerome, his views on Augustus, and his use of geography, no modern scholarship has explored Orosius' portrayal of pagan women.

In this paper, I will provide a survey of the pagan women that Orosius included in his history. I will analyse the deliberate choices made by Orosius in his selection and explore how they are portrayed, using key cases as examples. This will allow us to gain a clearer understanding of the role that Orosius assigned to women.

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Amy van der Boor, 'Egypt's femme fatales: Cleopatra and her Influence on the Representation of Isis in Rome'

This paper will investigate how the politics of Rome's conflict with Cleopatra VII affected the representation of the Egyptian goddess Isis, with the intention of disassociating Isis' image from the Egyptian Queen's ruined reputation. Branded as a licentious and barbaric femme fatale, Cleopatra was commonly typecast as an enemy of Rome, and the perfect antithesis of Roman ideals (Donaldson 2011: 131; Roller 2010: 102). Stereotypically, it has been falsely assumed that the same negative connotations inevitably affected Roman imagery of Isis, with whom Cleopatra closely identified.

The aim of this paper is to present a balanced discussion of Isis' representation in elite Roman culture and society during the late Republican and early Imperial periods. In refuting Cleopatra's association with Isis as a catalyst for her portrayal, it will highlight the introduction of Isis into Rome prior to Cleopatra's rise to power, and increasing popularity during her demise. Furthermore, differences between the physical and moral portraits of Cleopatra and the 'Roman' Isis strongly emerge (Takacs 2011: 79). While Cleopatra was characterised as an exotic femme fatale, Isis was celebrated as a devoted wife and mother, becoming increasingly recognised as a Greco-Roman figure. Although there are some instances where Isis received denigration, these are considered brief and politically motivated snapshots, compared to the persistent vilification of Cleopatra and her vices. This paper hopes to rehabilitate the image of Isis at a time when her association with Cleopatra and Egypt was believed to endanger her position in Roman culture and society.

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Bart van Wassenhove, '*Abeat Expulsus Pudor:* Shame, Remorse, and Conscience in Seneca's Tragedies'

Pudor occurs in all of Seneca's tragedies, often at key turning points in the plot, when the lead characters are about to commit acts that irreversibly enact their immoral desires but are momentarily held back by pang of conscience. Commentators have often noted literary antecedents of such detailed phenomenologies of moral and emotional conflict,[4] but much less attention has been given to illuminating parallels with Seneca's own philosophical works,

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[4] E.g. Tarrant (1976:199-200), who offers a comprehensive selection of literary parallels with *Ag.* 132ff.

particularly his emphasis on the fact that sudden experiences of moral shame or regret reflect a person's inborn moral inclinations and can act as a final bulwark against immoral acts[5].

Through a study of key moments in Seneca's *Phaedra, Medea,* and *Agamemnon,* I will show that the spontaneous surges of *pudor* and *paenitentia* in Seneca's heroines, which they need to defeat through repeated acts of self-command, reflect and flesh out the conception of moral conscience Seneca offers in his philosophical works[6]. My aim in doing so is not to show that Seneca's tragedies are merely a poetic expression of his philosophical ideas, but to reveal a shared moral psychology at work in both oeuvres, which borrows from both Epicurean and popular philosophical ideas, but is ultimately consonant with the Stoic belief that all human beings are born with a persistent, innate desire for the good.

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Hendrikus A.M. van Wijlick, 'Litigation strategies in Cicero's *Pro Quinctio*: dealing with praetorian *formulae*'

Following recent, in-depth studies to the rather intricate legal issues and arguments in Cicero's *pro Quinctio* from 81 BC (e.g. Platschek 2005), the erstwhile interpretation of this speech as an arduous attempt to secure a favourable outcome in a hopeless cause (e.g. Kinsey 1971) appears no longer current. Set within the context of a *sponsio praeiudicialis* (instigated by praetorian decree*),* in which Quinctius was to prove that his estate in Gaul had not and could not have been possessed for thirty days by his opponent, Sextus Naevius, in accordance with the edict of an earlier praetor (Burrienus in 83 BC), the oration appears to supply rather convincing evidence (60-85) to prevail in this judicial contest (Lintott 2008). Yet, Cicero also devotes a long section of the *confirmatio* to the seemingly less relevant question why Naevius had no valid legal or moral grounds to apply to the praetor for permission to take possession of Quinctius' estate in the first place (37-59), while explaining Naevius' moves merely as a ploy to lay his hands on the entirety of Quinctius' estate. So far, satisfying interpretations for this long elaboration are absent. My paper will address this lacuna and argue that Cicero's explanations for the alleged invalidity of Naevius' request for approval to seize Quinctius'

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[5] A recent exception is Wray (2015), which focuses on the *Phaedra.* On self-command in Seneca's tragedies, cf. Star (2012).

[6] On conscience and remorse, cf. *Ep.* 43.5, *Ep.* 97.10-12, *Ep.* 105.7-8, *De Tranq.* II.8 and XVII.1-2, *Vit. Beat.* XII.1, *De Ira* III.26.3; on humans' innate desire for the good: *Ep.* 94.3, *Ep.* 97.12, *Ben.* V.25.5-6.1

estate serve his purpose: Cicero was to show that Naevius' recourses to the (at that time) still developing *formula* procedure – which granted praetors considerable flexibility in providing legal remedies – were from the very beginning triggered by malice.

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Ivana Vetta, 'Slags and Ores: Archaeometallurgy and the Geometric Settlement of Zagora, Andros, Greece'

The Geometric period settlement of Zagora lies on a windy promontory on the southwest coast of the Cycladic Island of Andros. The conditions and resources afforded to this settlement, predominantly occupied during the eighth century BC, made an ideal environment for metalworking and evidence of this industry is abundant within the archaeological record.

Seven seasons of excavation conducted by the University of Sydney, in the 1960s and 1970s and more recently from 2012-2014, have uncovered tantalising evidence for a robust metalworking industry, yielding a wealth of metallurgical slags. This evidence is widely spread across the site with metalworking debris found in occupation levels, floor deposits, packing fills and rubbish dumps. The lack of a clear centralised location for metalworking necessitates the re-evaluation of the economic conditions of ancient smithing and provides an opportunity to consider other industrial models for the chaîne opèratoire such as household production and itinerant specialists.

These slags, a waste product from various stages of metal production, retain relics of the industrial processes from which they were created. Through both macroscopic and microscopic analysis of the slags and ores, we can begin to appreciate the metallurgical technologies available to the ancient smiths of Zagora, the potential ore sources that they utilised, and what other materials were employed in the process of metal production. The wealth of metallurgical material may indicate a rich and diverse metalworking industry within the settlement, and it must be considered whether it is possible to reconstruct such an industry from only its waste.

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Byron Waldron, '*Virtutibus Fratres*: The Brotherhood of Diocletian and Maximian'

In 285 the Roman emperor Diocletian co-opted his general Maximian as co-emperor, and their partnership ensured a period of stability that only ended after their abdication in 305. But the emperors were not related by blood, and Diocletian did not alleviate this issue by forging a familial bond through marriage or adoption. Rather, the relationship of Diocletian and Maximian was articulated in fraternal terms. This begs the following questions: who is representing their relationship in such terms, and why?

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

Using panegyrics, coins and inscriptions, I survey the evidence for this relationship. I then discuss the ideas of modern scholars, namely Kolb (1987, p. 66), Leadbetter (2004) and Hekster (2015, pp. 300-311). I contend Hekster's argument that orators treated the emperors as brothers for want of a better way of referring to their relationship. I support my own conclusions by placing the fraternal representations within the wider contexts of Diocletianic media, third century politics and military society. In doing so, I approach this issue in a new way.

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Jonathan Wallis, 'Catullus and Masculinity in Late-Fascist Europe'

This paper shows the significance of a little-explored moment in the 20th century reception of Catullus that comes within the nationalist cultures of late-Fascist Germany and Italy. In 1945 an Italian translation of Catullus by Vincenzo Errante was published in Milan – one of several such translations in the 30s and 40s – accompanied by seventeen lithographs by Italian artist Filippo de Pisis. Two years earlier, in 1943, German composer Carl Orff premiered a three-act cantata named *Catulli Carmina*, in which a selection of Catullus' Latin poems are framed by neo-Latin text written by Orff himself, and sung to the accompaniment of an entirely percussive orchestra. Both these works cohere, at least, with a Fascist ethos that sought validation in the

classical tradition of Greco-Roman culture. But this paper argues that these texts make very different use of a 'classical' Catullus within the framing environment of Fascist modernism, especially in portraying ideals of contemporary masculinity. Orff's cantata presents a reductive and universalising Catullan narrative: tendentious selection of poems and the composer's explicit sexual framing text create a didactic celebration of youth and vigour, emphasised by cantata's archaic and even primal musical scoring. Errante's *I Carmi Di Catullo*, by contrast, presents a more subtle 'Catullus' which critiques contemporary obsession with virility. In particular, the volume's lithographs portray delicate (rather than dominant) male nudes; these illustrations import a homoeroticism which places the male body as object of desire, as counterpoint to the desiring male voice of the framing text.

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Lindsay Watson, 'Is Theocritus' Simaetha an incompetent at Amatory Magic?'

It has been fashionable of late to argue that the Simaetha of Theocritus *Idyll* 2 is an incompetent at the amatory magic to which she ardently applies herself in seeking to recover the affections of her faithless lover Delphis, and that in consequence the fetching spell which she directs at him is inevitably doomed to failure. Domány, for example, holds that Simaetha's rite is fatally vitiated by crucial omissions, Lambert that her ceremony parodies a magic ritual in order to cause amusement and make her into a figure of fun, while Graf contends that 'Theocritus constructs a mosaic, a kind of superritual capable of activating in its readers all sorts of associations connected with magic … but, taken as a whole, it would not work.'

This paper will suggest that such an approach is fundamentally misconceived, in the sense that many of the procedural mis-steps imputed to Simaetha in the above literature, for example the burning of laurel in a rite to Hecate-Selene, turn out not to be mis-steps when evaluated against the vast body of documentary evidence for the practice of magic in Classical Antiquity. Along the same lines, Simaetha's stated intention to renew her rite on the following day, a detail which scholars pounce upon as a sign of the protagonist's magical inexpertise on the grounds that she thereby exhibits little faith in the success of her spells, proves to be perfectly consonant with ritual patterns freely observable in the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* and other sources.

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Patricia Watson, 'Animal Parts in the Sorcerer's Workshop'

This paper forms part of a wider study on the use of animals in ancient magic which investigates issues such as the types of animal used, the ritual context and possible reasons for the choice of a particular animal. The paper concentrates on practicalities, in particular how animal parts were obtained: were the animals killed freshly on each occasion, or was use made of preserved materials?

The question has received scant attention, though Johnson (349 and n.13), made a start in her discussion of a papyrus spell using pellets made from white dove's blood and fat: 'once he had manufactured them, the practitioner could store these pellets away until a client asked him to perform a love spell.' The present paper more systematically gathers evidence for the preservation of animal parts, either individually or in manufactured form, using both the *Greek Magical Papyri* and especially Pliny the Elder (Books 28-30).

Arising from this investigation is a second question, the issue of where these magic materials might have been stored. As Dickie has shown, magic workers practised in a variety of situations, but I will focus on those who operated from home. It will be suggested that these may have maintained a sorcerer's workshop which would have contained, among other items, preserved animal parts. For evidence of such *officinae*, (judicious) use will be made of literary accounts of magic such as Horace *Epodes* 5 and 17 and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (Book 3) as well as a recently discovered Latin *defixio*.

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Kathryn Welch, '"What was he thinking?" Marcus Antonius and Parthia

Why, in the middle of a civil war, did Marcus Antonius lead an expedition to Parthia in 37 BCE? The answer ought to be obvious: Romans wanted to avenge Marcus Crassus' defeat and bring back the standards his army lost there in 53, thereby restoring order to world politics.

Reassessments of Romano-Parthian relations (e.g. Noè 1997; Curran 2007; Morrell 2017) allow us to see that even in 37 the Parthians were not naturally the mortal enemies of Rome. Morrell argues that Pompeius persuaded the senate to forego a war of revenge at the time of the disaster. Noè demonstrates the ease with which Pompeius and his friends called upon the Parthians for assistance. Curran argues that the 'war of revenge' was classic *popularis*, not Roman, policy. Antonius himself had a strangely 'un-Roman' attitude to imperialism which

might have resulted in a very different Roman Empire if he had succeeded. His decision to invade Parthia needs to be read in this context.

I argue that Antonius' Parthian expedition was mostly about his rivalry with the younger Caesar. Events leading up to the pact of Brundisium in 40 surely taught him that he could not dominate his young colleague by military means, nor through an alliance with the opposition on Sicily. A victory in Parthia would have enhanced Antonius' military reputation, even perhaps enabling him to outshine the Dictator Caesar himself. Antonius chose to go to Parthia because it presented the only available opportunity to neutralise both generations of the 'Caesar' factor.

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Chris L. de Wet, 'Disciplining the Past, Imagining the Utopian Body: The Ascetic Discourse of the Soul as a Utopian Corporeal Discourse in John Chrysostom'

The destruction of 'pagan' structures, whether through acts of violence or abandonment, was often justified ideologically by relegating these structures to the realm of a deviant past, a past in need of correction and punishment. Running parallel to such practices of material discipline and punishment of inanimate structures was the ascetic discourse of the soul, which similarly aimed to discipline, punish, and even destroy the earthly body. In late ancient Christian thought the present earthly body—with all its passions and inevitable rot—was a sign of a dystopia. Michel Foucault (2006: 239) has also identified the body as being a problem of utopian ideals: "My body, it's the opposite of a utopia: that which is never under different skies. My body, pitiless place." The Christian answer to the dystopian problem of the body came in a particular discourse of the soul. Early Christian asceticism operated on the basis that through acts of corporeal mortification—the slow and systematic destruction of the body—the soul is vitalised. But body as such is not negated, only shifted to a different place. The ephemeral ascetic acts of violence imagine a new body, a new temple, a new self. The starving of the flesh nourishes the soul, for instance, while the aging of the body rejuvenates the soul. Using the works of John Chrysostom as a case study, this paper aims to investigate more closely the "physicality" of the destruction of the past.

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Adrienne White, 'Pericles in the Parliament: The Rhetorical Use of Ancient Greece in the Modern Australian Parliament'

In the perpetually surreal world of Australian federal politics, the past is often referred to in order to achieve a sense of historical prestige and validation. This paper will use the federal *Hansard* to examine cases where politicians have drawn on the ancient past, specifically ancient Greece, in their rhetoric. I will particularly focus on those who cite 'the great tradition of an ancient warrior, statesman and king, Pericles, who founded the great Athenian empire' (sic) (Robert, SR, *Hansard*).

The paper will consider the tendency to cite the Greek past especially in the context of condolence speeches and military matters, as well as the reasons for the continued presence of antiquity in Australian political discourse. These may include the use of antiquity as a rhetorical device; the influence of a classical education; and the role of the modern Greek community in Australia.

I shall examine the use made of antiquity by politicians from across the political spectrum, and contemplate why more classical references come from conservative politicians. Examples discussed will include speeches from the last ten years by the current Prime Minister, Malcolm Turnbull; Christopher Pyne; Jackie Lambie; and other senators and members of the 40th to the 43rd parliaments.

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Allison White, 'The Lion and the Lamb: Symbolism in Ancient Greek'

If death were referred to as an animal, one would not expect to see a lamb or a llama, but something more vicious, e.g. a lion. Such figurative motifs have been used since antiquity, and their meanings may readily be assumed to have been understood by their contemporary audiences. This use of imagery, however, becomes difficult to categorise lexicographically. Is *leōn*, then, symbolic or metaphorical? And are symbolic and metaphorical uses to remain completely separate, or can they overlap? In this paper, the question will be explored whether symbolic language is always metaphorical or whether it falls into a separate category of its own. If so, then the lexica need to reflect this distinction, which so far has not been methodically applied, and in some cases, not considered at all. This paper will discuss this issue by looking at the figurative uses of λέων, ἀρνίον and πρόβατον. Each word will be examined according to its use in the New Testament (NT), as well as how it is used by contemporary writers in non-

literary papyri, inscriptions and magical texts (between 200 BCE-200 CE). Such a study will consider current linguistic methods and analysis of literary technique, as well as the different approaches to Greek lexicography. This includes the use of all major Greek lexicons (particularly of the NT), as well as studying etymological lexicons, e.g. Chantraine and Frisk, to judge how this symbolic use may have developed over time.

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Zhang Hongxia, 'One Man, One Mind? Cicero's Use of Names for Legal and Socio-Political Framing in *Pro Cluentio'*

Cicero's speech *Pro Cluentio* is well known for its complexity of plot and the characters' intertwined relationships. While primarily defending Aulus Cluentius Habitus in 66 BC, Cicero goes through different levels of narratives and often describes the same person, however with different names. This triggers the question of how and why the use of such a technique arises.

In my paper, I shall first analyze how Cicero plays with different names in two instances (for naming – or not – as a strategy, cf. Steel 2007), the case of the Fabricii (Cic. Cluent. 5.11; 34.94). While the former is used to show the malice of the elder Oppianicus, the latter example gains its function in a comparison with the allegedly illegal aftermath of the first trial against the elder Oppianicus. In the second place, the paper will reveal the legal and socio-political frameworks (for rhetoric and law, cf. Kacprzak 2016; for the subtle use of rhetorical devices in a court, cf. Alexander 2016) of these two case-studies, i.e. the status, connections and networks of the aforementioned (groups of) persons. I will finally show how Cicero uses the legal argument and socio-political networks expressed by his conscious emphasis on specific forms of names to achieve his aim, i.e. to defend Aulus Cluentius Habitus with a combination of legal, socio-political, rhetorical and emotional factors.

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