



Panel Abstracts Booklet

Celtic Conference in Classics

Coimbra 2019

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Organization



Funding



Partners



PLENARIES ABSTRACTS

Plenary 1

Wednesday 26th · 5:45-6:45pm

Dennis Kehoe, Tulane University

Economic Approaches to the Law and Economic History in the Greco-Roman World

In my paper for the panel “Law, Institutions, and Economic Performance in Classical Antiquity,” I propose to offer a broad theoretical discussion of how insights from the debate on the relationship between law and the economy among legal scholars and economists can help us to understand better the role that law played in the ancient economy. In particular, I will draw from the contemporary debate in the fields of law and economics and the new institutional economics to explore the likely economic consequences of important legal institutions in the Greek and Roman worlds that directly impinged on private property and commerce. I will focus on the institutions that Athens in the fourth century BCE created to resolve disputes between Athenian and foreign merchants, as well as on definitions of private property rights and agency in Roman commercial relationships. We can understand the usefulness of modern theoretical perspectives by considering two broad issues: 1) the limitations that Roman legal policy imposed on the capacity of landowners to dispose of their land; 2) the various economic incentives created by Roman forms of agency, including the use of social dependents to manage businesses and the reliance of freeborn citizens to accomplish this task under the contract of mandate. My paper is designed to provide a theoretical perspective for the papers in the panel that will be more focused on particular aspects of the economies of Greece and Rome.

Plenary 2

Thursday 27th · 5:00-6:00pm

Thomas Figueira, Rutgers University [figueira@classics.rutgers.edu]

Thucydides 2.8.4-5 and the Nature of Ideological Sympathy in Fifth-Century Interstate Politics

Chapter 8 of Book II of Thucydides contains a remarkable assertion on the state of *eunoia* ‘good-will’ in Greece at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. Partisanship in favor of the Spartans was general and prompted anxiety for each historical actor over his role in the struggle. This attitude rested on *orgē* ‘anger’ against the Athenians for their *arkhē* ‘hegemony’. In the first instance, so categorical an observation, extending to every *idiōtēs* ‘private citizen’ and every *polis*, prompts skepticism *prima facie*. Thus, an initial investigation should cover its historicity by drawing on the actual politics and international affairs of both the pre-war years and the Archidamian war itself. Such an analysis may well subvert the factuality of this passage, or, at the very least, serve to limit its chronological scope radically. That review then evokes a deeper inquiry: Thucydides 2.8 represents an early initiative at gauging “public opinion”. On the one hand, it deserves to be read without a consciousness formed by modern polling, and, on the other, it opens

into an appraisal of the nature of public sentiment in a realm of still oral literacy where mass media are absent, channels for inter-communal communication narrow and under-developed, and even intra-communal venues marked by elite direction.

Plenary 3

Friday 28th · 5:30-6:30pm

Bettina Joy de Guzman

Sing Goddess and Queen, Muse (Ancient Greek Music Performance)

[PANEL 1] WELL-BEING IN WAR TIMES: THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMBATANT AND NON-COMBATANT GROUPS DURING CONFLICT

[Wednesday]

Slot 1: 1:30 - 2:20pm

Carmen Soares, University of Coimbra [cilsoares@gmail.com]

*Herodotus: Discourse on *Diaita* during War Times*

My talk focuses on two themes that have not yet been juxtaposed in Herodotus' vast bibliographic record: *diaita* and war. To talk about 'lifestyle' means to consider the natural conditions (i.e., the environment and the human being's *phusis*) and the cultural conditions (those determined by *nomos*) that influence an individual's physical and psychological well-being. The original and holistic sense of the Greek term *diaita* covers such factors as diet, physical exercise, environment (the so called "airs, waters and places"), housing, work, sex, rest. All of them have been viewed in Antiquity as structuring elements of a (desired) healthy lifestyle. So, the purpose of my talk is to analyse how Herodotus portrays the "comfort" levels of both warriors and non-combatants. The methodology adopted consists of discussing the expression in the *Histories* of the four major factors of people's well-being: habitat (natural and cultural), diet, physical activity and rest. The two final sections of this study reflect on the emotional power and the political power of well-being.

Slot 2: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Thomas Figueira, Rutgers University, USA

Spartan Mothers and Widows during War

I have previously studied the social roles of Spartan women in enforcing the political and social canons of masculine behavior ("Gynecocracy: How Women Policed Masculine Behavior in Archaic and Classical Sparta," in *Sparta: The Body Politic*, S. Hodkinson and A. Powell, editors [Swansea 2010] 265–96). It is apparent that both by awarding praise and other forms of ego-enhancement and meting out disparagement and contempt Spartan women affected male comportment during periods of military conflict. Beside these more reactive gestures of social control, mothers, sisters, and wives could act themselves by initiating or joining into social ostracism. It is, however, worth considering more closely for this paper the historicity of all the evidence for active engagement by Spartan women with military contexts, such as visits by Spartan mothers to the battlefield to inspect the bodies of fallen Spartans in order to understand their deportment at death. It may be possible to bring into this examination of active, critical engagement by women an enigmatic passage in the Funeral Oration, attributed to Pericles by Thucydides, where Perikles addresses the behavior of Athenian widows (Thuc. 2.45.2).

[Thursday]

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Brian Rutishauser, Fresno City College, USA

Targeting Priests: Greek and Persian Viewpoints on Sacred Violence

Priests and priestesses in Greek antiquity can be distinguished from the professional, political classes known from Near Eastern contexts. Nevertheless, they were subject to certain taboos and restrictions that set them apart from the rest of the population, even if these conditions were only in effect for temporary periods. Conversely, the Magi of Achaemenid Persia occupied more permanent and defined roles in their society.

Although generally not combatants themselves, Greek and Persian priests often accompanied armies on campaigns, and were consulted by those in authority before making military decisions. Although the evidence is limited, a few sources describe instances where such individuals are said to have received different treatment in wartime. However, these accounts are often problematic to interpret. The unequivocal equation of violence against priests with sacrilege deserves closer scrutiny.

This paper will examine variations in attitudes towards wartime violence directed at priests in both the Greek and Achaemenid Persian cultures. Examples include the Magi during the coup of Darius I, Xerxes' attacks on Greek and Egyptian temples, and Alexander's treatment of Magi and the Branchidae. Violence perpetrated in other religious contexts, such as the killing of suppliants, heralds, and seers, will also be considered.

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Davide Morassi, University of Oxford, UK

Father, Doctor, Shepherd: The Attitudes of Xenophon's Leaders toward Soldier Well-Being

Xenophon expressed explicitly the importance of caring for the troops' well-being. Not only does he remark on the importance of providing food, shelter, and pay (e.g. *Anab.* 2.6.8, 7.7.40), but he also exemplifies the care of the leader through a series of similes: a father, a doctor, a teacher (*Anab.* 5.8.18). Scholars such as Wood, Nussbaum, and Roisman point out that Xenophon recognised the understanding and pursuit of a 'greater good' and moral probity as reasons for legitimising a leader (*Mem.* 3.9-10-15, 4.4.18-25, *Anab.* 7.7.41). Nonetheless, the emotional aspect of this pattern is completely ignored. In the modern formulation of morale, Wilcox recognises two different categories of factors which influence soldiers' emotions: 'mood' is an unstable emotional dynamic which relies on momentaneous conditions, such as the availability of food, or the weather. Xenophon seemed to appreciate this phenomenon too. He remarked on how it was important for the commander to be seen to take care of his men (*Eq. Mag.* 6.2-3). This was not only a duty of the commander, but a resource to strengthen his authority. It is evident how the commander who was unable to provide for his men did not have their loyalty (*Anab.* 7.7.37, 49), whilst the 'father-like' leader inspired trustworthiness and even affection in his men (*Ages.* 1.38).

The same attitude was transferred also to the civil sphere. Xenophon is clear in depicting Cyrus as a 'shepherd of the people' (*Cyr.* 8.2.14), a Homeric formula that conveys this same care for one's subjects (e.g. *Hom. Od.* 4.534-537. Cf. *Mem.* 3.2.1). The negative example of Clearchus demonstrates this statement (*Hell.* 1.3.14-19). During the siege of Byzantium, Clearchus stockpiled the resources only for the Spartans, causing a revolt which was considered justified by the ephors themselves.

Anna Gorokhova, Moscow State Pedagogic University, Russia

The Women of Greece in War and Peacetime in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC

The proposed paper will identify the role of the women in the battles and social life of Greece on the basis of surviving historical narratives. In order to do that the following questions will be answered: what kind of woman was able to be a warrior, who managed to head the polis defense or to take part in the sea and land battle? What functions and qualities should she have and how strong was her influence in political life? How were female warriors perceived in a society ruled by men?

Research methodology: the method of synchronicity and diachronicity, a comparative analysis. Preliminary results of the research allow us to say that women took part in war quite often. Among them were the most remarkable ones who became heroines. Among their qualities was charisma, social background and education. Some of those women were deeply respected after their death.

Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Lucía Romero Mariscal & Javier Campos Daroca, University of Almería, Spain
Feats of Welfare: Palamedes' Singularity as a Cultural Hero

A substantial part of the stories that made up the Trojan cycle were devoted to the unexpectedly extended period of time taken up with the capture of the city. As the story goes, it took the Achaean army ten years to achieve its ambitions, during which they had to face up the difficulties to be expected when a task force spends much time in hostile territories. Furthermore, in the course of the prolonged stay before Troy's walls the Achaean camp became a city of sorts, a place to be organized, provided with regular supplies and even with some level of leisure-pursuits in order to guarantee the proper functioning of the soldiers in battle. Amongst the heroes who fought at Troy the mythical tradition singled out Palamedes for the endeavours he made to help his comrades as regards the improvement of the living conditions in the camp. In our contribution we propose to explore the mythical lore related to Palamedes in order to assess the peculiar quality of his heroic performance. As a hero renowned for his inventions, Palamedes has been frequently classified as a cultural hero, but in our view this characterization misses an important point regarding the specific range of his achievements. Indeed, Palamedes features prominently in stories which as a whole are related to meeting the compelling demands of a group living under conditions permanently releasing Maximal Stress and, consequently, strong phases of Cooperation in several levels (on Maximal Stress Cooperation *decorum* (MSC) see, Mühlmann 1996; 2005). As contributions to the fit-out of the highly stressed life in the army camp, Palamedes' "inventions" deserve to be called "Feats of welfare", which result in his growing prestige amongst the warriors together with an increased potential of leadership which eventually will entail his doom.

[Friday]

Slot 11: 9:00 - 9:50am

Marta González González, University of Málaga, Spain
Männerbund and Pistos Hetairios: Well-Being of the Epic Warrior

Männerbund, male solidarity between comrades in arms, has vital importance in war, at least in ancient warfare. In Homeric poetry we find clear examples of the importance of such ties, always between men, and observe a variety of possible overtones. Moreover, the bond that

unites a couple as Achilles and Patroclus has an additional component, that of the friend as counsellor and confidant. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the role played by the *pistos hetairos*, the reliable friend, in the well-being of the warrior. The basis of this study will be the Iliad, epic in whose plot the couple Achilles-Patroclus is an excellent example of the positive function exercised by the existence of a friend, confidant and comrade absolutely faithful, as well as the dangers of that presence disappearing. Aside from the possibly erotic nature of the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus, the latter's fundamental role is that of reliable counsellor to Achilles, the same role that Nestor plays in relation to Agamemnon, or Polydamas to Hector.

Jonas Tai, Rutgers University, USA

The Archaic Evolution and Classical Parameters of ἀνδραποδισμός

In Classical Greece, *andrapodismos* was the military action by which a conquering army would execute the military-aged and pubescent men and enslave the women and children of the subjugated population. Although *andrapodismos* as perpetrated by the Greeks in the Classical period almost exclusively denoted this act, such a definition cannot be so strictly applied to Archaic *andrapodismos*, which is not as easily defined.

A closer examination of all instances of *andrapodismos* in Herodotus will show that the term included a variety of different methods of enslavement and population displacement, depending on the actor and the specific historical context. When perpetrated by Greeks against Greeks, it generally referred to the piecemeal capture and enslavement of portions of the enemy population. When perpetrated by Persians against Greeks, it typically designated the large-scale deportations of enemy populations to the internal territories of the Achaemenid empire. This is consistent with other examples of Achaemenid population shifts and has additional precedents in the deportation policies of other Near Eastern empires after conquest.

Because Herodotus covers a great variety of conflicts of differing cultural and military contexts, it is not surprising that he uses the word in various ways. On the other hand, that Thucydides generally covers one major conflict allows for more consistency in diction. It also helped that Athens alone committed almost every act of *andrapodismos* in a consistent manner, which limited his scope in that regard. Thucydides' great historiographic influence confirmed his definition of *andrapodismos* to subsequent historians, while the long-lasting impression of the Peloponnesian war and the prestige of Athens may have standardized *andrapodismos* itself to the Greeks.

The unmatched brutality and frequency of *andrapodismos* in the Peloponnesian war can be linked with the last stages of the development of state structures in the city-states in the preceding years of the late Archaic period. It reflects the greater ability of the city-states, especially Athens, to control and move large swathes of people by policy, whether they were Athenian or allied colonists, or subjugated and captured enemy populations.

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Maria do Céu Fialho, University of Coimbra, Portugal

Athens' Great Plague: Individual and Political Disruption (Thucydides 2.47-54)

The Thucydidean description of the Athenian plague in the second year of the Pelopon-

nesian War was carefully conceived by its author in order to give it a larger dimension. It becomes the image of a deeper disease, which mortally affects the polis, which destroys its values and the cohesion of the social fabric that allows the survival of democracy. The 'disease' of the city is another aspect of the war, which is closer, more threatening, which endangers the survival of the body of every citizen and of the community. It affects the well-being of each citizen as an individual body and of the whole city, as a collective body constituent of democracy.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Maria José García Soler, University of País Basco, Spain
War and Dreams of Well-Being in Ancient Greek Comedy

Greek comedy frequently puts on the scene the most pressing issues of the day. From Cratinus, the first comic author to introduce political themes, this genre reflects, sometimes even in a violent way, the problems bedeviling the city. A special place was given over to the reflections of armed conflicts in which Athens was immersed, in particular the Peloponnesian War. It marked the second half of the 5th century BC and was the beginning of the decline of the city.

Authors of comedies criticized politicians who were considered its main cause. On the scene appear Pericles, the Athenian 'Zeus', and the demagogues who came after him, that, such as Cleon, were unable or unwilling to put an end to the war and brought about the city's ruin. Next to them appear the victims of the war: the Athenian peasants, who saw their fields invaded and destroyed by Spartans; women who saw their husbands go to war; even enemies, as the Megarian portrayed by Aristophanes in his *Acharnians*, who went as far as to attempt to sell his daughters on the market, because harassed by the hunger.

At the same time, and as a poetical response to the difficult conditions of the reality, comedy also reflects a happy time of peace. In their description, Attic comedigraphers sometimes look towards the past, remembering the way of life before the war, when the abundance of land guaranteed everything that was necessary. Sometimes, they look towards the future, when all their experiences of penury will be over and happiness will reign. On other occasions they project the image of an idealized world, a kind of Land of Cockaigne, opposed to reality, in which all needs will be taken care of spontaneously without the need to work.

Slot 14: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Steven Brandwood, Rutgers University, USA
Battle Fatigue and the Danger of Sleep on and Off the Fourth-Century Stage

For all the killing that takes place at night in epic narrative (e.g. Lykaon at Hom. *Il.* 21.34-39), there are comparatively few episodes in which a character is killed in his or her sleep. Monstrous figures like Polyphemos (Hom. *Od.* 9.371-94) and Aiëtes' Serpent (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.123-61) are overcome while sleeping, but only Rhesos (Hom. *Il.* 10.474-97) and Argos (Ov. *Met.* 1.714-22) appear to be killed in such a fashion. Anxiety about sleep and sleeplessness is nonetheless a recurrent theme in depictions of heroic combat from epic to tragedy, from Nestor's injunction against sleeping and becoming "a joy to our

enemies” (Hom. *Il.* 10.192-93), to the Sentry’s prayer for release in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* (Aesch. Ag. 1-21). Recent scholarship (e.g., Dué and Ebbot. 2010. *Iliad 10 and the Poetics of Ambush*. Washington) has clarified the relationship of ambush and night-raids to epic discourse, but more remains to be studied in terms of the connections between fatigue, sleep and successful heroic conduct. This paper will accordingly investigate the description and reception of battle fatigue and the inherent risk of sleep in [Euripides’] *Rhesos*, focusing in particular on Aeneas’ advice to Hektor concerning fatigued troops (Il. 105-30), the chorus’ “morning song” and their desire for sleep (Il. 528-64), and the dream of Rhesos’ Charioteer (Il. 738-803). This material will then be compared to later writings such as [Hippocrates] *Regimen* and Theophrastus *On Fatigue* to argue for a change in traditional understandings of *ponos*, *kamatos*, and *kopos* on the fourth-century stage.

Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Cynthia Patterson, Emory University, USA

Socrates and the Health of Athens

Thucydides’ plague narrative looms large over discussion of the Athenian experience during the Peloponnesian War. But the power and authority of Thucydides’ narrative require us as readers to stand firm and not be overwhelmed. What other perspectives (literary or archaeological) exist for the impact of war and disease on Athenian society? In this paper, I hope to contribute to this larger discussion by looking at ways in which Plato’s portrait of Socrates supplements and sometimes challenges, with an occasional twist of irony, Thucydides’ narrative. I first consider sections of three texts: 1) the opening of *Charmides*, in which Socrates, just back from long service at Potidaea, where disease had been brought from Athens by reinforcements, describes what he learned from the Thracian doctors; 2) the opening of the *Republic*, with Socrates’ description of the inaugural festival of the Thracian goddess Bendis, who is clearly associated with health and healing; and 3) the speeches of Eryximachus and Diotima in the *Symposium*, where Socrates hears about epidemic medicine from a Hippocratic expert *and* then later relates his own education by Diotima of Mantinea who, he says, delayed the Athenian plague for ten years by advising the Athenians on the proper sacrifices. I then comment briefly on Socrates’ metaphorical use of ideas of health and disease in his discussion of virtue, both that of the individual soul and the body politic, and in his description of the good politician as a physician and himself as a slave of Apollo, and end by noting that while Thucydides tells us very little about the experience of Athenian society during the war, Plato’s dialogues can provide a real sense that life in fact did go on--although it ended for Socrates with his drinking of the ‘*pharmakon*’ and a reminder of his debt to Asclepius.

Emmanuel Aprilakis, Rutgers University, USA

Wartime Choruses: Using the Argive Invasion in Tragedy to Assess the Athenian Opinion of its Enemy

Tragedy offers a dual vision into the circumstances of different groups in wartime. The extant plays, virtually all composed for performance in Athens in the fifth century B.C.E., can all be said to be performed for a community on the brink of, actively engaged

in, or freshly disentangled from war. Thus, those plays that revolve around an armed conflict offer us the opportunity to examine a real group in wartime as they examine a fictional group in wartime. In this paper, I shall use the dramatic treatments of the myth of the Argive invasion of Thebes to assess the Athenian opinion of its enemy at different points in the fifth century.

My analysis focuses specifically on the non-combatant female choruses of Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas* and Euripides' *Supplices* and *Phoenissae*. In the former, the Argive invaders are more explicitly presented as the transgressors, whereas the distinction is less obvious in the plays of the latter poet. In Aeschylus, the Argives are depicted as savage boasters who even affront the gods, especially by the report of the messenger in the shield scene (375-685), and the pious chorus of Theban maidens denounce their hubristic nature (483, 500). But, in *Supplices*, the blame for the war is shared as both parties show hubris, especially exemplified by the Theban herald, who comes into direct conflict with Theseus (399-584). The pious chorus of Argive mothers here similarly denounce such hubris (464, 512, 633) as they appeal for help to Athens. *Phoenissae* offers a third perspective as its chorus of Phoenician maidens is from neither polity. Although they are initially pro-Thebes, they acknowledge Polyneices' justification (258) and eventually come to favor his argument over Eteocles' (497-8, 526-7).

Ultimately, I find that the difference in these treatments reflects the respective contemporary opinions towards Athens' adversaries. Whereas the Athenian conception of their enemy in 467 would have been the Persians, who are more clearly an 'other' type of foe, the enemy for Euripides' audiences would have been the Spartans, with whom the Athenians would have felt something of a kindred tie. If it is correct to imagine the difference in the Athenian opinion of the fictional invader as reflecting the difference in the contemporary identity of the real invader, it would make sense for Euripides to have blurred the line between blameworthy and inculpable.

Slot 16: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Rubén Escorihuela Martínez, University of Zaragoza, Spain

Fear and Suggestion in the Republican Roman Army: The Insurrection as Reaction

Owner of his time, if something characterized the Roman civilization was his ability to make war an art. Beyond becoming an instrument of conquest and territorial expansion, the Roman army ended up being the way to spread Roman values and culture. Its effectiveness and superiority soon transformed the Roman legion in a perfect machine from the military point of view, as well as in a way of life and one of the fundamental pillars of the Roman world.

However, what was the price that the Roman soldier had to pay? What impact did the war have? What were the consequences of long periods of military service? How far did the model of military life influence the way of thinking and acting of the Roman soldier? How did the war context affect the military discipline? What traumas did the Roman soldier drag and in which way determined their behavior?

Taking these and other questions as a reference, it is intended to assess the scope that fear and suggestion could have in the Roman Republican army, as a source of conflicts and insurrection episodes. With this purpose, it starts from a series of unfavorable military situations, in order to analyze the behavior that the Roman army experienced seeing itself in an extreme psychic and /or physical situation.

Mary Hamil Gilbert, Birmingham-Southern College, USA

Melancholy Destroys Andromache: Depression, Anxiety, and Psychotic Mourning in Seneca's Troades

In her opening monologue, Andromache excuses her refusal to mourn the fall of Troy by characterizing her pain as an emptiness, an absence of sensation: "I bear whatever comes stunned by woes (*torpens malis*) and numb, without feeling (*rigensque sine sensu*)," Sen. Tr . 417. While the emotionless state she describes may resemble a proper stoic response by some accounts (e.g. Fabre-Serris), in ancient medical literature, apathy is associated with prolonged grieving. My talk will argue that Seneca's portrayal of Andromache's war trauma stems from his engagement with ancient ideas about melancholy, a state of emotional trauma that shares symptoms with modern mental disorders like depression and anxiety.

I analyze three episodes from *Troades* (409-25, 438-60, and 642-62) and argue that Andromache transitions through various stages of melancholy as described in the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata Physica*, especially the account at 954a 14-39. I suggest that in her agon with Ulysses (642-62), Andromache's psychological state comes to resemble an extreme case of what psychiatrists have termed hallucinatory (or psychotic) mourning, a condition wherein a widow hears voices and sees visions of the recently deceased. Finally, I contextualize Seneca's treatment of Andromache by looking briefly at modern accounts of the impact of war on women (e.g. Ashford) and Seneca's treatment of the grief endured by contemporary Roman women like Marcia and his mother Helvia.

The aims of my talk are three: 1) to demonstrate that Seneca is indebted to the psychologizing approach to Greek mythology practiced by authors such as Aristotle, who connects hallucinations to extreme emotions (*Parv. nat.* 2.460b 3-16); 2) to reconsider Senecan intertextuality in light of his interests in ancient medicine; and 3) to suggest that his sophisticated characterization of a widow suffering from severe trauma anticipates modern ideas about the devastating effects of war and trauma on women.

[Staurday]

Slot 18: 10:00 - 10:50am

Paula Barata Dias, University of Coimbra

Ways to Overcome Lacrimabile Tempus: Survival Strategies in Besieged Cities of the Late Roman Empire

At the beginning of the fifth Century, several cities of the Western Roman Empire suffered violence and siege by the diverse barbarian tribes. Evidence has come down to us about the ability of populations to resist siege, and once defeated, to coexist and to negotiate with the invaders. In this presentation, we intend to explore reports on different episodes of conflict (such as Jerome, Salvian of Marseille, Hydatius of Chaves), presenting ways both to survive in the absence of material resources and to maintain communal life. In these reports of catastrophe, there can be seen the literary Christian *topos* of announcements of the end of the world (anticipated by war, famine, pestilence, and death), but it is our intention to show them, in specific details, as plausible reports of human behavior during distressed times.

Slot 19: 11:10 - 12:00am

Dorothy Figueira, University of Georgia, USA

Suppliant Zombies and Cannibal Gods: Simone Weil's Reading of the Iliad and the Bhagavad Gita

Certes, il etait loin des bains chauds, le malheureux, Il n'était pas le seul. Presque tout L'Iliade se passe loin des bains chauds. Presque toute la vie humaine s'est toujours passee loin des bains chauds.

Simone Weil, *L'Illiade*, 6

Simone Weil (1909-43), was born into a Jewish family and had no spiritual dogmas instilled in her from childhood. Along with her older brother, André, who would go onto have an illustrious career as a mathematician at Princeton, Simone grew up in Paris with devoted parents who nurtured in both their children a love of learning and provided them with a supportive and comfortable bourgeois existence. Her privileged family life and her education instilled in her great sympathy and compassion for those less fortunate. Her philosophical bent and her love of literature led her at an early age to seek to grapple with the thorny moral and ethical issues of her day. In this paper, I will look at her reading of two texts, the *Iliad* and the *Bhagavad Gita*. I will examine the manner in which she manipulated these epic accounts in order to use them in formulating her theories on force and justice.

For her interpretation of the Greek epic, I will focus upon her essay *L'Iliade ou le poème de la force*, where she is at pains to show that all-encompassing force renders humans either dead or living-dead. The dead are represented by suppliant combatants and the living-dead are found among the non-combatants (women, children, slaves). Weil makes her case with a partial and fragmentary commentary of selected passages she lifts from the the Greek text, adding to her interpretation an understanding of the Greek epic as a Christian tract *avant la lettre*. Several years after the essay on the *Iliad*, Weil turned her attention to Sanskrit epic and brought a theology of suffering, prefigured in her interpretation of the *Iliad*, to her reading of the *Bhagavad Gita*. Here suffering is omnipresent and she exhorts us to embrace it. Her fragmentary and faulty translation of the Greek text makes way now to truly aberrant renditions of the Sanskrit.

[PANEL 2] **LOST IN TRANSMISSION: THE FILTER OF INTERMEDIARY SOURCES IN GREEK AND LATIN FRAGMENTARY GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY**

[Wednesday]

Slot 1: 1:30 - 2:20pm

Mariachiara C. Angelucci, Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt [mariachiara.angelucci@unipv.it]

The Transmission of the Periegetical writings of Polemon of Ilion and the role of the Intermediary sources

Polemon of Ilion is considered one of the best-known exponents of the periegetic literature of Hellenistic times. Only thirty nine fragments of his periegetical writings have come down to us. In my paper I intend to focus on the role of intermediary sources in the transmission of the perieget's fragments, which deal in particular with Greece, and also with Asia Minor, Sicily and Magna Graecia. His passages have been handed down to us by numerous ancient authors, by the lexicographers and the scholiasts. The problem of the *Mittelquellen* is often not easy to solve as well as it is not always possible to reconstruct the different phases of the textual transmission. A number of fragments can be traced back to Didymus, in turn used by Favorinus of Arelate, source for Clemens Alexandrinus and for some of Athenaeus' passages. Athenaeus also made use of Attic lexicons similarly to Harpocration. With regards to the fragments dealing with cults and myths we can mention the $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omega\acute{\nu}$ of Apollodorus, which is related with Homeric mythology and religion, while the compilation of paradoxographic material composed by Alexander of Myndus, who dealt in particular with zoology, has preserved the information regarding the cult of the wolf in Delphi.

The large number of authors, who hands down the fragments of Polemon, as well as the variety of themes, which can be found in his texts, explain why we have so different intermediate sources, which do not end with those mentioned. In all cases the intermediate sources played a decisive role in the preservation of some passages while others on the contrary were lost. The choice made by the authors, who transmit Polemon, represents then the second filter, so that we now have only a small part of the huge literary production of the perieget.

Slot 2: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Daniela Dueck, Bar Ilan University [Daniela.Dueck@biu.ac.il]

The Circulation and Availability of Texts: Menecrates of Elaea as a Case-Study

Menecrates of Elaea wrote at least two works: (1) *A periodos* of the Hellespont (geography), (2) *On Foundations* (historiography), but all that is preserved of these compositions is merely four short fragments. Evidence is further limited by the fact that all these four fragments are preserved in Strabo's *Geography*. In the entire corpus of Greek and Latin literature there are no other traces of Menecrates' work. This raises several questions related to the process of textual transmission: (1) Was Menecrates' text available to Strabo or did he borrow these quotations from an intermediate source? (2) Why doesn't Strabo quote more parts of Menecrates' work? (3) Can we suggest what happened in the process of transmission?

Through the presentation of these four fragments I intend to approach these questions as well as discuss the broader issue of how texts or parts of them circulated in antiquity while others were often lost. This theme is linked to issues of intertextuality, methods of quotation and secondary use of information.

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Carmen Sánchez Mañas, Universidad Pompeu Fabra [carmen.sanchezm@upf.edu]
Ammon against the Ionians: Herodotus on the Extent of Egypt

In the Second Book of his work, Herodotus often sustains sophistic-styled controversies, typical of the intellectual milieu in his day, with the Greek historiographers and geographers, transmitted in fragmentary condition, that pave his way. One of the finest instances of these polemics is to be found at Hdt. 2.15-18, where he builds up his view on the size of Egypt as opposed to the one held by his predecessors, whom he does not individually name, but refers to collectively as “the Ionians” and “the Greeks”. In this paper, I aim to explore the harsh tone of the dialogue that Herodotus establishes with them and its intended effect on the readers of the *Histories*. To this end, I focus my analysis on three main aspects, namely: the intentions behind Herodotus’ generalising label for his forerunners; the degree of geographic detail with which he conveys both their information and his own on the dimensions of Egypt; and, last but not least, the reasons why he features precisely the oracle of Ammon at Siwah by his side in the argument. On the basis of the obtained data, I expect to conclude that Herodotus does not only defy the earlier Greek historiographers and geographers’ authority to lay the foundation for his own prestige, but also to update, correct and, ultimately, enhance his contemporaries’ knowledge about the oecumene.

Slot 4: 4:40 - 5:30pm

Ilaria Sforza, Università di Roma “Tor Vergata” [ilaria.sforza78@gmail.com]
Hecataeus of Abdera, Aegyptiaca and Diodorus Siculus I

The attribution of Diodorus’ *Bibliothēke* Book I to Hecataeus *On the Egyptians* has been for a long time and it still remains a vexed question. There is only one place in Book I – 46, 8-47, 1 (*FGrHist* 264 F2 e F25) –, in which Diodorus mentions Hecataeus by name as one of the Greeks who visited Egypt and wrote *Aegyptiaca* about the time of Ptolemy of Lagus. This passage introduces the long description of the tomb of Osymandyas, the Pharaoh Ramses II (1290-1224 B.C.E.), at Thebes. Starting from this passage, where Diodorus refers to the *ἱερὰ ἱστοροῦμενα*, the sacred records, modern scholars have tried to attribute the majority of Book I to Hecataeus, assuming that he was the main (if not the only) Diodorus’ source (see A. Burton, *Diodorus Siculus. Book I. A Commentary*, Leiden 1972, “The sources for book I”, pp. 1-34). For example, Schwartz, who dealt with the problem of Diodorus’ sources (especially in *Diodoros*, *REV* 1, 1903, coll. 663-704), attributes to Hecataeus some passages of Book I, but his assumptions can hardly be conclusive, if we consider that Diodorus has probably changed his source / sources, adapting it / them to his intentions.

Some scholars in recent times – for example D. Ambaglio, *Introduzione alla Biblioteca storica di Diodoro*, in D. Ambaglio, F. Landucci, L. Bravi (eds.), *Diodoro Siculo. Biblioteca*

storica. 2 *Commento storico. Introduzione generale*, Milano 2008, pp. 3-102 – have tried to offer a new perspective on Diodorus' work against the ones who considered and still consider him a simple copyist. Within this new approach, we wonder if the application of a severe historical sourcecriticism (*Quellenfoschung*) to Diodorus' work could be misleading. For this reason a mere textual analysis, such as, for example, comparing the occurrences of the word *ναγραφαί* or the use of the third-person-singular / plural of *φημί* in Diodorus' text is unlikely to be conclusive to attribute to Hecataeus one or more chapters of his *Aegyptiaca*. A deeper analysis of the structure and themes of *Bibliothek* Book I should be performed in order to establish wick information was already, for instance, in the Herodotean *logos* and to better evaluate the difference between Diodorus and his predecessors.

[Thursday]

Slot 5: 9:00 - 9:50am

Francisco Javier Gómez Espelosín, Universidad de Sevilla [ponce@us.es]

Las otras historias perdidas de Alejandro magno

Los relatos existentes sobre la historia de Alejandro Magno remontan en su mayor parte a las obras perdidas de quienes lo acompañaron en la expedición de conquista, cuyos nombres conocemos relativamente bien. Sin embargo, en el curso de este delicado y complejo proceso de trasmisión se han perdido también por el camino otras fuentes de información que pudieron ser también utilizadas en la composición de estas obras conservadas bien por hallarse ya sus ecos presentes en las obras originales perdidas o por haber dejado su rastro en otros repertorios posteriores. Emergen así en el curso de la tradición conservada diferentes listas y otro tipo de documentos oficiales, cartas atribuidas a algunos de los protagonistas, restos del posible testimonio de cuerpos más especializados como los bematistas, algunos ecos de tradiciones indígenas, o lo que podrían considerarse como simples rumores y habladurías imposibles de identificar en su autoría original. Muchos de ellos debieron quedar pronto incorporados dentro de las obras conservadas aunque su identificación precisa queda completamente en manos de las conjeturas de los estudiosos modernos. Convendría, sin embargo, intentar comprobar hasta qué punto constituyeron elementos independientes de esta tradición literaria principal, ausentes, por tanto, al menos en parte, de las obras redactadas por los primeros historiadores del conquistador macedonio, y pudieron haber circulado con una cierta autonomía ya desde los tiempos más antiguos. Este es el objetivo de esta contribución.

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Maurizio Ravallese, Università di Roma "La Sapienza"-Université de Paris Sorbonne
[m.ravallese@gmail.com]

La tragedia di Erode: Flavio Giuseppe lettore di Nicolao di Damasco

Gli interessi selettivi della storiografia antica impongono al lettore moderno uno sforzo preliminare: quello di comprendere le funzioni paideutiche sottese alla composizione di un'opera. È una necessità propedeutica a qualsiasi tentativo di *Quellenforschung*. E questo perché la storiografia era un genere letterario che aveva sempre e comunque un fine: l'esemplarità. Ed era anche e soprattutto in virtù di questo scopo educativo che lo storico

sceglieva le sue fonti. Flavio Giuseppe non fa eccezione. Il I libro del suo *Bj* dapprima ricostruisce l'ascesa di Erode da privato cittadino a re dei Giudei; e poi ne ripercorre la degenerazione morale in ambito familiare, soffermandosi in particolare sugli intrighi di corte e sulle stragi ordinate dal sovrano. La narrazione segue uno schema tragico: all'apice della prosperità, la Τύχη volta le spalle all'Idumeo e "gli fa scontare i successi nella vita pubblica all'interno della propria stirpe" (*Bj* 1. 431). È una lezione sulla mutevolezza del destino e sulla caducità della vita umana, perennemente sottoposta alla volontà di forze trascendentali e divine: un insegnamento non dissimile da quello delle *Storie* di Erodoto, tanto da poter essere facilmente compreso sia dai lettori giudei sia da quelli greco-romani. Ora, per stessa ammissione di Giuseppe, il suo racconto si rifà a quello delle *Storie* di Nicolao di Damasco, un'opera di cui possediamo solo frammenti. Due, pertanto, gli obiettivi del contributo: tentare di capire in che modo il I libro del *Bj* abbia rielaborato la versione di Nicolao; e soprattutto esaminare la funzione di questo materiale di riuso alla luce degli obiettivi paradigmatici che Giuseppe si proponeva nel narrare la storia di Erode.

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Juan Pablo Sánchez Hernández, Salamanca [aurispacatul@yahoo.es]

Lost Stories of Faraway Places

The *Sacred Inscription* of Euhemerus and the *Islands of the Sun* by Iambulus represents escapist fantasies set in idealized societies in lands at the extremes of the known world. Although those "utopian novels" are known only from summaries and excerpts, they present a peculiar blend of old well-known accounts and a new "culture of the bazaar" in great cosmopolitan cities that made such *voyages extraordinaires* plausible in Hellenistic times. Those authors draw from ancient literary traditions (Herodotus, Ctesias, etc.), even in the description of fantastic creatures or peoples with bizarre customs and languages. But, at the same time, they seem to have relied on recent diplomatic and mercantile information, mostly dealing with trade routes and newly discovered lands in the East.

Such "utopian novels" enjoyed a certain readership in Roman times, as journeys to the Far East became more frequent and eastern commodities were imported with great profit, to be on display in Greek and Roman markets. Those Hellenistic accounts served either as a source of information about the first ancient journeys to the East, as in the case of Diodorus' *Library of History*, or as paradigms for parodic accounts, as in the case of Lucian's *True Stories*. But Diodorus and Lucian shared a fascination for such literary "constructions" of faraway lands in connection with the profusion of exotic products (such as cinnamon, ivory or silk) that was available at that time in a scale unknown to the West before. In this way, they added a touch of irony and analysed with critical distance those old wanderings through regions that were now better known.

Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Marco Martin, Genova [martin.mar@tiscali.it]

The Celtic Banquets in Hellenistic Fragmentary Historiography

The Hellenistic fragmentary historiography presents two sources very useful to compare

about Celtic customs. Posidonius of Apamea describes the prodigality of the Arvenian chief Louernius (Athen., IV 152d-f) and this is confirmed by Strabo (IV 2,3) and focuses on a big feast-banquet he offered to the community. This episode offers the following reasons for interest: the central role assigned to the banquet as founding element of the Celtic society and of the social-economic relationships concerning the redistribution of wealth and the reference to the masses of clients surrounding the chief. Such a banquet finds a parallel evidence in the description of Phylarchus (FGrHist 81 F 2 =Athen., IV 150d-f), as for the feast organised by the Galatian chief Ariamnes.

As for the presence of clientage relationships, the Celtic banquets were the pivot of an economic system: the accumulation of goods needed for distribution, carried out at feasts, mainly derives from war booties, that is by the raids against other populations. In any case, the accumulated goods were then redistributed to build a rooted social bond with the lower ranks of society. The social-economic system present in Arvernia reveals an organisation of personal dependence, connected to an individual lord managing a whole community, mainly engaged in agricultural activities and that can be also militarily mobilised. The banquet, a *daps*, associated to ideas of convivial generosity, represents a celebratory event, organised by the chief for the redistribution of the community goods and in the case of Ariamnes hospitality and goods offering are the principles of own social prestige.

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Stefano Acerbo, Université de Lille [acerboste@gmail.com]

Apollodorus or ps. Apollodorus?: a Reassessment on three Fragments Ascribed to the Lost Part of the Library

Modern editions of ps. Apollodorus's *Library* (L) include three fragments, transmitted by the *Scholia to Lycophron*, about the settlements established in Libya, Crete, Thrace, Italy and Iberia, by some heroes in their journey back from Troy. The content of these fragments is a matter that simultaneously concerns mythography, historiography and geography. They were ascribed to the lost section of L, since some of these settlements overlap the ones briefly mentioned in a passage of the *Epitome Vaticana* (E) and of the *Fragmenta Sabbaitica* (S), both of them regarded as extracts of L which partially preserve also its last chapters. The fact that the name of Apollodorus is actually mentioned by these scholia as an authority endorses their inclusion among the fragments of L. However, the analysis of the way in which E and S abridge L reveals that the changes introduced by the epitomators are not deep enough to explain all the differences between them and the *Scholia*. We might simply assume that the annotator of Lycophron has enriched the account of L with other materials, but normal practice in scholiastic commentaries does not support this hypothesis, rather pointing to a common source between L and the *Scholia*. In this sense, the Apollodorus quoted in the *Scholia* could be, instead of the anonymous mythographer, the authentic Apollodorus of Athens. If this interpretation is accepted, it would not only restore three new fragments of the Athenian historian and grammarian, but it also invites to reinvestigate the problem of the relationship between the Athenian and the anonymous mythographer, a topic largely neglected in last decades, and to reconsider the attribution of the mythographical scholia which mention Apollodorus as authority.

Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Andrea Filoni, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore [Andrea.Filoni@unicatt.it]

Tracce di Apollodoro di Atene in Velleio Patercolo: la Tessaglia d'età eroica

È noto da gran tempo (Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*, 1833, p. 237; Sauppe, *M. Velleius Paterculus*, 1837, p. 145-6; Rhode, *Studien zur Chronologie*, 1881, p. 551) che Velleio Patercolo, quando espone la storia greca più antica, conserva, attraverso i *Chronica* di Nepote, molto dell'omonima opera di Apollodoro di Atene (II sec. a.C.); tra questo materiale vi è una discussione sulla Tessaglia dell'età eroica (*Hist. Rom.* I 3, 1-2), che non è stata mai esaminata in quanto frammento apollodoreo.

Il passo riguarda il nome della Tessaglia, quando ha iniziato ad essere tale e per opera di quale eponimo. Punto del contendere è come valutare la testimonianza omerica, che non conosce il nome di Tessaglia ma l'eponimo Tessalo, padre di Fidippo che partecipa alla guerra troiana. La tesi sostenuta è che il nome di Tessaglia sia successivo ai *Troikà*, e che l'eponimo non sia il Tessalo omerico, ma uno successivo, nipote di Fidippo. Ciò combacia con i dati apollodorei provenienti da Strabone, per cui la Tessaglia, in età eroica, si chiamava 'Argo Pelasgico' (Hom. B 681). Inoltre in Patercolo emerge un criterio, che è la distinzione tra ciò che è detto dal narratore (*ex persona poetae*) e dal personaggio dell'epoca (*sub eorum qui illo tempore vixerunt*), che risale ad Aristarco, maestro di Apollodoro: l'uso del metodo aristarcho è indizio della presenza del grammatico di Atene.

Il frammento apollodoreo 244 *FGrHist* 164 (da leggere a fianco di Strab. IX 5, 23), dopo varie spiegazioni (la dossografia ampia è tipica del grammatico), alla fine vede citata quella che abbiamo letto in Patercolo, anche se in forma semplificata (il Tessalo è quello pre-troiano, ma la denominazione della regione è post-troiana): verosimilmente si tratta di una apologia, causata dalla presenza nella stessa genealogia di due eponimi omonimi. Poiché Strabone dipende essenzialmente dal *Commento al catalogo delle navi* di Apollodoro, raramente dalle sue *Cronache*, che sono posteriori, bisognerà pensare o che Apollodoro abbia ripetuto nell'opera cronografica discussioni presenti nell'opera storica oppure – meno verosimilmente – che Nepote abbia integrato le *Cronache* con il *Commento al catalogo*.

Slot 11: 9:00 - 9:50am

Roberta Schiavo, Università di Roma "La Sapienza"-Université de Paris Sorbonne [robertaschiavo1983@gmail.com]

Critics on Apollodorus. Some Observations on Strabo XIV, 5, 22-29

The description of Cilicia in Book XIV of Strabo's *Geography* concludes the series of books (XII-XIV) devoted to the *periegesis* of Asia Minor. However, only paragraphs 1-21 deal specifically with Cilicia, while the remaining 8 are focused on a long refutation of the theories expressed by the historian and grammarian Apollodorus of Athens (*FGrHist* 244) in his commentary in 12 books on the famous section of the second book of the Iliad, the so-called "Catalogue of Ships" (Hom., *Il.*, II, 494-579). Strabo's observations concern, for the most part, issues related to the physical and human geography of Asia Minor (from the "cartographic" representation of the peninsula to its ethnic composition), already scattered at various points in the chapters dedicated to the micro-Asiatic regions (in books XII-XIV), and resumed now to provide a conclusion to the description of the

Anatolian peninsula.

This section is of great interest, because it allows us, first of all, to identify themes and issues that Strabo has been confronted with in the reconstruction of the geography of his native region. Moreover, it represents a precious example of Strabo's criticism that involves not only the approach and content of the work of an author, such as Apollodorus, now lost to us, but also the use he makes of his sources, namely Homer and Ephorus.

Based on the assumption that when Strabo quotes an author he is often to criticise him, the purpose of this article is, therefore, to analyse the different levels on which the *Geographer* builds his long criticism on Apollodorus.

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Francesco Reali, Università di Pisa [f.reali4@studenti.unipi.it]

Historiographical and Geographical Concepts in Comparison: Strabo, the Use of Ephorus and the Judgement of Polybius

The aim of the present contribution is to show Strabo's interest in discussing some Ephorus' fragments and his faults concerning the archaic Greek history (IX.3.11-12 and X.3.2-5); mentioning Polybius' positive consideration of Ephorus and his geographical fragment (book XXXIV) regarding his introduction of 'popular notions' (*laodogmatikai apophaseis*, cf. Str. II.4.2) and the criticism from his successors.

The analysis of these and other relevant sources will show that Strabo's criticism is not (only) referred to the correctness of Polybius' work, but rather it disputes his historiographical concept and his inaccurate judgement both on history and geography. More specifically, 1) Strabo wants to demonstrate Ephorus' inaccuracy in order to prove that Polybius' too positive historiographical assessment of Ephorus' work was wrong, as well as his statement on the uselessness of further studies on ancient history (Plb. IX.1-2). 2) 'Popular notions' are referring not to Polybius' errors of content, but to the faultfinding way he labelled some predecessors' work (Str. II.4.2); this is another unjustifiable judgement, for he has been repeatedly criticised on the same topic. 3) Strabo's final statement – that he aspires to telling more and better than his predecessors – confirms that the fragments under consideration are presented by Strabo as arguments for a broad-ranged discussion for justifying his historical-geographical concept.

The fragments are embedded in a rhetorical context, so that Strabo resorts to calling by name Polybius (X.3.5), like e.g. Timaeus with Heraclides Ponticus. Therefore, these are very important passages for Strabo's self-justification, and they should be considered as part of it. They don't represent simply – as already stated by scholars – an opportunity for the author to stress the higher quality of his work and method: his role of intermediary is evident here, and his interest in asserting his general view about historiography and his own works should not be overlooked.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Francesco Carriere, Università di Genova [eurialo.carr@gmail.com]

Les fragments de Xanthos de Lydie dans la Géographie de Strabon : un cas d'intermédiation culturelle

Dans la *Géographie*, Strabon nous transmet quatre fragments de Xanthos de Lydie. D'abord, le nom de Xanthos figure dans un passage des *Prolegomena*, où le Géographe le mentionne à propos des modifications du sol (I 3,4 = FGrHist 765 F 12). Ensuite, les citations de Xanthos se trouvent dans le douzième livre (XII 8, 3 = F 15 ; 8, 19 = F 13a), dans le treizième (XIII 4, 11 = F 13b) et dans le quatorzième (XIV 5, 29 = F 14). À l'exception de XIII 4, 11 – où Xanthos est mentionné parmi les hommes illustres de Sardes – les fragments traitent les questions de géographie historique relatives à certaines villes d'Asie Mineure. Cette contribution entend démontrer que les citations de Xanthos de Lydie dans la *Géographie* sont à considérer dans le cadre du débat sur la culture asianique, dans le premier siècle apr. J. - C. Strabon était engagé dans le débat qui opposait *Graecia Vetus* et *Asiatici Graeci* : après la conquête d'Athènes par Sylla, le rôle culturel d'Athènes est limité. Les intellectuels grecs provenant d'Asie Mineure ont l'objectif d'accroître l'importance de l'Asie Mineure en raison du haut niveau culturel atteint par les cours lagide et attalide. Strabon place Xanthos parmi les historiens anciens (ἀκούειν ἔστι καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν συγγραφέων οἷά φησιν ὁ τὰ Λύδια συγγράψας Ἐάνθος XII 8,19) et l'estime pour Xanthos présente chez Strabon, est, peut-être, un élément du débat mentionné plus haut. Cette contribution entend jeter les bases d'une étude des fragments de Xanthos dans la *Géographie* afin d'établir leur valeur culturelle et de montrer les outils intellectuels employés par Strabon dans la composition des livres sur l'Asie Mineure.

Slot 14: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Luca Giorgiutti, Università di Roma “La Sapienza” [lucagr92@hotmail.it]

Strabo as Witness to Antiochus: an Excellent Case Study (VI 1.15)

In the sixth book of *Geography*, Strabo (VI 1.15) composes a short but rich picture of the origins of Metapontum, providing different versions of its most ancient history: after mentioning the tradition of a primitive Pilian settlement (using general verbs like *legetai*, *phasin*, *poiountai*), Strabo reports, in the following order, a destruction by the *Saunitai* and a new Achaean foundation, as evidenced by Antiochus of Syracuse. From Antiochus Strabo also extracts – and proposes again in a completely different historical context – a controversy concerning two myths connected with that city: the one of hero Metabo and that of Melanippe, of which a variant, unknown from other sources, is mentioned. Finally, Strabo provides, quoting Ephorus, the name of the eicist of Metapontum, the Phocian Daulios, also recording another *logos*, according to which the colony would be founded by Leukippos. The critical discussion mainly focused on the reconstruction of the historical origins of Metapontum, on the opportunity to distinguish one or two foundations, on the *Saunitai*'s identity and on the source of different mythical traditions which are interwoven in the account. Thus, my contribution aims to direct attention to the structural and formal features of this important passage, which turns out to be an excellent case study, in order to understand Strabo's method and use of sources in a better way: then, I hope to highlight the ways through which Strabo selects, presents, orders and weaves together the different traditions which he reports, with specific regard to the Antiochus' testimony, and to the meaning of the re-statement, more than four centuries later, of its controversy; in addition, the contextualization of the passage within the books about Italy will make it possible to show, more generally, Strabo's deep and complex relationship with his sources, specifically with Antiochus.

Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Lisa Irena Hau, University of Glasgow [Lisa.Hau@glasgow.ac.uk]

The 'Fragments' of Polybius

This paper proposes to examine the 'fragments' of Polybius, i.e. the references to the *Histories* of Polybius found in later authors, mimicking the method for discovering the 'fragments' of fragmentary historiographical authors such as the so-called tragic historians Duris and Phylarchus. Such an exercise was done by Dominique Lenfant for the 'fragments' of Herodotus in 1999, and the resulting article changed the way scholars approach fragmentary historiography. Lenfant concluded that, if we only had these fragments of Herodotus, we would consider him an unserious historian, who wrote purely for entertainment, much as scholars regard the fragmentary Ktesias. It might be expected that the investigation of the 'fragments' of Polybius would come to a similar conclusion. However, a preliminary examination of the references to Polybius in Plutarch and Athenaeus compared with the same authors' references to the notorious 'tragic' historians Duris and Phylarchus reveals something different: while Athenaeus' references to Polybius revolve (more or less) around the same themes as his references to Duris and Phylarchus, Plutarch seems to have used Polybius in a different way from how he used the 'tragic' historians, namely as an authority on military matters and Roman internal politics whose word would be the clinching argument whenever the sources disagreed. This difference makes it worthwhile to investigate the 'fragments' of Polybius found in other authors. The search will be based on a *TLG* search for the name Polybius in all its cases, and the results will be presented in the paper.

Slot 16: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Gertjan Verhasselt, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München [Gertjan.Verhasselt@klassphil.uni-muenchen.de]

The Intermediary Sources of Aristotle's Constitutions: A Study of the Indirect Transmission of the Athenian Constitution

Verhasselt, Gertjan (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

The Intermediary Sources of Aristotle's Constitutions: A Study of the Indirect Transmission of the Athenian Constitution

Aristotle's *Constitutions* collected information on the history and organization of the Greek city-states. Of the 158 constitutions which this vast collection is said to have contained, only the *Athenian Constitution* survives more or less in its entirety. All that remains of the other constitutions is the epitome by Heraclides Lembus (second century BCE) and a large number of "fragments", i.e. references in later writers. In order to shed light onto the filter through which the Aristotelian *Constitutions* are now known to us, I will compare the citations of the *Athenian Constitution* with the original text. I will assess the reliability of these citations and explore the personal interests of these intermediary authors reflected in their selection. Comparison with the indirect transmission further show that the standard editions for the fragments of Aristotle by Rose (1886) and Gigon (1987) are often misleading with regard to the boundaries of the fragments. Gigon in particular tends to include much more text than is actually derived from Aristotle. Especially Plutarch's indebtedness to Aristotle is often wildly overestimated. The attri-

bution of fragments without a book title to specific works is also less certain than Rose and Gigon give us the impression. Indeed, Rose, who published his edition before the discovery of the papyrus containing the *Athenian Constitution*, included several fragments under this work of which we now know that they actually belong to a different work. Another problem concerns the inclusion of texts which do not cite Aristotle. A study of the intermediary authors shows that several of them rely on Aristotle without acknowledging this. I will therefore explore for which intermediary authors the attribution of such anonymous material to Aristotle is valid and for which ones this is misleading or incorrect.

Slot 17: 9:00 - 9:50am

Stefano Prignano, Università dell'Aquila-Bologna [stefanoprigno93@gmail.com]
Ctesias and Xenophon in Plutarch's Life of Artaxerxes

The Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes* is a fundamental source for the Cyrus's revolt against Artaxerxes and for the battle of Cunaxa: only Plutarch, for example, refers to the place where the battle happened. Plutarch knows and reports different traditions, using a preserved work (the Xenophon's *Anabasis*) and authors that we have lost (Ctesias and Deinon). However, Plutarch doesn't just transmit an older work. While he praises Xenophon, we can read his criticism about Ctesias: it is possible that this judgment influenced his reports. Comparing the Plutarch's use of Xenophon with the extant text of the *Anabasis*, we can try to understand the Plutarch's method. The result is an interpretation and adaptation of his source, that is summarized or linked with Plutarch's interpretation. Therefore, the *Quellenforschung* applied to this text – the only Plutarch's life of a barbarian – may need more caution. I try to show some troubles in tracing a clear quotation of Ctesias's *Persikà*. Some sentences assigned to Plutarch's source deserve a reassessment. In certain cases, Plutarch reports the noun of Ctesias and there is a greater confidence, but elsewhere there is no certainty.

Particularly, in the account of the battle of Cunaxa, Plutarch's sources appear to be inextricably linked. So, a text considered as a fragment of Ctesias's work may be the result of a Plutarch's interpretation (or bad quotation) of the Xenophon's *Anabasis* or derive from another source. Showing the context, investigating the aim of Plutarch and indicating his relationship with his sources, I point out the difficulties of tracing a source and the danger of cutting a text to gain a fragment of a lost text.

Slot 18: 10:00 - 10:50am

Salvatore Tufano, Università di Roma "La Sapienza" [salvotufano@gmail.com]
Thucydides and the Ethnographical Tradition. A Survey of the Quotes from Thucydides in Stephanus of Byzantium

This paper presents a commentary on the extensive number (71) of quotes from Thucydides in the *Ethnika* of Stephanus of Byzantium. The survey profits from the previous studies on the treatment of non-fragmentary prose-authors, especially in Athenaeus (Lenfant 2007; Douglas Olson 2018), and from the new critical edition of Stephanus. Despite being conscious of the limits of the epitomary nature of our text, the author contends that we can benefit from an investigation on the ways in which the epitomized Stephanus

mentions Thucydides.

The *Ethnika* are more often used as a repertoire of fragmentary authors, especially of historiography; however, an analysis of the relationship between the collection and a preserved historiographical work may shed light on the strategies of the 'Epitomizer of Stephanus' (Bentley) as an intermediary source. Besides, a full consideration of the textual transmission will consider whether Stephanus, or his sources, were referring to the Alexandrian edition of Thucydides, as the indication of no more than eight books would suggest.

Slot 19: 11:10 - 12:00am

Francisco J. González Ponce & Irene Pajon Leyra

Final Considerations and Conclusions of the Panel. General Discussion

[PANEL 3] LAW, INSTITUTIONS, AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

[Wednesday]

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Gerhard Thür, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Psychological Considerations in Athenian Law

Athenian law, especially the area of procedure before a court of law, developed a number of “social mechanisms” that solved problems that remain tricky for modern jurists. Relying on the psychological considerations of the litigants, or economic competitors, these legal mechanisms shifted complex decisions from the law courts or economic experts to the persons immediately concerned. A first, unpleasant example is the *basanos*-procedure in private litigation, whereby slaves were questioned under torture, in which the psychological calculation of three persons, the slave’s owner, his opponent, and the slave him- or herself, came into acute and intimate contact. An example more relevant as a model for today seems the assessment of the amount of loss after the conviction of a culprit, the *timēsis*. The law court did not calculate this, but rather each litigant asserted the amount that he thought fitting in the particular case. The judges could only choose one or the other, and each litigant had to stay within the margin of probability. Beyond court procedure, one can mention the public auction, particularly in the administration of the property of wards. This paper examines several of the numerous examples of Athenian law’s reliance upon the psychological considerations of the parties directly involved through detailed analysis of ancient sources against the backdrop of contemporary legal assumptions.

For some of these items see Thür, G., “Vom Lebenswert des Griechischen Rechts,” in: D. Kallinikou et al. (eds.), Ioannis K. Karakostas. Essays by friends and metees II (Athens 2017) 1375–1378.

Slot 4: 4:40 - 5:30pm

Errietta Bissa, University of Wales Trinity Saint David
Juror Perception and Expectation of the Economy in Classical Athens

This paper explores research on modern juries based on social identity theory, shared information bias and low-information rationality, with particular focus on the relationship of jury to expert vs. non-expert testimony as a comparative insight to classical Athenian juries’ understanding of economic and financial matters. The aim is to identify the extent that the surviving court speeches can reveal a common coherent perception of the contemporary economy of Athens, and its relevant legislation, by the average jury. Such a perception can throw light onto the legislative process, and on discussions of the economy in socio-moral terms in other genres.

[Thursday]

Slot 5: 9:00 - 9:50am

Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz, Tel Aviv University
Manumission, Guarantors and the Involvement of the Polis

Manumission inscriptions found in Delphi and other poleis in central and western Greece show the important role of guarantors. These were appointed and often named in manumission agreements, and their role is taken by some scholars as protecting the manumission agreement (whether done by fictive sale or be dedication to a deity) against any violation, or the manumitted slave against any attempt to re-enslave her or him. In many Delphian manumission documents the appointment of the guarantor is said to be made “according to the law”; in other places, instead of naming guarantors the polis’s institutions are involved. In this paper I will review the evidence of guarantors in manumission inscriptions, discuss their character as sale or dedicatory transactions, and discuss the varied terminology employed to describe them. My main argument will be that although manumission documents are the copies of private transactions, some poleis had an interest that parties stick to these agreements by stipulating that they use a guarantor (e.g. in Delphi) or by more direct involvement (e.g. in Chaeroneia). This, to my mind, points to a growing intervention of the state in private transactions, of the kind we see in land sale contracts in some places in Greece.

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Mariagrazia Rizzi, Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca
Regulatory economic interventions in Athens in epigraphic evidence: Institutions, law and economic performance in the field of metra kai stathma

Among the athenian epigraphic sources to be dated between the classical age and the era of roman domination, a series of nomoi and psephismata have been preserved, which show a variety of legislative interventions in the economic sphere. Of particular importance is a rather well-known hellenistic decree regarding weights and measures (IG II2 1013). This psephisma contains a series of provisions aimed at the regulation of commercial relations in Athens regarding the quantification of traded goods by both volume and weight. The manufacture and use of particular weights and measures is ordered; the competences and punitive powers towards private individuals and magistrates are identified by the various bodies in charge (archontes, Boule, Areopagus); the metrological reforms of the choinix and the commercial mine are introduced, resulting in a metrological standardization and also – as we will see - harmonization. On one hand, these legislative interventions demonstrate the importance, recognized by the authorities, of a comprehensive regulation of all the subjects involved in measuring goods (magistrates with duties concerning weights and measures, judicial bodies, traders, free citizens as well as slaves, public slaves assigned to the conservation of weights and measures) and to all its essential aspects (from the production and distribution of copies, to the identification of the functions of the bodies responsible for controlling the correct use of weights and measures in the markets, to the provision of sanctions against the various private actors, magistrates and public slaves), in order to ensure fairness and trust in the markets of Athens, Piraeus and Eleusis. On the other hand, through the reforms of the choinix and the commercial mine, the decree aims at a metrological harmonization with the Roman system, enabling easy convertibility and thereby facilitating commerce not

only among Rome and Athens themselves, but among all territories familiar with either notation throughout the Mediterranean. By leaving a mere local dimension, the legislative effort of one city aims at gaining usefulness on an interregional scale

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Michael Leese, University of New Hampshire
Property Rights Enforcement in Ancient Greece

My paper will explore the effectiveness of property rights enforcement mechanisms for landed property vs. liquid assets like loans, bank deposits, and cash in classical and Hellenistic Greek poleis. Moveable goods will also be considered, since they share traits with both categories - the visibility of land, and the easy mobility of liquid capital. I will argue that the problems with guaranteeing the preservation of non-landed capital accumulations in ancient Greece created significant obstacles to the development of long-term, stable accumulations of financial and commercial capital, which in turn set limits to the growth of the non-agricultural sectors of the economy.

Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Jesse James, Columbia University
Social and Ethical Aspects of Greek International Economic Law

New economic institutionalists have re-emphasized the importance of legal and other institutions on economic behavior. Yet even this important and influential work arguably has not gone far enough in accounting for the role of the social and the ethical in the development and operation of institutions implicated in economic action. In other words, some say new institutional economics is still an under-socialized economics. Sociological approaches to economics and law seek to fill this alleged gap by seeking social and ethical influences on the development of and change in legal rules and structures governing economic activity, and for why people have obeyed and enforced those rules. Although not focused on “economic” law, Adriaan Lanni’s *Law and Order in Ancient Athens* (2016) is a recent example of a sociologically inflected approach to Greek legal compliance.

Moving beyond domestic law, my paper will take an international perspective on legal rules and structures that affected Greek economic activity. I will briefly describe several Greek international legal institutions: the use of symbola agreements in treaties; the rules against piracy; and the differing rules governing the imposition of transit fees on land versus marine transport. I will argue that to understand the development and use of these international institutions we must take into account their specific social and ethical contexts. For example, symbola agreements were likely used and enforced not merely for the economic efficiency that would result from greater legal certainty, but because other social ties connected the poleis that entered into them. Piracy was forbidden by customary law not only because it disrupted trade: it was widely seen as unjust, and toleration of piracy was a sign of backwardness. My goal will be both to emphasize the importance of international law in Greek economic affairs and to contribute to a sociological understanding of Greek international economic activity.

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Taco Terpstra, Northwestern University

Roman Contract Enforcement as an Emergent Property

Ancient historians in their thinking about Roman law often follow Douglass North, who defined a state as “an organization with a comparative advantage in violence” with the power to “specify and enforce property rights” (*Structure and Change in Economic History* 1981: 21). However, as I will argue in this paper, the Roman state did not see enforcement as its task. Instead, enforcement was based on private order: the threats of shunning, shaming and ostracizing. Nevertheless, the state did play a role in how effective such social penalties were. State institutions enhanced collective-action mechanisms, resulting in contract enforcement as an “emergent property.” A key component of this property was the Roman civic order as we see it reflected in the witness lists attached to legal contracts. Jean Andreau showed long ago that witness lists follow a finely calibrated status ranking, which was based on the civic order created by the state (*Les affaires de monsieur Jucundus* 1974). Officeholding, imperial-cult priesthoods and citizenship - acquired by birth or manumission - were the factors determining relative status. I argue that ranking witnesses made legal contracts “socially embedded,” which increased their enforceability.

Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Saskia Roselaar, Ruhr-Universität Bochum

The Roman state and Italian prosperity: institutions and economic developments in the Roman Republic

This paper will focus on institutions which regulated the tenure of land in the Roman Republic (4th-2nd centuries BC). In particular, it will investigate how these institutions changed in correlation with economic developments in the same period.

Due to the nature of the evidence, we are best informed about land tenure in the area of Italy under Rome’s control. In this area, the most important institutional change was the introduction of a more systematic scheme of land distribution after the Latin War. The Roman state often took land as spoils of war from defeated enemies, which became the property of the Roman state and was known as the *ager publicus populi Romani*, ‘public land of the Roman people’. From the Latin War onwards, the process of distributing land became more structured. A variety of citizenship statuses were created (citizenship with or without the vote, as well as the Latin and the allied status). At the same time, various procedures for distributing land were set up, most importantly the Latin and Roman colonies. This system ensured that the Romans collected the maximum possible amount of tax and recruited the maximum number of soldiers for the Roman army.

At the same time, a number of economic developments took place, seeming to indicate a general change in settlement patterns, as well as an increase in commercial connections within and outside of the Italian peninsula. Settlement in the fourth and third centuries was mostly in hill forts and isolated farmsteads – many of which had only recently been erected, since the formation of hills fort settlements started between the sixth and fourth centuries – but many of these disappeared in the course of the fourth and third centuries. In the fourth century, the function of hill forts as central places was partially taken over by rural sanctuaries, which appeared from the late fourth century onwards.

At the same time, we see an increase in trade by Italians to areas outside the peninsula, especially in the East. In some areas, larger farms producing for commercial purposes appear in the fourth and third centuries.

The connections between the change in institutions of the Roman state – which also impacted its allies, who were formally independent states – and these economic developments, are not entirely clear. Did the Italians experience economic change as a result of the Roman conquest? If so, was there economic growth or decline? Was the Roman state aware of the economic potential of its allies? And did it create these new institutions with the express aim of profiting from its allies' prosperity? This paper aims to shed new light on the correlation between economic developments and institutions in a crucial period of Roman Republican history.

[Friday]

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Ryan Pilipow, University of Pennsylvania

The Economies of Legal Expertise in the Late Roman Empire

Legal experts of the late Roman world traded their expertise in many micro-economies. Various social classes required legal expertise; in turn, a broad array of legal experts developed to respond to those needs. To sample the range of demands for legal professionals, I investigate three examples: papyrological remains of document creation in Egypt, consultation fees in the Diocletian's Price Edict, and the epistles of Sidonius Apollinaris requesting legal aid. These examples come from diverse social and economic backgrounds, but they all showcase the transactional nature of legal expertise. Put simply, legal expertise was a commodity. Each example is rooted in its social context, and each displays a slightly different logic of remuneration in trading economic, social, or political capital. While each case includes all of these kinds of capital to some degree, the proportion changes significantly with the context in which the expert operates. In order to appreciate fully the degree to which law and legal practice inflected the economies of the Roman world, we should consider the distinct influences that exist within different social settings. We often think of law in the late Roman world as the preserve of the imperial circle. Contrary to this assumption, the pervasiveness of legal expertise in various micro-economies suggests that legal discourse was instead a flexible tool, available to inhabitants of the Empire from diverse social and economic backgrounds.

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Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Thomas McGinn, Vanderbilt University

Juristic Holding and Economic Motivation: The 'Pre-History' of the Res Communes Omnium

The Roman jurists famously recognized different categories of property, distinguishing between certain types that were not available for economic exploitation by the state or society – Gaius (2.1) describes them as *extra patrimonium* – such as *res sacrae*, *religiosae*, and *sanctae*, and those that were, which included not just private property but a category of items under the ownership of the Roman people or, if one wishes, the state, known as the *res publicae*. This category itself divides into two subtypes, according to the modes of economic exploitation regarded as permissible under the law.

In the Severan period, thanks to the jurist Marcian, we have the full-blown articulation of yet another category of property, the *res communes omnium* or "things common to all" in a text from the third book of his elementary law treatise, the *Institutes*, preserved at D. 1.8.2 pr-1. According to Marcian, the *res communes omnium* are provided to all persons through "natural law" and include the air, flowing water, the sea, and its shores.

The Byzantines appropriated this passage for Justinian's own elementary textbook on law, fusing it with one drawn from Gaius (Inst. 2.1 pr-1). This has encouraged some scholars to argue that we owe the category itself to the compilers, while a number of others hold that it is classical, but uniquely the position of Marcian. More recently, the suggestion has been made that other jurists, namely Ulpian, recognized the category as well.

I propose to test this theory by examining aspects of the juristic treatment of the items in the category in the high classical period, so before its actual creation. I show how these jurists grapple with doctrinal challenges and economic considerations in ways suggesting that, while the category itself is not inevitable, it does address similar concerns.

Slot 14: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Charles Bartlett, Duke University

Restrictions on Ownership and Economic Development at Rome

This paper examines *iura in re aliena*, or rights in the property of someone else, for what they might tell us about changes in both economic performance and conceptions of economic forces at Rome. These rights are understood as restrictions on ownership, because they require the owner, usually of a piece of land, to acknowledge the rights of others, such as, for instance, in the case of right of way. The list of *iura in re aliena* expanded as Rome developed, and the complexity of these rights increased. This paper investigates this complexity for indications of increasing sophistication in how the law structured the ownership and use of property, as well as the effects of such rights on economic performance.

Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Peter Candy, University of Edinburgh

Parallel Developments in Roman Law and Maritime Trade during the Late Republic and Early Principate

In this paper I demonstrate that the development of Roman maritime law coincided with the rapid increase in the volume of Roman maritime traffic during the late Republic and early Principate. By comparing the chronological distribution of shipwrecks in the Mediterranean basin with the likely date ranges for the introduction of maritime legal rules, I show that the most prolific period of praetorian and juristic innovation coincided with the period during which the volume of maritime traffic was increasing at its greatest pace. The coincidence of legal innovation with the intensification of transactional activity invites the question as to the relationship, if any, between these parallel developments.

Slot 16: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Jonathan Ainslie, University of Edinburgh

A Tale of Three Cities? Comparing the Legal Treatment of Foreigners in Ancient Rome and the Early Modern Low Countries

The institutional foundations of trade have been extensively studied in the early modern Low Countries. This literature has mainly focused on the relative importance of national sovereigns and private ordering in resolving commercial disputes. Recently, Gelderblom has positioned the city at the centre of institutional change. Unlike national sovereigns, cities had the financial and legal resources to attract foreign merchants. They also directly benefitted from the resulting “thickness” of market activity within their jurisdiction. Various strategies can be observed: while Antwerp attracted foreign merchants by extending consular jurisdiction to them, Amsterdam made its domestic procedures more easily accessible to foreigners. One of the most important legal changes affecting foreigners in the formative period of Rome’s commercial development was the procedural shift from the *legis actiones* to the formulary system. Much has been written about the excessive formality of the *legis actiones* and their lack of responsiveness to republican commercial expansion. It has also been noted that the system of standardised written pleadings, or *formulae*, was first adopted by the peregrine praetor, as the *legis actiones* were available only to citizens. The Second Punic War had resulted in an influx of peregrini to Rome and this group was involved in high value disputes. The *lex Aebutia*, passed no earlier than 199 BCE, extended the use of *formulae* to citizens. This paper will argue that the commercial needs of the peregrini were significant in making the procedural arrangements of Roman law more flexible and inclusive. It will discuss points of difference to the Low Countries, such as the absence of an inter-city competitive dynamic and fact that the peregrini were initially driven to Rome by conflict rather than commercial opportunities. Finally, it will discuss the motivations of Roman authorities for such an unusual, foreigner-led reform, given the absence of these competitive factors.

[Saturday]

Slot 17: 9:00 - 9:50am

Nico Dogaer, KU Leuven

Institutions and economic performance in Ptolemaic fulling and linen boiling

Ever since the discovery and publication of the so-called ‘Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus’, the non-agricultural sectors of the Ptolemaic Egyptian economy (305-30 BC) have been interpreted as ‘state monopolies’. Although this model has recently been criticized, it is clear that the Ptolemaic state introduced various measures in most industries, which imposed real constraints on artisans and merchants. The most strictly state-controlled commodities, apart from ἀρώματα such as frankincense and myrrh, were vegetable oils and mineral resources. Coincidentally, these products formed the basic raw materials used by the linen boilers, in the form of castor oil and natron. They had to reckon with not one but two ‘commodity monopolies’ at the same time. Fullers used natron as well, and it is probable that they also employed castor oil. In addition, the textiles treated by the artisans were governed by different fiscal regimes, the linen industry being regulated to a greater extent than the wool business. The fullers and linen boilers are thus the ideal test case for studying the effects of these institutions on the Ptolemaic economy. Anecdotal evidence for this can be found among the papyri, but the quantification of economic performance remains problematic. A number of proxies for this will be proposed, chiefly among which is taxation.

Slot 18: 10:00 - 10:50am

Ching-Yuan Wu, Peking University

Revisiting the Comparison of the Iron Industries of the Han and the Roman Empires

The iron industries of the Han and Roman empires have seldom been compared, and comparisons have focused on technological differences, with recent concerns moving towards the issue of monopolization or lack thereof (Wagner 2001; Bang 2009). The result is a dichotomous impression that the Han iron industry from the reign of Wudi onwards operated within a state monopoly framework that produced and distributed relatively high-quality castiron products, while the Roman iron industry relied upon local bloomery iron production and private merchants for production and distribution. While pioneering, the impression requires revision. Regarding the Han Empire, early doubts on the degree of monopoly achieved during the reign of Wudi (Elvin 1973) receive support by archaeological and metallurgical analyses suggesting the continued persistence of bloomery iron production following the prohibition of private iron production by the Han imperial government (Larreina-Garcia 2018). Regarding the Roman empire, the appointment of imperial procurators and the promulgation of legislation have not been factored into earlier comparisons (Hirt 2010). Also, recent studies on Roman iron production suggesting that cast-iron production may have been in practice at least for producing military equipment (Sim 2012). Apart from documenting these new developments, this paper also considers new avenues for comparison, such as the legal frameworks that defined government intervention in the iron industries. This paper surveys the Roman epigraphical evidence such as the *Lex Metalli Dicta* and the *Lex Metalli Vipsaniensis* along with the recently discovered Yinwan bamboo strip archive in the context of Chinese literary sources such as the *Yantielun* to discuss minute administrative strategies of legally defined iron production districts in the two empires. The aim is to consider the iron industry and its participants as organic sources of socio-economic power gradually absorbed into the emerging Han and Roman state apparatus (Scheidel 2009).

[PANEL 4] HEIRS AND SPARES: DYNASTY AND SUCCESSION IN ANTIQUITY

[PANEL 5] SONG, LAMENT, LOVE: HARKING BACK TO THE SOUNDS OF ELEGY

Slot 1: 1:30 - 2:20pm

Don Lavigne, Texas Tech University [don.lavigne@ttu.edu]

Performing Archaic Epigram

Archaic epigram is usually separated from the main poetic modes of the Archaic period because it does not entail performance. In this paper, I will explore some of the ways in which this exclusion can be challenged, especially in light of the subsequent flowering of the genre in the Hellenistic period and beyond. By showing how epigram participated in the performance culture of Archaic Greek song, I will suggest a possible explanation for the genre's influence on the elegiac genre more broadly. Although meter, occasion, medium and length all are important factors, I will focus on the particularities of poetic voice and its development in the genre over time. Of course, one of the most important differences between the performed and inscribed poetry of archaic Greece lies in the conception of the author. Central to the archaic Greek understanding of performed poetry is the conceit of the controlling voice of an individual author. However, this figure is completely effaced in archaic epigram. Building upon my previous work which maintains that the archaic authorial persona can be seen to occupy a variety of roles, ranging from the omnipresent absence of Homer's narrative voice to the completely engaged voice of Archilochus, I show how the authorial voice of archaic epigram, in its very effacement, becomes an important feature of the epigrammatic genre. Situating the epigrammatic voice within the performance culture of Archaic Greece will illuminate the later development of authority and authorial voice within epigram as well as other genres in the elegiac mode.

Slot 2: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Inês Silva, Edinburgh University [Ines.Silva@ed.ac.uk]

When to groan: Manly endurance and womanly grief in Archilochus' fr. 13W

Archilochus' fr. 13W sets out emotional strategies for dealing with loss. The poetic voice assures the addressee, Pericles, that the other citizens cannot begrudge them his groaning, even if it disturbs ongoing festivities in the polis, because the dead were excellent men. However, we learn, this type of "womanly" grief is not the only option, for the gods have given humans the capacity for endurance.

This paper focuses on the sound of groaning in fr. 13W and its link to the conceptualisation of mourning as an emotional but regulated activity, with an impact on the community. Sorrow can be expressed loudly as the exteriorisation of psychological states, and as such it engages other people's senses and emotions. This disturbs communal life, as loss is unpredictable and can strike at inconvenient moments, e.g. during a celebration. The sounds of sorrow thus merge conceptually with its accompanying actions and moral evaluations of those actions. Fr. 13W in particular draws an opposition between a dramatic form of mourning, linked to female behaviour, and soundless composure, implicitly prescribed as the more appropriate emotional strategy for men.

This paper also aims to understand how the conceptual framework operating here fits with the rest of Archilochus' elegiac corpus. The variety of archaic elegy has stunted scholarly attempts to define it as a unified genre. West, for example, described it broadly

as a first-person address in elegiacs, set in specific contexts (1974:2). In a conceptual perspective, Archilochus' elegies reveal a concern, not with specific topics or situations, but with a specific person in a specific role: the elite male and his rights and duties in the community. Elegy follows him as he drinks, fights and sails, and deals with the perils and dilemmas associated with these activities, such as external judgement, divine responsibility, and, of course, loss.

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Lawrence Kowerski, Hunter College (CUNY) [lkowersk@hunter.cuny.edu]

The Clear Singing of Young Men and Hades' House of Wailing: Elegiac Sound in the Theognidea

This paper considers the way sound appears in how the Theognidea presents its own performance. *Theogn.* 237-54 provides a primary description of the sympotic performance for this elegiac sylloge. The sound of the elegiac performance, from the clear, ordered singing of young men (241-3: νέοι ἄνδρες ... καλὰ τε καὶ λιγέα ἄσσονται) to the aulodic accompaniment (241: ἀυλίσκοισι λιγυφθόγγοις) is a prominent feature of this description. While sound gives definition to this context, it also draws attention to some larger functions of elegy. Specifically, the sonority in the *Theognidean* symposia emphasizes the relationship between elegy and commemoration in terms appropriate to early hexametric poetry (245: κλέος; 246: ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα; 251-2: πᾶσι δ' ὄσοισι μέμηλε καὶ ἔσσομένοισιν ἄοιδῆ ἔσση ὁμῶς). Yet, this emphasis is directly compared, in terms of acoustics, with another tradition associated with elegy, namely the singing of lament (244: πολυκωκύτους εἰς Αἴδαο δόμους). Although this comparison might support a purported evolutionary link between elegy and lament (Page 1936; Nagy 2010; Nobili 2006 and 2011), this paper takes a different approach and argues that these verses point to the capacity of archaic elegy to define itself in contradistinction to other poetic forms while incorporating diction and features of those forms (Irwin 2010; Aloni 2009; Edmunds 1985). Other moments in the *Theognidea* emphasizing aural features also point toward this engagement with and distinction from other poetry (hexametric epic: 11-4, 15-18; epigram: 19-23; Bakker 2016). Ultimately, this paper argues that sound is one way in which the *Theognidea*, and archaic elegy more generally, shows that a defining feature of elegy is an awareness of other poetic traditions and an emphasis on distinction from these traditions. Thus, in *Theogn.* 237-54, sound highlights similarities between sympotic and elegiac lament while also emphasizing the distinctness of the two types of elegies.

Slot 4: 4:40 - 5:30pm

Massimo Giuseppetti, Università degli Studi Roma Tre [massimo.giuseppetti@uniroma3.it]

Hermesianax' Erotic Poetics in Context

The critical discourse about Hellenistic elegy has been for the most part content to draw comparisons with either Callimachus (usually at the expense of minor or badly preserved figures) or Roman elegy. What often matters is merely to demonstrate that Hellenistic elegy was a precursor of Roman elegy. However, the time is ripe to try and go beyond the fetish of the Callimachean, ancient or modern. To this end, in my paper

I wish to put Hermesianax of Colophon at centre stage. After a brief survey of what has survived of his production, I will consider with fresh eyes his long catalogue on the love-affairs of poets and philosophers (fr. 3 Lightfoot = 7 Powell) from the *Leontion*, in the hope that it may offer new insights into the nature of his poetical endeavour and its significance within the larger picture of the early Hellenistic age.

Scholars have often assumed that fr. 3 is representative of the *Leontion* as a whole, and that it is a typical example of Hellenistic elegy, more specifically the contemporary elegiac production that Callimachus more or less explicitly would react to in his *Aetia*.

As a matter of fact, there is no evidence that the narrative structure of fr. 3 L. = 7 P. was extended to the whole of the *Leontion*. I suggest that this fragment is best understood as an exemplary catalogue whereby Hermesianax appropriates and rewrites the Greek intellectual tradition from the point of view of his main poetic preoccupation: love. In doing so, he also creates new biographical narratives about the poets and the philosophers he portrays. This is particularly likely, as I shall argue, in the cases of Mimnermus, Antimachus, and, to a lesser extent, Hesiod: here Hermesianax has exerted a lasting influence on the later reception of his fellow poets.

Many believe that the impulse for writing the *Leontion* comes from Hermesianax' personal biography. Even if we concede this (and the evidence is at best thin), the problem remains that the long catalogue in fr. 3 L. does not exhibit much 'personal' involvement on the narrator's part. Several features of this text suggest that the poet is more interested in the broad phenomenology of *eros*, an interest that he clearly shares with prominent figures of the Peripatos. All in all, Hermesianax appears as a highly creative poet who is deeply engaged with the intellectual trends of his age.

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Thomas Nelson, Cambridge University [tjn28@cam.ac.uk]

Sweet and Shrill Songbirds: The Sounds of Lament in Graeco-Roman Elegy

Birdsong was a common metaphor for poetry in antiquity, from the Hesiodic nightingale (*Op.*203-12) and Anacreontic swallow (fr.394a) to the Horatian swan (*Carm.*2.20) and Virgil's goose (*Ecl.*9.35-36). In this paper, however, I focus on two particular birds that developed a special association with the sounds of elegiac poetry: the swan and the nightingale. Both birds were apt emblems of elegy, given their connection with lamentation and loss: the nightingale was aetiologically linked with a grieving mother who had killed her son, either by accident or design (Procne: *Ov.Met.*6.424-674; Aeon: *Hom. Od.*19.518-24); and the swan was thought to break out into beautiful song on the point of death, proleptically lamenting its demise (Aristot.*HA.*615b). It is thus no surprise that they both frequently appear as elegiac figures in Greco-Roman poetry: the nightingale in Callimachus (*Epigr.*2 Pf., *Hymn* 5.93-96), Catullus (*Carm.*65.11-16), Propertius (1.18.25-30), Ovid (*Fast.*4.481-86; *Her.*15.151-56; *Met.*2.367-80, 14.428-34) and Virgil (*Georg.*4.507-20; the swan in Virgil (*Aen.*10.185-193) and Ovid (*Fast.*2.91-110; *Trist.*5.1.9-14; *Her.*7.1-2). Rather than dwelling on their thematic association with mourning, however, in this paper I explore the ancient terms used to describe the song of these birds, especially its shrillness (λιγυρότης/*liquiditas*) and sweetness (γλυκύτης/*dulcedo*). Through study of the Homeric scholia, Dionysius Thrax, Isidorus and other sources, I highlight how both of these concepts align birdsong, lament and elegiac poetry. These birds prove perfect emblems of elegy not only in their constant lamentation, but also in the very sound and nature of their song.

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Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Eugenia Nicolaci, Freie Universität Berlin [eugeniamicolaci@gmail.com]

Catullus 101: An Example of Male Elegy?

This contribution is devoted to the analysis of Catullus's poem 101, the elegy dedicated to the brother's mourning. I will highlight how the funeral elegy, as defined by Gregory Nagy (2010) within the framework of mourning as a "speech of fate", represents the opportunity to narrate the singer's own misfortunes. Then, I will attempt to point out Catullus's role, starting from the gestures that define his identity. The mourning allows him to tell about the sea voyage and to put together his feelings in front of his brother's burial. In this sense, the lament is not only a performance, but also the story of a life experience. In his study about the origin of the elegiac form in Ancient Greece, Nagy points out how funeral lament was originally a female task. According to this position, elegy developed from the oral tradition of the funeral lament sung by women. After that, we find representations of lament within the genre of tragedy. Performing a monody, a man represents a female lament by recounting her own misfortunes. In this sense, Catullus's poem 101 recalls the tradition of female lament, as represented by tragedy, in the context of the masculinized elegy. Indeed, the presence, within the poem, of the ritual elements belonging to the funeral homage can be interpreted as a feminisation of the elegy. The Latin poet adopts the elegiac meter to speak of an autobiographical experience and performs a ritual that is traditionally entrusted to women. So eventually he assumes a female role. Once again, this aspect exalts the power of the Latin elegy to destabilize the canonical gender division, thus making a woman speak through the mouth of a man.

Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Micah Myers, Kenyon College [myersm1@kenyon.edu]

Elegy and the Didactics of Parthenius' Erotika Pathemata

This paper approaches Parthenius' *Erotika Pathemata* (EP) as a didactic text that influences Latin love elegy through its subject matter as well as through the manner in which it presents the utterances and sounds of unhappy lovers as a sonic palette to be trans-

lated and transformed by Roman poets. The didactic dimension of the *EP* is signalled in its dedication to Cornelius Gallus, which presents the collection as both educational and as material for Gallus and by extension other Roman poets to use in their own poetry. I approach the depictions of lovers in the *EP* as models for the representations of elegiac *amatores* and *puellae*. The words and other vocalizations that Parthenius' lovers utter is an especially fruitful aspect of the archetypes that they offer for Latin poetry. For example, Vergil presents Gallus in *Eclogues* 10 as wandering through Arcadia while Lycoris follows a rival lover into military camps. This paper argues that there are parallels between Vergil's Gallus and Parthenius' depiction in *EP* 36 of Arganthonne wandering distraught around the place where she first united with her lover Rhesus after learning that he has died in a Trojan military encampment. Moreover, the sounds and silences attributed to Arganthonne are echoed in the utterances—and moments of quiet—by Vergil's Gallus in *Eclogues* 10.

This paper adds to the discussion of Parthenius' influence on Roman poetry by stressing how the exchange of ideas and sounds between Greeks and Romans was foundational for the development of Latin love elegy. Yet Parthenius' own experiences point to the darker elements of Roman education via Greek individuals, texts, and objects: Parthenius was a Greek intellectual who, according to Suda π 664, was taken captive during the Third Mithridatic War, only to be freed because of his erudition and brought to Italy by Cinna (either the poet or his father). Given this context, Parthenius' presentation of the *Erotika Pathemata* as a Greek collection for Gallus to use in his Roman poetic endeavours reflects a constellation of imperial appropriations of ideas, traditions, objects, bodies, sounds, and even laments—elegy echoing across the ancient Mediterranean in all its many forms.

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Eva Anagnostou-Laoutides, Macquarie University, Australia [eva.anagnostou-laoutides@mq.edu.au]

The Sounds of Losing Control: Elegiac Lovers and Speech Patterns

Despite being notoriously elusive, ancient elegy is generally associated with a sense of loss and sadness, exemplified in mourning songs from where elegy is supposed to derive its etymology (Severyns 1938: 2.99-101; Grandolini 1999: 3-8; cf. West 1974: 7-9; Bowie 1986: 25; Nagy 2010). The obsession of Roman elegy with love and the dangers of loss that lurk in it—loss of the beloved but above all, the humiliating and unmanly loss of the male self—undeniably echoes the “original” mourning elegies. This paper focuses on select elegies of Propertius and Ovid and traces the mourning sounds of Roman elegy.

Beyond adding to the conventional rhetorical effects of Roman elegy, such as referring to oneself as “miserable,” I wish to discuss the vocal effects of elegiac sadness including groaning (*gemitu/gemere*), crying (*fletu/flere* and/or *lacrimare/lacrima*), mourning (*luctus/lugere*), shouting (*clamo/clamare*) but also silence (*silentium/taciturnitas/quietes*) (Hope 2018). My argument is that abrupt changes in the lover's speech patterns (e.g. excessive garrulity/sudden silences/recurrent reliance on exclamations such as *en, a!* etc), a theme already developed by Hellenistic poets (e.g. Callimachus, *Aet.*67.1-4 with Cairns 2002; Theocritus, *Id.*1.93-4) and ridiculed in Roman comedy (e.g. Plautus' *Mercator*), offer an acoustic framework that exemplifies erotic madness even in the face of denying it. In other words, the sound effects of Roman elegy mirror the breaking down of the male

self. From this perspective, Roman elegy could be appreciated as a male response to the mourning songs typically associated with women (e.g. the *nenia*) and perhaps, even a conscious attempt to associate elegiac with the old-*elegos*-lament (Rosenmeyer 1968); in this context, the theatrical and ritual aspects of Roman elegy, as well as its gender aesthetics, can be re-evaluated.

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Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Bill Gladhill (via skype), McGill University [charles.gladhill@mcgill.ca]
Singing the nenia and the poetics of the Praeficae

The songs and sounds of women's ritual mourning attended most every burial in Ancient Rome, and yet in spite of this ubiquity *neniae* (funeral dirges) and their singers (*praeficae*) are silenced within or filtered through the literary record. While nearly 95-98 percent of all ancient written material has been lost—not to mention the utter totality of the lived song cultures and oral traditions that attended the day to day lives of Romans—this does not mean that songs like *neniae* did not influence Roman literature, such as Roman Elegy, and that they were not encoded and reflected in the remaining evidence such as in Roman inscriptions and literary episodes of lament. This paper will build upon scholarship on *neniae* (see, in particular, Heller 1943, Habinek 2005: 233-56 and Dutsch 2008) and female lament (Alexiou 1974/2002, Holst-Warhaft 1992, Treggiari 1993: 483-98, Corbeill 2004: 67-107, Keith 2008, Suter 2008, Swift 2010: 298-366, Sharrock 2011, Erker 2011, Richlin 2014, Hope 2019) by situating *neniae* and their singers within broader ideas about Roman spirituality and the impact of song on the afterlife. In addition, the paper will suggest that *neniae* and their cultural significance may allow researchers new ways of reading texts, inscriptions and Roman funerary rituals.

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[PANEL 6] SOVEREIGN OF THE SEA: THE STAYING POWER OF THETIS IN THE
GRECO-ROMAN WORLD AND BEYOND

[Wednesday]

Slot 1: 1:30 - 2:20pm

Ettore Cingano, Università Ca'Foscari Venezia, [willyboy@unive.it]

Thetis in early iconography and in (non-Homeric) epic and lyric poetry

Starting from my experience with previous work on epic and lyric poetry in fragments, in the present paper I intend to explore two different aspects of Thetis in poetry and iconography, where she seems to have retained a role among the major gods. Her pivotal role in the war at Troy as the mother of Achilles is stressed in the prominent place her wedding with Peleus is given in the François vase (ca. 570 BC); still, Thetis is represented alongside with Athena and in interaction with other deities such as Apollo and Hermes in a second episode of the François vase, the killing of Troilos. Her steady presence and significant role in the poems of the Trojan cycle extend even beyond Achilles' death: they can still be detected in quite a few scenes: a) in what must have been a highly symbolic episode, the meeting of Achilles and Helen – the main agents of the war at Troy from which the annihilation of the age of heroes ensues - through the agency of Thetis and Aphrodite in the Cypria (argum. Cypria § 11 West); b) in another seminal episode such as the death of Achilles, where she plays a parallel role to Dawn with Memnon, in snatching Achilles from the pyre and taking him to the White Island (argum. Aethiop. § 4 West); c) finally, in the Returns (argum. Nostoi, § 4 West) she saves the life of her grandson Neoptolemus by advising him not to travel back to Greece by ship.

Another aspect worth investigating unconnected to the epic cycle but still rooted in early epic and myth can be traced in the Hesiodic poem Aegimius, where Thetis' relation to her own children (other than Achilles) is also tinged with death and grief, although in a different and mysterious way. Interestingly, in casting the children she bore to Peleus in a cauldron and in gauging their mortal nature (Hes. F 300 M-W), Thetis can be twice compared to Medea (and also to Demeter) and to her problems with maternity and immortality (cf. Paus. 2.3.10 = Eumel. Corinth. F 3a Davies; schol. Pind. Ol. 13.74g Dr.), not to mention the false rejuvenation (= death) of Pelias in a cauldron effected by Medea. Besides, a controversial relation to Hera and to Zeus (cf. Cypria, F 2 D./B./W.; Apoll. Rhod. 4.800 ff.) seems to surface behind this version, further connecting Thetis and Medea, the Nereid and the sorceress. A final intriguing aspect likely to be related to this, where Thetis may have played a role, is the early myth of Achilles' wedding with Medea in the Elysian fields, a story whose popularity is attested by two major lyric poets, Ibycus (F 291 Davies) and Simonides (F 558 Page/278 Poltera).

Slot 2: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Seemee Ali, Carthage College [sali@carthage.edu]

Mythic Doubles in the Iliad: Hera and Thetis

The bifurcation of a single self into a “double,” or twin, figure is a recurring motif in myth, folklore, and literature. A rarely considered example of the phenomenon occurs in the figures of Hera and Thetis, feminine deities crucial to the action of Homer's Iliad.

This paper proposes that considering Hera and Thetis as “doubles” of one another can shed new light on the story the *Iliad* tells. For the most part, however, the two goddesses do not and structurally cannot appear on the stage of the *Iliad* together. Rather, Homer seems to cast the goddesses as opposites. Moreover, in *Iliad* I, Hera and Thetis seem directly to compete with each other for the attention of Zeus, with Hera showing anger that Zeus has met with her apparent rival, Thetis, in secret, without consulting her. Yet despite the sustained structural opposition of these two figures, Hera declares that she herself nurtured and raised Thetis (*Iliad* XXIV 59-60). In light of Hera’s late acknowledgement, it begins to seem that both goddesses together present the full range of a whole reality or mode of imagination. The apparent duality of the two goddesses seems to reflect a fragmented cosmos in the *Iliad*. On the other hand, the unification of this fractured cosmos is perhaps the deepest theme of the *Iliad*. The achievement of that self-sustaining and mystical unity, I shall argue, is glimpsed in Hera’s admission in *Iliad* XXIV that she is herself effectively the mother of Thetis.

Shannon DuBois, Boston University, [sdubois@bu.edu]

Θέτιδος πάις; *Thetis in the Words of Achilles*

In her article on the parental ethos of the *Iliad*, Louise Pratt argues that maternal figures stunt Achilles’ growth, while paternal figures positively influence his characterization. In my paper, I argue against her analysis of Thetis and Achilles, contending that his “dependence on his mother...[whose] tears always bring his mother” does not necessarily him “more childlike than other heroes” (Pratt 2007). Instead, I demonstrate how Achilles’ bond with Thetis reveals a mutual understanding between the two and shapes how he conceptualizes his interpersonal relationships – often by rejecting male authority figures and embracing explicitly feminine models of empathy and grief instead.

I focus on several distinct conversations and speech patterns in the *Iliad* that center around Thetis and Achilles. First, I explore Achilles’ focus on mother figures in his only spoken similes (the mother bird simile [*Il.* 9.323-27] and the mother-daughter simile [*Il.* 16.7-10]), showing how the imagery Achilles chooses and the intimacy he emphasizes evoke Thetis’ conversation with him in Book 1 (cf. Ledbetter 1993). Next, I turn to Achilles’ conversation with his mother in Book 18, where he realizes that the best way to articulate his grief over Patroclus is to use his bond with Thetis as his model (*Il.* 18.70-96; cf. Tsagalis 2004). Finally, I suggest a new reading of Phoenix’ tale of Meleager, arguing that, by telling a story in which Meleager’s mother, Althaea, tries to sabotage her son’s success (*Il.* 9.513-605), Phoenix disregards just how influential and important Thetis is to Achilles; Achilles’ reaction to this speech, then, is not a childish retaliation, as Pratt characterizes it, but frustration stemming from Phoenix’ fundamental misunderstanding of Achilles’ relationship with his mother.

The impact of Achilles’ bond with Thetis is, I suggest, twofold: from a narratological perspective, Thetis’ role stresses the importance of motherhood and womanhood in the *Iliad* in new ways, since Achilles chooses her as his model of behavior, his confidant, and his source of comfort; and from a cosmic perspective, Thetis’ influence on Achilles’ speech affects how he articulates his emotions (especially his μῆνις) and comes to understand his own marginal identity.

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Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Katharine Mawford, University of Manchester, [katharine.mawford@manchester.ac.uk]

Motherhood and shapeshifting in depictions of Thetis

In the *Iliad*, we meet a version of Thetis who has rejected her mortal husband in favour of returning to her father's halls and who, as the mother of Achilles and past saviour of Zeus, wields quite exceptional influence. Her role as a mother, moreover, is expanded to include the two occasions on which she has previously fostered gods, Dionysus and Hephaestus, when they are cast into the sea. Elsewhere, Thetis' own background is brought into focus, as we learn from Apollonius and Lycophron about her rather more ambivalent attempts to secure or test her children's immortality, resulting either in abandonment or in the children's death. In this myth, Thetis resembles Demeter in her *Homeric Hymn*, with the distinction that the child (or children) she attempts to immortalise is her own; this seems incongruous with the maternal potential she embodies in the *Iliad*. However, behind each of these myths lies Thetis' status as a shapeshifter and her potential to bear a child that could overpower its father, a threat also found in depictions of other female shapeshifters. This paper will reconsider these apparent discrepancies in Thetis's character across various texts considering her status as a shapeshifter and marginalised sea goddess. I shall argue that these separate myths can in fact be reconciled, demonstrating that her identity as a shapeshifter is not lost on becoming a mother but rather is an intrinsic part of her character and one which allows her to be more successful in her attempts than Demeter.

Hannah Silverblank, Haverford College, [hannahsilverblank@gmail.com]
Chosen Families: Thetis and Queer Kinship in the Trojan War Myths

In the Trojan War myths, Thetis' reproductive potential and sexual appeal threaten the stability of the cosmos by means of her prophesied ability to bear a son greater than his father. This reproductive threat is ultimately neutralized by Zeus, who (in most versions of the story) engages Thetis in marriage to the mortal Peleus. In regulating Thetis' reproduction through marriage, Zeus echoes his earlier act of consuming of his (former) wife Metis, whose reproductive power he absorbed into himself as an act of self-preservation. Through these acts of reproductive tampering, Zeus engages in what we might consider a form of power-affirming patriarchal eugenics: the king of gods limits the cosmos' divine efflorescence and expansion by directing the reproductive power of Thetis and Metis away from the divine realm in order to stabilize his own patriarchal rule. While Metis remains inside Zeus and thus equips him with her cunning intelligence, Thetis remains engaged in divine and human society in a way that subverts Zeus' neutering of her divine procreative power. Indeed, the "extraordinary authority" (Slatkin 1991, 128) Thetis possesses in the Iliad results not from her status as biological mother of the greatest of the Greeks, but rather through the non-nuclear kinship bonds she forges. Thetis' networks of affinity and compassion outside of the confines of the nuclear family situate her within an atypical divine social position. In this paper, I will discuss Thetis' fostering of the gods Hephaistos and Dionysus alongside her queer mode of parenting of Achilles, whose paternal "DNA" she tries to eradicate and whose heroic fate she tries to circumvent through her queering of Achilles as a girl at Skyros. I will place recent queer theory on kinship and family into dialogue with Homer's Iliad in order to argue that a crucial and underappreciated element of Thetis' power is her transcendence and subversion of the divine nuclear family. This critical aspect of Thetis' divinity - her status as a queer maternal figure - not only distinguishes her mode of divinity from that of the other gods, but also situates her as a queer inversion of Zeus himself. And while Zeus' management of Thetis' power as a biological mother does in fact secure the stabilization of his own power in practical terms, Thetis' non-biological kinship bonds nevertheless allow her to transcend her biological status as a lesser divinity and to establish forms of kinship that subvert Zeus' patriarchal conception of genealogy.

Slot 4: 4:40 - 5:30pm

Laura Massetti, University of Copenhagen, [laura.massetti@hum.ku.dk]
In the Bosom of the Goddess: Thetis and Dionysus, DTēšmi and DU URUNerik

In this paper I focus on the role of Thetis in Il. 6.135-7: Dionysus is frightened because Lycurgus is persecuting him. He escapes in the depth of the sea, where Thetis receives him, cf. Il. 6.135-7 Διώνυσος δὲ φοβηθεῖς || δύσεθ' ἄλως κατὰ κύμα, Θέτις δ' ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ || δειδιότα: κρατερόν γὰρ ἔχε τρόμος ἀνδρὸς ὁμοκλή "but Dionysus was scared (and) plunged beneath the wave of the sea, and Thetis received him in her bosom, filled with fear, for mighty terror got hold (of him) at the man's shouts."

The aim of the paper is twofold:

i. To try to clarify the role of the goddess in the Greek myth, by taking into account similar myths (variants or 'covers') and ritual parallels found in Ancient Greece. One ancient commentary to the Iliadic passage mentions Eurynome and Thetis as helpers of

the god—Scholia in Hom. Il. 6.130 ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ δέους εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καταδύνει, καὶ ὑπὸ Θέτιδος καὶ Εὐρυνόμης ὑπολαμβάνεται—, even though Eurynome does not appear in Il. 6.136. Remarkably, Eurynome and Thetis rescue Hephaestus in Il. 18.395–9; the god is attacked by Here and falls in the depth of the sea, cf. Il. 18.397–9 τότε ἄν πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῷ, || εἰ μὴ μ' Εὐρυνόμη τε Θέτις θ' ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ || Εὐρυνόμη θυγάτηρ ἄφορρούου Ὠκεανοῖο “Then I would have suffered woes at heart, if Eurynome and Thetis had not received me into their bosom—Eurynome, daughter of backward-flowing Oceanus.” Hephaestus’ and Dionysus’ accidents have some common points (Faraone 2013) and might rely upon a common traditional model: a god disappears, hides or falls in the waters and here is helped by one (or more) female-goddess(es).

ii. To try to provide a parallel to the role of Thetis in the Iliadic passage by making reference to an Anatolian ritual text, the Hittite “Ritual for the Disappearance and Comeback of the Storm-god of Nerik” (CTH 671). In this text, the Storm-god of Nerik (DU URUNerik) experiences a negative feeling, such as anger or fear, cf. DU URUNe-ri-ik-wa-za-kán ša-a-it “the god of Nerik is angry”, DU URUNerik-ma-aš-kán] DINGIRLIM píran úiritešta [...] “The Storm-god of Nerik got scared of the deity”. As a consequence, he hides in the depths of the Maraššanta river, cf. ÍD[Maraššantaza páркиya [...] ḫa[ll]uwaza ḫ[ū]nḫuēšnaza UGU e-ḫu “rise from the Maraššanta River [...] come up from the deep wave”. Finally, the god is invoked in order to awake from the bosom of the goddess Tešmi, cf. DTešmi-wa-kán ašši-yanti ginuwa [...] ēšta “in the bosom of Tešmi, your beloved (you slept)”. Dionysus and the Storm-god of Nerik thus experience similar feelings, hide in similar places, and are helped by a female-goddess. Although there is no clear proof that an Anatolian model influenced the Greek text, the similarity of DTešmi’s and Thetis’s roles is striking and might be a clue for the foreign origin of the entire story concerning gods, who take refuge in the waters.

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[Thursday]

Slot 5: 9:00 - 9:50am

Diana Burton, Victoria University Wellington [diana.burton@vuw.ac.nz]

A goddess we honour and respect: Thetis and other gods in art

Thetis in art is largely defined by her relationship with her husband Peleus and, more importantly, her son Achilles; she rarely appears undertaking any action unrelated to them. As a consequence, she tends to be seen as a secondary figure in art, characterised by Peleus’ control of her on the one hand, and her affectionate support for Achilles on the other (Volkommer 1997, 14). This sits oddly against literary sources, in which her power and independence are more pronounced. In this paper, I consider a series of vases which, even within the framework of her relationships with her husband and son, emphasise Thetis’ status and power as a goddess through her relationships with other divinities. In particular, I focus on Hephaistos, and on Apollo, whose presence at Thetis’ wedding is problematic in literary sources (Hadjicosti 2006).

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Ariadne Konstantinou, Bar-Ilan University, [ariadne_kon@yahoo.com]
Divine but not Olympian - mobility of Thetis in the Iliad

The *Iliad* presents us with several famous divine journeys. Yet, overall, the mobility of Olympian gods does not seem to be all that different from that of goddesses. Whether we are thinking about the mobility of Athena and Hera in *Iliad* 5 (711–81) and 8 (381–96) or the majestic journey of Poseidon at book 13 (10–38), it is still the case that the Olympians after all reside on mount Olympus and it is from there that they make their hasty journeys to Troy. The Olympian palace is not only the domestic residence of the Olympians (cf. *Il.* 1.605–11) – a symbolic center from which gods and goddesses are imagined to depart. It is also the space whereby assembly-like debates over the course of action take place and important decisions are made, especially by Zeus (e.g. *Il.* 4.1–74).

The goddess Thetis, however, does not fit into this scheme. She is not an Olympian goddess and does not reside on Olympus, but at the depths of the sea with the Old Man of the Sea (*Il.* 1.358). This makes her stand quite apart from the Olympian gods, because she also needs to mobilize herself, soar to Mount Olympus and implore Zeus to accomplish Achilles' request (*Il.* 1.496–7).

This paper shall look into the mobility of Thetis and inquire whether her spatial marginalization also affects her mobility. Does her divine status bear any consequences on her mobility? Or is it perhaps possible to discern the power of Thetis in her alternative habitat and her freedom to move as well? The paper will explore themes related to gender, sexuality and divinity, and will compare Thetis to other non-Olympian mobile divinities, such as Iris.

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Daniela Milo, University of Naples Federico II [milo@unina.it]
Suggestions and themes in Thetis' rhesis in Euripides' Andromache

The figure of Thetis marks the *Andromache* of Euripides from the beginning and, in *Ringkomposition*, closes the drama: *Andromache* begins with the localization of the action in Phtia and the mention of the goddess, who has a sanctuary there. The story starts in the memory of wedding of Thetis with Peleus, which recalls the union between Andromache and Neoptolemus. The drama closes with the appearance of the *ex-machina* divinity, who turns to Peleus to sanction the conclusion of the story in the perspective of reconciliation. The goddess expresses herself in a *rhesis* (1231-1272), in which she appeals to her ancient wedding with Peleus. This *rhesis* is particularly significant to understand the meaning that Euripides wanted to give to the drama represented: the goddess insists on the privilege of the wedding, showing herself primarily as a deity linked to the *gamos*; at the same time, the mention of other deities, among which Zeus, at the end of the speech, especially of the Nereids, opens reflections on her interactions with the Olympic sphere, while the relationship with Peleus and Achilles is a constant reminder

of his closeness to mortals and leads to considerations on the role of gender. Thetis also performs a consolatory function towards the old groom and remembers his sorrow for the loss of Achilles and desires revenge. In the end, in the image of a blessed life with her, she promises bliss for Peleus, always confirming the need to follow the will of fate. The *rhexis* shows a convergence in the poetry of Euripides of themes descending from the ancient epic and lyric tradition: the analysis of these motifs also illuminates the role of the deity, and her function, in the Euripidean theater. In Thetis' speech it is possible to discern, through a thematic, stylistic and rhetorical investigation, the variation of the consolatory module in relation to the dramatical context and identify the peculiarity of Thetis' representation in Euripides' *Weltanschauung*.

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Serena Cannavale, University of Naples Federico II [serena.cannavale@unina.it]
Mourning mothers and premature deaths: Thetis' example in Greek funerary epigrams

As Laura Slatkin's work demonstrates, the Iliad assigns to Thetis an ambiguous status, showing her "at once weak and powerful (p. 70)". The poem alludes to a cosmic power of the goddess, having such a compelling influence over Zeus that she can effectively initiate the entire plot of the poem through her requests; at the same time, it depicts her as helpless and suffering in her role as a mother, powerless to prevent Achilles' death. Thetis' characterization as a figure of grief is particularly evident in Il. I 414-418 and 503-510, where she laments Achilles' mortality, and especially in Il. XVIII 52-64, where she pronounces for her son a singular *goos ante mortem*, exhibiting many features usually associated with actual lamentations for the dead (cf. also Il. XXIV 83-86). Special emphasis is posed on the fact that is the mother of the ephemeral hero par excellence, the hero destined to die young more than any other: he is *okymorotatos*, as Thetis herself says at Il. I 505. This characterization is confirmed by her important role in the funeral of Achilles in Od. XXIV and becomes a literary *topos*, as Callimachus demonstrates in his Hymn to Apollo, ll. 20-21, where she is cited, together with Niobe, as a paradigm of

ceaseless grief.

Moving from such a peculiar characterization of the goddess, the paper will investigate the influence of the literary model of Thetis as a mourning mother in threnodic contexts, in particular in funerary epigrams. As we will see, Thetis' model is present in Greek epitaphs in two different ways: either her painful experience is explicitly recalled as particularly relevant to the consolatory topos 'all must die, even the sons of gods' (cf. e.g. GVI 1197, 1935), or her Iliadic lament speeches are evoked through lexical and thematic echoes (cf. e.g. AP VII 486, SGO 16/61/04), thus creating an intertextual dialogue which elevates premature deaths of ordinary people – and the connected grief of mortal mothers – to an heroic level.

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Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Gary Vos, University of Edinburgh [gvos@exseed.ed.ac.uk]

Thetis in Callimachus' Hymn to Apollo and some intertexts

Thetis features as an *exemplum* at the start of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*: as the chorus of youths hymn the approaching god, the narrator demands silence before their paean: 'even the sea falls silent when singers celebrate the lyre or bow, weapons of Lycoreian Phoebus, neither does mother Thetis mournfully (αἴλινα) bewail Achilles when she hears *Hië Paeëon, hië Paeëon* (ll. 18-21).' My paper investigates the peculiar use of Thetis' Iliadic grief, complemented by that of Niobe (ll. 22-24), in what surely is a joyous occasion for Callimachus' worshippers.

On the one hand, I look at Callimachus' inspired interpretation of the Homeric Shield of Achilles – a learned deconstruction which unpacks Homer's mythological politics – while on the other I shall look at the politicized reception of these lines in allusions in Latin poetry, some noted, others not (esp. Verg. *Ecl.* 10.1-5, Prop. 2.31-32), before looping these intertexts back on Callimachus' *Hymn*. In some ways, Callimachus' coded references to *Iliad* 18 anticipate the nuanced reading of Slatkin (2011), although he has his own take on the para-Iliadic traditions surrounding this episode, which in turn feed into the silencing of Thetis (and Niobe).

Within the rhetoric of the *Hymn*, the use of the Thetis-example – *vis-à-vis* references to another paragon of epic-scale suffering, Niobe – is somewhat incongruent with its optimistic setting, although it makes sense mythologically (Apollo having assisted Paris

in assassinating Achilles [Aethiop. ap. Procl., Pi. *Pae.* 6.79-80] and slayed Niobe's children [Hom. *Il.* 24.602-617]). These mythological allusions reveal further engagement with matters of mythology (Linus: cf. ἀλίωνα in l. 20 and λίνων at Hom. *Il.* 18.570), aetiology and philology (the origins of the paeon and Linus-songs; their connections to Apollo), and intertextuality (cf. the relations of our lines to the *Hymn's* poetological coda) which are picked up and utilized by the Latin poets. Together, Callimachus and the Latin poets show an amazing, if tongue-in-cheek, awareness of the power of Thetis in Homer.

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Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Amelia Brown, University of Queensland, [a.brown9@uq.edu.au]

Thetis and the Nereids as patrons of ancient mariners

Ships carry mariners in ancient myths, but they also sailed the historical seas from long before literacy. This paper considers evidence for historical devotion to Thetis and other Nereids in the context of an ancient Mediterranean coastal network of seaside cults, sanctuaries and votives. While Aphrodite, Artemis and Hera are prominent among Greek goddesses honored by mariners, and recipients of both shipborne and seaside cult, most studies of Thetis and the Nereids treat them as mythological rather than historical recipients of cult. While not arguing that Odysseus really received the veil of Ino in the sea off Corfu (or even existed), this paper connects literary sources with material culture to argue for the historical reality of devotion to sea nymphs by some ancient Greek mariners. Herodotus 7.191 credits Magi with the Persian navy at Cape Sepias as sacrificing to Thetis and the Nereids to end a Hellespontine storm, advised by Ionians that the Cape was sacred to Thetis, as she was carried off by Peleus there. Herodotus hedges his bets as to whether or not the Magi's sacrifices were actually responsible for ending the storm, but Apollo, Artemis, Boreas, Poseidon Soter and wind nymphs known as Thyiades were actually honored with votives, altars and sanctuaries by Greek forces at Artemision. Why not Thetis as well? Magnesian mariners most likely named Cape Sepias after its resemblance to a cuttlefish when viewed from the sea (though it was Ionian sailors with the Persian fleet who advised the Magi). Ancient sailors portrayed the sea as a woman to be wooed, or bound, as Thetis, but also invoked a range of names appropriate to their home port, route and destination in epigraphy. Safe return, a good catch and strong knots were thus all seen as a symbol of divine favour. From Thessaly to Skyros, Lemnos to Samothrace and up the Hellespont into the Black Sea, Thetis or other nymphs are attested as receiving votives or give their names to maritime toponyms. The island of Leuke in the northwest Black Sea was said to be granted to mariners by Thetis in Philostratus Heroicus, but historical devotion to her with her son Achilles is attested epigraphically at several nearby port cities. Thus recent research in coastal

Magnesia, the Aegean and the Black Sea can illuminate links along sea routes in myth, literature, topography and historical mariners' cult practices.

Bartłomiej Bednarek, University of Warsaw [bp.bednarek@uw.edu.pl]

Thetis in Naxos: a local perspective

In spite of her alleged prominence (as postulated by Slatkin as well as in the description of this panel), Thetis is one of those mythical figures, whose biography is limited to a very small number of episodes, most of which are closely related to her motherhood (the rape and wedding being a part of the same story). Otherwise, she features in some stories attested to in a form of brief mentions from Homer onwards, in which her role has been aptly described as that of a mother-like figure (e.g. by C. Faraone) who rescued and comforted two young gods, Dionysus and Hephaestus after they fell victim to violence inflicted by Lycurgus and Hera respectively. These two episodes are so similar to one another that it is difficult not to think of them as mere variants of the same narration. Yet it seems that the *Iliad* already presupposes the existence of an earlier saga in which Thetis rescued one god after another. Thus, the similarity between the versions does not make them mutually exclusive. In my paper, however, I would like to focus on a different variant of the story, which combines the motives known from Homer (including *Od.* 24.74-5, which, with all likelihood results from an interpolation) in a slightly different way. Accordingly, Hephaestus was sent by Hera in Naxos in order to learn his art. This is where he met Dionysus, exchanged gifts with him, competed with him over the possession of the island and only subsequently withdrew to Lemnos. Dionysus, once he became the patron of Naxos, was assaulted by Lycurgus, who chased his nurses to the sea, where they were rescued by Thetis. This shadowy version reconstructed from bits and pieces scattered mostly in late texts, such as scholia and mythography, seems to have already been known (at least partially) to Stesichorus. The insistence on the centrality of Naxos leaves little doubt as to the provenance of this tradition from this island. With some likelihood, it can be related to the Dionysian sanctuary in Naxian Hyria as its probable aetiology.

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Peter Heslin, Durham University [p.j.heslin@durham.ac.uk]

The Power of Thetis in Roman Culture

In her landmark study, *The Power of Thetis* (1992), Laura Slatkin demonstrated that an awareness of mythological traditions that ascribed an important cosmological role to Thetis was crucial to understanding the *Iliad*. The helplessness of the goddess as mother to a mortal son must be understood against the background of her former power and importance. These traditions lurk in the background of the Homeric poems, and some of the works of Greek literature that deal with them more explicitly are less well known. Nevertheless, knowledge of these traditions continues to be evident at various points throughout Roman culture. In my talk, I will explore how the Romans alluded to the cosmic power of Thetis, and to its failure, in their art and literature.

Thetis occupies a role of significant, but indirect, importance in the Roman reception of Greek myth, for Achilles and Aeneas mirror images, heroes who share the unusual

distinction of having an immortal mother rather than father. Thetis thus stands as the counterpart of Venus on the opposite side of the Trojan War, and of history. Both goddesses had their power curtailed by other gods by means of forced liaisons with mortal men; the maternal solicitude of both goddesses for the resulting mortal son defined their destiny. In Greek myth, Thetis' great failure is that she did not bear an immortal son to rule the heavens. In the Roman worldview, that misfortune is compounded by a second cosmic failure: Achilles left no legacy other than his own renown.

Paradoxically, the birth of a mortal son to Venus did not curtail her power but eventually lent her a crucial position in the political history of the world, via her son's descendants, the Romans. Viewed against the depiction of Aphrodite in the *Iliad*, this is just as remarkable a turn of events as Thetis' fall from power. In a Roman context, the future cosmic importance of Homer's Aphrodite inverts the trajectory of the past cosmic importance of Thetis. The Romans were aware of this symmetry and Virgil, for example, exploited it in his contrasting portraits of the grandsons of the two goddesses, the dutiful Ascanius and the self-proclaimed "degenerate" Neoptolemus.

The presence of Thetis serves as a signal of this mythological nexus in a number of Roman texts and artworks. Because of the obscurity of the legends around the power of Thetis, the goddess can serve as a testament to the sophistication of mythological knowledge presupposed by those works, at least among some Roman readers and viewers.

Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Simona Martorana, Durham University [simona.martorana@durham.ac.uk]

The 'Woman' and the sea: Thetis and femininity in Ovid's Metamorphoses

"The marine element is thus both the amniotic waters ... and it is also, it seems to me, something which figures quite well feminine jouissance" (Irigaray 1985, 137). In this paper, I look at Thetis in Ovid's *Met.* 11.216-265 through a gendered lens: I argue that some features of this female figure, such as her link to the marine element, her transformative (protean) capacity as well as her relationship with Peleus, contribute to the construction of her image as a dangerous female principle, i.e. a threatening expression of femininity – and feminine jouissance – which is abhorred and rejected within the realm of the Symbolic.

Whilst Catullus' story of Thetis focuses on her marriage to Peleus, thereby suppressing her rape by Peleus and obliterating Thetis' metamorphic talent (pace Tamás 2014), Ovid tells a completely different story, in which both Thetis' shape-shifting and the rape-motif are particularly emphasised (Fantham 1993). Thetis, in fact, is exceptionally skilled at transforming her body – mutating from bird to tree to tigress in *Met.* 11.243-245. In spite of this, Peleus succeeds in his rape thanks to Proteus' advice, i.e. capturing and binding her while she sleeps (249-265).

In the Ovidian episode, some notable characteristics of Thetis appear particularly underlined: Thetis' connection to the marine element (cf. the presence of Proteus; Thetis' epithets; the description of her abode), which may reflect her original prominent role as a (major) goddess (Slatkin 1991); Thetis as a shape-shifter – her changing body also enhances her ambiguity as a mythological figure tout court; the manner of the rape, i.e. Peleus surprises her while she is sleeping. Particularly this last point establishes a thematic link between Thetis and Medusa, who is killed by Perseus precisely while she is sleeping (*Met.* 4.784-785). I believe that these narrative patterns imply some other aspects which allow us to read

Thetis as an expression of feminine jouissance: Thetis as an ancestral and powerful female deity and her connection to the overflowing water/marine element; her ambiguous changing body, which cannot be restrained by well-defined boundaries; the thematic analogy with Medusa, who is an hypostasis of the idea of women as 'dark continent', dangerous and threatening for the phallic economy. Both Kristeva 1982 and Irigaray 1985 compare femininity with fluidity and instability, masculinity with the solid element: femininity challenges borderlines, escapes the margins and tries to redefine them. According to Cixous 1986, moreover, Medusa (and I would add Thetis) stands for 'dark' femininity which scares men and destabilises patriarchal society.

This paper, therefore, contends that Thetis can be defined as a Medusa-like figure: even at a later stage in the literary tradition (i.e. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) Thetis still exhibits some features which recall her archetypical power. This power disrupts the androcentric system, which tries to inhibit it: this inhibitory drive finds expression in Jupiter's regulating intervention (*Met.* 11.221-228) and Peleus' rape. Though Thetis' power is thus suppressed and annihilated (like Medusa's), Ovid's narrative preserves the memory of her sovereignty over the sea, her ambiguous changing abilities, as well as her ancestral prestige.

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[Friday]

Slot 11: 9:00 - 9:50am

Vichi Eugenia Ciocani, Babeş-Bolyai University [vicki.ciocani@mail.utoronto.ca]

Thetis as bride in Chariton and Heliodorus

Calirrhoe's wedding, says Chariton, was similar to Thetis' wedding, not only because of the divine beauty of the bride, but also on account of the presence of Strife (1.1.16). Later on, Chaereas weeps at the empty tomb of his bride, ironically pointing to the fact that his story is so dissimilar to that of Peleus, who got to spend some time with his divine bride and even raise their son (3.3.6). Finally, the eunuch Artaxates justifies his King's falling in love with Callirhoe on account on her being a 'second Thetis risen up from the sea' (6.3.5).

Heliodorus introduces the figure of Thetis in a similar narrative juncture in his *Aethiopica*, just before Theagenes and Charicleia meet for the first time. Preceding Charicleia's appearance, Calasiris describes a group of Thessalian maidens who carry sacrificial baskets for the procession and sing and dance an ode in praise to Thetis and

Peleus, their son Achilles, and their son's son Neoptolemus (Hld. 3.2). While never explicitly stated, the invoked figure of Thetis points to Charicleia. Bowie (2006) demonstrates convincingly that Heliodorus must have been aware of Philostratus' similar hymn to Thetis in his *Heroicus* 53.741-742. Hilton (2003) advances the idea that Heliodorus is doing more with this hymn than merely emulating Philostratus and suggests a few underlying similarities between the figures of Thetis and Charicleia, particularly their (literal and figurative) propensity for shapeshifting and changing identities. Moreover, Ciocani (2018) notices similarities between this hymn and the *Homeric Hymns to Demeter*, and argues for a new representation of Thetis as a "transformed Demeter". The proposed paper will add a new possible interpretation of the hymn as a possible reference to Callirhoe in Heliodorus' novel, all in the context of the novelistic particular representation of wedding and marriage.

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Tine Scheijnen, Ghent University, [Tine.Scheijnen@ugent.be]

The Wicked Witch of the West? Thetis' controversial transformations in Middle English Romance

Among many doubts, one thing is certain: Thetis is the mother of Achilles. Homer gave her a solid position in the epic canon of Antiquity. The *Ilias Latina* even dubs Achilles "the Thetideian hero" and *Quintus' Posthomerica* (3rd AD) makes her the *mater familias* of Peleus' bloodline. However, her part becomes unstable as other types of ancient and later medieval fiction adopt the Troy myth. The "historical novels" of Dictys and Dares seek to rationalize the divine forces behind the story. Thetis is re-characterized as a mere mortal, which sets the tone for a reduced reception of her character in the Western Middle Ages. Benoît de Sainte-Maure (12th c.) seems to make the decisive call: in his influential *Roman de Troie* (ca. 30,000 lines), Thetis features for only a few brief instances.² Her maternal importance seems to be gradually erased from Trojan War literature... But is it?

My narratological analysis tracks Thetis through Middle English Troy literature – to date an understudied tradition. Two 14th century texts draw attention regarding her reception. The *Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy* (ca. 14,000 lines) continues Benoît's legacy. Thetis has disappeared in episodes where her presence in earlier texts was determining. This affects the characterization of Achilles, a protagonist in the poem, whose part needs to be rewritten to function without his mother.

In the much shorter *Seege or Batayle of Troy* (ca. 2,000 lines), Thetis is revived in the new guise of a witch, whose dark powers render Achilles invulnerable. This is a surprising innovation in both her own characterization and that of her son. Barnicle notes that one of the extant *Seege* manuscripts even refuses to include this new dark side.

In Middle English literature, Thetis has thus become a figure of literary challenge and controversy. At the heart of the debate lie her transformation from a plot steering character to one (almost) absent, and from a goddess to a mortal with(out) magic. The impact of all this on Achilles' characterization indicates the continued importance of Thetis, even if at first sight she risks to drown in a sea of oblivion.

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Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Julene Abad del Vecchio, University of Manchester, [julene.abad-delvecchio@post-grad.manchester.ac.uk]

Hijo sí, y te libraré / de los daños que temí: *crafting Thetis in Tirso de Molina's El Aquiles (1612)*

In this paper, I examine the figure of Thetis in Tirso de Molina's only mythological comedy *El Aquiles*, written around 1611/1612. The play, centred around the delay of Achilles and Ulysses in joining the Trojan War, features an amalgamation of well-known mythological themes in a convergence of heightened classical stature. *El Aquiles* aptly displays the playwright's predilection for ambiguous themes, such as cross-dressing (Paterson, 1993), equivocal characterisations (Stoll, 1998), and comedic twists in the story. Whilst most scholarly interest has naturally fallen upon the figure of Achilles and his heroic transformation (Hesse and McCrary, 1956; Madrigal, 1983; Shecktor, 2009), in this paper I shift the focus onto Thetis. I will first offer an overview of the goddess' agency in the play, in order to see how her characterisation is manufactured throughout the drama. I will then trace her portrayal back in literary time, to see how her depiction both derives and differs from her previous appearances in the Classical tradition. Ultimately, this paper aims to see how Tirso de Molina draws upon, and assembles, different classical and non-classical accounts of the goddess, and to examine yet another representation of the alluring power of Thetis in the collective imagination.

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Naoko Yamagata, Open University [n.yamagata@open.ac.uk]
Thetis and the Shield of Achilles: Reading the Iliad with Auden

W. H. Auden's poem 'The Shield of Achilles' (1952) has been interpreted variously, according to its multiple layers of meaning. It has become 'an anthology piece thanks to its apparently straightforward sentiments against war, cruelty, impersonality and regimentation', though 'its covert themes are Auden's argument with himself about his art and his relation to it' (Mandelson 2004: 59-60). MacDiarmid (1990: 130) argues that the poem is about art as 'a means of disenchantment', showing its inability to convey moral and spiritual values (133). Auden seems to challenge us not only as to how to read his poem, but also how to read the shield of Achilles in Homer's *Iliad* and the *Iliad* as a whole.

By introducing Thetis as an anxious viewer into the scene of Hephaestus' making of the shield, Auden reminds us that the shield reflects not only the story of Achilles but also that of Thetis, the grieving mother. Moreover Auden's dystopian vision, though deliberately contrasted with happier scenes on the Iliadic shield, points the reader to more disturbing aspects of Homer's epic world beyond the shield.

In the *Iliad* the shield starts with a wedding which recalls Thetis' wedding that started the war and echoes of Auden's shield are found beyond the shield. 'Girls are raped', as the war began with the abduction of Helen and ended with Cassandra's rape. 'Two boys knife a third', as Diomedes and Odysseus killed Dolon, breaking their promise to spare him. The lone youth, aimless and alone, reminds us of the image of Achilles sulking on the seashore who also rejected the plea of the weeping Lycaon. These and many other echoes force us to reconsider how we should read Auden's poem and the *Iliad*.

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Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Astrid Khoo, King's College London [astrid.khoo@kcl.ac.uk]

Thetis and the Thames: "Unorthodox" receptions of Thetis in Neo-Latin poetry

In his *epithalamion et syncharma* for the 1613 marriage between Elizabeth Stuart and Frederick V, John Forbes describes Thetis as a star rising from the Thames, whose banks 'reflect the light of [her] fire': *igni Thamesina relucet ripa*. This image is jarring, since the Classical Thetis is a Nereid firmly located in Troy and Scyros and not a river nymph ricocheting off the sordid Thames. As this paper will demonstrate, however, Forbes' creative reworking of Thetis was not exceptional among Renaissance and neo-Latin poets. By categorising 80 appearances of the goddess in Italian, French, and English poetry from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, I will propose a novel typology of the characteristics attending her varied receptions. Foremost among these is the tendency to transport Thetis from the Mediterranean to alternative locations, be this the Thames or even the Atlantic bordering La Rochelle, as in Hercules Rollock's 1573 *Hospes ad Repellam obsidione solutam*. This tendency towards innovation is also observable in vernacular works on Thetis from this period, which often re-focus her storyline; while ancient texts such as Homer's *Iliad* and Statius' *Achilleid* emphasise her role during her son's life-

time – with the notable exception of Catullus 64 – early modern works from Alexandre Hardy’s tellingly-named *La Mort d’Achille* (1607) to Isaac de Benserade’s *Les noces de Pélée et de Thétis* (1654) tend to centre on Thetis’ deeds before and after Achilles’ exploits. I will explain why and how these alternative depictions came into being, thus outlining more general trends in the Renaissance reception of Greek and Latin texts. Finally, I will initiate a discussion on the extent to which ‘unorthodox’ portrayals of Thetis have established themselves as a new orthodoxy in modern discourse. Indeed, who exactly do we understand Thetis to be, and is it fair to insist that the Homeric Thetis is the ‘orthodox’ version given the presence of such diverse postclassical receptions?

Slot 14: 12:10am - 1:00pm

David J. Wright, Fordham University, [djwrig85@gmail.com]

Thetis of Silver Screen: The Vengeful and Comic Goddess in Popular Media

What does Thetis mean to the modern world? In this paper, I explore the figure of Thetis in popular culture of the 20th and 21st centuries, both instances in which she appears and her noted absences. While Thetis plays a crucial role in Homer’s *Iliad*, elsewhere in Greek myth, we only get glimpses of her. Yet Slatkin (1991: 12) suggests that Thetis is still a “figure of cosmic capacity” throughout Greek mythology. But given her relative obscurity, it is not surprising that she is *not* a prominent figure in representations of Greek mythology in the modern popular culture. In fact, she is sometimes omitted from versions of the myth in which she normally plays a major role (e.g., *Troy Fall of a City*). Though Thetis is a prominent figure in the 1981 *Clash of the Titans*, unsurprisingly, Thetis does not reappear in the 2010 remake.

At the same time, she does play a significant role in works in which the rest of the gods are largely omitted. In Madeline Miller’s *Song of Achilles*, she is the only goddess who speaks and plays a major part in the novel’s plot line. In contrast to her Iliadic image of aid and support, Miller recasts her as an antagonist and deploys elements of the “vengeful goddess” trope -- though her villainous role is not without complication. In the godless *Troy* (2004), Thetis appears as the only representation of a deity (though her divinity is unclear, but suggested). She also receives passing references in Pat Barker’s *Silence of Girls* as silent, stern, and harsh figure, but nonetheless the only deity in the work.

My paper culminates with a study of Thetis in the 1981 version of *Clash of the Titans*. As Dan Curley (2015: 2017) puts it, she “plays an unexpectedly crucial role” in a film loosely based on the Perseus myth, which normally has no connection to the goddess Thetis. I argue that the role she plays in the film contributes to the “epic effect” of the film as a whole. In the *Iliad*, Thetis acts as a prominent figure that moves the plot along and has a strong influence over powerful figures like Zeus and Achilles. Thetis performs a very similar function in *Clash of the Titans* (1981), and she also seems possess a cosmic power that the *Iliad* and other snippets of Greek mythology suggest.

In *Clash of the Titans* (1981), only she and Zeus have the power to influence the “arena of life,” a gameboard containing clay figurines that correspond to their human counterparts on earth. Zeus and Thetis alone have the power to manipulate these figures. Furthermore, only Zeus and Thetis possess the ability to wipe out entire civilizations; at the beginning of the film, Zeus destroys Argos, and Thetis, near the end of the film, displays that she has the capacity to annihilate the city of Joppa. In the film, Thetis also has close connection to Titanic figures like the Kraken, whom she has the power to

summon. Similarly, in the *Iliad*, Thetis has a special relationship with the Titanic Briareus, whom she enlists to save Zeus' from his family's would-be rebellion (*Il.* 1.397-406). *Clash of the Titans* (1981) shows a close reading of Greek myths and the *Iliad* in particular: Thetis is a rival to Zeus who has the ability to manipulate the universe around her.

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Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Maciej Paprocki, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, [maciej.w.paprocki@gmail.com]

Sea witches in exile: Thetidean figures in Disney's Little Mermaid (1989/2008) and Pirates of the Caribbean 2 & 3 (2006/2007)

As David J. Wright demonstrates in his presentation, depictions of Thetis are relatively rare in modern films. However, characters more or less directly inspired by Thetis do appear in such works, with this presentation examining two of them, Ursula in Disney's *Little Mermaid* and Tia Dalma/Calypso in the *Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise. The direct inspiration for these characters were traditional folklore figures: sea witches, women with a magical power over the sea, the weather, and the marine life. This presentation considers Ursula and Tia Dalma's narrative arcs in regard to Thetis' story, tracing parallels and points of departure.

The first part of my presentation focuses on Disney's *Little Mermaid*, examining the film's villain, Ursula. A conniving half-octopus sea witch, Ursula tricks a mermaid princess named Ariel into trading her voice for a pair of human legs, temporarily making Ariel human so that she may earn the love of Prince Eric. However, Ursula's ultimate goal is to sabotage Ariel and replace Ariel's father King Triton as ruler over the underwater kingdom Atlantica. Obese, flamboyant, and seductive, Ursula harbours a grudge against Triton, who exiled her from Atlantica for misuse of magic. Shown to have an antagonistic, yet complementary and/or familiar relationship, Triton and Ursula are suggested to be estranged siblings, children of Poseidon.

The second part of my presentation examines the character of Tia Dalma/Calypso, as depicted in the *Pirates of the Caribbean* (*PotC*) franchise. A flirtatious yet awe-inspiring practitioner of Voodoo and Obeah priestess, Tia Dalma is revealed to be the Greek sea goddess Calypso, imprisoned in the human body. Having fallen in love with a human sailor, Davy Jones, Calypso taught Jones magic and gave him the task of guiding the spirits of the dead lost at sea; however, she failed to meet him as promised when Jones returned to shore after ten years of service. Feeling betrayed, Davy Jones made a secret agreement with the pirate lords and taught them how to bind Calypso to human form, with the goddess remaining unaware of the crucial role her former lover had played in her imprisonment. Her binding tamed the seas and satisfied Jones's desire for vengeance. Eventually, the pirate lords decided to release Calypso to ask for her favour in the upco-

ming battle. Mid-ritual, Calypso was informed of Davy Jones' complicity in her binding. Enraged, she conjured a maelstrom that sank Davy Jones' ship as he fell into the whirlpool to re-join her.

Far removed from the figure of the Iliadic Thetis, Ursula and Calypso ostensibly have little in common with her apart from their association with the sea. Nevertheless, in this presentation I argue that characters of Ursula and Tia Dalma are more or less directly derived from a contrafactual, vengeful version of Thetis: a power-hungry, sexually active, and subversive goddess. Indeed, three characters share many features: their prodigious skill at magic and (self-)transformation, their cunning, their fall from grace of / rebellion against an authoritarian male figure and their subsequent exile / diminishment. As characters, Ursula and Tia Dalma are othered, dehumanised, exoticized and eroticized: if the *Little Mermaid* emphasises the darker political aspects of Ursula's sea witch persona, then the *PotC* franchise draws more directly from ancient Greek depictions of Thetis, highlighting Calypso's exoticism, tragic love life and disenfranchisement by hands of mortals. Hypothetical re-incarnations of Thetis, Ursula and Tia Dalma's stories explicate what would have happened had Thetis ever fought against the divine establishment, had she wrought destruction instead of averting it.

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Slot 16: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Laura Slatkin, NYU Gallatin, [laura.slatkin@nyu.edu]

Response Paper

[PANEL 7] MISINFORMATION, DISINFORMATION, AND PROPAGANDA IN GREEK HISTORIOGRAPHY

[Wednesday]

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Rosaria Vignolo Munson, Swarthmore College [rmunson1@swarthmore.edu]
A different Persian 'debate' in Herodotus: On truth and falsehood

On the subject of truth and lying, Herodotus ascribes widely different ideologies to Persians and Greeks. While both groups traffic in falsehood to an equal degree and often in similar ways, the Persians more frequently accuse each other of lying or discuss lying and truth-telling. Most notably they alone in the *Histories* generalize about this topic, just as they are the only ones who speak about forms of government in theoretical terms. Herodotus' knowledge of Persian culture, including his probably indirect knowledge and ironical interpretation of the Behistun inscription, have led him to put his Persian sources and historical agents in charge of questioning the appropriateness of truth-telling and falsehood. This is a discussion which, unlike the Constitutional Debate in Book Three, is not confined to a single scene but spans the entire course of the *Histories*. There Herodotus shows how, unlike the Greeks and in spite of numerous transgressions, the Persians hold truth-telling as a moral value, as self-defining as the Greeks consider freedom. As a Greek and a storyteller, Herodotus participates in his culture's casual and often admiring view of all sort of (successful) trickery. As an historian, however, that position is one he can hardly afford.

Slot 4: 4:40 - 5:30pm

Luke Madson, Rutgers University [luke.madson@rutgers.edu]
The Herophilos Hypothesis and Aristomenes of Messene

This paper seeks to make sense of the traditions on the death of Aristomenes of Messene in order to understand the flexibility of the Messenian historical tradition following the refoundation of Messene in 371 BCE. As Ogden (2004) has noted, Aristomenes is a remarkably pliable folk hero, and Figueira (1999) has characterized Aristomenes as an "invincible loser." Pausanias (4.24) states that Aristomenes died in Rhodes; however, an alternate tradition states that the Spartans captured Aristomenes, cut him open, and found his heart to be hairy (Rhianos *FGH* 265 F46; a tradition picked up by later writers).

How these two death traditions are to be reconciled is unclear. Both Luraghi (2008) and Bertelli (2010) suggest that Rhianos' *Messenika*, as a Hellenistic ethno-epic, was in agreement with Pausanias' narrative that Aristomenes died on Rhodes (following Rhianos *FGH* 265 F41). Bertelli similarly considers that the hairy heart was a rhetorical rumor which was noted only to be refuted by Rhianos, who could thereby adopt the stance of an erudite poet who distinguished genuine tradition for his audience. In this case, Rhianos' portrayal of Aristomenes would be in line with the emergence of the Hellenistic romance novel.

There are multiple interpretations of the hairy heart: a sign of martial valor, heroic guile, or trickster resurrection (see Ogden 2004; cf. Bertelli 2010). I argue that the heart

of Aristomenes is deployed in more than just a literary imaginary. Rhianos was likely influenced by human dissection at Alexandria by Herophilos of Chalcedon, the man credited for developing an understanding of the cardiovascular system under the Ptolemaic research program (von Staden 1989). Rhianos' tale can be seen as both Homeric deformation and a nod to scientific exploration much like some medical allusions in Callimachus (See Most 1981; cf. Lang 2009).

If we accept that the hairy heart as deformation of prior tradition, it suggests that Rhianos was working within a tradition which existed in Messenian myth-history before the Battle of Leuctra. Rather than seeing this narrative as invention and continuing the debate in Messenian historiography between discontinuists and continuists, we can follow Alcock's (1999) work on public remembrance and narrative multiplicity. The two death traditions should be viewed as supporting both diaspora communities as well as localized identity in opposition to Laconia. The dual tradition granted the Messenians flexibility when articulating identity in both local and broader Pan-Hellenic discourses.

Denis Correa, Universidade de Coimbra, dniscorrea@gmail.com

Agonistic intertextuality and authorial rivalry in Hdt. II. 143 and Thuc. I. 97

This research is a work in progress that investigates controversies between historians in Fifth-century historiography. The term "agonistic intertextuality" was first applied to this subject by L. Bertelli (2001, 68–78) when debating Hecataeus' critical approach of earlier genealogical tradition. Bertelli ascribed the term to J. Assmann (1992, 286–87), although Assmann's work stressed rather his notion of "hypoleptic discourse" in which agonistic intertextuality is just a way to designate the competitive aspect of Greek scribal culture. Recently, C. Condilo (2017) termed Herodotus's engagement with Hecataeus in *Hdt.* II. 143 (the famous conversation with Egyptian priests) as agonistic intertextuality and suggested (2017, 254) a similar competitive setting for the reference to Hellanicus in *Thuc.* I. 97. Condilo, however, does not mention Assmann's concept of hypoleptic discourse.

Bertelli and Condillo approached the creation of historical chronology from the genealogical system that preceded it, and doing so they emphasized the methodological aspects of these historical controversies. However, is Herodotus' account of Hecataeus being humiliated by Egyptian Priests motivated strictly by methodological concerns? Can we trust that this event actually took place and that it was not some sort of misrepresentation that intended to undermine Hecataeus' reputation (HEIDEL 1935, 123–26; WEST 1991, 147–49; FOWLER 2007, 35–36)? And Thucydides really offers a more accurate chronological system than that of Hellanicus (HORNBLOWER 1996, 490–93; CLARKE 2008, 91–95)? And what is the role of authorial rivalry in these polemics? I intend to answer these questions regarding *Hdt.* II. 143 and *Thuc.* I. 97, using the notions of hypoleptic discourse and agonistic intertextuality (ASSMANN 1992, 2011), while approaching the controversies as authorial self-definition within the tradition (MARINCOLA 1997, 218–36). I will focus on the rhetorical and persuasive aspects, in order to understand how Fifth-century historians drained the reputation of predecessors by criticizing their work.

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[Thursday]

Slot 5: 9:00 - 9:50am

Deborah Boedeker, Brown University [deborah_boedeker@brown.edu]

Attitudes and actions: Non-Greeks on Greeks in Herodotus

Attitudes and Actions: Non-Greeks on Greeks in Herodotus

Readers of Herodotus have long noted that the *Histories* include a good deal of national stereotyping. For example, Greeks are poor but politically free; Persia is wealthy but enslaved to its autocratic ruler; the Egyptians' civilization is especially ancient, idiosyncratic, and marked by wisdom. Scholarship on this broad topic has been both prolific and enlightening.

This paper focuses on a narrative device that Herodotus often uses to highlight such fixed ideas. Characters in the *Histories*, both groups and individuals, are given voice to express their attitudes (usually negative) about the habits, beliefs, or predilections of foreign peoples. Herodotus calls attention to this tendency to typify and criticize the ways of others, and occasionally makes his own generalizations about a group's attitude toward different nations, as when he declares that Egyptians and Scythians alike eschew foreign practices, believing their own to be superior (2.91, 4.76.2). As narrator, he not only calls attention to the common practice of judging the customs and characters of other cultures, but gives his own view (in perhaps our earliest statement of cultural relativism), concluding that all groups prefer their native ways, and citing a dictum of Pindar, *nomos pantôn basileus* 'custom is king of all' (3.38.4).

Especially interesting in this matter are passages where Persians (or their allies) are said to believe or say something about Greeks that is demonstrated to be false by "real" occurrences, i.e. events that are described in the narrative of the *Histories*. Such discrepancies serve to complicate the audience's reception of cross-cultural generalizations.

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Donald Lateiner, Ohio Wesleyan University [dglatein@owu.edu]

“Bad News” in Herodotos and Thoukydides: Unwelcome, deceptive, or untrue

Historians, contemporary and subsequent to their events, confront problems such as the accuracy and adequacy of assembled data/facts and the biases of their informants. Written and oral errors produce intended *disinformation*, mass-distributed *propaganda*, and unintentional *misinformation*. Such inconvenient “facts” were generated in the period under study and promoted for personal, family, polis or patriotic pride or exculpation. Further, historians excavate prior and subsequent distortions that interested parties produce from similar motives. Foreground, background, and reception material--when false, concocted, or inadequate--constitutes our first species of “bad news.”

Herodotos, the belated investigator, flags perceived errors (1.91, 2.16, 7.139), bias and superstition (2.123, 160), and malice (8.94). He knows that his capacities to discover or reconstruct the fragile truth have limits (Preface, 4.11, 7.152), however dogged and impressive his investigations (2.99, 5.66, 9.84). Sifting through the past’s cold detritus, he hears conflicting and mutually exclusive, non-investigable narratives (6.14, 124). Peisistratos, Histiaios, and Aristagoras exemplify *disinformants* duping audiences (5.97). Autocrats excel in concealing and suppressing truths, both Deiōkes in his palace and Xerxes hiding his corpses at Thermopylai. Oracle-monger Onomakritos was a fraud and a forger for hire (7.6). Herodotos judges the Aiginetan cenotaph memorial erected after the victory at Plataiai to be patriotic, communal *disinformation* and propaganda for future visitors (9.85). The essential flipside of deceit is gullibility, and the Athenians surprisingly illustrate it (1.60, 5.97).

Ethnic prejudice supplies a ready ingredient for jingo *propaganda* in both fifth-century historians. The Persians despise the Hellenes (1.153, 7.9*, 103*, 147), and all their own subjects (1.134, 8.68g*); the Egyptians scorn foreigners likewise (2.41). The Skyths and Dorians despise the Ionians (4.142, 9.106; cf. Thouk. 8.25), and the Hellenes scorn the “barbarians” (7.135, 9.79*). Both Herodotos and Thoukydides repeat ethnic *propaganda* perhaps sharing these prejudices. The Persians regard their unstoppable progress towards world domination as justifying their disdain (7.8g1*).

Misinformation, as everywhere always, abounds and persists. The Persians “quoted” in Herodotos expect the Hellenes to collapse on Persian approach (7.8g*, 7.210, 8.68b*). Greeks mistake the nature of the Nile river (2.20) and Africa (2.16, 4.42). Thoukydides, the ferocious revisionist, corrects both popular accounts about the Athenian tyrannicides’ sordid motives and colleagues’ research inadequacies, such as Hellanikos’ too brief survey and inaccurate chronology of the Fifty Years (1.20, 97; 6.54). Nicias’ misplaced faith in celestial divination costs Athens an army and navy (7.50).

Both Herodotos and Thoukydides identify “pretexts,” that is, conscious *disinformation*, often mass-directed and so, *propaganda*. Ponder Peisistratos’ Athene, Histiaios’ nearly comical pretenses (5.35, 106-7), Xerxes’ professed aim for his expedition (7.8, 138), Themistokles’ self-justifying tricks to persuade Greeks and Persians. Thoukydides emphasizes his war’s “truest cause,” but he treats at greater length the Spartan *prophases* for starting the Peloponnesian War (1.23). In Sicily, Athenians and Syrakousans concoct political propaganda to mislead neutrals and aggregate allies to themselves.

Thoukydides’ contemporary history criticizes supernal *disinformation* or *un-information*, such as curses, oracles, seers, and omens (2.8, 47, & 54, 5.103.2*, 8.1). He flags popular delusions (*misinformation*) about “quick ‘n’ easy” wars and invasions deemed unlikely,

“incredible” (2.8, 4.17, 6.36-40*, 7.18, 8.2). Themistokles, Brasidas, and Alkibiades—masters of political deceptions—bluff with promises of liberation in Thrace or of Persian aid delivered to Spartans or Athenians. Absence of information allows disinformation from foes (7.48), produces rumors (2.48: poison) and dubious gossip. Thucydides had to “guesstimate,” and he complains about data insufficient to answer questions, despite having “tortured” it (1.20, 4.80, 5.68, 7.87). Thucydides’ eighth book constitutes a treasure-house of all sides’ propagandistic lies, suppression of facts (“un-information”), and treachery. False promises and secret negotiations pervade internal Athenian negotiations and externally engineered Aegean revolutions.

“Bad news” of a different kind—not inaccurate but panic-provoking—threatens and verifies invasions, borders penetrated, cities captured or burned, citizens exiled. Other catastrophes record the death of multitudes experiencing plague or battle, dearth of warships, loss of allies, and exhaustion of materiel, cash, and food (Hdt. 1.79, 6.19, 8.50, 9.3; Thouk. 1.23, 2.50, 3.112, 8.1). Both historians report stunning catastrophes and public responses to “bad news” for their dramatic and historical value, as they should.

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Robert Wallace, Northwestern University [rwallace@northwestern.edu]
Thucydides on the causes of the Peloponnesian War. A case of misdirection

From Aristophanes *Acharnians* down through Plutarch, “all Greece said that Perikles started the [Peloponnesian] War” (Plut. *Alc.* 14). Thucydides systematically suppresses Perikles’ responsibility for this war, and (since 449) the Athenians’ and also the Spartans’ wish not to fight more wars, until long after he has the Spartans declare war under pressure from their allies. Only then, when modern scholarship proves the brilliant success of his misdirection, does he have Perikles admit that “he would have no concessions, and ever urged the Athenians on to war” (1.127): “no concessions to the Peloponnesians... war is a necessity” (1.140), “I persuaded you to go to war” (2.60).

Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Paula Debnar, Mount Holyoke College [pdebnar@mtholyoke.edu]
Lies and liars in Thucydides

Although treating truth creatively has a distinguished pedigree in Greek literature, attitudes toward lies and deceit can change over time, as can the lines drawn between lying and other kinds of deception. Focusing on utterances by historical actors in the History, I try to 1) determine whether (and how) Thucydides distinguishes lies from other kinds of deception; 2) tease out the historian’s views of lies and liars, and of those who are (or are not) taken in by them; and 3) identify the historical consequences of lies.

Having identified seven individual and two collective liars, I will discuss examples of lies from across the History—by Athenians and others; by individuals and collectives. Analysis reveals that Thucydides does draw attention to blatant lies, although his techniques change over the eight books, as do the ways in which he expresses his attitude toward them. The effects of mendacity turn out to be contingent on the audiences’ relationship to the liars, their access to information, and their emotional states. The paper concludes with a brief overview of the historical consequences of lies.

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Anton Powell, Classical Press of Wales [powellanton@btopenworld.com]

Spin and grand silences: wringing history from Xenophon's texts concerning Sparta

Xenophon's notorious silences are more lamented than analysed. We shall look at his pattern of omissions (and of notorious distortions) constructively, across his three longest works and the 'Agesilaos', to trace patterns which may prove revealing of something far more purposeful than some general 'pro-Spartan bias'. The author's special relation with king Agesilaos may then emerge with more precision, raising hypotheses concerning the unity of the Xenophontic oeuvre and its author's practical ambitions.

Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Matthew Christ, University of Indiana [mrchrist@indiana.edu]

Xenophon on the Thirty: Deception and disinformation in politics and historiography

This paper examines two aspects of Xenophon's account of the Thirty in his *Hellenika*: 1) how Xenophon represents and critiques the Thirty's use of disinformation and propaganda to achieve their ends; and 2) how Xenophon's narrative itself seeks to exculpate the "moderate" supporters of the Thirty and in so doing could be said to engage in its own form of disinformation. Xenophon presents a scathing picture of deception and distortion on the part of the Thirty under the leadership of Critias. The new regime, according to Xenophon, never carried through on its promise to establish new laws and an inclusive and moderate oligarchy. Although Xenophon approves of its initial measures to purge the city of democratic "sykophants," he abhors how the Thirty executed an ever-widening circle of citizens and metics under the guise of cleansing the city of its enemies, including ultimately one of their own number, the moderate Theramenes. While Xenophon's critique of the Thirty's lies and deceptions may be well grounded, there is something misleading in his defense of the "moderates" who had supported the Thirty because they believed this would lead to the establishment of a lawful and inclusive oligarchy and in his scapegoating of Critias for the misdeeds of the Thirty. If, as is commonly thought, Xenophon served in the cavalry under the Thirty, his slanted account can be taken as an attempt to justify his involvement and that of men like him in the overthrow of the democracy in collaboration with Sparta. Although Xenophon may have believed fully in the veracity of his account, his version of this historical episode attests to the subjectivity of historical narrative and the partisan purposes that it can serve.

[Friday]

Slot 11: 9:00 - 9:50am

Ellen Millender, Reed College [millende@reed.edu]

The (im)morality of verbal deception in Xenophon's Anabasis

As many fifth-century Athenian-based works attest, Sparta long enjoyed a reputation for treachery and guile. In his account of the battle of Plataea, Herodotus provides a clear reference to Spartan perfidy in his claims that the Athenians refused to leave their position, "knowing the Lacedaemonians penchant for thinking one thing and saying

another” (9.54.1). Thucydides furnishes a far more sinister portrait of fork-tongued Spartans in his account of the lies that lured thousands of helots to their deaths (4.80.3-4). Euripides’ *Andromache* goes even further in her characterization of the Spartans as liars and schemers (*Andr.* 445-52). Aristophanic Athenians likewise demonstrate constant fear of Spartan perfidy (cf., e.g. *Pax* 622-3, 1065-8, 1083-7). It is perhaps, then, not surprising to meet Spartan liars and cheats in fourth-century texts, even in the works of the supposed Laconophile Xenophon. His *Anabasis*, in fact, features a particularly striking *exemplum* of Spartan treachery in the form of Clearchus, whose constant engagement in stratagems proves beneficial until it leads to his own execution and stranding of the Cyreians in the heart of the Persian Empire. Despite his focus on Clearchus’ deception, Xenophon never explicitly critiques this aspect of Clearchus’ leadership. While some scholars have taken Xenophon’s silence on this issue as tacit approval of Clearchus’ perfidy (cf., e.g., Danzig 2007), Xenophon’s detailed depiction of Clearchus’ almost constant engagement in verbal deception invites closer inspection. This paper suggests that Xenophon’s treatment of Clearchus’ perfidy is far more negative than previous scholarship has argued and points to Xenophon’s concerns about the Spartans’ – especially Clearchus’ – obsession with warfare and inability to differentiate between friends and enemies.

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Cinzia Bearzot, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano [cinzia.bearzot@unicatt.it]
Les sources sur le meurtre d’Éphialte entre réticence et désinformation

La tradition sur le meurtre d’Éphialtès comprend cinq sources appartenant à des genres littéraires différents (Antiphon, Aristote, Idoménée de Lampsaque, Diodore, Plutarque). Aristote et Plutarque donnent le nom du meurtrier, Aristodicos de Tanagra ; Plutarque (qui cite Aristote) parle d’un complot oligarchique, dont Éphialtès serait tombé victime à cause de son inflexibilité envers les adversaires du peuple.

Idoménée porte contre Périclès l’accusation d’avoir fait tuer son ami et allié par jalousie ; Plutarque, qui nous a transmis le fragment d’Idoménée, ne croit pas à cette version, qui trouve son origine dans l’opposition à Périclès et qui appartient sans doute à la catégorie des fake news.

Antiphon (qui est la source la plus ancienne) et Diodore (qui est le seul vrai « historien ») sont évidemment réticents : à leur avis, le cas resta non résolu. La réticence de ces sources, dont la tendance est anti-démocratique, semble confirmer la version du complot oligarchique.

Réticence et désinformation caractérisent donc la tradition sur le meurtre d’Éphialtès ; cependant, la comparaison avec les sources plus fiables nous permet de proposer une reconstruction convaincante de l’affaire.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Carolyn Dewald, Bard College [dewald@bard.edu]
Was Plutarch right about Herodotus, after all?

Beginning with Plutarch’s *De Herodoti malignitate*, I want to consider once more Plutarch’s most basic question: what exactly did Herodotus have in mind when he wrote his

Histories? What did Herodotus intend us to take away from reading his account of the *erga megala te kai thômasta* of the human past? How does his text further our understanding of that past? I accept the argument that Plutarch's attack on Herodotus' character was historiographically a serious answer to that question, as he in effect accused Herodotus of deliberately being a purveyor of 'fake news'; here I want to go on to explore some underlying features of the text of Herodotus' *Histories*, in form, in content, and in Herodotus' rhetorical construction of his own persona, that made Plutarch's answer seem, to himself at least, more plausible, since these features do seem designed systematically to plunge us, the *Histories*' readers, not just into questioning the motives, character, and actions of important actors in the account, but into a more thoroughgoing interpretive uncertainty as well, about what happened and what it meant.

I will explore individual *logoi* that seem suddenly to reverse their interpretive valence, problematic juxtapositions of *logoi* that seem to argue for the author's use of a rather dark irony, and also larger, over-arching threads that, when put together, seem to contradict or at least problematize the apparent interpretation of meaning that the individual *logoi*, taken individually, contain. I cannot supply an answer to the question of Herodotus' meaning or claim completely to understand myself the pervasiveness of ambiguity and paradox in his *Histories*, but I hope that lively discussion will follow.

Slot 14: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Francesco Mari, Freie Universität Berlin [francesco.mari@fu-berlin.de]

Marcellinus' genealogy of the Philaids and the role of Cimon Coalemos reconsidered

This paper deals with purposeful misinformation about the history of the Athenian family of the Philaids arguably circulated by Cimon via the work of Pherecydes in 5th-century Athens. Despite several textual difficulties, Marcellinus' narrative in the first paragraphs of his *Vita Thucydidis* represents a valuable source not only for assessing the extent of such deliberate distortions, but also for investigating their underlying causes. Both at the beginning and at the end of his opening section (§ 3–14), Marcellinus claims to be reading Didymus, whose explicit source would in turn be Pherecydes. It is surely from Pherecydes that Didymus takes the genealogy of the Philaids from the mythical age up to Miltiades the Elder (§ 3), which (after an excursus whose source is clearly Herodotus: § 4–8) continues down to Miltiades the Younger, Cimon's father (§ 9–14).

After long debates, scholars now seem to acknowledge Pherecydes to have been Cimon's contemporary and to have actively taken part with his work in the cultural activities that the latter sponsored¹. Pherecydes' highly simplified genealogy of the Philaids would then have been elaborated and purposefully diffused to provide Cimon with autochthonous mythical ancestors as well as with a more straightforward historical pedigree, one that hides his father Miltiades' belonging to an acquired and rather obscure branch of the family and links him more directly to prestigious 6th-century Athenians, such the conqueror of the Chersonese (Miltiades the Elder) or the archon under whom the Panathenaic Games were introduced (Hippocleides).

This paper claims that such assumptions might be partially inaccurate, since (despite a textual corruption at § 9) Marcellinus' text does account for Miltiades the Younger only being related to Miltiades the Elder on his mother's side. What the text does not account for, and no textual emendation can possibly provide, is the name nor the very existence of Cimon's grandfather: Cimon son of Stesagoras, the uterine brother of Miltiades the

Elder, who was later to be referred to as Coalemos (“the Foolish”). From Herodotus’ more accurate genealogical narrative (VI 38, 103), we know that, having been exiled from Athens by Pisistratus, Cimon had to pay a high price to secure his readmission into the town. Shortly afterwards, he was killed in dubious circumstances. As for his younger son Miltiades, we know that he took a Pisistratid wife and became the Athenian archon for 524/3 BC (Dion. Hal. VII 3,1). The lack of further details in Herodotus’ narrative makes it difficult to ascertain how these events were related. Together with his diminishing epithet, however, the fact that Cimon was ruled out of the Philaid genealogy produced within his own grandchild’s entourage hints at the latter’s attempt to clear his ancestry of uncomfortable relationships with the tyrants. In turn, this path of enquiry leads to a thorough reappraisal of the role played by Cimon Coalemos under Pisistratus, and as a consequence of the relationship between the tyrant and Cimon’s brother, Miltiades the Elder.

¹ Cf. P. Dolcetti, *Ferocide di Atene. Testimonianze e frammenti*, Alessandria 2004, p. 30–31.

Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

William S. Morison, Grand Valley State University, morisonw@gvsu.edu
Kritias of Athens and oligarchic propaganda in late fifth-century Athens

Kritias of Athens is infamous as a leader in the oligarchy of the Thirty in 404/3 BCE, but I argue that he was also a leading antidemocratic propagandist. Among the fragments of Kritias’ works, for example, an elegiac poem on Sparta and his “constitutions” of Thessaly, Athens, and Sparta may be read as promoting oligarchy. In these works, Kritias illustrates the superiority of the Spartan constitution and the corrupt and dissolute nature of Athenian democracy, in order to influence his fellow Athenian aristocrats as well as to flatter the Spartans. The content and poetic genre of these works are suggestive of performance at the oligarchic *hetaireiai* of Athens. He also composed similar works in prose. Kritias’ role as propagandist, I also argue, is reflected in the character Kritias’ appearance Plato’s *Timaeus*-Kritias as the narrator of an allegedly historical Primeval Athens with its separate warrior-caste, focused on a regimented agricultural and artisanal economy that roughly approximates the historical Kritias’ own view of an idealized, oligarchic Sparta. An indication of Kritias’ antidemocratic attitude may be seen in Plutarch’s anecdote that Kritias warned Lysander that as long as Athens remained a democracy, Spartan rule in Greece would not be safe (*Alk.* 38).

[PANEL 8] SHAPING ROMAN IDENTITY: SELF PERCEPTION AND ITS TENSIONS IN
ANCIENT BIOGRAPHY

[Wednesday]

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Carlo Pelloso, University of Verona – University of Padua

Quirites and Populus Romanus: new identities and old figures in archaic legal formulas

My paper will at first be devoted to limit the legal status of the so-called *quirites*. If the foundation by Romulus unifies the previous quiritary reality as an army and as a people, and so the kingdom goes to include in itself the system of the *curiae*, it is clear that the *quirites*, within the new system of reference, do not seem to be neither the *cives* 'tout court' of the republican age, nor the freemen in the etymological sense of the law of Numa. Moreover, the sign '*quirites*' does not originally indicate the '*Sabini*', nor the 'members of a unitary pre-Servian organizational system', nor the Roman citizens (whether 'warriors' or 'patricians'), nor the 'Romans' ethnically connoted as such. More precisely, from the analysis of the *extra-formulam* uses of the noun at issue, its non-ethnic meaning in the sense of 'male *puberi*' actively taking part at the *populus Romanus* (that is, endowed with the 'capacity to act under public law') has emerged with predominant frequency both in civil contexts and, albeit secondarily, in military contexts. *Quirites* seem to be the only part of 'citizens' to whom kings, magistrates and priests (or their auxiliaries) officially and formally approach in the main institutional, if not solemn, frames. *Quirites*, in short, cannot be reduced to the *homines liberi* of the origins, if the latter sign stands only for those who directly belong to the people, including those who do not actively participate in the popular assemblies, as for instance a *pater familias* before his puberty. *Quirites* does not overlap with *cives* because whoever, albeit citizen, is excluded from popular *comitia* and army cannot be invoked as one of the *quirites*.

Secondly, as for the archaic formula *Populus Romanus Quiritium*, given the oldest meaning of *populus* as army, the genitive *quiritium* concerns the subjects that take part at the new Roman army itself (and not to an over-category including the *populus*). With regard to different formula *Populus Romanus Quirites*, once excluded the hypothesis of a proto-formula *Populus Quiritium Quirites* (since before the foundation of Rome neither a *populus*-army of *quirites* nor a *populus*-'people' of *quirites* existed), it has been read as a totalizing phrase: the Roman *populus* appears as an *exercitus* (primary meaning) and as a people in a non-military sense (derived yet coessential sense), being both overlapping the quiritary body. The foundation imprints a centralization under the banner of unity, but the formulas make it clear that the pre-existing pluralistic system of *quirites* remains in the *regnum* without dissolving in the abstract entity 'people'. If it is true that historically in the sign *populus* the military connotation prevails whereas from the sign *quirites* the non-military one emerges, the formulaic juxtaposition reorients the first pole in a civil sense and the second one in a military sense: on the one hand, the pre-civic *quirites* overlooks the institutions of an army and an assembly, on the other hand, the *quirites* found and integrate both the functions of the Roman *populus*. Contrary to the centuriated people the pre-Servian *quirites*, at the same time and distinctly, is both an extra-urban army, and a urban assembly for a conservative founding impulse.

On the one hand, Rome is a new legal, political, religious and military reality, including and developing the earlier civic quiritarian system; on the other hand, a new and

more striking element of novelty emerges, i.e. the Roman army: against the backdrop of the structural and functional bivalence of the ‘new’ *populus* to which correspond two coinciding figures (the army and the assembly), the ‘ancient’ *status* of the *quiritis* rises, rewritten and recontextualized, as the foundation of a new identity.

Ália Rodrigues, University of Coimbra

Roman Self-Perception and Maiestas. The Legal Reification of a Changing Political Concept in the Late Republic

This paper explores Roman political self-perception through changes that occurred in Roman law between the Late Republic and Early Empire, by focusing on the development of the idea of *maiestas* both as a concept and as a crime. In particular, this paper examines the interaction between literary sources about *maiestas* and its emergence in legal discourse, together with the motivations for its relatively late adoption in criminal law.

Generally speaking, *maiestas* (literally “greatness”) implies a status of superiority that can be applied to gods, Roman institutions and its citizens (e.g. *pater familias*, *populus romanus*, and *res publica*). It was later applied to the Emperor and, eventually, to the Christian God. Despite its importance in the political sphere, this idea mostly appears in literary sources such as Cicero, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Livy, Ovid and Tacitus, and was rarely mentioned by other canonical authors such as Virgil, Caesar and Sallust (Gaudemet, 1964). The first unified Roman law of treason was a relatively late development; it was likely defined in 103/100 BC as *crimen minutae* (or *laesae*) *maiestatis*—or simply *maiestas*. However, despite the gravity of its sanctions—which included death or banishment—the definition of *maiestas* remained conveniently vague and broad enough to include undefined cases (Seager, 2001), and it was mostly intended to keep elites under control (Harries, 2007). Scholars also agree that the fact that neither republican nor imperial jurists dedicated special attention to this crime clearly indicates that *maiestas* had mainly political (and religious) implications and resonances (Gaudemet, 1964; Bauman, 1967; Ando, 2011).

I will argue that the legal reification of the concept of *maiestas* emerged as a political response to a series of internal changes that influenced domestic politics in the late Republic. Consequently, the gradual integration of this concept in the legal discourse contributed to the re-shaping and crystallization of a specific version of Roman identity.

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Slot 4: 4:40 - 5:30pm

Davide Morelli, «Sapienza» – Università di Roma

Shaping Roman identity as exemplum in Plutarch's Aemilius Paullus

Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paullus* depicts a particular character. Not only, in fact, does Paullus seem to be the heir of a long tradition, which puts the *gens Aemilia* and its very birth in the hands of Italo-Pythagoreanism; but also, single actions and behaviours of the Roman aristocrat, as narrated in Polybius and Livy, demonstrate with good probability Pythagorean influences on him. Plutarch gathered these behaviours and, by collecting and emphasizing them, focused his biography on an almost Pythagorean characterisation of Aemilius Paullus.

The most important of these characteristics are, among others: the relationship between Τύχη and human sphere; the Pythagorean πολυμαθία; the consideration of ὁμόνοια. These aspects can also be simple Greek considerations on Paullus (Polybius is the most probable beginner for this tradition), but they can hardly reflect something totally different from the historical reality, which in this case could be very interesting for a IInd c. BC Roman aristocrat. The historiographical analysis - as Reiter's monography on Paullus, other works on Roman imperialism and philhellenism (Gruen, Harris, Ferrary), and studies on Roman Pythagoreanism (Ferrero, Humm) - hasn't openly pointed out this aspect of Paullus' characterisation.

The paper aims to briefly discuss these characteristics inherited from the Greek world (and in particular from Italo-Pythagorean tradition) and contextualise them in the sources, starting from Polybius and arriving to Plutarch's biography. In the end, I will try to locate Plutarch's position in this tradition, and point out which could be his additions (or modifications) to the biographical characterisation of Paullus and which, on the contrary, should possibly be reflections, in his biographical work, of historical aspects. This can help in defining a model of shaping Roman (past) identity by the *exempla* put in the *Life* of one of the most important political and military characters of Republican Rome.

Joaquim Pinheiro, Madeira University

The greco-roman synkrisis and the construction of identity in Plutarch's Lives of Philopomen-Flamininus

The biographical pair *Philop.-Flam.* is the only one, in the biographical corpus of Plutarch, in which the two heroes are contemporaries. This has undoubtedly some consequences in the way the two are compared. Therefore, our paper will seek to identify and analyse the internal relations and, in particular, the final *synkrisis*. In fact, Plutarch combines, in the biographical narrative, the Hellenic decline and the expansion of the Roman Empire, oscillating between *philonikia* and *philotimia*, between historical facts and ethical interpretation. Therefore, these thematic elements are extremely revealing in an analysis about Greco-Roman identity.

[Thursday]

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Kelly Nguyen, Brown University

What's in a Natio? Rethinking Ethnic Identity in the Roman Empire

Natio is a poorly understood term whose multifaceted meaning ranges from communities with shared traits to those with shared boundaries. As such, *natio* describes an aspect of identity that is defined and redefined as Roman rule reshapes the geopolitical landscape of the provinces. There has been no comprehensive study of *natio* and recent scholarship on related concepts, such as ethnicity, has overlooked its various nuances. This paper proposes to explore the changing connotations of *natio* within the Roman world over the longue durée, from the late 3rd century BCE to the late 2nd century CE. This paper will fall into two parts. In the first part, I assess the historiography of the term and its relationship with related concepts such as ethnicity and identity. This section also provides a brief survey of how *natio* has been employed in Latin literature, from the first extant example in the 3rd century BCE to the high Imperial period. In the second part, I examine auxiliary soldiers and their epigraphic habit in relation to ethnic identity as a case study. Opportunely for our purposes, auxiliary soldiers comprise the largest group to employ the term *natio* within inscriptions, namely epitaphs. By examining how *natio* was deployed over time through different medium and in different contexts, this paper investigates how people from across the socioeconomic spectrum, as well as from different parts of the Roman world, employed the term *natio* and what this suggests about Roman conceptions of group identity. Overall, this paper aims to demonstrate that *natio* was not a one-dimensional static identity, but one that oscillated between emic and etic perceptions, between socio-cultural and geo-political definitions, and between local and global identities.

Federica Lazzerini, University of Oxford

Rome in the mirror: a quest for the past, for a present goal

The 1st century BC, approaching the sunset of the Roman Republic, was an age of distress. Centuries of wars had brought Rome in contact with various civilizations which were now politically and economically tied to the *Urbs*, and its growing (but strained) relationship with the Italic peoples had transformed the fabric of Roman society and the ethnical composition of its elite. As a result, the Roman *nobilitas* was now engaged in a discussion: To what extent should other ethnicities be integrated in the Roman civilization, and what did it ultimately mean to be a Roman?

The great scholar Varro was not impervious to this climate: being himself a Sabine, he was clearly invested in such questions on the Roman identity. From his works (where an antiquarian approach prevails) a preoccupation emerges with reconstructing a portrait of “Roman-ness” for the benefit of his fellow citizens.

In undertaking this task, Varro gave prominence to selected facts and events from historical accounts. His emphasis on the Sabine contribution to the Roman civilization sometimes overrun historical accuracy; but he also stressed the involvement of Etruscans and Greeks and went to great lengths to combine clashing mythological traditions (Aeneas, Hercules, Romulus) into an inclusive account of the origins of the Roman people. This effort is especially visible in his linguistic works; there is reason to believe that he even considered the establishment of Romulus’ asylum – where beseechers and refugees from a multitude of peoples gathered, forming the first core of Roman citizenry – as the very founding event of the Latin language.

I will argue that Varro’s selection of key-events from Rome’s mythological history promotes a narrative in which the Roman people emerges as the product of ethnic,

cultural, and linguistic syncretism; and that this narrative was designed to defend a specific standpoint in the ongoing debate on Roman identity.

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

José Luís Brandão, University of Coimbra
Modes of Roman Identity-Building in Suetonius

In this paper, I aim to explore the metamorphosis and consolidation process of Roman identity in the *Lives of the Caesars* through the analysis of crucial elements such as language, religion, citizenship, clothing, and class consciousness. In particular, I examine the ways in which these elements are employed in the characterization of biographical statesmen, in addition to how they define their policies.

Zsuzsa Varhelyi, Boston University

Self and emperor: the tensions of self-writing between imperial biographies and Seneca's Moral Epistles

In Seneca the Younger's most self-reflective work, his *Moral epistles*, he sets himself up as an example of a good Roman. Such exemplariness is of course a traditional Roman paradigm, but in this paper I argue that Seneca fashions his model self in ways that undermine long-established approaches to self-definition (via history, comparison to other cultures and social status) in particular by engaging the appropriation of Roman identity by emperors. Building on recent literature on exemplarity and its challenges under imperial rule (Langlands 2018, Roller 2018), I investigate Seneca's strategies not only to defend himself and his legacy in the increasingly obvious failure of Neronian rule in the Rome of the 60s CE, but also to maintain some sense of what it means to be a good Roman. My particular focus will be on how Seneca's work contrasts with imperial self-representation, in particular the tradition of imperial biographies (by Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, as well as Agrippina the Younger). Although other than that of Augustus, imperial biographies do not survive in full, they were likely at least somewhat accessible to members of the Roman elite, and together with large-scale representations of imperial rule shaped the self-conceptualizations of individuals, such as Seneca.

[Friday]

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Elisabeth Slingsby, University of Sidney
A King by Any Other Name: Reconsidering Roman Identity in Cornelius Nepos' Lives of Miltiades and Timoleon

In his *Life of Miltiades* and *Life of Timoleon*, Cornelius Nepos wrote that these two Greek generals were given the opportunity to become the sole rulers of their respective communities. Although Miltiades immediately accepts and Timoleon initially declines, both are eventually voted kingly powers, which they exercise justly and benevolently. At the end of these *Lives* however, Miltiades and Timoleon face charges laid by dissatisfied citizens. Should these be considered misguided complaints, or legitimate grievances

which justify the Romans' aversion to sole rule?

My proposed solution to this question rests on an examination of the contrast Nepos draws between tyranny and liberty. While this dichotomy is often present in texts composed during the Triumviral period, the 'tyrant' is rarely as virtuous as Miltiades or Timoleon. In this paper, I contend that Nepos' depiction of two upstanding Greeks, who hold a much maligned system of rule, reflects his thinking about Roman political identity during the shift from Republic to Principate. Specifically, I will focus on Nepos' interpretation of *libertas*, as well as the extent to which his use of such language reflects that of his contemporaries. I will demonstrate that Nepos believed so long as citizen liberty was preserved, the Romans must recognise that a state under an elected sole ruler could not only function, but flourish.

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Eelco Glas, University of Groningen

Shaping Jewish Identity in Flavian Rome: Josephus' Autobiographical Narrative in the Bellum Judaicum

This paper aims to show how Josephus designed his autobiographical narrative in the *Bellum Judaicum* in accordance with literary and rhetorical stock themes demonstrably fashionable in Flavian Rome. By doing so, Josephus attempts to bridge the cultural gap between himself and his Roman audience. He shapes his distinctively and explicitly Jewish identity in the language of Roman culture.

Building upon recent scholarship, this paper takes as its starting point that Josephus wrote his *Bellum* as an intelligent author to communicate with an audience in Flavian Rome. This specific approach provides an excellent vantage point for increasing our understanding of Josephus' intentions with his autobiographical narrative and the literary and rhetorical dynamics underpinning this narrative. The value of this approach will be illustrated by scrutinizing the "tragic" framing of the *Bellum* generally and Josephus' autobiographical narrative specifically. Already in the prologue of the *Bellum* Josephus talks about his actions in tragic terms, and this vocabulary persists in the remainder of the work.

The particular framing of Josephus' autobiographical narrative is in fact something we encounter frequently in Roman and imperial Greek discourse, not in the least among contemporaries such as Plutarch and Quintilian. Josephus' vocabulary is distinctively (provincial) Roman, meant to affect Roman emotions. Tragic themes and vividness – such as the reversals of fortune, detailed descriptions of horrors in war, tragic heroism – were stock themes in Graeco-Roman rhetoric and historiography, particularly advisable in autobiographical discourse. By employing such themes, Josephus invites his Roman audience to think about his character on terms they would both appreciate and understand.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Fabio Faversoni, Federal University of Ouro Preto

Provincials, freedmen and “self-Romanization”: a study on multiple identities in the Roman empire

Our paper analyses the issue of Roman cultural identity considering the role played by provincials and freedmen, particularly those that ascended in the Roman hierarchy and proclaimed themselves as Romans, even if they keep being provincials or former slaves as well. Roman Empire was a multicultural empire, and binary oppositions revealed to be insufficient to understand complex situations when individuals or groups manipulated multiple identities for themselves. These cases invite to think about Romanization beyond the bidirectional relationships of acculturation and resistances. In our analysis, we will focus mainly on the “biographies” of Trimalchio, by Petronius, and Agricola, by Tacitus.

Sérgio Ferreira, University of Coimbra

Comparison between slavery and other power relations in Roman society: Contribution to the study of the proslavery side of Roman identity

This study analyses the comparisons that different authors establish between the relation of the master to the slave and that of the god to the men, the king to the subjects, the general to the soldiers, the husband to the wife, and the father to the son. It seeks to demonstrate that the differences are more clearly marked in Greek culture. In the mid-fifth century, they are shed because of the archaic family structure. Later, they are now reflecting fragmentary views of slavery that derive from the prejudices with which the dominant strata looked to the slaves, now fit into a more comprehensive view of the obligation / devotion dichotomy in the relationship between the master and the slave.

Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Stefan E. A. Wagner, Independent Scholar

Augustus, The Res Gestae and Early Imperial Ruler Portraiture: How a Self Representation strategy was forged

My paper is an interdisciplinary survey and deals with a field of classical studies, where the step by step formation of Roman identity through concurrence of different influences can be grasped in a very obvious and therefore amazing way: it deals with the emergence of early imperial ruler portrait under Octavian Augustus and his early successors. The focus of the analysis is on the Primaporta statue, which clearly shows how the newly founded empire was given a ruler portrait intentionally constructed out of hellenistic elements, for example the juvenility that showed kings as Antiochus VI. (144-142 B.C.) on his famous and excellent coin portraits. Another element that was transferred into Roman ruler portrait iconography was the sun ray crown („Strahlenaureole“), which became a constituent feature in many Roman Ruler portraits even after the end of the Claudian dynasty.

The paper wants to reach three objectives: First: Working out clearly the Early Imperial representation strategy by incorporating all sources (biographical texts like Sueton,

Plutarch etc. as well as archaeological material). Second: Analysing the question to which extent early Roman ruler portraiture and political representation consists out of foreign, namely Hellenistic influences, and: Third: Discussing the most interesting question to which extent the newly forged Augustan ruler portrait and self-representation strategy became part of the Roman political identity over the times, until the final fall of the empire.

Helen Kaufmann, University of Oxford
Roman identity in Latin verse autobiography

Latin verse autobiography provides a unique insight into how Roman poets wished to represent themselves to their readers. As a literary form it is only attested at two moments in the history of the Roman empire, and that in a rather small number of poems. Its first peak coincided with Augustus' rule in Rome when Horace (*Letters*1,20), Propertius (1,22) and Ovid (*Tristia*4,10) each closed a book of their poetry with sketches of their respective lives. The late Roman Empire in the West saw its second bloom when a number of poets introduced their collections of poetry by autobiographies (Ausonius, *Preface*1; Prudentius, *Preface*1) or recounted their lives within praises of God (Paulinus of Pella, *Eucharisticos*) or of saints (Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen*21,365–487, Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Martini*4,621–680).

In this paper, I will first analyse the markers used by the Augustan poets to represent themselves, for example, geographical and social origins, education, civic roles and then compare these findings with the evidence of the late antique poems. It will emerge that the Christian poets developed the genre in such a way that they present their lives as part of God's or a saint's story while – in most cases – continuing to use secular markers such as offices and status. In fact, I will argue that in Latin verse autobiography, secular and Christian aspects of Roman identities complement each other in a similar way to how local origins relate to the Roman empire: Christianity and the Roman empire function as frames for the secular aspects of life and local origins respectively, the Roman empire mostly as a common background that is hardly mentioned, Christianity, by contrast, as a prominent marker of difference.

Slot 16: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Lautaro R. Lanzillota
Cláudia Teixeira

Shaping Roman Identity: Self Perception and its tensions in Ancient Biography

Slot 5: 9:00 - 9:50am

Aldo Tagliabue, University of Notre Dame (US)

Dreams, Gardens and Inset-Stories in Longus' Daphnis and Chloe: Revisiting the Role of Religion in the Second Sophistic

Within the 'politics' of the Second Sophistic, Greek religion and gods are usually considered to be in service to other themes; they are either a marker of Greek identity (Perkins 1995, 49), a key component of sexuality (Zeitlin 2008, 101-103), or a cipher for the authors' ephrastic or literary sophistication (Morgan 1994, 75). This subordinate role of religion is somewhat surprising, since the first centuries of the Imperial Era are characterized by major innovations in the field of religion, such as the rise of new transcendent Greek gods like Asclepius, and the development of both mystery cults and Christianity. In this paper, a narratological analysis of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* will suggest that in the Second Sophistic religion may acquire a more independent and *theological* function. The sections of the narrative focused on Eros introduce readers to a different view of the novel that goes beyond human temporality and is both providential and divine-like. Morgan 1996 has convincingly interpreted *Daphnis and Chloe* as a *Bildungsroman* that culminates in the protagonists' understanding of Eros as the principle of both human sexuality and nature. I will first argue that the education to Eros discussed by Morgan does not concern the readers of this novel: although the protagonists' *Bildung* is narrated sequentially, the readers are distanced from it by their previous experience of love and their acquaintance with earlier erotic poetry quoted by Longus.

Second, I will suggest that the novel engages and possibly educates its readers at a different level. Specific sections within *Daphnis and Chloe*, namely dreams, inset-stories and gardens, all introduce views of the protagonists' life that are non-sequential. Dreams offer a brief and comprehensive view of their life as controlled by Eros, as a result of which readers acquire a providential perspective on the novel. Similarly, Eros' speech to Philetas in Book 2 introduces both a comprehensive and retrospective view of the protagonists' life in which the same god is in control from its very beginning. Finally, I read the inset-stories and the description of Dionysophanes' garden as counterfactual versions of the protagonists' lives, in which Pan replaces Eros' dominant role among the gods. All of these sections invite readers to look at the entire novel as a religious story in which Eros belongs at the center. Strikingly, in all of these non-sequential sections, the narrative stresses that Daphnis and Chloe lack understanding of these divine-like views: this repeated pattern is a further confirmation that the novel has a special intent in offering its readers a theological education.

At the end of the paper, I will argue in favor of a new vision of 'politics' within the Second Sophistic, one in which religion does not merely function in the service of other themes, such as identity, sexuality and literary sophistication, but has its own independent theological function. This argument will be supported by brief reference to texts like Aristides' *Sacred Tales*, Apuleius' *Cupid and Psyche*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. I will also suggest that the aforementioned subordination of religion may be the result of a bias in the present understanding of the 'politics' of the Second Sophistic, which reflects the divide between the disciplines of classics and religious studies.

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Inger Neeltje Irene Kuin, Dartmouth College (US)

Lucian the Lovable Misfit and the Constraints of the Second Sophistic Label

In the introduction to their 2017 *Oxford Handbook to the Second Sophistic* Daniel Richter and William Johnson suggest a ‘laundry list’ of typical characteristics of the Second Sophistic as a cultural era, including nostalgia, archaism and purity of language, performance, playfulness, elite *paideia*, and identity. These characteristics, they argue, are ‘good to think with’. In his BMCR review of the volume Martin Korenjak countered that these characteristics are ‘sufficiently vague to be ascribed with equal justification to all periods of Greek or any other culture’; he goes on to argue, perhaps rather harshly, that the Second Sophistic label ‘explains nothing and, worse, highlights certain fashionable facets in a way that detracts attention from the great amount of fundamental research that remains to be done in the field’.

Against this background Lucian of Samosata has been equal parts poster child and misfit of the Second Sophistic. Few authors of the second century CE are as persistently playful and explicitly identity-conscious as he is. At the same time, his insistence on performing dialogues rather than declamations, and, more importantly, his acerbic lampooning of the rhetorical culture of his contemporaries place him on the margins of the movement. In this paper I will argue, taking my cue from Korenjak, that in fact the application of the Second Sophistic label to Lucian has detracted attention from two fundamental aspects of his works.

From Lactantius to Leopardi up to Allinson, Highet, and Renan, religion was the focal point of Lucianic reception. The reason for this is almost too obvious to state: a disproportionately large number of Lucian’s dialogues feature the gods as interlocutors, and many more pieces deal in detail with religious practices and practitioners. Conversely, in the past 50 years--the same period that saw the emergence of Second Sophistic studies--religion has been severely understudied in Lucian scholarship. Simon Goldhill has noted the low levels of interest in religion in recent scholarship on the Second Sophistic generally; in my paper I will explore, specifically in relation to Lucian, why this might be so.

Another fundamental aspect of Lucian’s works that stands in tension to the Second Sophistic label is their initial reception as pieces for popular performance. The dominant view of the Second Sophistic as an elite, hyper-literary culture has caused Lucian’s works to be interpreted primarily as texts written by a member of the elite and read by other members of the elite. Lucian, however, explicitly presents his performances as public events catering to the few *and* the many. The second aim of this paper will be to trace why elite culture became such a pronounced feature of the Second Sophistic as a category, and to suggest an alternative view whereby the literature from the period, Lucian in particular, might be integrated more fully in the popular culture of the Roman Empire.

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Isidor Brodersen, Universität Duisburg-Essen [isidor.brodersen@uni-due.de]

Lucian’s Literary Games: Playing with the Past, Playing with Politics

When Philostratus coined the “Second Sophistic” in his *Vitae sophistarum*, he made no mention of Lucian of Samosata. In a way, this is understandable: Lucian is hardly a typical *pepaideumenos* of his time. We have no knowledge whether he ever actually made a speech, and in many of his texts, it seems unlikely that the first-person narrator is

to be identified with the author, making it hard to distil facts of Lucian's life with any certainty from his work (cf. BAUMBACH 2017, 13–57; RICHTER 2017, 328).

There can be little doubt, however, that his texts are important sources for our understanding of Imperial Greek literature. Accordingly, in recent years, much has been made of Lucian's identity as a Syrian, a Greek, or a Roman citizen (cf. e.g. SWAIN 1996; RICHTER 2017). Rather than trying to identify the elusive individual perspective of the author, this presentation seeks to shift the focus to the recipients and ask what we can learn about their position within the world of the Second Sophistic. In order to understand the linguistic and literary politics of these texts, their cultural surroundings provide at least as much light as the author's identity.

The authorial figure of Lucian, at first glance, does not concern himself with the politics of the day. Broadly speaking, his interests are linguistic and literary: When he does mention politics or Roman emperors in passing, as in *Hist. Conscr.*, it mostly serves as background for his intellectual endeavours. Thus, his stance toward Roman rule is unclear (cf. SWAIN 1996, 312–329). Here, again, it is important not to believe everything a first-person narrator has to say. For example, in *Alex.* 55, the narrator purports to be friends with a Roman governor. However, to infer from this that the historical Lucian himself moved in these circles (e.g. VICTOR 1997), is problematic at least (cf. BRODERSEN 2018). But in keeping with recent scholarship, this need not be a problem.

The politics of Lucian's texts are mostly those of the Greek intellectual elite, and they focus on Greek literature and culture. Of course, linguistics and themes which a *pepaideumenos* of the Second Sophistic was expected to employ are firmly rooted in classical Athens and its Attic dialect. In the *corpus Lucianicum*, this is often presented tongue-in-cheek: Lucian's linguistic texts such as the *Rhetorum praeceptor* (cf. ZWEIMÜLLER 2008) and the *Iudicium vocalium* are fine satirical reflexes of contemporary linguistic tendencies. Likewise, there are texts that take aim at literary or intellectual fashions of the day: In *De mercede conductis* (cf. HAFNER 2017), *Adversus indoctum*, and others, Lucian offers a critique of would-be intellectuals, and in *Alexander*, the butt of the joke are not only the gullible followers of Alexander's oracle, but the Epicureans as well.

It seems, therefore, that Lucian is standing by the sidelines, watching his contemporaries but always staying above the fray. It is just this posture which allows Lucian's audience to position themselves within Imperial Greek society. In reading Lucian's texts, the audience is given a key to placing themselves alongside him: If not in reality, at least in conduct, self-presentation as a true intellectual and distancing oneself from would-be peers is possible. This becomes even clearer when we look at the whole corpus rather than individual texts. Lucian's virtuosic deployment of intellectual humour, playing with the classics, invites his audience to play along.

However, this must not be understood as detachment from politics, as the Second Sophistic has often been seen in the past. Rather, it is an inherently active way of taking part in political, societal and intellectual discourse. Thus, while it may be impossible to ascertain Lucian's personal standing within the politics of the 2nd century or the Second Sophistic, it is nonetheless possible to read his texts as commentary on the linguistic and literary politics of the day.

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Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Michele Solitario, Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen

The Politics of Paradox in the Second Sophistic: Plutarch’s Gryllus, Dio’s Trojan Discourse and Lucian’s Parasite

The Second Sophistic is known for its multifarious relationship between rhetoric, sophistry and philosophy. Accordingly, in the last decades scholars have focused on the interaction between these disciplines in the literary production of single authors, trying to outline specific tendencies within the shared cultural framework. Particular attention has been devoted to the performances of sophists, to the rhetorical character of philosophical teaching, and to linguistic or stylistic peculiarities (e.g., Atticism). My paper will focus on an often-neglected literary phenomenon of this time: the taste for paradox. In this regard, I will consider three specific examples from different authors.

Plutarch’s *Gryllus* portrays Odysseus on the isle of Circe, as he tries to recast his companions, who have previously been transformed into pigs, in their former human shape. Thereby, Odysseus engages in a debate with one of them, Gryllus, who resists the hero’s intention by explaining the several advantages that the animal condition entails compared to the human one. Thus, the dialogue opens space for critical thoughts about the intellectual and cultural authority, i.e. about the heavy emphasis on language and rhetoric as central constituents of *paideia* and consequently of elite identity.

Similarly, Dio’s *Trojan Discourse* starts from the provocative assumption that Troy was not actually seized by Greeks, but they were rather defeated by Trojans. In doing so, the author questions the reliability of Homer, who was traditionally considered the foremost Greek cultural authority. Moreover, by reversing one of the well-known episodes of the Greek legendary history, Dio triggers a critical consideration of the Greek past, which had indeed a sensible resonance in the contemporary political situation under Roman domination and in view of the new wider circulation of Greek education as well.

Finally, I shall consider Lucian’s *Parasite*. It is a bizarre dialogue between Tychiades and Simon, who succeeds in proving that parasitism is the highest of all art forms. More specifically, he demonstrates that the parasitic technique requires a higher degree of skills and knowledge compared to those learnt in any philosophical school, and that the related lifestyle is preferable to that of any philosopher. Thus, Lucian criticizes the vain preten-

sions of all philosophical schools: through their contrasting ideas, they have undermined the paideutic function traditionally ascribed to philosophy, consequently making her appear as an abstract accumulation of complex and ridiculous concepts.

A parallel study of these works points out the particular use of paradox involved. It is not just a rhetorical refutation (*anaskeuē*) to attack the credibility of a myth or legend from an opposite view as it is described in the *Progymnasmata*. Nor is it a mere literary *lusus*, conceived to entertain the public and to show the rhetorical dexterity of the orator. I will rather show that paradox in these texts performs the function of a didactic instrument, as it deploys a strategy of antidogmatic acculturation in the Greek cultural heritage. Accordingly, it is important to highlight that Plutarch does not claim anywhere that animals are superior to humans in their intellectual ability. Similarly, Dio accepts Homer as a model and teacher in many other essays, whereas Lucian never takes position against philosophy *per se*, which he still regards as an essential discipline. None of the three authors uses paradox in order to deny any value to culture: they rather encourage to reconsider the value of traditional *paideia* from an unusual and challenging perspective.

In sum, these works give an efficient parodic response to the pedantic behavior of the *pepaideumenoi*, who proclaimed their intellectual and cultural authority and made *paideia* a means of self-assertion and empowerment. In this regard, I will elucidate the possible recipients of these texts, the plausible reaction of the audience and, above all, the common strategies used by the authors to solicit the hermeneutic capacity of their addressees, which appears to be the sign of a shared cultural policy of the paradox.

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Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Anna Peterson, The Pennsylvania State University
Alciphron's Letters and the Politics of Comic Space

Alciphron's *Letters* confront the reader with a world in which life is hard, happiness fleeting, and desires are left unfulfilled. Although the original organization of the work is unclear, it has been divided by modern editors into four books according to the occu-

pation of the letter writers— fishermen (Book 1), farmers (Book 2), parasites (Book 3), and courtesans (Book 4). It is often observed that the work has much in common with other “sophistic literature” of the period, from the ways in which it repurposes material from earlier literature—most notably New Comedy but also pastoral poetry, mime, and the novel—to the imaginary landscape of Classical Attica that it presents. Since many of the letters are left unanswered, readers must imagine the response for themselves and thus experience in the words of Patricia Rosenmeyer (2004: 280) the “intellectual delight of pretending to be back in the *locus classicus* of Menander’s Athens.”

But what view of fourth-century Attica do these letters in fact create? References to the space inhabited by these characters are interspersed throughout the work. These details have typically been treated as little more than a backdrop intended to imbue the letters with the “*effect du réel*.” Yet the so-called “spatial turn” in the study of ancient literature has brought about an increasing awareness both of the dynamic role that space assumes in literature and of how literature contributes to the production of “cultural spaces” (Fitzgerald and Spentzou 2018). As a range of recent studies have shown, spatial descriptions are more than just a backdrop for the action; rather, they represent “dynamic and multilayered social constructs” in which meaning is created and negotiated by individuals through the variety of ways that they experience a given space (cf. Gilhuly and Worman 2014). This is particularly prominent in the *Letters*, where, as I argue, space becomes a vehicle for exploring and ultimately destabilizing the elite literary culture of the period.

This paper begins from the premise that reading the *Letters* through the lens of our conventional understanding of the Second Sophistic has obscured the socio-economic complexities of the work, which a spatially focused reading helps to elucidate. One theme that runs throughout the corpus is the difference between rural and urban space. A polarity between city and countryside is common in ancient literature and one that, as Ralph Rosen and Ineke Sluiter (2006) note, represented “a sliding scale” onto which issues of politics, culture, and progress were often mapped. The characters of the *Letters* frequently focalize their socio-economic concerns around the spaces they inhabit or hope to. Life is presented as equally hard in the city and in the country, and the text precludes an obvious “spatial organization of value.” Although the *Letters* are ostensibly entertainment pieces, the repeated emphasis placed on the character’s struggles lays bare a harsh reality that is often glossed over by the idealized literary constructs of Alciphron’s models.

This has important ramifications for how we understand Alciphron’s repurposing of his New Comic material. Although Menander is said to have never left Athens, the geographical horizons of his plays can be broad—*Sikyonoi*, *Epitrepontes*, and *Imbrioi* each take place outside of Attica. Moreover, his works had a long history of being exported all over the ancient Mediterranean world both as plays to be performed and as a subject matter for the statuary, frescos, and mosaics that graced elite homes (Nervegna 2013). In contrast, Alciphron constructs a much narrower comic world, one that is located exclusively in Attica. Space in this context thus becomes a further reflection of how Alciphron handles the hypotexts with which he is working. In particular, the exclusively Attic setting brings into relief the degree to which these letters both re-Atticize and re-orient a comic tradition that had become diffuse in terms of where and the ways in which it could be deployed.

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Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Stephen Trzaskoma, University of New Hampshire
Subaltern Elites? Ideological and Political Dimensions of Novelistic Protagonists

The elite nature of the couples that take center stage in the plots of the extant Greek novels is obvious and much commented upon, as is, with the exception of the case of Longus' protagonists, the emphasis on the loss of that status during the adventures that take place. Even *Daphnis & Chloe* is only an apparent exception—each member of the couple falls from high society as an infant and regains it in the final book, meaning that the basic framework is maintained even if the mechanism and timing differs from the other novels.

In this paper, I briefly explore the nature and ideological dimensions of expulsion from the *beau monde* and the characters' subsequent interactions with the machinery of power in the societies the novels depict. My interest is twofold: first, to discern the major narrative patters around those encounters; second, to determine whether the division of the novels into pre-sophistic and sophistic is reflected therein. In other words, can we trace a distinctly Second Sophistic political concern in the later novels?

[Friday]

Slot 11: 9:00 - 9:50am

Estelle Strazdins, University of Cambridge
The Hero of Marathon? Herodes Atticus' Material 'Second Sophistic'

This paper will (re)consider the efficacy of the 'Second Sophistic' as a) a frame for analyzing imperial Greek culture beyond literature; b) a political strategy within the Greek-culture / Roman-power dynamic; c) a phenomenon that cannot be fully appreciated without examining the futuring aspirations of its expression.

It will focus on Herodes Atticus' material engagement with the cultural memory and historical tradition of the Persian Wars, the famous battles of which were important

ideologically to both Greeks and Romans in the imperial age (Spawforth 1994; Jung 2006). On the one hand, Greeks used these events as exempla of resistance to foreign powers from the fourth century BCE onwards; on the other, Roman governance turned that disruptive potential into one of unification, equating barbarian threats beyond the empire's borders with the Persian threat seen off by the 'classical' Greeks.

Concurrently, Rome promoted classical Athenians and Spartans, who formed the primary resistance to Darius and Xerxes, as positive role models for Roman Greeks in their maintenance of manly vigor despite being rich in culture. This apparently formed part of a larger Roman impetus to keep provincial Greeks focused on their *polis*-based past and ancient territorial rivalries as a means of control (Spawforth 2012). In the culture of the eastern empire, however, references to the Persian Wars were always loaded with the potential to be interpreted subversively instead of as a dutiful expression of collective imperial belonging.

Herodes Atticus employs this interpretative ambiguity to his benefit by manipulating artefacts, monuments, and memorial landscapes associated with the Battle of Marathon in 490 BCE to create a framework for his own commemoration. The kinds of messages he sets in stone, moreover, are provocative in the context of the Roman empire and reveal an interest in his future memory that surpasses his concern for his standing in either contemporary Athens or the empire at large.

Focusing on Herodes' redeployment of casualty lists from the Marathon *Soros* to his Peloponnesian villa at Loukou and his arrangement of a triad of portrait busts of himself, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus at the Sanctuary of Rhamnousian Nemesis, I will demonstrate that: a) the play with tradition and innovation, whereby the past is emulated, repurposed, and contested, that is a feature of 'Second Sophistic' literature is also a trait of Roman Greek material art; b) the fascination with classical Hellenism evident in 'Second Sophistic' cultural output is regularly used to create a context for personal commemoration and is thus aimed as much at posterity as the present; c) granting imperial Greeks a stake in the future empowers their cultural and political messages in the present.

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Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Maria Vamvouri, University of Lausanne

Multi-local and In-between Identities in Second Sophistic Literature of Exile. A Greek Answer to Roman Power?

According to Tim Whitmarsh (2001), early Imperial works on exile position themselves against the literary tradition of democratic Athens while at the same time evincing a competitive and combative relationship to Roman power. My paper goes a step further by examining the specific philosophical proposals and discursive devices through which treatises on exile by Musonius, Dio, Plutarch, and Favorinus undermine the autocratic power of emperors who banish their enemies. I show that in all these texts, those in exile have to adopt a de-centralized position in order to balance and put into perspective their condition and their identities. The exiled individual thus stands between two realities and endorses different provisional identities, which are constantly re-invented. This in-betweenness and the peripheral positioning it creates are responses to unilateral confinement and exclusion, but they also highlight the plural vision an individual might adopt in a multi-cultural world. Thus, while the construction of multi-local and de-centered identities within the discourse reflects the social reality of cosmopolitization (Moatti 2007), it also conceals a critical stance both towards the closure of space experienced by the banished, and towards the regime responsible for the exile.

I will also explore these texts' meaningful silences about contemporary policies related to displacement and exile. The failure to mention the Roman present observed in writings on exile imply a competitive and combative relationship not only to Roman power, but also to the sophisticated legal system and policy that regulated social status in the Roman Empire, including that of the exile. The treatises on exile, like the philosophical currents in which they are inscribed or by which they are inspired, offer a counterpoint to the laws and policies that sought to control mobility, citizenship, and social identities, and represent a particular response to the administrative system that implemented those restrictions.

The critical and subversive elements that are skilfully concealed in the exile literature of

the early principate are, I believe, what permits them to be appropriately treated as part of the “Second Sophistic”, if we understand ‘sophistic’ as recalling the way in which the classical sophists rejected transcendent truths and subverted traditional views (Jarratt 1987). To describe the Imperial writings on exile as “Second Sophistic” literature implies that they bring certain tensions to light in their subversive responses to the social realities of Roman power.

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Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Aitor Blanco Pérez, University of Navarra [ablancop@unav.es]
The Second Sophistic and Roman Onomastics

Names are fundamental for assessing the spread of Roman citizenship in the Empire. The eastern provinces under Rome's rule saw an increase in the number of Greek-speaking individuals enfranchised: soldiers, athletes, and, naturally, intellectuals.

On his way to address the Asian Council in Pergamum, a 2nd century AD author recounts how he had a dream following a visit to a temple of Apollo in Mysia. Telesphorus, the son of Asklepios, had appeared to him carrying a letter with oracles previously given for a girl called Philoumene and copied from her entrails. In the reverie, a vision of healthy and diseased intestines served to explain the recurrent stomach ache of the writer, his divine salvation but also revealed the inscription of his own name: Αἴλιος Ἀριστείδης (*Orat.* LI [*Sacred Tales* V] 22-25). Even if Aelius Aristides is one of the most prolific authors of the so-called 'Second Sophistic' the record of his full anthroponym in both his works and later compilations such as Philostratus' *Lives* and the *Suda* became rather exceptional. Indeed, there is only one other instance in which the sequence Aelius Aristides appears and it is connected to another letter, in this case sent to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (*Orat.* XIX 1). By contrast, one honorific statue base probably from Smyrna and set up by a group of Egyptian Hellenes records in full a Πόπλιος Αἴλιος Ἀριστείδης Θεόδωρος. The first three elements of the sequence must correspond to a Roman citizen referred to with his *tria nomina*.

My paper seeks to study both the ways in which Roman nomenclature was locally adopted by Greek authors such as Aelius Aristides and how socially significant the display of their names might be in the epigraphic and literary materials of the period. Instead of using onomastics as an index of status to be instrumentalised by historians, I propose to analyse this phenomenon as a cultural practice that is accommodated to different contexts and helps to illuminate what citizenship meant to some of those who possessed it.

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Slot 14: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Janet Downie, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
What is a City For? Dio Chrysostom on the Politics of Urban Space

Over the course of the first and second centuries CE, cities of the Roman Empire witnessed an impressive building boom – especially in the highly urbanized Greek East. Communities constructed and renovated distinctly Roman architectural features such as bath complexes and invested heavily in the monumental elaboration of key political, economic and social spaces within the urban center. Much of this building activity was financed by local elites as a form of civic euergetism, and the urban fabric became, more than ever, a theater for elite display. The inscriptional record supports this picture, offering abundant examples of individuals celebrated publicly for their contributions. However, the celebratory inscriptional record mostly obscures what Christopher Jones has described as the shadow side of these prestigious sponsorship projects: competition, financing problems and, especially, conflicts between donors and the *demos*. Shedding light on this democratic dynamic in a series of recent publications, Arjan Zuiderhoek has argued that city assemblies in Asia Minor were major players in civic affairs, including when it came to public building projects. The power of the assembly is clear, indeed, in three speeches delivered by Dio Chrysostom in his home city of Prusa, Bithynia: *Orations* 40, 45, and 47 expose the difficulties Dio encountered in convincing his fellow

citizens to approve his plans for new building in the city. The speeches explore the politics of urban development from the perspective of an elite individual in the process of tense negotiation with his local community.

These speeches, however, do more than simply expose these fraught political dynamics. They also offer some glimpse of what was at stake ideologically and of the kinds of meanings people attached to the physical landscape of the city as a political space. The three Prusa orations occupy a point of intersection between theory and practice, because here Dio sets material building projects in the context of larger scale questions about civic aspirations in an Imperial world.

The paper has three parts. In the first part, I argue that Dio presents the physical landscape of the city not as a stage for performance, but as a process of political engagement in its own right. In the second part, I isolate the three main metaphors or concepts Dio develops to characterize his relationship to his city: founder, lover, and laboring servant. These rhetorical tropes are, to varying degrees, standard in civic oratory of the period, but Dio uses them to make strong claims about his engagement and commitment to the city-as-commons. In the third part of the paper, I argue that these metaphors are complicated by Dio's fourth, and perhaps dominant, mode of self-presentation as Odysseus the wanderer – a perpetual outsider in the Stoic tradition, occupying a liminal space between the city itself and further structures of regional and imperial power. The figure of Odysseus connects the city orations to Dio's philosophical reflections on civic community in the *Euboicus* and *Borystheniticus*. However, whereas those texts are imaginative and abstract reflections on civic ideals, in the Prusa orations, Dio is forced to deal directly with a non-idealized political process that is worked out concretely in the material context of urban space.

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Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Daniel Jolowicz, University of Cambridge
Contexts for Latin in the Greek East

The question of whether Greeks of the imperial period (especially the first two centuries CE) read Latin poetry at all—and if so, for pleasure?—is a live and thorny one. The traditional scholarly position is that they did not. In this paper I address the question of whether Greeks of the imperial period, especially in the east, acknowledged the existence of a poetic corpus written in Latin. I shall assess evidence in a variety of media (inscriptional, papyrological, architectural, literary) in an effort to establish in what type of contexts the Greeks may have been exposed to Latin poetry, and how and where they responded to it.

Slot 16: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Jeff Ulrich, Rutgers University

The Politics of "Apuleius: the Latin Sophist": An Interrogation of a Misfit Classification

Apuleius has always been slippery or difficult to pin down to a particular movement or intellectual current. Of North African descent, and writing in a vernacular of Latin that is barely recognizable as Latin, Apuleius defies categorization, and has consequently found a much more natural home in the "Second Sophistic" than in his own Imperial Latin era. When one steps back to analyze the situation, however, it is rather odd that Apuleius is much more frequently associated with the likes of Lucian, Dio Chrysostom, or Plutarch than with his own contemporary or near-contemporary authors, such as Tacitus, Suetonius, or Aulus Gellius. And so, major interventions in Apuleius studies analyze *The Greek World of Apuleius* (Sandy 1997) or speak of *Apuleius: the Latin Sophist* (Harrison 2000), rather than seeing him on a spectrum with Fronto or early Christian writers, such as Tertullian, both of whom were likewise from North Africa. Major reasons for this may be Apuleius' literary "gamesmanship" (Winkler 1985) and his archaizing style, although the Archaic Latin he reproduces is more Plautine (May 2006) than Ciceronian (and therefore, is something of a false analogy to what the so-called Second Sophists are doing). But more subtle and in my view, all the more pernicious, is an ideological reason for grouping Apuleius in with the great resurgence of Hellenism: by doing so, we can dissociate him from Roman culture and thus, from political, philosophical, and religious movements that are taking place in Rome. Apuleius, "the Latin Sophist," is transformed (much like his asinine character) into yet another anxious intellectual on the periphery of the empire, performing his *paideia* for a price.

Ultimately, this misfit classification of Apuleius speaks to a larger political purpose for the terminology of the "Second Sophistic" writ large: namely, the sweeping dismissal of philosophical and/or "serious" concerns in texts that constantly allude to, refer to, and manipulate philosophical intertexts. Homer, Plato, and Herodotus become mere sources of "play," and we – anxious intellectuals of the 21st century, trying to perform our own *paideia* in a world increasingly uninterested in our work – can happily find images of ourselves in the "Second Sophists," and feel pleasure at recognizing the likeness. When Vergil alludes to Homeric intertexts, but reworks them in a new context, it is political, philosophical, ideological; but when our beloved "Second Sophists" do this same activity, it is nothing more than a sprinkling of culture to make high-brow readers feel good about reading low-brow texts.

In this paper, I will interrogate the failure of Apuleius studies to see the deeply philosophical implications of allusion and intertext by analyzing the opening and closing passages of the *Metamorphoses* – a ring-composition of seemingly playful allusions, which turn out to be deadly serious. Indeed, the opening contract – *lector intende; laetaberis* – and the closural baldness of the main character have long been read as invitations to shallow reading, to mere *divertissement* (Trapp 2001; van Mal-Maeder 1997), and to satirical mockery of Lucius. However, closer analysis will demonstrate that the Prologue is implicated in a discourse that goes all the way back to Plato's *Symposium* – a discourse of "attentive reading" and careful investigation – and moreover, that this discourse has its analogues in Gellius and Fronto. In a similar vein, the concluding line of the *Metamorphoses*, which most scholars have pointed to as the example *par excellence* of the novel's ultimate shallow and satirical character, is in fact a direct translation of a line from Plato's

Phaedrus – a moment where Socrates uncovers *his* bald head to declare a Palinode to *Erōs*. With this previously unrecognized allusion, we can say that the retrospective reading Jack Winkler so famously popularized is, on more careful inspection, a Palinodic reading – an opportunity to redeem the text from the clutches of those who would so carelessly toss aside its rich and complicated appropriation of the past. Hellenism in the “Second Sophistic” is not some empty gesture of display, but authors deploy this nostalgic reworking of the past to force their readers to scrutinize and engage with the present. If Apuleius is indeed a “Latin Sophist,” then the word “Sophist” must mean something very different from how we usually understand it.

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[Saturday]

Slot 17: 9:00 - 9:50am

Daniel Richter, University of Southern California

Aristocratic and Cosmopolitan Ethics in the Early Roman Empire

In this paper, I argue that an aristocratic impulse lies behind much ancient cosmopolitan thought. The rejection of ethnic identity, in the context of the classical and late classical *polis*, can also serve to sever the ties of the elite to its own local community; in other words, if the discourse of autochthony democratizes noble birth (in the words of Josh Ober), a cosmopolitan ethic has the potential to substitute what is really a more traditionally aristocratic attitude towards social class and localism.

To take an example that I hope will elucidate what I am after here: Philostratus tells us that the Gallic sophist Favorinus bequeathed to his friend the Athenian Herodes Atticus a slave by the name of Autolekythos – an entirely black Indian who used to entertain the sophists by speaking bad Attic Greek (VS 490). Herodes and Favorinus – the Athenian and the self-described “barbarian” Gaul – self-identify as Hellenes because they participate equally in an elite, intellectual world from which the slave Autolekythos is excluded. The pleasure that the sophists derive from their exclusion is a function of the reification of the abstract boundaries that define the boundaries of the cosmopolitan intellectual community in which Favorinus and Herodes both participate.

The criteria according to which such cosmopolitan communities are defined can and must shift dependent upon context – for Zeno in third-century BCE Athens, the primary criterion is philosophically defined virtue; for the sophists, *paideia*, manifest in a mastery of a highly literary Attic Greek; for Paul, as we shall see at the end of this paper, it is a Christian inflected understanding of pneumatic participation in the body of Christ.

Slot 18: 10:00 - 10:50am

Scott DiGiulio, Mississippi State University

Otium, Roman Identity, and the Politics of Greek Learning in the Noctes Atticae

The conventional view of the Second Sophistic connects imperial Greek literature to the classical past, eliding much of the contemporary political environment and excluding Roman culture and literature. However, many of the tendencies of Second Sophistic authors, especially their focused attention on the use of the literary past to negotiate a distinct cultural identity in their contemporary political environment, are not exclusive to the Greek world. Indeed, in this regard Latin authors of the High Empire are of a kind with the Greek authors of the period, demonstrating a similar set of attitudes, including archaism and an apparently reverence for the past (Marache 1952), as well as reading and reacting to the works produced by imperial Greek authors.

As has been increasingly recognized, Aulus Gellius demonstrates the cultural attitudes of the Second Sophistic perhaps more than any other Latin author of the High Empire (Holford-Strevens 2003, Gunderson 2009, Keulen 2009). In his miscellany, the *Noctes Atticae* (NA), he integrates prevalent Greek intellectual currents into his broader literary project. From the outset, Gellius inscribes the contemporary Greek intellectual scene within his work, through features such as the title (Vardi 1993), the recurrent presence of the sophists Favorinus and Herodes Atticus (Beall 2001, Howley 2018), and setting portions of the work in Athens. Yet, despite this apparent Hellenizing, Gellius nevertheless marks his project as something distinctly Roman, as he incorporates the political realities of the Roman world into his intellectual project. Gellius fashions a distinctive identity which harmonizes *otium* and Greek learning on the one hand with quintessentially Roman *negotium* on the other.

Throughout the NA, Gellius juxtaposes Greek and Roman models of intellectual endeavor (Keulen 2009, Howley 2014, 2018), often staging debates between characters representing these opposing approaches (e.g. 2.22, 2.26). Elite Romans must negotiate between these two poles, as demonstrated in two scenes set during Saturnalia (18.2, 18.13) in which a group of young Romans engage in Greek -style games of sophisms (Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2018). The Romans cannot fully give themselves over to such *otium*, even at Saturnalia, as they focus on honing their mental acuity. Like the nights in Athens in which they take place, these games are a venue for the young men depicted by Gellius to negotiate their Roman identity and intellectual practices, especially vis-à-vis their Greek peers.

Likewise, Gellius uses the figures of the imperial tutor Fronto and the grammarians Sulpicius Apollinaris and Antonius Julianus as ciphers for the appropriate balance of *otium* and *negotium*. Across four chapters near the end of the work (19.8-10, 19.13), Gellius illustrates a paradigm of *otium studiosum*, reflecting upon the role of philological inquiry in the Antonine period. While his characters model habits of mind that produce intellectual refinement, Gellius makes use of these scenes to interrogate the nature of Roman leisure and learning, situating it between the anxieties of the archaic past and the integration of Hellenism. Fronto, Apollinaris, and Julianus all offer examples of constructive *otium* by exploring the Latin language and literature to cultivate the intellect. Yet there is an implicit challenge to the paradigm when these scenes are read against each other, as the tensions between the linguistic inquiries and the settings of the *commentarii* are opposed to one another. While Gellius illustrates several instances of intellectual inquiry, he nevertheless imparts a degree of triviality to the enterprise; while these scenes

of *otium* illustrate one means of self-improvement, other models are needed to complete the image of the scholar and gentleman.

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Slot 19: 11:10 - 12:00am

Chiara Monaco, University of Cambridge

The Greek Lexicographers and the Politics of Language Purism

If we understand the Second Sophistic as a political and cultural Greek movement active in a Latin panorama, one of its most striking aspects is the linguistic ideology that stands behind it. For the participants in the Atticist movement, the theory of mimesis implies the imitation of the classical canonical sources. Thus, Atticism requires a broad-ranging effort: the detailed reproduction of morphology, syntax and vocabulary of six hundred years before.

Horrocks (1997) summarises the political essence of linguistic Atticism: ‘Atticism might best be thought of not as a well-defined body of doctrine but as a state of mind inculcated by the educational system and reinforced by the practice and prejudice of the aristocracy’. The most efficient expression of the so-called ‘negative Atticism’ meaning the practice of avoiding words, forms, and even meanings unattested in classical Attic (Kim 2017; also Kim 2010) is represented by the lexica. What is missing in the contemporary scholarly conversation about the Second Sophistic is an analysis of the ideology that underpins the construction of these lexica.

With several important publications, Strobel (2005, 2009 and 2011) has contributed to our understanding of the structure and the organization of the lexicographical material. Now, my aim is to better understand the logic behind the construction of the Atticistic lexica. The lexicographers cannot only be seen as fervently stubborn collectors of words who had lost the contact with the actual literary production as described in Lucian and Athenaeus (Tribulato 2016). Rather, they triggered a process of active normativization of

an allegedly pure language with the intention to create a privileged connection between the Greek elite and the classical past. Therefore, they are deeply ideological and actively involved in the politics of canonicity and distinctiveness with the aim of imitating the classical authors in order to signal membership in a “cultured” elite distinguished from the “ignorant” masses.

The ideological prescriptivism transforms the lexica into real polemical pamphlets that address a central question of the Second Sophistic: the question of “correct” language. What is interesting about these lexica is their tendency to construct an artificial language that is not modelled on the classical texts but turns out to be a preconception for which the lexicographers find evidence in the classical authors. Classical literature then was arbitrarily used according to the needs of the lexicographers (that is for the language they wanted to reproduce) and to accommodate the tendencies of two linguistic parties: on the one hand those siding with the so-called Antiatticist who defended the literary *koiné* and tried to preserve contemporary usages finding evidence in the Classical and Hellenistic literature. On the other hand those siding with Phrynichus and Moeris who censored the perceived impurities of the literary *koiné* and substituted them with an artificial Attic language on the basis of a very selected canon of Attic authors.

Therefore, in order to investigate the role of the lexica my paper will be structured into two parts. In the first part I will analyse the lexicographical mechanisms used to construct and validate a specific kind of language by focusing on the following aspects: the mystification of the ancient sources that were used according to the intent of the lexicographer, the absence of any kind of critical sensitivity in the treatment of literary materials, the mistaken usages of certain expressions considered out of context, the omission of passages and the abuse of the idea of first attestation and comic usage. In the second part I will analyse to what extent the lexica affected the literary and non-literary production. The use of the lexica cannot only be examined in the production of the more Atticistic authors like Alsius Aristides, Lesbonax, Herodes Atticus or even Lucian who imitated classical authors. Rather, I will try to reconstruct the compromise that authors like Philostratus and Aelian found between the literary *koiné* and the use of rare atticizing expressions like nominative, absolute, unaugmented pluperfect or expression like ἀϋπνεῖσθαί ‘to be sleepless’ – never attested anywhere but coined by Phrynichus in the *Praeparatio Sophistica* 9,1. The pervasiveness of the Atticistic debate is even more evident when similar cases are found in the New Testament or in non-literary papyri (Connolly 1983). A critical evaluation of the materials mentioned is meant to contribute to the analysis of the language politics of the Second Sophistic.

Connolly, *Atticism in non-literary papyri of the first seven centuries CE*.

Horrocks, *Greek: a History of the Language and its Speakers*.

Kim 2010, *The Literary Heritage as Language: Atticism and the Second Sophistic*

Kim 2017, *Atticism and Asianism*

Strobel 2005, *The Lexicographer of the Second Sophistic as Collector of Words, Quotations and Knowledge*.

Strobel 2009, *The Lexica of the Second Sophistic*.

Strobel 2011, *Studies in Atticistic Lexica of the Second and Third Centuries*.

Tribulato, *Herodotus’ Reception in Ancient Greek Lexicography*.

Slot 20: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Lawrence Kim, Trinity University (US)

The Politics of Style in the Second Sophistic: Classicizing and Anti-Classicizing Prose

One of the hallmarks of Second Sophistic culture is its so-called ‘classicism’, an attitude toward the past focused upon a ‘classical’ era that valorizes a certain set of idealized abstract qualities (e.g., moderation, restraint, clarity, harmony) felt to characterize ‘classical’ culture and be worthy of literary and behavioral imitation. Such classicism naturally affected prose style; the best-known Imperial Greek writers—e.g., Dio, Plutarch, Aristides, Lucian—adopt styles that are generally considered classicizing, that is, modeled on classical authors and viewed by moderns as ‘moderate’. These authors also consistently criticize what they consider ‘bad’ style as violating or transgressing ‘classical’ norms, denigrating it as extravagant, ostentatious, unrestrained, verbose, repetitive, and overly rhythmic. Similar terms were used at the beginning of the Imperial era by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, to describe ‘Asian’ oratory, the decadent *post-* and *anti-*classical style developed in the Hellenistic period, and rejected by the classicizing movement of Dionysius’ own time (Hidber 1996).

Nevertheless, several Imperial Greek writers—e.g., novelists like Achilles Tatius, or orators like Favorinus of Arles—employ a style that revels in mannerisms (e.g., rhyme, short clauses, repetitive sounds and rhythms) associated with ‘Asian’ rhetoric (Norden 1898). This begs the question: if classicism were indeed so dominant and overarching in the Second Sophistic, why would these authors have adopted such an un-classical style? And what of the popular oratorical performances of the Imperial sophists, the *content* of which was certainly classicizing (re-enacting historical scenes from the classical past), but which were enacted in a flamboyant, ostentatious, and generally un-classical manner (Gleason 1995; Connolly 2001)?

In the past few years, several scholars have suggested that Greek classicism, rather than a means of expressing dissatisfaction with Roman rule (e.g., Bowie 1970, Schmitz 1999), may have actually been sponsored and foisted on Imperial Greece by Roman emperors. Under Augustus (27 BCE -14 CE), precisely when Dionysius was celebrating the Greek classicizing revival and the defeat of ‘Asian’ rhetoric (both of which he attributed to Roman influence), we can see evidence of policies promoting the ‘classical’ culture of ‘old’ mainland Greece in contrast to that of the ‘new’ post -classical Greeks of Asia (Hose 2010; Spawforth 2014), policies that were reinforced under Hadrian (117-138 CE) through institutions like the Panhellenion, which privileged ‘old’ Greek cities at the expense of ‘new’. I argue in this paper that, if Imperial Greek classicism was indeed a reflection of the desires of the Roman elite, then the adoption of *non-*classicizing styles and behaviors could be seen as attempts at resistance, not merely against the hegemonic classicism that we see in so many Greek authors of the period, but also against the political and cultural imperatives of Rome (see Whitmarsh 2013 for the theoretical frame).

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[PANEL 10] **TRANSITION AND TRANSFORMATION: THE EARLY RECEPTION OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN INHERITANCE (3TH-8TH C. CE)**

[Wednesday]

Slot 1: 1:30 - 2:20pm

Sarah Beckmann, Dept. of Classics, University of California Los Angeles [sbeckmann@humnet.ucla.edu]

Villa as monumentum in the Late Roman World

The last century of excavation and survey throughout the Western Roman provinces has brought to light extensive archaeological evidence for the reconstruction and renovation of villa estates in the later 3rd and 4th centuries C.E. This flurry of estate building – well documented in Iberia, Gaul, southern Britain, and along the Danube – has been dubbed a “villa boom” in recent scholarship, yet our understanding of the motivations behind it remain inconclusive. My paper therefore approaches the late antique villa as a *monumentum*, that is, a structure built to remind and recall what it meant to be Roman in the late Empire. I argue that the villa boom is correlate to the villa’s role as a metaphorical bridge to the past.

By emphasizing the rural estate as a traditional *topos* of the Roman elite, I argue, late antique *domini* experimented with this inheritance in novel ways. I survey how authors like Ausonius and Sidonius used descriptions of their “country estates” to present themselves as legitimate inheritors of the *mos maiores*. I then consider archaeological case studies for the ways that villas in late antiquity differ from those in earlier eras, for example: the construction of estate temples and churches; the collection and display of antique sculpture collections; the decoration of elaborate stand-alone bath complexes designed for a visiting public. The notion of inheritance, I argue, permitted creative licensing which in turn reorganized the late antique villa as a socio-political landscape, under the guise of tradition. As a final thought, I consider the historical context of the building boom and the era of experimentation. Having argued that the villa equated to Roman-ness, I conclude by tracing the demise of the villa habit alongside the changing political structure of the post-antique world.

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Anna Salsano, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità – “Sapienza” Università di Roma [anna.salsano@uniroma1.it]

The Graeco-Roman inheritance in the Late-antique architectural elements in Egypt

The architectural elements of Late-antique Egypt show an interesting blend of Graeco-Roman and local features, coming from the Pharaonic past and from the influence of the Graeco-Roman culture. This influence is evident in the figurative themes that might derive from the Christian tradition, such as biblical scenes or symbolic animals, or from Greek and Roman myths, such as Leda and the swan, the rape of Europe and the birth of Venus. Furthermore, the elements' shape itself is typical of the classical entablature; however, the Pharaonic tradition influenced the frequency of their appearance. Although they adorn buildings different from those of the Pharaonic past, the use of this elements in the Pharaonic temples affected their use in the Late-antique period (for example, the cavetto molding is really common). The entablature could follow the classical partition or could be reinterpreted in a different way, by placing the elements according to their curved or linear shape. In my presentation I will show some examples, in order to illustrate this unconventional blending of local and classical features in themes, typology and placing.

Slot 2: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Felicia Tafuri, University of Salerno [fel.tafuri@gmail.com]

Reshaping Pliny the Elder: the critique of luxury in Tertullian's De cultu feminarum between intertextuality and Christianization

In the preservation and transmission of the Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* an important role was played by Christian evaluation of the work and its author. The Plinian encyclopedia, in fact, was one of the few classical works considered not implicated in the risk of paganism; in this perspective, the research of Plinian echoes in Christian authors can start from Tertullian, who, in the first years of the III century CE, made wide use of the *Naturalis Historia* in his *De cultu feminarum*.

In order to show how the inheritance of Pliny the Elder flows into Tertullian's work, this paper explores the reuse of some Plinian passages of *Naturalis Historia*, with a special focus on how Tertullian adapts and reshapes what he took from Pliny to his own purpose: the critique of luxury and women's vanity. Through an intertextual reading of passages from book 1 of *De cultu feminarum* and from books 33 and 37 of *Naturalis Historia*, I will argue examples of reuse of themes linked to Roman moralism in Tertullian's invective against *cultus* and *ornatus*.

Though some scholarship attempted to argue that Tertullian rejected pagan culture, this analysis aims to scrutinize the debt of the Carthaginian writer towards Pliny, in order to demonstrate the pivotal role of Christian authors in assuming and transmitting Roman inheritance, of which the *Naturalis Historia* represents the *summa*.

Sergey Vorontsov, Department of Religious Studies; Faculty of Theology – Saint Tikhon Orthodox University (Moscow) [vorontsoff.s@gmail.com]
Antiqui dixerunt...: the reception of Classical authors by Isidore of Seville

The problem of reception of the Classical authors in the 6-7th centuries is related to the question of “early” reception of Christian inheritance of the fathers of the Church. On the one hand, both groups possessed literary authority (*auctoritas*), on the other hand, they were separated from each other as “antiqui / nostri”. The question about the status of the “antiqui” should be posed: how the rhetoric in which they were presented correlates to the practice of using them in writing and compiling the texts?

The present talk will consider the case of Isidore of Seville (ca. 560-636), who covered a wide range of themes in his writings (not only “theological” topics). Rhetorically, he represents the authority of the Classical authors as inferior to the Catholic. However, sometimes he prefers Classical conceptions to that of the Christian authors.

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Christian Thruе Djurslev, Aarhus University (Denmark) [ctd@cas.au.dk]
Semiramis of Babylon goes West. Some Observations on the Christianization of her Graeco-Roman Legend

Semiramis, first and last Queen of Assyria, is one of the most legendary women in the Classical Tradition. She captivated the Greek and Roman imagination to the extent that scholars have named her one of the ‘fantastic four’ (Trnka-Amrhein 2018). Semiramis joined her consort Ninus, the Pharaoh Sesonchosis, and King Alexander of Macedon in a quadrumvirate of primeval conquerors, whose literary traditions influenced each other throughout antiquity. Historians and philologists typically investigate the Near Eastern origin of her story (e.g. Stronk 2017), as well as her medieval and later receptions (Samuel 1941 for the Middle Ages; Asher-Grave 2006 for the Renaissance and beyond). Given this focus on other high points of history, less attention has hitherto been paid to her afterlife in Late Antiquity that connect the earlier era with the later ones.

In this paper, I will review her textual tradition in the Latin West from Augustan Rome to the rise of the ‘Barbarian kingdoms’ in the fifth and sixth centuries AD. By quantifying the many references to her and showing the distributions of *topoi/loci*, I will detect commonplaces for both Christian and pagan writers. For example, I will pay particular attention to the disappearance of traditional topics, such as her origin story, her enthralling beauty, and her sexual affair with her son, Ninyas. Considering the absence of such loci, I will argue for a less negative reception in late antique literature than previously believed. I will interpret this tendency as a collective streamlining of her story that eschews the unwanted features and brings out ones appropriate for educational purposes. The paper seeks to contribute to our understanding of the later Latin canonization of classical literature. Famous characters’ literary traditions provide the richest nodes of knowledge that we may tap to discover central, if overlooked, patterns of transformative thought.

[Thursday]

Slot 5: 9:00 - 9:50am

Benedetta Contin, 9 SALT ERC project, Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Vienna [benedetta.contin@univie.ac.at]

The Late-Antique Debate on Evil in the 6th-7th century Armenia: The “Contra Manicheos” Attributed to Gregory of Nyssa and its Alleged Armenian Version Attributed to David the Philosopher

The brief Armenian treatise “Every Evil is suffering” by David the Philosopher, Armenian disciple of the Neoplatonic Ammonius Hermiae in Alexandria, is generally considered a translation of the “Contra Manicheos” attributed to Gregory of Nyssa, presenting a Christian philosophical view in the framework of the debate on the ontological status of matter and evil. Against the Middle Platonic and Plotinian theories considering evil as a hypostatized principle opposed to good, the “Contra Manicheos” relates to the Christian view on the non-ontological status of evil grounded in the Platonic doctrine of it and predicts also the view of evil as *alogon* (“no rational principle”) extensively supported by the Athenian and Alexandrian Neoplatonists in 6th-7th centuries.

In this paper, I shall offer a comparative linguistic analysis between the Greek and the Armenian texts and try to make sense of the authorship for the Armenian treatise unanimously referred to David the Invincible Philosopher in the Armenian tradition. I shall demonstrate then how the treatise bearing the title “Every evil is suffering” is grounded in the David’s views on matter and evil as attested in his philosophical commentaries. On the basis of this analysis, I will propose some remarks on the phenomenon of transmission of late ancient philosophical and theological ideas to Armenia and their subsequent endorsement and rethinking.

Sara Scarpellini, Département des Langues méditerranéennes, slaves et orientales (MESLO) – Université de Genève [Sara.Scarpellini@unige.ch]

Voyages dans le “continent” apocryphe arménien: le cas de la traduction des Actes de Pierre et Paul du Pseudo-Marcellus

Le “continent” apocryphe est un domaine de la littérature chrétienne ancienne riche de témoignages et de sources, « souvent méconnues voir inconnues, mais importantes pour une meilleure compréhension de la pensée chrétienne des origines » (Picard 1999).

Le concept d’“apocryphe” est lié à la formation du *canon*, processus complexe qui, dans les différentes églises d’occident et d’orient, a été achevé au cours du IV^e siècle.

En ce qui concerne le monde arménien, après la traduction de la Bible au V^e siècle, les textes apocryphes grecs et syriaques ont été traduits et remaniés pour créer un propre patrimoine apocryphe qui a joué un rôle important dans la formation de l’identité du peuple arménien (dont des traces sont encore bien visibles dans l’historiographie, la poésie et l’art) mais qui demeure encore très peu étudié.

Ma contribution vise donc à apporter un exemple inédit issu de ce “continent” apocryphe: le cas de la traduction arménienne des *Actes de Pierre et Paul* du Pseudo-Marcellus, dont l’édition critique commentée est l’objet de ma thèse de doctorat en cours.

Bien que l’origine de ce texte soit ancienne, la traduction arménienne a été faite sur la base d’une rédaction grecque longue (BHG 1490) du VII^e /VIII^e siècle.

Ce texte, centré sur les derniers moments de la vie des apôtres Pierre et Paul à Rome et sur leur martyre, a été tellement apprécié dans le monde arménien que sa diffusion a

entraîné des modifications dans la circulation d'autres récits apocryphes (ex. interpolations des *Actes* du Pseudo-Marcellus dans le *Martyre de Paul*).

Dans mon intervention je me pencherai ainsi sur les rapports entre le grec et cette version arménienne afin de mettre en lumière la réception de ce texte chrétien dans le monde arménien ainsi que l'importance de l'arménien pour la reconstruction de son original grec.

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Irene Tinti, Department of Mediterranean, Slavic and Oriental Languages and Literatures (MESLO), University of Geneva [irene.tinti.82@gmail.com]

Greek Paideia in Armenian Milieux: The Platonic Versions in Relation to Other Translated Literature

The invention of the Armenian alphabet in the early 5th century C.E. initiated an intense translation activity based on Syriac and Greek sources. The Bible and other religious writings came first, but Greek scholarly texts soon followed, as part of a conscious effort of transferring Greek learning into an Armenian context (starting with grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy).

Several periodizations have been proposed for these scholarly translations, which have been traditionally ascribed to the so-called *Hellenising School* and to a timeframe spanning the 5th/₆th-8th centuries. However, given the substantial lacunae in our documentation and the absence of up-to-date tools – notably, reliable dictionaries, comprehensive linguistic descriptions of non-standard texts, and complete textual databases that would make cross-references easier – it is at present impossible to reconstruct any objective and motivated chronology of translated literature, or to prove without any doubt that a structured 'School' even existed.

Still, it is becoming increasingly clear, on the one hand, that an approach based on scalar categories, emphasizing continuity rather than clear-cut definitions, should be applied to the corpus of translated literature; on the other, that the practice of translating from Greek continued well after the 8th century, and not only for religious texts, as has often been assumed.

Within this reference framework, the present paper will describe the methodology and results of an ongoing research project funded by the *Swiss National Science Foundation* (2016–2019), devoted to investigating the date and authorship of the Armenian versions of five Platonic or Pseudo-Platonic dialogues (*Timaeus*, *Euthyphro*, *Apology of Socrates*, *Laws*, and *Minos*), and thus their position and relevance in Armenian literature.

Vasiliki Chamourgiotaki, Freie Universität Berlin [vasiliki.chamourgiotaki@fu-berlin.de]

Between Byzantium and the Islamic world. The emergence of the Melkite Community

The Near Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire were deeply influenced by the Greek culture and language. One of the most profound signs of this effect is to be found in the literature and more specifically in the translations of the Greek texts into Syriac, mostly literal, after the Christological controversies, which divided the Church of the Byzantine Empire into many denominations.

In the seventh century and after the Sixth Council (680-1), which was called to act against Monothelism, a new community raised its voice in Egypt, Syria/Palestine and

Mesopotamia: the Melkites. They were Chalcedonians, and more specifically Dyotheletes, the adherents of all six Ecumenical Councils, whose heart of community laid mostly in Jerusalem and the monasteries around it. They developed their own ecclesiastical identity and differentiated themselves from the other denominations of the East not only in terms of doctrine but also of patristic and liturgical heritage (they were using almost exclusively the Greek language both in liturgy and in their literary production).

The current paper aims to examine the impact of the Greek culture and language on the emergence of the Melkite community. The liturgy, which took place almost exclusively into Greek, and the literary production, whether in Greek or in Syriac being translated from Greek, will be thoroughly examined.

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Emanuele Zimbardi, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità – “Sapienza” Università di Roma / Freie Universität Berlin [emanuele.zimbardi@uniroma1.it]

“The poison of the Greek”. Some Reflections on the Reception of Hellenism in Syriac Literature during Late Antiquity

From the late second century CE onwards a new literary culture spread in the Eastern Roman Empire, and this expressed itself through a Semitic language labelled as ‘Syriac’. The first surely dated literary achievement of Syriac literature is “The Book of the Laws of Countries”, written allegedly by a student of the Edessan philosopher Bardaisan. This is a dialogue about the influence of fate and stars on human actions, and it discusses in a Platonic dialogic framework several philosophical ideas that refer to different systems of thoughts and beliefs. This work shows a high degree of influence from Hellenism in the very first phase of Syriac literature.

When in the 4th century Syriac literature knew its Classical phase, with authors such as Ephrem and Aphraat, there was in the indigenous literary production a certain degree of awareness of its independence from Greek and Hellenistic culture. Syriac literature, mostly religious in character, could perfectly express itself without the reference to the long tradition of the language that prevailed in the East since the age of Alexander the Great. Now, as Ephrem affirmed, Syriac literature could avoid “the poison of the Greek”, and use its own stylistic and expressive devices to communicate the highness of its contents. This approach towards Greek seemed to continue in the following centuries in authors, such as Isaac of Antioch or Jacob of Sarugh in the 6th century.

This paper aims to explore in the most important authors and works of the Syriac literature in Late Antiquity the approach towards Greek culture, in order to assess the degree of the influence of Hellenism in Syriac production, and how Greek *paideia* was perceived by its authors. This could shed some new lights on our comprehension of the long-lasting reception of Hellenism outside the boundaries of the Greek language.

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Anna Trento, University of Padua [anna.trento.1@phd.unipd.it]

Question-and-answer Literature from Classical Antiquity to Byzantine Period: a New Example from Late Antique Sinai

The «Frage- und Antwort-Schema lag in der Antiken Literatur seit den frühesten Zeiten

bereit» (H. Dörrie, *RAC* I, p. 342); it was employed in different fields: exegetical, philosophical, scientific and oracular. *Quaestiones et responsiones* are indeed a cross-category literary genre, intrinsically flexible in content, style and length.

H. Dörries (*RAC* I, p. 353) pointed out that «eigene Antriebe führten zu ähnlichen Bildungen». Indeed, this multifaceted literary inheritance was taken up and developed differently by many Christian writers, thus resulting in the theological masterworks by Augustine, Hieronymus, Maximus the Confessor and Photius among others. Also the wisdom of the Desert Fathers has been recorded in *apophthegmata*, a sort of *quaestiones et responsiones* collections, all dealing with a general question: πῶς σωθῶμεν;

During centuries-long history of the Christian reception of question-and-answer literature, I would like to focus on the role played by the transmission of the Desert Fathers' thought and the monastic tradition in the Christian reinterpretation of this genre, especially in Palestinian and Sinai region. In particular, this paper aims to present the small collection of *erotapokriseis* between abba Nilus of Sinai and his disciple Thalelaius.

The collection is still unpublished and is to be read in ms. *Karakallou* 251 and, partially, in *Vat. gr.* 731 and *Petropolitanus* 247. Asked by his disciple, abba Nilus authoritatively explains how to carry on an ascetic life conduct, how to face temptations based on his own experience and on the Bible. He also clarifies difficult biblical passages that Thalelaius could not understand. Very little is known about both Nilus and Thalelaius, but the former can be settled in a semi-anachoretic monastery on Mount Sinai between the 6th and the 7th century, i. e. on a crossroads of cultures, where the classic inheritance has been preserved in monasteries after Arab and Persian invasions.

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Ignorantia simulari non potest. *Classical παιδεία and the Construction of the ἀγράμματος in Late Antique Hagiography*

When some pagan philosophers, attracted by Antony's fame, pay a visit to the Christian ascetic, they are strongly surprised to meet a true polemicist. The supposed ἀγράμματος demonstrates full knowledge of Pagan beliefs and refutes them through a refined speech not devoid of echoes from classical παιδεία. Obviously, such an extraordinary rhetorical ability comes from God, who allows His soldier to fight the enemies of the right faith with their own weapons. Human history is interpreted as a universal path which goes from pagan error to Christian truth under the guidance of an eloquent holy man.

This is not an isolated anecdote. In Late Antique hagiography, the saint is often described as a man who rejects earthly wisdom and, at the same time, as an elegant speaker, either when he teaches his disciples about life or when he disputes pagan ideals. As a result, the biographer depicts a peculiar portrait of the protagonist, framing his deeds in the rhetorical culture which pervades the educated *élites* and tacitly admitting that classical art of persuasion cannot be abandoned at all.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the "rhetorical *ethos*" attributed to Late Antique holy men and the elements of classical παιδεία which emerge from their speeches. In order to do this, particular attention will be paid to rhetorical structures and literary tools displayed by the biographer and to the results that he wants to achieve. Through a philological analysis, it will be fascinating to study how Christian biography depicts the relationship between ignorance and wisdom, even making the saint a living contradiction.

Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Kyriakoula Tzortzopoulou, Classics Department – King's College London [kyriakoula.tzortzopoulou@kcl.ac.uk]

Christianizing the conceptualization of envy in the 4th c. C.E.: the case of Cappadocian Fathers

Recent scholarship on patristic texts has shown that the Christianization of the classical intellectual heritage concerns -among other things- the domain of emotion conceptualization. The Church Fathers of the 4th century C.E. inherited a broad array of concepts and conflicting ideas about emotions drawing on texts of the Greco-Roman literary tradition. They modify this emotional knowledge in such a way that their theorizations over emotions respond also to scriptural beliefs, and thus differentiate Christian from Pagan morality. However, one aspect of patristic discourses on human emotions that has not yet received enough attention is metaphorical conceptualization, namely the examination of basic concepts that underlie their metaphors and of the extent of their correlation with the classical ones.

The aim of this paper is to address this issue, through the lens of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, and indicate how the Cappadocians Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa make use of their classical paideia and Christianize several well-entrenched ideas in their metaphorical conceptualization of envy. Focusing primarily on Basil's treatise *On envy* and on Gregory's work *On the life of Moses*, I shall argue that both authors emphasize the destructive effects of envy on one's morality by the means of various metaphorical expressions that are based on well-established concepts of Greco-Roman culture and can be found in numerous classical literary texts. At the same time, though, they further elaborate those metaphors by blending them with additional concepts that did not exist in Classical Antiquity. As I shall show, the main idea that pervades their thinking is the fundamental Christian belief that humans were created according to God's image and, thus, the passions are external additions to humanity after the fall from Paradise. In this way, they Christianize concepts of the

emotions and shape a new emotional repertoire that defined Christian religious identity.

Regina Fichera, DILEF (Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia) – University of Florence [reginafichera@gmail.com]

The platonic Dialogue at the service of Christian Rhetoric: the School of Gaza and the Christian Reconfiguration of Classical Paideia

At the dawn of the 5th century AD, the Gazan *Marneion* temple was destroyed by the will of the bishop Porhyry and a new Christian church was erected with the remains from pagan building. This episode marked the beginning of an important turning point in Christian direction for the pagan city: the classical culture was colonized by Christians in the same way as the materials and it was resemantized in a hybrid form of *paideia* which sought to demonstrate the truth of Christian arguments by means of classical plots and genres.

Between 5th and 6th century the Gazan rhetorical school was seat of significant interactions, because of the large turnout of diverse students, attracted by the cultural fervour characterizing Palestinian city. Jews, Christians and Pagans were fellow students under the guidance of Professors who were Christians as regards their faith, but Neoplatonists in relation to their philosophical training received at the schools of Alexandria and Athens. In such a context, Christian rhetors did not give up their cultural inheritance, but they recast it in something new, by transforming the aspects which threatened to conflict with their religious positions. Thus, Gazan rhetors Aeneas and Zacharias, disciples, respectively, of Alexandrian Neoplatonists Hierocles and Ammonius, chose the platonic dialogue as the better literary form to compare opposite philosophical and religious theories and to assert finally Christian principles of the creation of the cosmos as well as the resurrection of bodies.

This paper wants to examine some crucial episode of Zaccharias' *Ammonius* as well as Aeneas' *Theophrastus* in order to show that these dialogues prove to be hybrid not only regarding the combination of platonic form and Christian contents, but also due to the syncretism inherent to their thought systems which sometimes makes Christian rhetors slip towards Neoplatonic claims.

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Slot 11: 9:00 - 9:50am**Marco Formisano**, Ghent University [marco.formisano@ugent.be]*The Great Return. Rutilius Namatianus and the End of Rome*

In the early fifth century the poet Rutilius Namatianus writes a poem narrating his return from Rome to his native Gallia. Although he is going home, the poem itself uses the language of exile. Such a dissonance between content and form is, to be sure, a typical feature of late antique literature, and yet Rutilius' *reditus* receives a particular metaphorical value because it grandly represents a movement opposite to Aeneas' foundational voyage towards Rome. If the *Aeneid* founds Rome (and its literature), Rutilius leaves it behind himself, no matter how melancholic his journey might be. It is commonly argued that Rutilius' poem is a nostalgic eulogy on the classical pagan tradition and that his journey is a "voyage intertextuel", but I argue that his readers cannot ignore the metaphorical power of that centrifugal and exilic movement: by leaving Rome, Rutilius unavoidably quits its literary past. This return towards a ruinous home thus disrupts and disintegrates the Book of Rome.

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am**Alberto Corrado**, University of Oxford [alberto.corrado@queens.ox.ac.uk]*Lucretius and Prosper of Aquitaine: the proem to De Rerum Natura 4 in the praefatio epigram of Liber epigrammatum*

Prosper of Aquitaine's *Liber sententiarum ex operibus Sancti Augustini* is the attempt to epitomise part of Augustine's philosophy in *sententiae* during his later years in Rome, as Pope Leo's advisor. It was an effort aimed at fitting Augustine's doctrines – which, previously, Prosper had firmly and naïvely defended – to the cause of the primacy of Roman Church, as a great, final homage to his master of the early years (Hwang, 2009: 198-202; 204-205). Shortly after, Prosper drew from his *sententiae* to create one of the oddest Fathers' works of poetry: a book of epigrams in which each poem corresponds to a maxim (despite a few exceptions, see Horsting, 2016: 1-6). Remarkably, the collection is introduced by a poem which is completely separate from the rest of the epigrams, introducing Prosper's poetic endeavour as *decerpere flores* (*Lucretius* 4.4) and presenting the *liber*. I maintain that this quotation from the proem to Lucretius' book 4 holds a deeper meaning than just a stylistic *mimesis*. In fact, the two prooemial passages share more than just a quote, since the themes and the images of the epigram continuously echo Lucretius. We should not ignore, therefore, the programmatic relevance that quoting Lucretius eventually assumes in this case, which appears, at the same time, to suggest a deeper reference: as Lucretius turned the Epicurean philosophy into poetry, the old Prosper versified his own Augustinian epitome; as Lucretius honoured Epicurus, Prosper paid a tribute to his master Augustine. In the oral presentation, I will try to outline the reasons why Prosper summons Lucretius in his *praefatio* epigram and attempt to go beyond the typical exploitation of the classical literature in early Christian poets in order to detect a bond between Prosper and Lucretius which may not only be exquisitely literary.

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Thomas Tsartsidis, School of Philosophy, Department of Philology – University of Athens [ttsar@phil.uoa.gr]

Prudentius' Agnes and the Elegiac Puella: Generic Interactions in Late Antique Christian Poetry

Many models that shaped the notion of the virgin saint more generally and the picture of Agnes more specifically have been identified hitherto. Polyxena and Thecla are two notable examples from Classical and Christian literature respectively. In *Peristephanon* 14 (end 4th/ beginning 5th c. AD), Prudentius creates an inventive verse rendering of the story of Agnes. Versions of her story are also recounted by the contemporaries of Prudentius; Damasus and Ambrose. Prudentius' Classicising poetry is characterised by the mixture of genres and literary traditions, one of them being Roman Love elegy. The affinities, however, between Prudentius and the latter tradition deserve closer attention. Interestingly, in Prudentius' *Peristephanon* 14, the portrayal of Agnes shares many features with the elegiac *puellae* of Roman Love elegy (key-words describing their behaviour, sexualisation of their body, the use of speaking names, the reference to the topography of Rome). In this paper, first I will offer an overview of elegy in Late Antiquity in general, and in Prudentius more specifically. Then, I will survey the literary representation of Agnes in Late Antiquity, focusing on Prudentius' 'innovations' to her story. Finally, by identifying vocabulary, themes and motifs of Roman elegy in *Peristephanon* 14, I will illustrate ways in which Prudentius' Agnes can be read as a Christianised elegiac *puella*.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Giulia Agostini, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità – “Sapienza” Università di Roma [giulia.agostini@uniroma1.it]

The effects of transition through the papyrological documentation: the documents about governors of Egyptian provinces in 4th c. AD

After the reforms of the Tetrarchic Period, the administration of Egypt underwent some changes: the ancient province was split up into smaller administrative units and new officials were introduced. As a result, Egyptian administration became more similar to that of the other provinces of the Roman Empire. This phase of transition can be clearly observed through the papyrological documentation. In particular, documents concerning governors, i.e. the prefect and the *praesides* that headed Egyptian provinces, show us some new developments occurred in this period: on the one hand, the documents issued by the governors and the court proceedings show how the central government presented itself; on the other, in documents by which people made an application to the authority, we can observe their attitude toward the authority itself.

In this paper I will show some results of my research about governors of Egyptian provinces in order to stress the elements of continuity with the first century of Roman domination and the innovations concerning the language of the administration.

Nathan Carlig, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità – “Sapienza” Università di Roma
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Traces of paideia in the monastic settlements of Western Thebes (Upper Egypt) from the ostraca (6th – 8th cent.)

From the 6th cent. onwards, the tombs of the New Kingdom in Western Thebes were reoccupied by numerous monks. Many papyri and ostraca have been found there informing us about aspects of the monastic life. Among this material, a small number of ostraca contains texts related to *paideia*. In this paper, I shall study these pieces from both an internal (content, language) and external (writing support, layout, writing) points of view, to try to identify possible contexts of production and usage.

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Adriano Russo, Università di Pisa – École Pratique des Hautes Études - PSL, Paris
[adriano.russo018@sns.it]

Paul the Deacon, Rutilius Namatianus and the Epigrammata Bobiensia

The starting point of this research is a debated question of authenticity concerning the medieval elegy *Perge libelle* (ICL 11891), doubtfully attributed to Paul the Deacon.

One case of intertextuality is especially important for this attribution. The author of the *Perge Libelle* is familiar with Rutilius Namatianus' *De reditu*, for he reuses an *adynaton* only found in Rutilius (vv. 53-54). The same lines are imitated by Paul the Deacon in a metrical epistle to Adalhard of Corbie; which makes a solid argument in favour of the attribution of *Perge Libelle* to Paul.

Paul the Deacon's reception of Rutilius raises some new questions about the medieval transmission of such a rare text as the *De reditu*. As far as we know, the poem survived in the Middle Ages in only one copy: a Late Antique manuscript preserved at Bobbio and recovered in 1493. Besides Paul the Deacon, the only other evidence of knowledge of Rutilius before this date is found in a poem by Columbanus and in a certain Marco of Montecassino, author of a hagiographic poem in honor of Saint Benedict. It is tempting to connect these two episodes of Rutilius' reception, and to envisage a passage of Rutilius' text at Montecassino before or beside its arrival at Bobbio. But this hypothesis does not hold water. I will argue that the imitations by Marco and Paul are not connected to each other. Paul's acquaintance of the text is probably linked to Pavia or Milan rather than to Montecassino.

Finally, I will consider the case of the brief epigram *Thrax puer* (AL 709 = ICL 16361) translated from a Greek original and quoted by Paul the Deacon in an epistle to Peter of Pisa in 782. Eminent scholars have asserted that Paul himself is responsible for the translation. I will argue that Paul was no more than a reader of this text, and that the translation itself is older than Paul's age: Venantius Fortunatus' *De excidio Thoringiae* (569-570) offers a solid *terminus ante quem*. I will then make the cautious hypothesis that this epigram was once included in the corpus of the so-called *Epigrammata Bobiensia*, a collection of Late Antique epigrams (mostly translated from Greek models) which survived in the Middle Ages at Bobbio in the same manuscript as Rutilius' *De reditu*. The association of Rutilius and the *Thrax puer* epigram in a single volume would explain Paul's acquaintance with both of them.

Slot 4: 4:40 - 5:30pm

Wanessa Asfora Nadler, Universidade de Coimbra [wanasfora@gmail.com]

The manuscript tradition and reception of Palladius' Opus Agriculturae in the Middle Ages and its possible contribution to the history of medicine

During the Middle Ages, of all the Latin authors who left writings on agriculture, Palladius was the one who received the greatest attention. Approximately a hundred manuscripts of his *Opus Agriculturae*, dated between the 9th and the 13th century, were

produced in different locations in Western Europe. There are still a large number of epitomes, excerpts and paraphrases of the work found alone in manuscripts or incorporated into works of other medieval authors. Interestingly, Cato, Varro and Columella – the other three main authors who left us Latin technical texts on agriculture – do not share the same prominence at the period and the reasons for that are still a matter of discussion. Based on these premises, the aim of this paper is to present the medieval manuscript tradition of Palladius' *Opus agriculturae* and its reception from the second half of the Middle Ages on. The hypothesis that will be discussed proposes that such reception might be associated, at some level, with pragmatic medical needs and interest of certain monastic communities of that time.

[Thursday]

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Jean-Yves Tilliette, Université de Genève [jean-yves.tilliette@unige.ch]

Horatius mutatus in melius ? Sur l'imitation des Odes par quelques poètes latins des XI^e et XII^e siècles

Dès la conversion de l'empire romain au christianisme, les poètes n'hésitent pas à mettre les formes d'expression canonisées par leur prestigieuse antiquité au service du message sacré : l'œuvre de Juvencus qui, sous le règne de Constantin, entreprend de paraphraser l'évangile de Matthieu en hexamètres virgiliens donne le branle à une tradition appelée à se perpétuer pendant des siècles. Alors même que les contraintes phonétiques qui la fondent, l'opposition entre syllabes longues et brèves, ne correspondent plus à la réalité de la langue qui se parle, la versification dactylique continuera jusqu'à la période moderne à porter non seulement les énoncés auxquels on entend donner le lustre que confère le vers héroïque – récits bibliques, vies de saints, panégyriques de héros –, mais aussi des contenus plus prosaïques, les vertus des plantes ou la grammaire latine, dans la mesure où le rythme simple que fonde l'alternance des dactyles et des spondées facilite la mémorisation.

Il ne semble pas en revanche que la versification éolienne, plus variée et plus complexe, ait connu le même succès. Les recueils lyriques de Prudence n'auront guère d'imitateurs dans le haut moyen âge, dans la mesure où les formes beaucoup plus simples et beaucoup plus accessibles au public de la poésie rythmique apparaissent plus aptes à porter la louange collective. Les Odes d'Horace trouveront toutefois quelques imitateurs médiévaux de talent. L'exposé tendra à présenter certains d'entre eux et à comprendre les raisons de leur choix esthétique. Ainsi, deux auteurs de la seconde moitié du XI^e siècle, Alphanus de Salerne et le cardinal Deusdedit, proches des milieux cassiniens qui constituent le fer de lance de la réforme dite « grégorienne » reprennent à leur compte les mètres d'Horace en vue d'exalter l'autorité du siège romain et de traduire les élans de la spiritualité « réformée ». On se demandera si de telles œuvres ne sont pas à mettre en relation avec le souci, bien documenté par les historiens et historiens de l'art, qu'ont les promoteurs de la réforme de récupérer au profit de celle-ci et contre l'Empire germanique les valeurs de la romanité triomphante et les formes qui les traduisent.

C'est dans un esprit un peu différent qu'un siècle plus tard, le moine de Tegernsee qui se déguise sous le pseudonyme romain de Metellus entreprend de retrouver le geste des centonistes de l'Antiquité tardive en dédiant aux vertus et aux miracles du saint fondateur de son monastère, Quirin, quatre livres d'Odes « ad instar Flacci Oratii » qui

démarchent très littéralement leurs modèles antiques. On s'efforcera d'évaluer la portée esthétique et religieuse d'une telle démarche.

Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Bénédicte Chachuat, Université Toulouse Jean-Jaurès [bchachuat@gmail.com]

The posterity of Lucan 7, 104-107

In this presentation, I will focus on the fertile posterity of Lucan 7, 104-107. I will study these verses' interpretation in the ancient and medieval *scholia* and commentaries; thus, we could see which aspects, linguistic, textual or ethical, have drawn the attention of the commentators. Then, I will try to make an inventory of the complete or partial quotations of these verses in medieval manuscripts and works, such as the *Moralis Philosophia de Honesto et Utili* – a compilation of classical texts of the 12th century whose author's identity is still under scrutiny –, the *Speculum doctrinale* by Vincent of Beauvais, a compendium of all the knowledge of the author's time, or the *Polythecon*, a poetical florilegium from the 13th century.

Various issues arise when studying how medieval authors dealt with these lucanian verses. Are they used in similar contexts, to illustrate a same moral issue or to convey various values? Which factors determine the extent of the quote and what are the consequences on the meaning? In the *florilegia*, are these verses frequently associated with other quotations of classical or medieval authors, which could allow for some defining trend? Has the interest of medieval scholars varied with time? Finally, from a philological point of view, do these quotations, which are a kind of indirect tradition, bring interesting variant readings for the analysis and the understanding of Lucan's textual tradition which is so complicated? Such are the questions I want to deal with in my communication.

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Ivo Wolsing, Radboud University, Nijmegen [I.Wolsing@let.ru.nl]

The Classical East Recontextualized in Twelfth-Century Epic Poetry

One of the governing principles in Latin epic poetry since the Aeneid is a distinction between the 'Roman West' and the 'un-Roman' East. Through this binary division, authors sought to define the collective identity of the Roman/Western Self in relation to its polar opposite, the Eastern Other. In short, Easterners are characterized in terms of effeminacy, irrationality, and luxury, leading to the identification of Roman-ness with masculinity, rationality, and moderateness.

This paper examines the resonance of classical ideas of the East in two twelfth-century epics that explicitly deal with Eastern affairs: Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* and Joseph of Exeter's *Ylias*. The poems were written in the 1180s, a time when the relations between the Christian and Islamic worlds were tense, leading to the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and the subsequent Third Crusade (1189-92). Both poems draw heavily on classical models in depicting the East, and both poems should be read in the crusading spirit of that time. But how should we read these passages? How do the different *topoi* relate to each other and the political/religious contexts in which the texts came into being? Did the poets simply put together a collection of classical Eastern *topoi*, or do we see cons-

cious re-modelling of those same *topoi* in order to fit current ideas about the East? I argue that the latter is most likely the case: the poets' choice of classical material as analogy to the present situation reflect a broader trend in twelfth-century literature, by which the Saracen Other is increasingly defined in terms of the Classical Easterner.

Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Lucia Degiovanni, Università degli Studi di Bergamo [lucia.degiovanni@unibg.it]

A Medieval reading of Ov. Her. IX (Deianira Herculi) and its influence on later literature and art

The purpose of this paper is to show how a misunderstanding of a passage from Ovid's Heroid IX (Deianira's jealousy letter to Hercules), documented in medieval commentaries and translations since the 12th century, was incorporated into the literature of the time and exerted a lasting influence on later literature and art.

The misunderstanding originates from the lack of identification of the reference to Omphale, not mentioned by name, in ll. 53 ss., with the consequent attribution to Iole of the long digression of ll. 53-118, which describes Hercules' *servitium amoris* to Omphale. This interpretation, although philologically incorrect, is not however meaningless. In fact, the description of the humiliation to which Hercules underwent (wearing women's garments and performing the female task of spinning) seems to effectively argue Deianira's initial statement (the conqueror Hercules shamefully submitted to the prisoner of war Iole: *victorem victae succubuisse queror*, Ov. Her. IX, 2). Moreover, the attribution to Iole of Omphale's prerogatives seems to be confirmed by the anomalous characterization of the *captiva* given by the jealous Deianira: Iole, proud to be Hercules' favorite, has the attitude of a queen, not of a war prisoner (ll. 125-130). These (and other) contextual elements contributed to support the Medieval reading of the epistle, which had also the advantage of giving greater consistency to the Ovidian text, by unconsciously 'emending' an evident disproportion in the structure of the epistle: a good 66 verses are dedicated to the concluded Hercules-Omphale affair (which is no longer a threat to Deianira's marriage), while only 28 verses are dedicated to the current Hercules-Iole affair, which is the main object of Deianira's jealousy, as well as the origin of the upcoming tragic events.

The consistency of the Medieval reading led to its considerable fortune, to the point that a new mythical variant, which merged Iole and Omphale into a single character, found considerable diffusion both in literature and in art. The consequence was a complete redefinition of the character of Iole, that, through the reinvention of Giovanni Boccaccio (*De mulieribus claris* XXIII), found full realization in C16-18th theatre.

In C16-18th painting and sculpture, the iconography of the Hercules-Iole subject acquires the same characteristics that, since Roman art, were typical of the Hercules-Omphale subject (see e.g. the "Ercole and Iole" fresco by Annibale Carracci in the Galleria Farnese, ca. 1600).

[Friday]

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Angela Cossu, École Pratique des Hautes Études - PSL, Paris - Università di Pisa [angela.cossu@ephe.psl.eu]

Carpere flores. Classical poets' transmission through 9th century prosodic florilegia

Medieval students, like us, did not have the perception of syllabic quantity in Latin words, because the quantitative Latin rhythm changed into accentual from the 3rd and 4th century of our age. In order to resolve this problem, teachers in medieval schools invented the prosodic *florilegia*, i.e. lists of classical and medieval Latin verses from the most studied authors (Vergil, Ovid, Persius, Juvenal, the Christian poets etc.).

These decontextualized verses disclose a new attitude towards classical poets: they were read not for their literary value, but to compose a didactic tool by extraction. From which manuscripts did these extracts come? From which textual tradition did the cited verses derive? In his edition of the *Opus prosodiacum* of Mico of Saint-Riquier (9th century), L. Traube tried to answer these questions, suggesting that Mico composed his florilegium on the basis of a larger and older collection of verses, which was also the source of another contemporary *florilegium* called *Exempla diversorum auctorum*. According to this theory, the model came to the abbey of Reichenau travelling *per Langobardos*, and left again for France in an expanded version.

In this paper I intend to verify Traube's theory by extending the research field: I will examine the other extant prosodic *florilegia* which possibly derive from the same model (for example the *Florilegium metricum* of Heiric of Auxerre and the collection of Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 870), in order to trace the real relationships between all the *florilegia* from the 9th century. Combining these results with the history of the tradition of selected Latin poets, my aim is to define the shape of the source collection and its journey. This reconstruction will allow us to understand the practice of the excerption and, more broadly, how medieval students and teachers dealt with Latin poets in school.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Yannick Brandenburg, Universität zu Köln [yannick.brandenburg@uni-koeln.de]
Ms. Vatican Lat. 4929 in Medieval Anthologies

The 9th century ms. Vatican Lat. 4929 has often served as an example for how manuscripts ended up being excerpted and used in medieval anthologies like the *Florilegium Gallicum* (FG) and the *Florilegium Angelicum* (FA). This is because (1) it is one of the few extant manuscripts that unquestionably are a source for these anthologies, and (2) its extracts feature in both FG and FA. The common view holds that the compilers of either anthology accessed Vat. lat. 4929 directly and independently.

However, this opinion is incompatible with the evidence. The textual material suggests that the excerpts in FG and FA are not taken from Vat. lat. 4929 independently. Thus, my paper aims to (1) prove the existence of a lost collection of excerpts which was a source for both FG and FA, (2) discuss its scope, and (3) reflect on possible further use of it in medieval times.

To this end, I will first discuss the excerpts of the *Aulularia* (*Querolus*), which are the only ones found in both FG and FA. They overlap to a certain extent, and, in a number of places, they jointly (and significantly) deviate from the corresponding parts in the *Querolus* manuscripts. I will argue that this provides sufficient evidence for the existence of a (lost) common intermediate.

Secondly, this lost collection of excerpts appears to have comprised excerpts of other texts collected in Vat. lat. 4929, too (Censorinus, Pomponius Mela, and Julius Paris).

Thirdly, I will present some evidence from Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Maius*. Most of its *Querolus* sections evidently derive from the FG manuscript Paris lat. 17903. The few

sections not to be found in FG do (only) partly overlap with FA. Hence, Vincent too may conceivably have had access to the ancestor of the Vat. lat 4929 sections in FG and FA.

Slot 14: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Riccardo Macchioro, Fondazione Ezio Franceschini – S.I.S.M.E.L. [r.macchioro@gmail.com]

A Rewriting of Ps. Quintilian's Declamationes in the 12th Century: Philological Perspectives and a Hypothesis for the Attribution

Among the medieval Fortleben of the pseudo-quintilian *Declamationes Maiores*, the text known as *Excerpta Parisina* is most interesting, and in need of thorough scholarly examination. Within my paper, I will account three of the major issues about this rewriting of the *Declamationes*, and namely the attribution, the need for a critical edition and its relationship with the manuscript tradition of the original *Declamationes*. I will try to identify which manuscript branch of the *Declamationes* the *Excerpta* stemmed from, highlighting the possibility that they convey some readings from a branch that is no longer witnessed by the direct tradition. Then, I will argue that the *Excerpta* were realized within the alive English scholarly milieu of the 12th century, where also William of Malmesbury and John of Salisbury testify to a strong interest for Ps. Quintilian; in particular, I will discuss the hypothesis that they are to be ascribed to the English scientist and scholar Adelard of Bath.

Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Silverio Franzoni, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa - École Pratique des Hautes Études - PSL [silverio.franzoni@sns.it]

The Florilegium Gallicum: a meaningless florilegium?

The *Florilegium Gallicum*, no doubt the largest classical florilegium of the whole Middle Ages, was probably put together in Northern France during the 12th century, so that it can be seen as one of the most accomplished products of the classicist revival of that time. Its thousands of extracts are drawn on an astonishing variety of classical texts, running from Terence's comedies up to Cassiodorus' *Variae*. In such a disparate corpus made of ca. 80 works, multiple themes, genres and forms coexist, and each excerpt of the *Florilegium* has its own content: how does all of this build up a new, single and coherent sense? What is this sense, if it does exist? And is the sense given to each extract the same that this single passage bears in the original context?

My paper aims to deal with these two problems: the sense of the *Florilegium Gallicum* as a whole; the sense given to single excerpts or, in a broader way, to single works exploited by the *Florilegium*.

In order to tackle the first question I should briefly discuss some suggestions about the general structure of the *Florilegium*, in the effort of finding the scheme underlying the succession of authors and works set up by its compiler. The most important part of this first analysis, though, will deal with the destination of the *Florilegium* and the probable use for which it was made. I hope to prove that a didactic usage, which is still regarded by most of the scholars as the main purpose of this compilation, is an implausible explanation for the creation of such a collection. I will then tentatively suggest some alternative possibilities, discussing at the same time the reasons why no one of them seems to

offer an entirely persuasive solution of the problem.

Concerning the second question, I will take into consideration the titles often assigned to single excerpts in the *Florilegium*, which are the only firm way to know how the compiler read each passage. As it will appear, however, these short para-texts are unfortunately often too vague and thus they do not give a solid basis for any elaboration. Anyway, the lack of match between them and the interpretation given to the same passages by medieval commentators can corroborate the suggestion that the *Florilegium* was not a didactic tool, as it is often thought nowadays.

Slot 16: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Elisa Lonati, École Pratique des Hautes Études - PSL – Scuola Normale Superiore [elisa.lonati@sns.it]

Helinand of Froidmont, the hidden classicist?

For someone whose aim was to retell the universal history from the Creation to the contemporary age, the concept of “Latin Classics” must have been quite different than ours. The chronicles of Eusebius of Caesarea-Jerome and Sigebert have fed Helinand of Froidmont’s *Chronicon* with a strong chronological structure, while saint Augustin’s treatises, the biblical commentaries and theological dissertations significantly modelled his approach to human history. But Helinand’s way to look at the first ages of mankind was eclectic and, thanks to a strong education, his literary knowledge wider than we would expect. Thus, a variety of Classical sources in the traditional sense show up in the books I-XVIII of his *Chronicon*, and many more were probably invoked in the following section, now lost, who especially dealt with Roman history.

Some sources, as Petronius’s *Satyricon*, Martial’s *Epigrammata*, Sidonius Apollinaris’s *Epistulae* or the anonymous *Querolus*, are the object of no more than scattered quotations, whose justification is rarely self-evident. For other models, the re-use is abundant, but restricted to a particular section: it is the case of Seneca’s *Epistulae*, providing biographical and theoretical digressions on Greek philosophers, and of his *Tragoediae*, whose exploitation in book XII offers an historical framework for the heroes of Greek mythology. Other works, finally, accompany the development of the *Chronicon* as the most authoritative sources in a scientific field, as Seneca’s *Naturales Quaestiones* about meteorological phenomena, or Solinus’s *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* in geographical or zoological complements.

The question the picture arises is why Helinand has developed a multiple use of Classical sources, considering the fact that he also exploited the Late Antique commentaries on Classics and the moralizing collection about mythology known as the *Mythographus Vaticanus III*. Beside an examination of the reshaping these citations undergo, we need to focalize on how Helinand obtained his texts, asking if he has realised a contamination between multiple sources or if he has left traces on manuscripts which still survive. The analysis has to take into account the direct circulation of Classical sources at the time as well as their re-use in *florilegia* spread in Northern France, whose origin and aims would be better understood in the light of Helinand’s parallel evidences. At the same time, we will stimulate new reflections on the fortune of some quotations of the *Chronicon*, which have been inherited by his user Vincent of Beauvais, and thanks to his *Speculum maius* have arrived to later chronicles and compilations, who never had access to Helinand’s unfortunate masterpiece.

Slot 17: 9:00 - 9:50am

Daniela Gallo, Università degli Studi di Cassino e del Lazio Meridionale – Sorbonne Université [danielagallo93@hotmail.it] & **Stefano Grazzini**

The pre-Remigian recensio of the Carolingian scholia to Juvenal

Juvenal has been one of the most widely-read and studied Latin authors since Late antiquity, and he continued to play a leading role during the Middle Ages. The interest towards Juvenal boosted a continuous exegetical activity on his text, of which there is trace in several commentaries: the so-called *Probus Vallae* (which Giorgio Valla edited in Venice in 1486 drawing from an exemplar now lost), and that in all likelihood provide evidence of an older phase in the exegetical process; the *scholia uetustiora* published by Paul Wessner (*Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora*, Leipzig 1931), which goes as far back as the Late Antique commentary; the *scholia recentiora*, dating back to the Carolingian Age, whose two commentaries, labelled by Wessner φ and χ , have been recently edited by Stefano Grazzini (*Scholia in Iuvenalem recentiora secundum recensiones φ et χ* , tomus I (*satt.* 1-6), Pisa 2011; tomus II (*satt.* 7-16), Pisa 2018).

My researches focus on the unpublished *scholia* on Juvenal's *Satires* preserved in the following Early Medieval codices: MS Cambridge, King's College, 52 (Δ , North-East France, c. IX^{4/4}) along with its apograph MS Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, BPL 82 (*L*, Germany, lake Constance area, c. XI); MS London, British Library, Add. 15600 (*Z*, North-East France, c. IX^{4/4}); MS Cambridge, Trinity College, O.4.11 (Θ , North France, c. X^{2/3}). These manuscripts preserve a commentary on Juvenal earlier than the *scholia recentiora*: thanks to the correspondences found between the commentary on Juvenal and other exegetical works of the Carolingian scholar, it is possible to trace this commentary back to Remigius of Auxerre's work and also relate it to the exegetical work of Remigius' mentor, Heiric, whose interest in Juvenal's *oeuvre* is well documented: scholium $\varphi\chi$ *ad Iuu.* 9, 37: *unus pes deest uersui Graeco quem magister Heiricus scire non potuit.*

My speech will examine the exegetical material of the MS Cambridge, King's College, 52, compared to the other – either earlier or contemporary – commentaries, and it will explain the relationship between, on the one hand, Δ and *L* and, on the other hand, Δ and Θ , with particular attention paid to the textual and formal features of the commentary preserved by these manuscripts.

Slot 18: 10:00 - 10:50am

Camilla Poloni, Università di Pisa [camilla.poloni@phd.unipi.it]

The Medieval Transmission of a Donatian argumentum of the Eunuchus in Manuscripts of Terence

Donatus' *Commentary to Terence* introduces the *Eunuchus* with three *argumenta*, the second of which presents a peculiar case of textual transmission. As a matter of fact, *argumentum II* circulates independently from the rest of the *Commentary* in 19 manuscripts of Terence, where it precedes and introduces the comedy; dating from the 12th to the 15th century, they represent the most ancient witnesses to this section of Donatus' text. The existence of this "independent" transmission of the *argumentum* was pointed out by Claudia Villa (cf. *La lectura Terentii. Da Ildemaro a Francesco Petrarca*, Padova 1984, p. 247, n.

42), but both the relationships among the witnesses and their connection with the stemma of the *Commentary* still need to be investigated.

Even though the *argumentum* is essentially a single *scholium*, my collations reveal the existence of some neatly distinguishable groups of witnesses, probably all descending from a common ancestor which originally imported the Donatian extract in a manuscript of Terence. The *terminus ante quem* for this operation is the 12th century, as three witnesses are dated to this period; its geographical collocation is still uncertain, as the *argumentum* circulated in a wide area. Indeed, a short *scholium* like this could be easily contaminated, spreading in manuscripts that belong to different branches of the stemma of Terence.

The stemmatic relationship between the archetype of this single-*scholium* transmission and the archetype of Donatus' *Commentary* to *Eunuchus* can be investigated through the analysis of their innovations. The archetype of the "Terentian" transmission (Ter.) of the sole *argumentum* shares one error with the archetype of the "whole" *Commentary* (Ω), which means that both Ter. and Ω descend from a common source; furthermore, Ter. presents the correct text in a point where Ω makes a mistake which is very difficult to correct, which means that probably Ter. is not a descendant of Ω . It is still impossible to determine whether Ω is a descendant of the manuscript form which Ter. was extrapolated or Ω and Ter. derive independently from a common source.

My paper aims to investigate the stemmatic position of the "Terentian" branch of transmission of the *argumentum*; as the *Commentary to Terence* was extremely rare before 1433, these still unexplored witnesses represent a precious piece of evidence of the medieval circulation of the text.

[PANEL 12] BOUNDARIES IN ANCIENT THOUGHT: BLURRING,
CROSSING, RESHAPING

[Wednesday]

Slot 2: 2:30 - 3:20pm

António de Castro Caeiro, IFILNOVA/Nova University of Lisbon [acaeiro@mac.com]
Geography of Human Nature

In this paper we are going to examine how human nature is conceived in the Hippocratic corpus as being constitutively in connection with the environment. In Hippocratic texts such as *De Aeris, Aquis et Locis* human beings are analysed not as a body closed in on itself, with a specific anatomy, physiology, morphology, enclosed within a cylindrical configuration, with inner hydraulic processes dependent on the fluids that compose them, but rather as something that is exposed to a specific place, climate, atmosphere, and meteorology throughout the year. Human nature depends on the seasons and the transition between them (*ek metaboles ton horon*), as well as on the nature of the native land or of the place the human being has chosen to live in (*dia tes chores ten physin*). What happens with human being happens also with the Earth (*echei de kai kata ten gen homoios haper kai kata tous allous anthropous*), as the seasons are morphologically and structurally diverse and affect different natures (*hai gar horai hai metallassousai tes morphes ten physin eisi diaphoroi*).

Hippocrates' different medical analyses have human nature as their theme (*amphi tes physeos tes anthropines*), as well as processes that hide within the body and that require a diagnosis of phenomena that are invisible to the naked eyes (*opsis ton adelon ta phainomena*). These processes require a peculiar perception of one's own body from within human awareness (*aesthesis tou somatos*).

Based on these elements, we will try to understand in what way the different dispositions of character may have an a priori influence over what happens within the human body and in the place it inhabits. How can an imbalance occur in such a way that, for example, black bile becomes the predominant fluid and affects human awareness itself, thereby constituting a pathological way of life, or else a brilliant reaction, as stated by Pseudo-Aristotle in *Problema XXX*, 1?

Can one's whole life or one's whole universe be melancholic? Is the melancholic world different from the non-melancholic world? Does the same happen with the choleric and the sanguine? Is the psyche the source and origin of the moods of life and the world, of the strictly human universe? Can this be changed, and how? These are the questions this paper will try to discuss and answer.

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Luís Gouveia Monteiro, NOVA University of Lisbon/University of Coimbra [gouveia Monteiro@gmail.com]
Television in Classical Antiquity

Several avenues open when one looks for the links between television and classical studies. We can start with the etymology of the word itself, with the idea of taking vision beyond the limits of the horizon, and the old and tired metaphor that points out

how Plato might have invented the cinematic (and the phenomenological) device with the Allegory of the Cave. But that is not all: we are still unable to think about moving images and their mimetic and cathartic powers without resorting to concepts coined more than 2300 years ago. This study will relate Plato's and Aristotle's ideas to recent studies in neurocinematics to show how some of those cutting edge classical ideas still define the way we think about media, images and movement.

Slot 4: 4:40 - 5:30pm

Valérie Bettelheim, Université de Poitiers [valerie.bettelheim@univ-poitiers.fr]

L'âme frontalière chez Plotin, entre l'intelligible et le sensible

La question de l'âme occupe chez Plotin, initiateur de la philosophie néoplatonicienne au troisième siècle, une place à la fois centrale et originale dans le contexte de la pensée ancienne par son statut nouveau : celui de l'âme frontalière entre sensible et intelligible, visible et invisible, être et non-être. Elle permet, ainsi considérée, d'offrir une ouverture épistémologique au concept d'âme. En effet, Plotin pose l'âme en tant que troisième degré de réalité ou hypostase, après l'Un et l'Intellect, et il lui donne un statut particulier parce qu'ambivalent : l'âme est « amphibie », autrement dit, immatérielle, invisible, supérieure par sa partie intellectuelle, mais elle plonge aussi au cœur du sensible par l'incarnation, elle apporte au corps sa détermination et sa résistance à la matière, permettant à celle-ci de s'ordonner, de s'unifier, sous la forme d'un être vivant, humain, animal ou végétal. Dès lors, l'âme, imprégnée de sensible, est imbibée par la matière. Trace intellectuelle et lumineuse dans le monde visible, elle devient à la fois chargée d'un corps et risque de se perdre dans le territoire matériel : la frontière est pénétrée, le passage entre visible et invisible se floute par l'incarnation.

Dans un premier temps, j'interroge le statut de l'âme frontalière chez Plotin, sa nature amphibie, développée dans le traité 6 entre autres, qui en fait la jointure entre le monde sensible et l'intelligible, dépassant le concept platonicien par son insertion dans la matière qui pourtant n'empêche pas son attache intellectuelle. Dans un second temps, je questionne ce nouveau statut de l'âme -frontière en tant qu'il permet de repenser les concepts « intelligible », « sensible », « matière », « être », « non-être », voire de considérer une interpénétration de ces concepts, et donc d'ouvrir leurs frontières épistémologiques. La pensée de Plotin sur l'âme pose ainsi une nouvelle problématique, celle de l'individu incarné, qui rendra possible l'émergence des concepts de conscience, de raison, et du « je » dans la philosophie moderne.

[Thursday]

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Paulo Alexandre Lima, IFILNOVA/Nova University of Lisbon [lima.pauloalexandre@gmail.com]

The monstrous in Seneca's Medea

Seneca's plays are impressive for the violence of their language and the horrible deeds depicted in them. An heir to Greek tragedy, by virtue of genre similarities and the adoption of Greek myth, Senecan drama exerted a strong influence on the subsequent history of the tragic genre (Elizabethan drama is a remarkable example of this) and "has a ...

still living cousin in the element of the surreal and the incredible that attaches to the ... non-fictional accounts of the tortured from Argentina to Algeria, from Auschwitz to the Gulag” (Charles Segal, “Boundary Violation and the Landscape of the Self in Senecan Tragedy”, in John Fitch, *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Seneca*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 156). The modernity of Senecan tragedy, its usefulness to understanding the logic (or lack thereof) of our contemporary world and our contemporary ways of valuing the world, comes from (among other things) its depiction of the interactions – that is to say, the blurring and crossing of boundaries – between the psychological, political and physical realms. I intend to explore these interactions by means of an analysis of the phenomenon of the monstrous – in other words, of the violation of predetermined boundaries of the aforementioned realms – as presented in Seneca’s *Medea*.

Although “Tragedy had by Seneca’s time long been associated with shocking effects created by the monstrous”, “Seneca’s ... plays had made *monstrum* the leitmotiv of the genre” (Gregory Staley, *Seneca and the Idea of Tragedy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 96). What distinguishes Senecan drama from Greek tragedy – or, for that matter, the role attributed to monsters in Greek literature – is that “it makes monsters not the antithesis of human beings but synonymous with them” (p. 119). It seems to me that Staley’s view of Senecan tragedy is interesting and correct up to this point. The problem with Staley’s position is that it conceives of the monstrous in Seneca’s plays as an inner phenomenon pertaining only to the human psyche. A bold expression of this view (indeed one that inspired Staley’s) is Segal’s in the above-mentioned study. Segal maintains that what is at stake in Seneca’s plays are cases of the “pathetic fallacy” (*op. cit.*, p. 138), a “projection of personal emotion into a cosmic frame” (p. 137) which is based on a “sympathy between individual and cosmos” and “correspondences between man and nature” (p. 138) linking “microcosm and macrocosm” (p. 141). I argue that the monstrous in Seneca’s *Medea* is, as it were, a *total phenomenon*, which cannot be restricted to an inner, psychic sphere but has to be understood, both in its expression and possibility, as being connected with the blurring and crossing of psychological, political and physical boundaries as the Romans living under the rule of the empire – and, for that matter, we ourselves – know them.

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Halima Benchikh-Lehocine, École normale supérieure de Lyon [halima.benchikh-lehocine@ens-lyon.fr]

Guerrières, infanticides, cannibales: étude des personnages féminins dans les Dionysiaques de Nonnos de Panopolis à l’aune des études de genre

Dieu à la naissance mythologiquement double – extrait dans un premier temps du giron maternel pour finir sa gestation dans la cuisse paternelle après que Zeus eut foudroyé sa malheureuse amante –, Dionysos incarne la dualité et l’ambivalence. Divin mais pas tout à fait ouranien, masculin et féminin, il brouille allègrement les catégories. Et cette ambivalence semble aussi caractériser – par contamination ? – les mortels que les mythes rapportent interagir avec lui : ses fidèles sectatrices, les Bacchantes, quittent leur foyer et le rôle confiné qui est stéréotypiquement celui attribué aux femmes dans l’Antiquité pour parcourir les montagnes, chasser, faire la guerre aux Indiens ; celles qui résistent à la venue du dieu – les Inachiennes, hantant Argos, les habitantes du mont Nysa, sujettes

du Lycurgue d'Arabie, Agavé la mère de Penthée, roi de Thèbes impie, pour n'en citer que quelques-unes – sont frappées d'une folie qui les poussent à la transgression du tabou de l'infanticide et certaines vont même jusqu'au cannibalisme.

La mythologie dionysiaque offre ainsi un champ d'étude fort intéressant lorsqu'on cherche à analyser la manière dont les Anciens pensaient certaines frontières (celles du genre, du sacré, de la condition humaine etc.). Et quel meilleur corpus d'étude que l'oeuvre la plus longue consacrée à cette ensemble de mythes – et à bien d'autres sujets – que la postérité ait gardé : les *Dionysiaques* de Nonnos de Panopolis, long poème de quarante-huit chants d'inspiration épique du V^{ème} siècle de notre ère écrit par un égyptien de langue grecque. Cette épopée offre en effet une véritable galerie de portraits de personnages transgressifs et ces derniers revêtent une importance toute particulière en ce qu'ils servent de révélateur. Par et à travers la description de l'acte transgressif, ce sont les cadres normatifs d'une action, d'une société, l'ensemble des règles qui ont normalement pour objectif de rendre l'acte transgressif impossible qui se révèlent. En étudiant donc les actrices à l'origine de ces transgressions et la manière dont le poète choisit de les caractériser – notamment en face de leurs homologues masculins –, ce sont bien les frontières axiologiques, les cadres moraux, les limites de l'action humaine et des pratiques sociales et surtout la manière dont les Anciens concevaient tout cela que nous nous proposons modestement – à l'échelle d'un seul poème, quelque long fût-il – d'éclairer.

Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Christopher T. Green, Independent Researcher [c.t.green99@gmail.com]

Blurred Boundaries: Humans & Persons in Plato's Phaedo

Plato's *Phaedo* is concerned with personal survival after death. Socrates himself equates his self with the soul. But Socrates, whilst speaking to his interlocutors, is human, not a soul alone. Therefore, Socrates the Man who is speaking speaks as both part body and part soul, of which he equates his self with the latter. However, is it that easy for Socrates to dismiss the body out of hand?

The boundary of soul and body becomes blurred as Plato tells of souls unwilling to leave their human life (their body) behind after death (81e2-3). These souls exist in a liminal world, existing as neither embodied nor truly dis-embodied. They wander around graveyards and haunt their former existence. Furthermore, what the soul becomes after death can depend on what the soul was when embodied. As such, Socrates suggests that we have a moral concern for the fate of our souls (78b7-9). But why?

Why should I be just now (concerned now for the fate of my soul later) if it is only my *soul* that will bear the consequences? The problem is further convoluted by the soul's ability to have multiple existences through reincarnation. If the judgement of the soul after death is simply one judgement in a whole line of previous and future judgements, then there needs exist a causal link of identity through each successive existence. This causal link cannot be a human individual as it is the soul that survives death, not the human.

Therefore, can we solve the problem of moral accountability and forensic causation through John Locke's use of Person as opposed to Human? Would being the same Person, but not the same Human, satisfy the requirement of moral accountability across the soul's multiple existences? This, therefore, would establish a boundary between Persons (as forensic souls) and Humans (as individuals with a body) in Plato; a boundary that is often blurred, even by the souls themselves.

I will show how Locke's categorisation of Man, Person, and Forensics apply aptly to *Phaedo*. However, as Locke's ideas were plagued by the problem of memory, so too understanding the Platonic soul in terms of Personhood suffers from similar memory problems; even when viewing Recollection and Lockean memory in both a loose and a strict sense. Therefore, this paper concludes that there is a useful boundary (distinction) between Persons and Humans but that the problem of Persons as forensically morally accountable agents is not solved by implementing Locke's ideas, and that further enquiry is needed. I will end with a tentative glimpse into what the answer may be.

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Hélder Telo, IFILNOVA/Nova University of Lisbon [heldertelo@hotmail.com]

The Boundaries of Friendship in Plato and Aristotle

The conceptions of friendship (*philia*) developed by Plato and Aristotle are very complex and play a crucial role in these authors' anthropological, ethical and political thought. Scholars have analysed these conceptions in detail, but little attention has been given to the relation between friendship and boundaries in Platonic and Aristotelian thought. In my paper, I will show how Plato and Aristotle conceive friendship as a system of boundaries determining not only the way friendship is conceived, but also its spatiality and the attitudes or practices associated with it. Moreover, I will consider the extent to which, according to Plato and Aristotle, friendship can blur, cross or reshape boundaries, thereby bringing about great changes in the lives of individuals and communities. The boundaries in question are of many different kinds. Amongst these, there are four that are especially important, namely: 1) the boundaries of the notion of friendship itself (i.e. what friendship is, what its different forms are, how it differs from other emotions, etc.); 2) the psychic boundaries between the self and the other in the context of personal friendships (especially in the context of "erotic friendship" as conceived by Plato and in Aristotle's conception of perfect friendship, where the boundaries between friends become particularly blurred); 3) the inner boundaries of the political community (in particular, the boundaries between citizens and between social classes), insofar as the political community is – or should be – bound by some form of political or civic friendship; and 4) the boundaries of humanity as a concept and as a cosmopolitan community, insofar as they involve some form of *philanthropia*.

The first three kinds of boundaries are exhaustively discussed by Plato and Aristotle, and there are also some references – mostly in Plato – to the fourth kind. I will argue that the discussion of these four kinds of boundary and of how friendship relates to them not only allows for a better understanding of Platonic and Aristotelian conceptions of friendship, but also shows how – according to Plato and Aristotle – personal identity, the political community and even the idea of humanity have a strong emotional component and are essentially determined by friendship.

Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Myron Serra, University of Rouen in Normandy [serramjm@hotmail.fr]

La limite éthique du moi: le passage de l'individu au cosmos chez les Stoïciens d'époque impériale

La thématique de la limite et de la frontière dans le stoïcisme peut servir de catégorie pour penser les contours plus ou moins flexibles de la notion de sujet dans le stoïcisme. Tout d'abord, il faut partir du point de départ de l'éthique stoïcienne, à savoir le concept de l'*oikeiôsis* (l'« appropriation » de soi par soi) qui nous apprend comment tout être vivant naît avec un amour de soi et une « conscience » de soi innés et providentiels qui lui garantissent les moyens de se maintenir en vie. Ce point de départ biologique entraîne chez l'homme un comportement éthique adapté à sa nature spécifique qui est rationnelle. Le bien pour lui ne sera plus, comme au début de la vie, le souci de son corps, mais le souci de son moi le plus profond, sa raison. Le moi Stoïcien est donc idéalement délimité par la personne morale qui exhorte l'homme à ne se préoccuper que de ce qui dépend de lui.

Toutefois, la doctrine stoïcienne à l'égard des limites éthiques, notamment chez les Stoïciens d'époque impériale (Sénèque, Musonius Rufus, Épictète, Marc Aurèle et Hiéroclès, pour ne citer que les principaux auteurs), est paradoxale et joue sur un certain flou des frontières. Tantôt l'individu doit avoir une conception extrêmement rigoureuse de ce qui le définit, pour ne pas se confondre avec son environnement, ce qui lui permet de faire de lui-même le point de référence stable de toutes ses pensées, ses désirs, ses actes etc. Tantôt, au contraire, l'homme doit s'efforcer de s'identifier à son environnement, en raison de l'unicité du cosmos qui est entièrement parcouru par le *logos* lui donnant sa cohérence et sa rationalité. Nous retrouvons ici l'autre dimension du concept de l'*oikeiôsis*, qui n'est pas seulement un rapport à soi-même, mais aussi le rapport d'un sujet avec le monde qui le nourrit, le façonne et contribue donc à le définir essentiellement. Le monde est ainsi fréquemment comparé à un être vivant dont chaque partie est solidaire des autres, à la façon des organes qui collaborent pour maintenir le corps dans son état ordinaire. L'autre comparaison qui revient sans cesse est celle du monde conçu comme la cité des hommes et des dieux ; chaque homme étant une partie du Tout cosmique, il aura par conséquent à cœur de placer l'intérêt du Tout, auquel il appartient, avant le sien propre. Aussi les contours et limites du sujet doivent-ils être considérés non statiquement, mais dans une dynamique à la fois centripète et centrifuge qui mime le processus de l'*oikeiôsis*.

On voit dès lors que la délimitation du sujet pour les Stoïciens peut être à la fois souple et rigide, selon la perspective que l'on adopte : il s'agit soit de contenir tous les débordements et les excès auxquels l'homme a tendance à se livrer (les désirs excessifs, les passions qui nous soumettent aux événements extérieurs...) et donc de se constituer un moi très circonscrit et particulièrement étanche face à ce qui ne dépend pas de nous ; soit au contraire d'appréhender ce qu'il y a de divin en nous et qui nous apparente aux dieux avec qui nous avons en commun la raison, ce qui nous invite à tout faire pour collaborer activement, en acte et en pensée, avec la raison universelle et à reconsidérer les limites du moi qui prend alors les dimensions du cosmos.

[Friday]

Slot 11: 9:00 - 9:50am

Fábio Serranito, University of Leeds & IFILNOVA/Nova University of Lisbon [fserranito@gmail.com]

The Boundaries of the Self in Cicero's De Officiis

Few ancient ethical works have been more influential than Cicero's *De Officiis*. Based on *Περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος* by the Stoic philosopher Panaetius (but with some important

Ciceronian innovations), the *De Officiis* offers us a valuable insight into the ethical discourse and debate within Hellenistic and Roman philosophies. However, in spite of centuries of analysis, discussion and imitation, many aspects of this work continue to cause perplexity. The passage where Cicero explains the doctrine of the four *personae* is certainly among the most difficult to understand, but also among the most fascinating and tantalizing. In this passage (I.107ff.), Cicero explains the constitution of human character as determined by what he (likely following Panaetius), employing a theatrical image, designates as four *personae* (literally “masks”, as a translation for the Greek πρόσωπα, “faces” but also “masks”). These four *personae* consist of (1) human nature in general, (2) the specific nature of the individual, (3) the circumstances as defined by chance and time, and (4) the choice of the individual. The result of this series of interlocking factors is the course or way of life (*genus vitae*) of a given individual. The theory is further complicated by the fact that it is inserted within the context of the discussion of the notion of *decorum* (τὸ πρέπον in Greek), and its relation to the notion of *honestum*, in a sometimes unclear and confusing presentation that lead one critic, Winterbottom, to exclaim “*delirat Cicero*”.

In this paper, I will clarify that *non delirat Cicero*. Rather, I will examine how the four *personae* theory can account for the constitution of individual human lives in all their variety within the normative framework of ancient (and more specifically Stoic, albeit in its peculiar Panaetian version) ethical thought. I will give special attention to the tension that pervades the whole theory between an apparent injunction to “be oneself”, to find what is suitable to one’s own individuality, and the constitutive demands of the universal human nature, on the one hand, and the constraints of time and circumstance, on the other. It is within the firmly defined boundaries set by the first and third *personae* that the second *persona* will find space for the expression of one’s peculiar self in harmony with the *honestum*. Furthermore, I will examine how individual choice (the fourth *persona*) is called upon to define the course of one’s life within the boundaries established by the other three *personae*. In doing so, I will show how Panaetius’ innovative take on Stoic ethical doctrine, as expressed and developed by Cicero, helps to reconcile the diversity of human characters, circumstances and ways of life with the universal normative demands of moral duty.

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Laetitia Monteils-Laeng, Université de Montréal [laetiamonteils@gmail.com]

“Ὅρος au livre VII des Politiques d’Aristote: de la nécessité éthique de délimiter les frontières

Le grec ὄρος désigne dans les textes homériques la pierre qui borne le terrain dans un contexte agricole ou militaire¹. Chez les historiens, il acquiert un sens juridique et signifie la limite tracée entre deux entités politiques susceptibles d’entrer en conflit (Thucydide, I, 103, 4) ou encore la délimitation d’un territoire qui se fait depuis l’intérieur (Hérodote, VII, 141)². Gagnant en abstraction, le terme dit encore la définition, la délimitation (Chantraine, *DELG*, sv. ὄρος).

Ce faisceau de significations se retrouve dans l’usage aristotélicien du terme. Le philosophe y ajoute toutefois une dimension normative, notamment en contexte éthique et politique, où *horos* désigne la norme associée à la mesure (*EN VI*, 1 1138b18-34), qui peut correspondre à la finalité d’une constitution (*Pol. II*, 6 1265a32). Ces deux sens (concret, *horos* comme borne ; normatif, *horos* comme mesure) se rejoignent autour de l’enjeu de

la taille du territoire de la cité « selon nos vœux » (*Pol.* VII, 4, 1325b36) qui ne doit être ni trop petite – on doit pouvoir y mener librement une vie de loisir ; ni trop grande – elle doit être gouvernable ; mais surtout sa taille doit encourager chez ses citoyens une vie tempérante (1326b30-32).

En quoi la délimitation de frontières, apparaissant *a priori* comme une opération arbitraire et qui ne concerne que les relations entre États, peut-elle avoir des conséquences sur le mode de vie des individus ?

Selon Aristote, la taille de la *khôra* est déterminée par sa capacité (1326a12), elle-même adaptée à sa fonction (1326a13), garantir une vie bonne, i.e. autarcique (*Pol.* I, 2, 1252b29-30). La question de l'*horos* comme délimitation quantitative de la superficie de la *polis* devient alors celle de la détermination d'une « certaine mesure » (1326a36), d'un ordre (326a30) au-delà duquel on tombe inévitablement dans le désordre. La cité « selon nos vœux » sera grande, mais non peuplée (1326a25), suffisamment étendue pour garantir son autosuffisance, mais pas plus. Autrement dit, la question des frontières de la cité acquiert inévitablement une dimension éthique, dès lors qu'en limiter la taille est nécessaire, car l'autarcie ne dit pas seulement l'indépendance économique, elle borne aussi de l'intérieur les besoins des citoyens, de façon à ce que, en tempérant leurs appétits, ils n'épuisent pas les ressources de leur territoire et n'aient pas recours à des guerres expansionnistes pour garantir leur survie. L'autarcie, le *télos* de la cité, en signale les limites, y compris territoriales et préside à un tracé des frontières capables de contenir les hommes et leurs besoins.

¹ M. Casevitz, « Les mots de la frontière en grec » dans *La Frontière*, Y. Roman (éd.), Lyon, GDR Maison de l'Orient, 1993. p. 17-24.

² I. Boehm, « Pur concept, élément naturel ou réalité édifiée de la main d'homme. À propos du vocabulaire de la frontière en grec ancien », *Cahiers des études anciennes* 52, 2015, p. 19-45, cf. *Il.* XXII, v. 421 et XXI, v. 401-405.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Andrew Hull, Northwestern University [andrewhull2@gmail.com]

The Wrong Side of Town: Aristotle's Urban Planning and the Ethical Importance of Space

Aristotle's social ontology has long had a recognized influence on critical and Marxist theories of society. GEM de Ste. Croix (1981), for instance, showed how much Aristotle's theory of history – especially as found in the middle books of the *Politics* – anticipates historical materialism. Pike (1999) as well traces Aristotelian social ontology from Hegel through the Young Hegelians to Early Marx. Even scholars at least since Stocks (1936: *CQ* vol.30: 185; cf. *Pol.* V.9 1309b38-10a2) have noticed comparisons between his theories of the parts of the *polis* and Marxist class analysis. However, I would like to focus on one aspect which has received little theoretical attention: Aristotle's geography and theory of urban planning. I will be focusing on Books VII and VIII of the *Politics* where Aristotle discusses the ideal *polis*, and particularly his emphasis on the geographic and spatial characteristics of this city. Aristotle's language when discussing the terrain of his city is infused with both ethical and metaphysical commitments which deeply inform his view of the character of a *eudaimonic* citizen. For instance, the streets must be orthogonal around political and educational areas, while residential areas are permitted to be organic and bunched together like grape clusters (VII.11 1330b21-32). He meanwhile

bans all trade from the center political agora and relegates the commercial, “lower” *agora* to the border of the city (1331b1-3). Utilizing Henri Lefebvre’s theory of urban space as found in “State and Space” (2009), I will consider what Aristotle’s view of the city means especially with respect to the place of commerce or “money-making” in the city, and I believe he develops a more nuanced social space than is recognized. In particular, Aristotle makes use of a sophisticated sort of “symbolic space” (Lefebvre 2009: 230) that combines perspectival space with a view of the human which is focused on the material situation of humanity and our social, intellectual potential. So even though he lived in Classical Greece, Aristotle provides the seeds of resisting the abstracted, dehumanized “Capitalist Space” (and its impoverished view of human community) which Lefebvre locates in the stark, detached urban planning of Le Corbusier and the modern, car-reliant city. The problems of fixation on the abstract are anticipated in Aristotle’s criticisms of Plato’s Kallipolis (esp. II.5 1264b15-24), but it is in VII and VIII that he acts out this commitment to real, material wellbeing for all in a political society in a way that holds lessons for us today.

Slot 14: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Sally Mubarak, University of Auckland [smub166@aucklanduni.ac.nz]

Communication in conquest: facilitating boundary reassertion and negotiation in Roman Republican Triumphs

Like any other society, Roman Republican society was controlled, defined, and organised by boundaries of different types including physical, religious, social and civic. These vitally important divisions helped to order society, and provided meaning and structure to those who lived within them. It is therefore interesting when we see these boundaries blurred and crossed. In the Republican period, the most obvious example might be the crossing of the *pomerium* - the physical and conceptual boundary between *domi* and *militiae*. This boundary offered a clear line demarcating two theoretical spheres, typically keeping armies separate from the urban area. This line, however, was not wholly impermeable. The Romans did cross it on occasion, and therefore required a mechanism to do so in an appropriate way. The Triumph provided this mechanism.

The Roman Republican Triumph facilitated movement between the *domus* and *milita*. It was a ritual which allowed for armed soldiers to cross into Rome proper, and challenged the distinction set by the *pomerium* between the realms of ‘peace’ and ‘war’. In some ways, the procession brought the sphere of war into the urban city. Further to this, the Triumph empowered the *Triumphator* to exercise his *imperium* within the Roman city. The Triumphal institution was a medium through which a conversation could occur, where the senate could limit the power of the *Triumphator*, where the elites could interact with the wider Roman populace, and where the *Triumphator* was able to assert his authority after a suitably successful victory. Like other *pompae* in Republican Rome, the Triumph was also a mechanism through which social norms and distinctions were reshaped (perhaps the most obvious parallel in this instance is the *pompa funebris*).

The crossing of the *pomerium* during the Triumph played a significant role in conclusions drawn by scholars about the religious significance of the ritual.¹ Popkin (2016) has suggested that these *pompae* were vital for the geopolitical organisation of the Republican landscape, providing a tool for the reshaping of societal distinctions. Pittenger (2009) and Ostenberg (2009) both noted that the pomp associated with the Triumph

demonstrated that the ritualised crossing of the *pomerium* was socially, politically and culturally significant. In a further step made by Armstrong, in his forthcoming 2019 article, there is presented a concept of the Triumph as a means of transgressing social norms and boundaries. Building upon these aforementioned works, this paper aims to highlight the Romans' use of the Triumph as a tool for negotiating and reshaping of these boundaries after war. Viewing the Triumph as a tool for communication, and as a mechanism for the negotiation of socio-political norms, enables us to better understand the boundaries of the Roman Republic. *Domi* and *militiae* have traditionally been presented as a dichotomy², however, the extent to which this dichotomy remained static can be revealed through the manipulation of the boundary (the *pomerium*) that lay between them. The Triumphal institution provided the mechanism through which these boundaries could be crossed, and so may also represent the key to understanding them.

¹ Scholarship in the mid and latter part of the Twentieth century viewed the Triumph through religious and political lenses. Ehlers (1939) cf. 494-511; Wagenvoort (1947); Versnel (1970); Versnel (2006) cf. 290-326; Bonfante (1970a) cf. 49-66; Bonfante (1970b & 1974); Rüpke (1990); Rüpke (2006) 251-289.

² Drogula (2007 & 2015)

Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Saskia Stevens, Utrecht University [s.stevens@uu.nl]

Borderlands in the Roman world

What is the impact of constructing borders and putting up boundaries? In the social sciences this has been a prevailing research question since the 90s of the previous century, not only regarding physical boundaries, but also concerning conceptual borders. To address this question, the concept of borderlands has been introduced to better understand the impact of borders on cultures and peoples and to define the nature of the area in which cross-border interaction takes place. Borderlands come into existence when a border is created and they are found on both sides of that border; they are zones in between core and periphery, and share characteristics of both areas. Borderlands reflect the core's political, cultural and social identity, mixed with peripheral characteristics and institutions.

For the study of the ancient world, the emphasis has mainly been on conceptual borderlands, focusing, for example, on religious identity or cultural interactions between Romans and 'others'. In this paper, I want to address physical and geographical borders in the Roman world and their related borderlands. Based on archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources, a number of case studies will be introduced, varying from a number of urban borderlands to the empire's borderlands. As such, this paper will shed light on the impact borders had on the existing landscape in the Roman world, how they shaped and stimulated cross-border interaction and how new identities were created.

Slot 16: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Bram L. H. ten Berge, Hope College [tenberge@hope.edu]

Over the Boundary: Tacitus on Germanic Space

My broad argument in this paper is that, in his *Germania* (AD 98), the Roman imperial historian Tacitus describes the external and internal boundaries of Germania in such a way as to suggest the impracticability of its conquest and annexation. Boundaries—both natural (e.g. rivers, seas, mountains) and manmade (e.g. roads)—are a crucial element of an area’s “imageability” (to use Kevin Lynch’s term), i.e. elements that render an area conceptually familiar (or not).

Tacitus’ strategies in describing Germania’s boundaries are threefold: a) he describes its southern and western frontiers—the rivers Rhine and Danube and the North Sea—as formidable physical and psychological barriers that suggest impenetrability; b) he leaves Germania’s northern and eastern boundaries vague and undefined, suggesting infinite vastness; c) he withholds information about Germania’s internal boundaries (natural or manmade), suggesting an infinite space that lacks any infrastructural or natural order and that, as such, is incompatible with Roman notions of space and with the type of connectivity characteristic of the Roman *provincia*.

This construction of Germanic space stands in stark contrast to that of Britain and Gaul in Tacitus’ own *Agricola* and Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico*, the *Germania*’s two companion pieces. The *Agricola* and *De Bello Gallico* more carefully delineate the interior of Britain and Gaul and describe both as spaces conceptually familiar and suitable to Roman life. The *Germania* actively does the opposite. Rivers are a good example. While in the *Agricola* and *De Bello Gallico* major rivers are used to delineate the geography of Britain and Gaul and to allow a reader to navigate these foreign areas, Germania’s rivers are, for the most part, omitted; in Tacitus’ *Germania* there are no riverine networks, no means of organizing and strategizing about space.

Tacitus’ description of Germania’s frontiers and internal divisions, I argue, forms part of a larger argument against conquest. In addition to its vastness and lack of internal order, Germania’s resources are described as being insufficient to defray the cost of its own annexation. This, coupled with the notion that the more mobile and ‘fluid’ Germani are engaged in recurrent internecine conflict, is the basis of Tacitus’ argument that the best policy with regard to Germania is not conquest—a still widely entertained conclusion—but one of indirect control (‘soft power’) designed to maintain Rome’s *imperium* across the Rhine. Although rivers are permeable boundaries, Tacitus establishes the Rhine as the conceptual, physical, and cultural limit to Rome’s empire in the North, just as the Euphrates was in the East.

[PANEL 13] 'WHAT DAIMŌN DROVE YOU ON?'
UNDERSTANDING DIVINE AND HUMAN AGENCY IN ANCIENT GREEK THOUGHT
AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

[Wednesday]

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Manon Brouillet (via skype), Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies [manon.brouillet@ehess.fr]

Coping with the Men. Human Agency and the Divine World in the Homeric Epics and Beyond

A great number of scholars have focused on action and agency in order to understand the relationship between men and gods in Homer. While causality, responsibility, freedom, over/double-determination have been emphasized, they have created and reinforced the great divide between human and non-human agents. We propose to challenge this divide by using the concept of co-agency to describe the complexity of action in Homer. It reframes the debate outside the agent/patient dichotomy and leads us to study action as the meeting point of a bundle of agencies.

Thus, we can reformulate the usual, unilateral question: what is the role of the gods in men's actions? The reverse question, on the role of mortals in divine action has been neglected, and probably considered as nonsensical, or, at least, a dead end. In contrast, we propose to take the Homeric epics as a precious testimony on how the gods organize their own actions depending on men. This perspective is especially important if we follow an anthropological perspective: men tend to pursue ritual practices and discourses in order to have an influence on the gods' actions.

We will first focus on Book 3 of the *Iliad*, where Greek and Trojan leaders decide to put an end to the war. It will be replaced by a final duel, an ordeal, whose winner will obtain Helen, and all the treasure that comes with her. They sanction their agreement with an oath and sacrifice. Such a procedure would be contrary to the gods will, who have decided that Troy would be destroyed, among other things. Thus they are forced to react in an unpredictable way and to break the oath themselves. Other example in Greek archaic and classical literature will be studied in order to explore divine reactions to human actions and how the gods cope with human decisions. Ultimately, this will lead us to ask how the influence of human agency on the divine world challenges our conception of Greek polytheism.

Slot 4: 4:40 - 5:30pm

Bernardo Ballesteros-Petrella, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München [bernardo.ballesteros@klassphil.uni-muenchen.de]

Divinely-ordained fate and free-will in Babylonian and early Greek epic

After a brief comparative introduction on the divine systems of Sumero-Akkadian and early Greek narrative poetry in respect to the apportionment of honours (m e/*paršū* and *timai* respectively), this talk concentrates on select case-studies, and discusses the poetic shaping of discourses on death, destiny, and free-will.

It will be seen that important differences emerge between the two divine systems against an initially similar background. Such differences are reflected on how narrators and

divine and human characters portray the choices and tragic destiny of Achilles, Patroclus, Hector, Gilgameš, Enkidu, and Atrahasis in terms of the divine/human interface. In the end, this comparison can help us better appreciate the individual message of each poetic tradition, as well as some of the core cultural concerns that, among other historical factors, connect the Homeric epics to Babylonian poetry.

[Thursday]

Slot 5: 9:00 - 9:50am

Alexandre Johnston, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa [alexandre.johnston@sns.it]
Two Sides of the Same Coin? Untangling Human and Divine Agency in Modern Classical Scholarship

Towards the end of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Oedipus exclaims: "it was Apollo, Apollo, my friends, who accomplished these cruel sufferings of mine! And no other hand struck my eyes, but my own miserable hand!" (OT 1329-32, tr. Lloyd-Jones). Oedipus asserts that his sufferings were brought to pass by the god Apollo; yet he also makes it clear that it was he, Oedipus, who blinded himself, thereby displaying his own sense of agency and accepting some form of responsibility for the parricide and incest.

This striking juxtaposition of divine and human agency, like many such situations in Greek literature, has fuelled much debate in scholarship concerning causation and responsibility. Is Oedipus' decision in any sense a "free" choice, or does divine involvement impair his ability to shape his own life? Do divine and human causation coexist in parallel, or does one dominate the other?

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, answers to such questions have consistently involved concepts such as "double motivation" and "over-determination". The former, associated primarily with Albin Lesky, is used of situations in which an event is experienced as accomplished simultaneously by a human and a divine agent. Divine and human causation coalesce as the human agent "appropriates" the divine purpose as his/her own. In a similar vein, Dodds employed the psychological term "overdetermination" of situations in which a supernatural agent accomplishes its purpose "indirectly" through human action.

This paper shall trace the origins and development of these concepts in nineteenth- and twentieth thought and scholarship, and analyse the forces and traditions which shaped them, notably Idealist thought and Christian ethics. My aims will be to explore the relationship between them and the conceptions of causation found in ancient texts, particularly Greek epic and tragedy, and to shed light on a scholarly debate which has profound philosophical and theological implications for both antiquity and modernity.

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Paul Kurtz, University of Cambridge [pmk43@cam.ac.uk]
Is Kant among the Prophets? Modern German Projections onto the Ancient Past of Israel

This paper uncovers the equation of divine causality with human history in the prophets of Israel as constructed by Protestant biblical scholars of the 19th century. Tracing the interpenetration of past and present, it shows how moderns perceived in the ancients their own understanding of god and world, which then provided a criterion to elevate

some prophets above others. First, the paper scrutinizes the historical reconstruction of prophecy in ancient Israel. This inquiry not only recovers the comparative appreciation of these ancient personages but also analyzes the criteria deployed to do so. Although contemporary scholars have long noted the distinction between law and prophecy as well as a preference of the prophetic over the legal in the historiography of German biblical scholars in the 19th century, the relative evaluation of the prophets themselves has not seen thorough scrutiny. Moreover, observers have stressed the association – and appreciation – of prophecy with respect to individualism, monotheism, and morality yet overlooked the ancient conception of history celebrated by the moderns. Second, the paper explains the contingency of these reconstructions. On the one hand, it conducts a focused inquiry into the shifting nature of Old Testament scholarship, where the presentation of systematic theological themes gave way to historical accounts of their development. On the other hand, it undertakes a broader assessment of intellectual trends in the period, from the collapse of speculative theology through the controversy of materialism to the rise of historicism and the ascent of Neo-Kantianism. Ultimately, this paper argues that Protestant biblical scholars of the late 19th century discerned their own consolidated conception of history in prophets of ancient Israel – i.e., the ones they favored. This conceptualization identified the divine with history itself, equating the activity of God with the sequence of human events in the world. In consequence, what these scholars celebrated (and reconstructed) in antiquity was their own theological understanding of an integrated divine and human agency.

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Stephen Germany, Basel University [stephenmichael.germany@unibas.ch]
Layers of Causality' in the Conquest Accounts in Joshua and Judges

The received Hebrew text of the biblical books of Joshua and Judges contains a complex interweaving of statements concerning divine and human agency in the narratives of the conquest of the land of Canaan. This paper will approach the metaphor of “layers of causality” from a diachronic perspective, arguing that statements about divine and human agency in the conquest of the land of Canaan literally belong to different compositional layers in the texts under consideration (Joshua 6–11; 23–24; Judges 1–3). In general, the later layers in the conquest accounts in the book of Joshua tend to emphasize Yahweh’s role in the Israelites’ defeat of the Canaanites, while they simultaneously leave room for human agency by stressing the importance of Israel’s adherence to the divine law as a prerequisite for remaining in the land. The paper will also consider to what extent the divergences between the Hebrew Masoretic text and the Greek text of the Septuagint in the passages under investigation may reflect the influence of classical Greek thought with respect to divine and human agency.

Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Anthony Ellis, Bern University [anthony.ellis@kps.unibe.ch]
Taking Responsibility: “Over-determined” Thought in Josephus

Josephus’ descriptions of his contemporary philosophical landscape suggest familiarity with debates about the interplay between human and supernatural causation: he

classifies the three Jewish philosophical sects – Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes – according to their positions on whether human affairs are controlled entirely by Fate (*heimarmenē*), or entirely by humans, or by both (*Ant.* 18.5.9, cf. 18.1.1, *Bellum* 2.8.2-13). His paraphrase of the Bible repeatedly stresses the importance of a correct appreciation of human and divine responsibility: God, in his benevolent love for mankind, is ultimately responsible for good things, while man is ultimately responsible for the bad (e.g. *Ant.* 1.20-1, 99-103, 111-14, 154-5), ideas first found in the Socratic writings of Plato and Xenophon (though Josephus associates them with the innovative theology of Abraham). This complex understanding of cause and responsibility presents the modern reader with interpretative difficulties similar to those which arise in archaic and classical Greek and Hebrew literature, although Josephus’ theological concerns are characteristic of the Socratic tradition and his brand of “over-determination” is self-consciously formulated. This talk focuses on Josephus’ retelling of Hebrew myth and history in dialogue both with the earlier biblical narratives and with the Greek philosophical and historical traditions. It attempts to trace the philosophical discourses and identities associated with different types of “over-determined” thought. Finally, it explores modern parallels and asks whether it is right to view ancient “over-determined” thought about causation as fundamentally foreign to the modern, secular outlook.

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Shaul Tor, King’s College London [shaul.tor@kcl.ac.uk]

Empedocles on trusting in mad Strife

Famously, Empedocles not only developed a cosmology based on the four canonical elements and the two motive forces of Love and Strife, but also – and concurrently – narrated his own career as a *daimôn* undergoing a series of transmigrations as a punishment for crimes committed while in the company of the gods. These transmigrations take the *daimôn* through many areas and periods of the cosmos, as well as through different life forms (human, animal and vegetal) and, consequently, through as many different perspectives on the world. This paper examines how it is precisely through the spatial and temporal cosmic wandering of his *daimôn* that Empedocles raises and negotiates central problems of agency and responsibility and identity.

Empedocles’ striking description of himself as ‘trusting in mad Strife’ (B115.14) is standardly read as a description of a past misjudgement that led Empedocles to his cycle of crime and migratory punishment. The paper takes its starting point by defending the claim that, in fact, the Greek strongly implies that Empedocles is still now trusting in mad Strife, that this trust at least to some degree governs his cosmic peregrinations and, therefore, that something like the phenomenon of *akrasia* plays an important role in Empedocles’ religious and ethical thought. This detail leads into a broader examination of the complex and fraught ways in which Empedocles both wants to locate his identity and his agency with the *daimôn* who transmigrates through successive life forms and distributes this identity and agency across universally widespread cosmic principles, i.e. the four elements and the competing forces of Love and Strife which govern them. In its conclusion, the paper examines how, through this daimonology – which is at once markedly novel and deeply indebted to earlier thought – Empedocles subverts some traditional structuring attitudes. In particular, Empedocles’ daimonology has the effect of problematising boundaries between the ordinary and the extraordinary, the familiar

and the unfamiliar. On the one hand, Empedocles does away with the uncanny and inscrutable *daimôn* who operates on us from outside: the *daimôn* becomes internal and is located within the human person themselves (a move that was to have a long afterlife in Greek philosophical thought). On the other hand, Empedocles renders the ordinary itself deeply extraordinary: what we previously thought of as an unremarkable human life turns out to be one stage in the punitive cosmic journey of a divine *daimôn*, and what seemed to be everyday actions and decisions reveal themselves as so many different battles between the duelling cosmic forces of Love and Strife, waged through and within the person and agency of this same *daimôn*.

Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Camille Guigon, Université de Lyon 3 [guigoncamille@gmail.com]

Le démon chez Plotin comme preuve de la liberté de l'âme

Lorsque Plotin rédige le traité 15 (III, 4), il souhaite d'abord faire un commentaire des textes platoniciens qui traitent du démon, comme le *Phédon*, la *République* ou le *Timée*. Le démon platonicien apparaît comme une entité intermédiaire entre les hommes et les dieux. Seul un passage du *Timée* fait de lui une partie de l'âme : la raison. Plotin suit cette idée en faisant du démon la faculté qui est au-dessus de celle que l'âme a choisie, avant l'incorporation, pour diriger sa vie. Par exemple, si l'âme obéit principalement à la sensation, le démon sera la raison.

Cette psychologisation du démon vise non seulement à donner du sens à la conception platonicienne, mais aussi à prouver qu'il ne faut pas voir dans la figure démonique une forme de fatalisme. En effet, le démon platonicien a surtout un rôle stabilisateur, car il veille à ce que chaque âme reste à la place qu'elle a elle-même choisie avant la naissance. À l'inverse, la conception plotinienne est dynamique : le démon est ce qui permet à l'âme de progresser vers l'intelligible ou de régresser vers le sensible. D'un côté, les textes platoniciens mettent donc surtout en avant un démon comme entité distincte de l'âme et qui a pour rôle de préserver l'ordre du monde. D'un autre côté, Plotin choisit de commenter Platon à partir d'une interprétation mineure : celle de la psychologie.

Son but est inédit du point de vue de la tradition platonicienne : montrer que le démon garantit la capacité de l'âme à faire ses propres choix durant l'incorporation et à être finalement libre. Nous traiterons donc la problématique suivante : en quoi l'interprétation psychologique du démon platonicien permet-elle à Plotin de prouver la liberté de l'âme ? Pour répondre à cela, nous examinerons d'abord les origines de cette interprétation chez Platon, mais aussi chez les commentateurs médioplatoiciens comme Plutarque. Puis nous verrons comment Plotin approfondit la conception du démon comme faculté de l'âme. Enfin, nous montrerons comment l'âme amphibie chez Plotin permet de faire de la liberté de l'âme une conséquence du démon comme faculté.

[Friday]

Slot 11: 9:00 - 9:50am

Sarah Helena Van den Brande, Ghent University [sarahhelena.vandenbrande@ugent.be]

Patterns of intersubjective understanding in ancient Greek drama

Even as ‘overdeterminism’ or ‘double motivation’ has become the dominant paradigm in understanding divine and human causation in Greek tragedy, many studies have retained a strong tendency to reflect on the issues at hand – agency, causality, responsibility – in terms of binary oppositions (e.g. divine force vs human action, determinism vs free will, ἄκων vs ἐκόν). These binary pairs appear to center around the notion of a rigid boundary between *inside* and *outside*, a division which indeed has monopolized much of Western philosophy.

Recently, some philosophers and cognitive scientists have challenged the notion of a sharp distinction between *inner* and *outer* with regards to the boundaries of the mind (Clark and Chalmers 1998, Hutto and Myin 2012). Following these recent paradigm shifts and transposing the notion of ‘extensive minds’ (Hutto and Myin 2012) to a (re)conceptualization of human agency as intertwined with the world (i.e. the ecological and socio-cultural environment) from the very start, this paper seeks to focus on the fluidity of the boundary between *inner* and *outer* in ancient Greek drama.

The purpose of this cognitively inflected focus is twofold:

Firstly, on the level of theory, I wish to reflect on the usefulness of these concepts for the study of agency and causation in Greek tragedy. Might these new approaches function as heuristic tools to expand and refine the conceptual apparatus with which we tackle these questions, or do they pose the risk of reductionism and anachronism vis-à-vis tragedy’s rich repository of causal explorations?

Secondly, as a practical application, I zoom in on instances of intersubjective understanding in a selection of tragic texts (Aeschylus’ *Persians*, Sophocles’ *Ajax* and *Philoctetes*, and Euripides’ *Heracles*) in order to tease out three important patterns of sense-making, i.e. narrative, metaphor, and bodily engagement. These three patterns will illuminate the way in which *inner* and *outer* feed into each other in the portrayal of human and divine agency and causation in ancient Greek drama.

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Michael Carroll, St. Andrews [mjc33@st-andrews.ac.uk]

Metaphors of Double Determination in Aeschylus

At various important moments in the tragedies of Aeschylus, metaphor is used to describe the interplay of human and divine agency. The question to be considered in this paper is to what extent close analysis of such metaphorical language is capable of shedding light on the nature of the causal interaction being described, and much depends on how precisely we think a poetic metaphor can be expected to communicate. Drawing on some of the insights that have emerged from cognitive linguistics in recent decades, this paper will make two principal claims. First, it will be argued that these metaphors are usually designed to evoke relatively coherent, experientially rich scenarios, and that the spatial and physical parameters (or ‘image-schematic structure’) of these scenarios can serve to convey quite specific nuances about the type of causal interaction in question. Despite their relative coherence, however, metaphors of double determination in Aeschylus are also often characterised by fantastical properties, a feature which cognitive linguists would characterise as part of their ‘emergent structure’. The paper’s second main claim will be that such properties help to draw attention to certain paradoxes associated with the interaction between divine and human agency, and thus raise important questions about a dramatic universe that resists more conventional ways of categorising expe-

rience. After introducing the relevant theoretical terminology and briefly discussing a selection of examples, the rest of the paper will be devoted to the famous ‘yoke-strap of necessity’ metaphor (Ag. 218), and its bearing on the vexed issue of Agamemnon’s responsibility for the death of Iphigenia. The notions of ‘image schema’ and ‘emergent structure’, it will be argued, can form the basis of a reading that avoids some of the problems associated with the dominant lines of interpretation of that metaphor.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Sarah Lagrou, Lille University [sarahlagrou@yahoo.fr]

Could double motivation be a rhetorical device? Human and divine agency in Oedipus’ accounts of the parricide in Sophocles’ Oedipus at Colonus

In this paper, I intend to study Oedipus’ accounts of the parricide in Sophocles’ *Oedipus at Colonus*, especially focusing on who Oedipus ascribes this act to. In these accounts, Oedipus tends to shift the blame away from himself by denying any agency in the murder or by ascribing the responsibility to others, either divine or human, depending on his aim and on the persons he is speaking to.

This is all the more so in Oedipus’s third account (lines 960-1002), in which he pleads self-defence, accusing his father of having attacked him first, while blaming the gods for being responsible of his misfortunes. I will show that, by juxtaposing in a striking – and possibly contradictory – way several causes, Oedipus try to convince Creon – and Theseus – he cannot be charged with murder: to this end, he uses as many arguments as possible, with no concern for their compatibility. In this case, double motivation thus is a rhetorical device more than a real attempt to explain the parricide. Moreover, as the different lines of defence Oedipus uses in this account could already be found in previous plays (especially in Sophocles’ *Oedipus rex* and in Euripides’ *Phoenician woman*), I will suggest understanding this peculiar use of double motivation as a literary play around with causality, agentivity and responsibility.

Slot 14: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Rebecca Van Hove, Collège de France / Université de Liège [rebecca.van-hove@college-de-france.fr]

The Wind in their Sails: Divine Agency in the Athenian Law Courts

As expressions of the discourse of legal decision-making in classical Athens, the speeches of the Attic orators illustrate litigants’ abilities to examine and explain forces of causality in a variety of ways. In a handful of speeches (Lyc. 1; Lys. 6; Andoc.1; Antiph. 5), speakers account for individual action through the notion of divine intervention, claiming that actions of the gods lie behind their opponents’ behaviour. In these instances, divine and human agency are said to work together for the sake of justice.

Scholars have understood this *topos* of divine intervention primarily as a simple rhetorical argument, employed by speakers in whichever way is most expedient for their case. Furthermore, as this notion of divine agency appears extremely rarely in oratory, such passages are often dismissed as idiosyncratic expressions of individual orators’ strong religious ideas or ‘religiously fanatical’ opinions. Yet this scholarly model of explanation takes these declarations of causality rather at face value.

By examining not *why* litigants may make such claims, but rather *how* they can do so, this paper aims to deconstruct the *topos* of divine causality beyond its rhetorical function: it asks how litigants can make claims of religious knowledge which attribute agency to the divine, and why they do this so infrequently in the context of Attic oratory. It argues for the recognition of the nature of these passages as religiously authoritative claims. By advancing claims regarding divine action, speakers are in fact constructing religious authority for themselves, as the notion of divine intervention has implications for the role of the prosecutor, who is portrayed as agent employed by the deity to obtain justice. This paper therefore explains the infrequency of this *topos* not as a consequence of its irrelevance, but rather of its risky nature as a religiously authoritative statement. It concludes with some reflections on comparable instances which illustrate “over-motivated” thinking about causality in Athenian legal discourse, for example the practice of oath-swearing, and considers the consequences this has for our understanding of the question of divine omniscience – how did the Greeks conceptualise their gods’ powers?

Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Martim Nunes Horta, Universidade de Lisboa [martim-horta@letras.ulisboa.pt]

Inquiring the Fates beyond personification. The Moirai and the Limits of Preordained Divine Determination

This paper intends to explore the implications that the Moirai, from the perspective of their religious aspects in cult and myth, bring to our understanding of divine agency and preordained determination in Ancient Greek culture. More often than not, the extensive debates and scholarship on the aspects of fate and divine agency, when not overlooking these figures, usually associate or equate them to *moira* and its readings of fatalism and ideas of inflexibility. This relation is expected and logical as, their name being self-evident, tradition has lent them the authority of personified “Fates”. This is to some extent supported by literature, their supposed preferred activity – spinning – corresponding to a recognizable metaphor of divine preordaining already present in Homer, and their presence is a common motif in funerary poetry. However, the mere existence of cults and rituals to these goddesses should, at least, suggest a more complex and nuanced system of divine determination, one allowing for these figures not to be characterised just by their relation to fate and to our assumptions of what the Greeks would have believed it to be. After all, why should one bother to sacrifice to goddesses of fate – or to do it at all? This inconsistency has been noted by some scholars, notably Pirenne-Delforge. Moreover, their presence in myths and the narratives that can be associated with the Moirai seem not only to reflect aspects of their cult, but when the preordained limits of human and divine action are concerned, they do not always read as immovable as one would expect. Our proposal intends to suggest that, having these aspects in consideration, the Moirai, through aspects of their cults and of the stories told of these goddesses, can inform of some characteristics that “fate”, for the Greeks, might have entangled in order to allow or coexist with figures ostensibly so closely related to it.

[Saturday]

Slot 17: 9:00 - 9:50am

Lindsay Driediger-Murphy, Calgary University, ldriedig@ucalgary.ca

Dio's Gods

What roles do divine forces play in Cassius Dio's *Roman History*? The portents in Dio's narrative used to be dismissed as antiquarian flourishes adding little to the thrust or import of his narrative (e.g. Millar 1964). In more recent work, Dio's 'theology of history' has been recognized as one which 'admits both human and divine free will' and in which the divine works towards the long-term good of Rome (Swan 2004: 8-13). We now have valuable studies of his use of dreams (Freyburger-Galland 1999) and the treatment of religion in the Julio-Claudian books (Scheid 2016). Despite the current renaissance of research on Dio, however, the dynamics of divine agency and intervention in his history remain under-explored. My paper will consider what Dio can add to our knowledge of over-determination/over-motivation in Greek literature and thought. Dio is a particularly useful test case for two reasons. Firstly, he attempts to bridge the gap between Greek and Roman thinking on this issue, thereby giving us evidence for both cultures. Secondly, by covering both the Republican and the Imperial periods, he allows us to see how ancient understandings of the gods' role in politics and society were affected by the transition from "democracy" to "monarchy". In Roman historiography we encounter a 'threefold layer of explanation' whereby history is shaped by humans, gods, and fate (Davies 2009: 173). I argue that Dio places differing emphasis on these three factors over the course of his history. Whilst fate weighs heavily in the Imperial books, the divine (*to theion, to daimonion*) intervenes more directly in Dio's Republican books. In this respect, Dio's Romans neither appropriate divine causes nor view the gods exclusively as working through human beings, but instead conceptualize the divine as an active, albeit variable, partner in determining the course of events.

Slot 18: 10:00 - 10:50am

Douglas Cairns, Edinburgh University [douglas.cairns@ed.ac.uk]

τιμή, τίσις, and τιμωρία in Herodotus' moralised universe

This paper will concentrate on the *timê* of the Persian king, Xerxes, and its limits. *Timê* is central to Xerxes' invasion of Greece. For Xerxes, the position of king is itself a *timê* (7.8a.2) and his invasion is motivated by the desire both to enhance his *timê* and to restore that lost by his father's failure. His concern for his own *timê* is both considerable and largely unbalanced by respect for the *timê* of other individuals or communities. But the presentation of Xerxes' invasion as *hybris* suggests that, even for the Persian king, the pursuit of *timê* must be constrained by respect for the *timê* of others. Xerxes violates an order which projects Greek social values on to the natural world, a world permeated by the divine and regulated by the notion that all excess will eventually be corrected.

[PANEL 14] NOT COMING

Slot 5: 9:00 - 9:50am

Antonio Júlio Garcia Freire, Universidade do Estado do Rio Grande do Norte-UERN
A invidia e a ambitionis como motivação para os conflitos civis em Lucrécio

O poema filosófico *De rerum natura* do epicurista Lucrécio (séc. I a.C.) foi escrito e publicado em um período de grande agitação social e política romana. No início do poema, indicando sua preocupação com os conflitos civis da sua época (*hoc patriai tempore iniquo*), Lucrécio faz uma súplica a Vênus para a paz entre os romanos (DRN, I, 1-43). Esta parece ser uma posição de consenso entre a maioria das interpretações qualificadas do poema (FOWLER, 1989), as quais defendem que o poema é antes de tudo, um trabalho de filosofia política. Parece que tal interpretação é baseada, principalmente, na apropriação do conceito grego de *stásis*, usado na antiguidade para denominar o prenúncio de conflitos e guerras civis entre as cidades estado gregas. Considerando a audiência a que foi dirigida o *De rerum natura*, Lucrécio estava preocupado com um tipo particular de *stásis*, a saber, os embates entre os membros da elite aristocrática romana (McCONNELL, 2012), ávidos de poder e impulsionados por ambição e sede de riqueza. Nesse sentido, cabe a presente comunicação apresentar as noções de *invidia* e *ambitionis* e a sua relação com os conflitos civis mencionados por Lucrécio.

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

João Pereira de Matos, Universidade Nova de Lisboa [escrevinhices@gmail.com]
Epicureanism and the Political Thought

The goal of this paper is, in a panoptic view, to discuss the political thinking in the context of the Epicurean school of thought. Starting from the traditional epicurean position that the wise men must refrain from politics and live in obscurity («live hidden!») we will try to show that such a warning was not inflexible and that despite this school had made a relatively small theoretical corpus about the more general phenomenon of politics, still their teachings had major implications in the development of Political Thought from Rome to the present day with, perhaps unexpected, but profound practical consequences on History.

Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Antonio Mura, University of Pisa [a.mura5@studenti.unipi.it]
Κατ' ὁμοείδειαν ἀνθρωποειδεῖς: perceiving gods to pursue ὁμοίωσις θεῶ

Since gods are the Epicurean paradigm of perfect life and behavior, but Epicurus' conception of gods is still obscure for the lack of Epicurus' *ipsissima verba*, it is possible to find an answer in the works produced by the Epicurean school. Also the scholion to Epicurus' first Κύρια Δόξα, easily ascribable to the Epicurean school, can enlighten the Epicurean conception of gods as an ethical model, even though it only constitutes an introductory step in the knowledge of gods. Since all the Epicurean doctrine is aimed

to ethics, even this scholion, which deals with the gnosiology of gods, can be read from an ethical point of view. In this paper, through the analysis of other sources – mainly treatises of the Epicurean school – I will propose a new conjecture about the text of the scholion, and I will clarify, starting from the conjecture, the ethical implications of the expression “κατ’ὁμοειδέϊαν ἀνθρωποειδεῖς”. The explanation will show that gods can be perceived in two ways, the latter of which, for its link with human nature, can be correlated with the concept of ὁμοίωσις θεῶν, which is the final goal of Epicurean ethics.

Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Markus Figueira da Silva, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte [markus-ficus@gmail.com]

Sobre escolher e recusar: o que significa a autarkeía na ética de Epicuro

O exercício de compreensão da *phýsis* (*physiología*) é uma atividade filosófica constante que tem como conseqüência uma prática de vida (*pragmateía*) que se evidencia em toda escolha (*haíresin*) e recusa (*phygèn*) que o homem faz quando age de acordo com o conhecimento que tem da natureza das coisas. Escolher e recusar só são possíveis para quem tem o princípio da ação em si mesmo (*autarkeía*), logo a ética de Epicuro se fundamenta na compreensão da *phýsis*, o que significa, neste contexto, livrar-se da ignorância e dos temores infundados propagados pelas falsas crenças e pelas falsas opiniões aceitas e praticadas por multidões de insensatos. Postulamos que a relação entre a *physiología* e a ética dá coerência à prática filosófica de Epicuro. Pretendemos mostrar neste trabalho o sentido que o termo *autarkeía* adquire no pensamento de Epicuro quando é empregado na Carta a Meneceu, nas Máximas Principais e nas Sentenças Vaticanas. A liberdade (*eleuthería*) se mostra no exercício ininterrupto de escolher o que aprovar e recusar o que é nocivo, portanto ela só é possível quando resulta de uma conduta autárquica. Neste sentido, o conhecimento se realiza na atitude e a ignorância também.

[Friday]

Slot 11: 9:00 - 9:50am

Gerson Leite de Moraes, Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie [gersonleitedemo-raes@usp.br]

Lorenzo Valla and neo-epicureanism of the late Middle Ages

The present work has the purpose of discussing the questions related to the construction of the theoretical framework of Lorenzo Valla as someone affiliated to the epicurean tradition. In this sense it is important to emphasize his philosophical and mainly philological understanding, and the repercussions of his thought for the quattrocento and for the following century. As far as his philosophical thought is concerned, Valla can be defined as neoepicurist, since it promotes a series of polemic against stoic asceticism and against the excesses of monastic asceticism. When it is said that Lorenzo Valla is a neoepicurist it is tried to emphasize his understanding on the “pleasure”, understood far beyond the pleasure said carnal. In 1430, Valla wrote his first version of the *De Voluptate* (Pleasure) dialogue in Piacenza, city for which he had fled after the manifestation of the Pest in the city of Pavia. The following year, after returning to Pavia and becoming a public reader, he published *De Voluptate*, which underwent at least four modi-

fications throughout his life, without which there was, however, a significant change in the structure of the text. It is in *De Voluptate* that Valla builds a dialogue involving a series of people who were part of her circle of friends and even some enemies. Using the epicurean theme of pharmacology to explain his method, Valla goes along the text showing who the sick are, in this case, the Stoics, also called several times in the text of “philosophers” and “enemies.” Taking the New Testament environment as a background, Valla classifies the ethics of the Stoics in a manner similar to the ethics of the Pharisees, and the epicureans play the role of the Sadducees. The proposal of work is to highlight and discuss the theses of Lorenzo Valla for the political and social environment in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Age.

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Kyriakos Fytakis, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne [Kyriakos.Fytakis@etu.univ-paris1.fr]
Clinamen, Necessity and Modern Receptions of Epicureanism: the Figure of Spinoza

During the early modern period, epicurean thought was often refuted as an atheist and hedonistic philosophy. Both in ethics and in natural philosophy, the term epicurean designated an impious thinker whose philosophy threatened the religious authorities. However, the emergence of the Cartesian tradition, changed the relation to epicurean thought; it also influenced the creation and diffusion of a form of neo-epicureanism, a renewal of Epicurus’s thought that was thus adapted in 17th and 18th centuries’ historical context. It is in this perspective that Baruch Spinoza’s philosophy was perceived by many of his contemporaries as epicurean. But what does permit this kind of comparison between the two philosophies? Would it be accurate to affirm that Spinoza’s philosophy belongs to the neo-epicurean tradition? An identification between epicurean and spinozist philosophies can be found in many 17th and 18th century texts. We find it in Spinoza’s biography, written by Jean Colerus and in texts written by thinkers who refuted his thought, such as François Fénelon or Jean La Placette. More specifically, it was the epicurean doctrine on the hazard that was often identified to Spinoza’s doctrine on absolute necessity. In our paper, we proceed to a thorough analysis of this comparison, intending to shed light on one of the most interesting and influential receptions of Epicurus’s philosophy in modernity. Indeed, both Epicurus’s and Spinoza’s philosophies had an important influence on European Enlightenment, namely on French materialists. However, the identification between epicurean hazard and spinozist necessity seems paradoxical. In this perspective, we shall show the relation between the two philosophies, by focusing on their modal theories; thus, we shall examine the reasons why- contrary to other cases- their comparison was based less on ethical and mostly on metaphysical matters and we shall show at what extent their identification is legitimate.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Carlo Delle Donne, Sapienza-Università di Roma [carlo.delledonne@sns.it]
Ataraxia and philology: tackling textual troubles

How was ataraxia to be reached? What could put the fulfilment of such an objective at risk? The aim of my proposal is to shed light on a particular and often neglected kind of threats to ataraxia: the anxiety brought about by the detection of cases of inconsistency

in Epicurus' own words. In light of the crucial role played by the Master's works in the Epicurean tradition, an alleged contradiction in them was likely to result in a serious concern, for it could ruin the whole Epicurean system. As a consequence, Epicurus' disciples were expected to develop some exegetically adequate strategies. Thus, they could "neutralize" the potential difficulty represented by any inconsistency, and they could consequently prove themselves to strive to deliver on the crucial dogma of ataraxia in any possible way. Apart from that, I set out to briefly take into account also the relationship between such an Epicurean philologia medicans and the Middle Platonist philologia philosophica.

Slot 14: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Alexandra Valadas, Michigan State University [alexandravaladas@gmail.com]
Tracing back Gender in the Kepos through Leontion, the Epicurist hetaira

Epicurist *ethos* was never free of controversy. In the Kepos, where egalitarianism was practiced and Democritus' teachings amply discussed, it is not surprising that a new form of humanism was inaugurated. All members of the 'Garden,' free citizens, metics, slaves, women, and men were entitled to the benefits and responsibilities of being Epicurists, and it is not surprising then, to find a *hetaira* (or even several *hetairai*) among the Kepos. Leontion is, probably, the most famous as well as the most vilified woman to belong to the ranks of Epicurus' followers. Even if her role as an Epicurist has been belittled and almost erased from history, the 'echo' of Leontion remains. Such is the echo of women thinkers and philosophers that have been systematically erased and silenced throughout history. To return to Leontion is to return to the way of life of the *sophós* of the Kepos. As a presumed hetaira, Leontion was neither circumscribed to the *idios* or the *oikos* and could practice a degree of autonomy inaccessible to other women. Leontion, the Epicurist, could then not only exercise her *autárkeia*, but to live the life of the sage, as for Epicurus, every living being naturally seeks pleasure and naturally avoids pain (DL, X, 129), and therefore searches for a wise life in equilibrium with a *telos* based on *ataraxia* (tranquility of the mind) e *aponia* (absence of pain). Epicurist ethics in which there is a liberation from dogma and teleological systems, focusing on a degree of individual asceticism and moderation, permitted that women could participate and flourish in such an intellectual milieu. Leontion's figure, apocryphal or not, allows us to draw the critical relationship between the ethical landscapes of Epicureanism and the role of women in the Garden.

Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Silvio Di Cello, University of Salento [silvio.dicello@outlook.it]
Epicureanism in Vergil's Georgics

The Georgics is a didactic poem written by Vergil. Eventhough it formally deals with agriculture and animals, the main feature of this poem is its philosophical background. Not only does Vergil shows a plurality of influences derived from several philosophical schools, but he also shows Good skills in giving an original shape to the dogmas of the philosophical works he studied. Features inspired by Epicureanism, Stoicism and Platonism are spread all over the poem, and it's sometimes easy to underline the contra-

dictions between them, thus showing the multiple perspectives which Vergil adopts in his work. The purpose of this essay is to provide information on the epicurean influence which permeate the Georgics. It is widely known that Vergil studied in Neaples with the philosopher Siro, and that his former poems, the Catalepticon and the Bucolics, are known to be strongly influenced by this philosophy. Studying the Georgics, I noticed that the epicurean features are deeply rooted in the very fabric of the poem, both in the lexic and in its conceptual structure. My paper will prove that taking into account the epicurean influence is a crucial element in order to understand this poem as a whole. At the end of it, I will focus on some of the contradictions created by the juxtaposition of all the perspectives which characterize the Georgics, and make it a polyphonic poem influenced by many doctrines and philosophies.

Slot 16: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Stephen M. Kershner, Austin Peay State University [kershners@apsu.edu]

Vergil's Philodemean Bees and the Virtues of an Epicurean Collective

Vergil's Georgics appeared in Rome, after nearly a century of politically, culturally, and emotionally devastating civil wars. As such, the poem is more than pastoral fancy in a farming how-to manual. Within its elegant hexameters, it also possesses a variety of philosophical arguments, such as the benefits of the simple life of a farmer (Geo. 1.145; 4.125-148). According to ancient biographies of Vergil, it is clear that he was an avowed Epicurean, having learned from the Italian Siro, in turn the student of the Epicurean master Philodemus. When we read the Allegory of the Bees in book four (lines 67-227) closely, instead of bland instruction on apiculture, we find a subtle discussion of the possibility, the benefits, and the failings of a collective society in the Epicurean moral tradition. In this paper, I will argue that Vergil constructs a careful Epicurean discussion of the possibilities of a collective society, in the form of a beehive, and its ability to manage crises, according to Epicurean ethical doctrine. I will argue that he shows that a well-managed collective society is consistent with and beneficial within Epicurean thought, according to Epicurean doctrines on the limits of pleasures, justice, and friendship. I will further argue that this type of collective is only possible when all members are "Sages," who behave consistently with Epicurean ataraxia, which allows for contentment with even a lifestyle without cultural artefacts. Ultimately, I argue that what binds this discussion together in an educative way for its audience is the presence of Philodemean therapeutic techniques, primarily from his treatises On Frank Speech and On Anger. Philodemean Vergil presents the beehive as a moral portrait—in Philodemus' terms, a "setting-before-the-eyes" or, "tithenai pro ommaton"—as a form of frankness meant to educate.

[Wednesday]

Slot 1: 1:30 - 2:20pm

Rosa María Cid, Universidad de Oviedo [rcid@uniovi.es]

Cléopâtre, la dernière reine hellénistique. L'héritage pharaonique dans une Égypte ptolémaïque

Cléopâtre VII fut la dernière reine de l'Égypte antique. Consciente de la menace posée par Rome, elle imagina différentes stratégies pour préserver l'indépendance de son royaume, mais dut finalement se résigner à le voir devenir une province de Rome. Ses relations complexes avec les hommes de pouvoir romains, dans l'amitié ou la rivalité, furent déterminantes dans la construction d'un mythe féminin perpétuant les travers associés au pouvoir féminin.

Pourtant, Cléopâtre VII gouverna l'Égypte pendant vingt années au cours desquelles l'on constate que sa politique répondait à un plan bien établi. Ses décisions, dans bon nombre de cas, attestent de ses compétences politiques et de ses talents de *Basilissa*, comme en témoigne notamment son habileté à conjuguer l'héritage pharaonique et les traditions grecques introduites par les Lagides. Il est évident en effet que cette reine se réclamait de la dynastie lagide mais que, face à l'influence de ses prédécesseurs, elle chercha à gagner l'estime des populations locales, toujours attachées aux coutumes imposées par les anciens pharaons.

Dans cet exposé, nous aborderons les témoignages, littéraires et iconographiques, qui montrent comment Cléopâtre tenta de fusionner la culture égyptienne et la culture pharaonique dans le but de faire de l'Égypte un État modèle de l'époque hellénistique. Parmi les exemples les plus probants, nous mettrons en avant l'importance des bas-reliefs retrouvés sur le site de Dendérah, dans la région la plus méridionale de l'Égypte. On y voit représentée la reine dans les atours des anciennes pharaonnes, ainsi que son fils Césarion. Cette représentation contraste avec la description faite par Plutarque de certaines de ses apparitions publiques. Celui-ci la présente comme l'Aphrodite qui va à la rencontre de Marc Antoine à Tarse, sur les rives de l'Asie mineure. On retrouve dans la littérature et l'iconographie certaines images, qu'elle a très probablement voulu promouvoir, où elle se présente comme une reine hellénistique notable pour sa gestion politique et sa prise d'initiatives.

Slot 2: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Adrian Dumitru, University of Bucharest / The National Institute of Geology of Romania [seleukosnikator@yahoo.com]

Walk like an Egyptian: Cleopatra's Image in Modern Cinematography and Computer Games

Although being the offspring of a hellenophone Macedonian dynasty, Cleopatra VII was in the first place the queen of Egypt. If this small detail did not matter much before modern times when her image was connected to the pleasures of the “wonderful life” in a Greek and Hellenistic Alexandria, everything changed after the French expedition in Egypt led by a republican general whose name was Bonaparte. Gradually, the painters and novelists of the XIXth c. started depicting her rather like a female Pharaoh or a (more

or less) seductive Egyptian woman.

This is why the first film that was dedicated to Cleopatra in 1899 by Georges Méliès (*Cléopâtre/Robbing Cleopatra's tomb*) in which she appeared as a mummy set the standard for all the other films that came after it – Cleopatra was an Egyptian queen surrounded by Egyptian counselors and military-men bearing Greek names. Whether played by Theda Bara, Claudette Colbert, Vivian Leigh, Elisabeth Taylor as characters inspired by Shakespeare of George Bernard Shaw, Monica Belucci as a movie version (2002) of a French cartoon (*Asterix et Cléopâtre*, 1969) or a character in a Japanese manga, the queen remained firmly of Egyptian stock and she carried on this new legacy with the appearance of the computer games (e.g. the city-building games Pharaoh/Cleopatra, the real time strategy game Rome 1 and Rome 2, the role playing game Assassin's Creed etc.).

The goal of this paper is to examine the how and the why of these metamorphoses typical for the XXth and the XXIst centuries and how was it possible that the mix of the stories left by Plutarch, Suetonius and Appian with the plays of Shakespeare and Shaw gave birth only to an image that was not the one that the Classicists know – the Cleopatra who was made to walk like an Egyptian long after she died.

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Anthi Vougioukli, Athena Research & Innovation Information Technologies [vougioukli@gmail.com]

“Ποῦ δέ σε τὸ πρῶτον κερόεις ὄχος ἤρξατ' ἀείρειν; Αἴμω ἐπὶ Θρήικι...” *Goddesses and/or Queens in Power in Callimachus' 3rd Hymn to Artemis?*

The third Hymn by Callimachus is a poem that has attracted less interest, compared to the rest of hymns, on the grounds of lack of cohesion and central concept. The poet narrates the wanderings of goddess Artemis during her youth and provides the reader with what seems to be a disoriented panorama of Greek cities on both sides of the Aegean. Towards the end, the poet describes an attack by Cimmerians to Artemis' legendary temple in Ephesus and the ensuing revenge of the goddess against their king. Callimachus concludes the 3rd hymn with an apostrophe to Artemis, so that she accepts his poem as an offering. He finally addresses a warning to his audience to be respectful of her, lest they provoke her rage and retribution.

Nevertheless, what is generally deemed to be the hymn's defect, that is, the accumulation of random place names, proves to be its strength. In this paper, I will argue that the hymn's mythical topography is carefully structured, so that it reflects the political and historical *milieu* of its time. Assuming that the book of *Hymns* consisted of six poems that Callimachus himself arranged to be read as a poetic complex, I further propose that the third hymn holds a programmatic place in it, since it implemented the literary program of Callimachus' court poetry: to create a new dynastic model that fused monarchy with the divine as well as to legitimize the political aspirations and agenda of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his sister and wife, the powerful queen of Thrace Arsinoe II, regarding Greece during the Chremonidean War.

Slot 4: 4:40 - 5:30pm

Hatin Boumehache, University of Basque Country [hatin.boumehache@ehu.eus]

Image and Representation of the Hellenistic Queens Through Polybius

In this presentation I propose an analysis on the political, diplomatic and religious representation of Hellenistic queens through Hellenistic historiography. I focus on the historian Polybius, who is a source of great importance on this subject. Through his writings the figure of the Hellenistic queen stands out as a key subject in the policy of alliances between different states. Characters such as Arsinoe, wife of Ptolemy IV or Laodice, wife of Antiochus are characterized as women with a great autonomy and who influenced the political decisions of their husbands.

I will examine his sources and the political and historiographical context in which this author writes his work with the aim of showing the historical function of these women. In turn, I will make a comparison with the representation that this author makes of women from other different states such as Rome or Carthage. The objective of the latter will be to analyse whether Polybius' portrait is in accordance with a reality or responds to a previously shaped model inserted in the rhetorical, moral and political discourse of his time.

[Thursday]

Slot 5: 9:00 - 9:50am

Jody Cundy, University of Oxford [jody.cundy@classics.ox.ac.uk]

'Tragic History' as Gendered History: Pausanias' Account of the Sack of Kallion (279 BC)

Perhaps it is owing to his somewhat dim reputation as a historian that Pausanias' account of the sack of Aetolian Kallion by Gallic forces in 279 BC has received little scholarly attention (10.22.3-4). Pausanias' account is the sole surviving narrative source for the sack (Habicht 1985, Nachtergaele 1977). The passage provides shockingly explicit and detailed description of Gallic atrocities, deeds that the second-century CE author deems the most unholy (ἀνοσιώτατά) and inhuman he has ever heard of (οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώπων τολμήμασιν ὄμοια). The detailed description of the atrocities committed against the non-combatant Kallians, including infanticide, cannibalism and lethal serial gangrape (10.22.3-4), is jarringly out of character with the rest of Pausanias' 'pedestrian' text. This paper explores Pausanias' unique narrative of lethal serial gangrape in the context of ancient theories about representing horrors and suffering in Greek historiography in order to show its particular affinities with Hellenistic sensationalist historiography, so-called 'tragic-history.' In many substantive ways, Pausanias' narrative of Gallic atrocities is closely aligned with Walbank's list of the 'tragic historian' preferential topics and intended emotional affect (1955), namely "πάθος not ἐπιστήμη" and "δεινόν, ἐκπλήττειν, τερατεία, ψυχαγωγία, τύχης μεταβολαί." Pausanias' account, as a species of 'atrocious propaganda', offers a rare glimpse of the trauma suffered by female victims of martial sexual violence, but also their agency in avoidance or response to trauma. In contrast to the theories of the moralizing historians Polybius, Ephorus and Diodorus, who advocate for recording moral exemplars for emulation and suppression of the suffering of war victims in historical narrative, Pausanias' description of the sack of Kallion widens the scope of historical inquiry not only to include the suffering marginalized groups, but also the successful retaliation of Aetolian women (10.22.5-7) and commemoration of their exploits against the Gallic forces (10.18.7). This more inclusive perspective is associated with the historiography of Agatharchides, Duris, and Phylarchus (Pedeck 1989, Verdin 1990). Two important conclusions emerge from this analysis. First, Pausanias' description of the sack of Kallion provides an example of type of 'ignoble' and 'womanish'

narrative that prompted Polybius' well-known polemic against Phylarchus (2.56, Schepens 2005). Second, that female-centered narratives of suffering have a function in Greek historiography as atrocity propaganda.

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Pedech, P. (1989). *Trois Historiens Méconnus: Théopompe, Duris, Phylarque* (Collection d'études anciennes. 119). Paris: Belles Lettres.

Schepens, G. (2005). "Polybius on Phylarchus' 'Tragic' History." In *The shadow of Polybius: Intertextuality as a Research tool in Greek Historiography*. Schepens, G., & Bollansée, J. (eds), 141-164. Leuven: Peeters.

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Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Mónica Durán Mañas, Universidad de Granada [monicaduran@ugr.es]

Women and Disease in Hellenistic Times: The Case History of the Girl from Chios

The case of the girl from Chios, described by Galen in *On venesection against the Erasis-trateans in Rome* (XI. 192-193 K.), is one of the most important examples of case histories attested after the Hippocratic Corpus. It is clear that this unnamed woman lived in the Hellenistic Period, since she was treated by Erasistratus, a prominent physician of the third century BC.

Erasistratus was close to the Hellenistic monarchy of Ptolemy in Egypt and Seleucus in Antiochia –many authors refer the anecdote that he cured king Seleucus's son Antiochus, who had fallen in love with his young stepmother Stratonice–, so he probably was the doctor of Hellenistic Queens as well. Galen addresses to Erasistratus in second person, as if he was talking to him, in spite of the four centuries distance, to attack his medical practice, and mainly his and his follower's rejection of phlebotomy as a healing remedy.

To illustrate his argumentation Galen quotes the case history of the girl from Chios, that finally died, from the lost book *On dissections*, written by Erasistratus. Her disease and consequent treatment are described along with the case of a man, Criton. They were both patients of the same physician, Erasistratus, and finally died. But the way they are presented can shed some light to understand the differences between male and female patients under their doctors' view. Related to this is the fact that Criton is mentioned by his proper name, but not the woman, whose name is omitted, probably because the most relevant information is that she was a foreigner.

In sum this paper will try to show the way women were considered in the Hellenistic Period through the "case study" approach of the girl from Chios. For that aim, her case will be compared to the one of Criton and the symptomatology of her disease, as well as the treatment she received will be analyzed, in order to understand the most probable etiology and its socio-historical implications. It will be finally shown that the descrip-

tion of the girl from Chios' case conform an important step in the evolution to modern case history approaches.

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Alexandra Valadas, Michigan State University [valadasm@msu.edu]

Antonio Júlio Garcia Freire, Universidade do Estado do Rio Grande do Norte [prof.antoniojulio@gmail.com]

Reclaiming a Feminist ethos in Hellenistic History: Leontion, Aspasia and Hipparchia

Women and women's bodies, have been deemed as sites of violence and death having led to not only symbolic violence and moral injury, but as well as tragic locations of actual violence. Most of women's discourses (*logos*) were extricated and erased from the history of philosophy or just considered minor. Free thinkers, poets and philosophers were deemed negligible in their epoches: this silence imposed by patriarchy and misogyny, led to a moral woundedness translated on erasure from history, and the attribution of perjorative connotations to their lives and oeuvre was the norm. To be a thinker in classical antiquity was equated to be a prostitute or a glorified harlot, as couter-sans (*hetaira*) were thought of. Philosophers as Leontion (D.L., X:23), Aspasia (Blundell, 1998:98) and Hipparchia (D.L., VI: 96-98) were such examples. The denial of self-sufficiency, both epistemologically and normatively, seems to have deprived these women of their *ethos*. However, the lived experiences of domination and repression in classical antiquity experienced by all women, veiled and perpetuated through history, was lived through and in its way rejected by these thinkers. Leontion, Aspasia and Hipparchia rejected conformity to the limitations imposed on their gender, embodying the exercise of their *autárkeia*. However, precisely because they were not circumscribed to a private domain (*idios*), their normative claims have been lost due to structural practices of symbolic violence. To give voice to these women is to give visibility to women's participation in the practice of philosophy in the public sphere, revising historiography, opening a small window into the understanding of the intellectual, non-ideal, non-citizen women in classical Athens. Moreover, it allows us to begin to understand the practices of misogyny that led to their moral and epistemic silencing, and how insurgence against these allowed them to create and recreate their own *ethos*.

Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Ariadna Guimerà, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona – Universidade de Coimbra [ariadna.martinez@uab.cat]

Masculinizing Death During the Hellenistic Period: From Euripides' Polyxena to Perpetua's Passion

The figure of a virgin was often employed in Hellenistic and Christian literature as a feminine prototype of how real women should be: young, beautiful, delicate and subjugated to male desires. Nevertheless, there were different considerations with sacrificial victims in the Euripidean corpus and the Martyrial Literature that escaped the patriarchal doctrine. Animal sacrifice represented the primal value of the Hellenistic religious system so human sacrifice could be understood as the adverse. The preparation and execution of a virgin to achieve a superior purpose implied that the victim was a passive

agent while the executors were the actives one. But, what happened when the sacrifice was voluntary and the victim took part in the ritual? A reversal of roles. This paper will analyse different ritual violence of sacrificial virgins from Euripides' tragedies as *Iphigenia at Aulis* and Polyxena in *Hecuba* to the Perpetua's *Passion* setting a comparison between the feminine sacrifice in the Hellenistic Period and Early Christianity. Women's bodies were a private space that belonged to their legal (masculine) tutors and they had the prerogative to do whatever they want, even murdering them. The feminine literature figures that we will study –Iphigenia, Polyxena, Perpetua and Felicity– were women without choice in man's hands who decided giving dignity to their last breath and empowering themselves with a direct speech. Their voluntary sacrifice became an act of moral male strength transgressing the limits of the feminine gender.

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Anais Michel, École française d'Athènes [anais.michel@efa.gr]

Arsinoe Philadelphus: The Cypriot Epigraphic Evidence of a Hellenistic Queen's cult

Many scholars have already emphasized the historical importance of Arsinoe II, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, sister and wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Established by Philadelphus' religious policy as a founding figure of the Ptolemaic ideology (Hazard 2000), the queen's political, religious and ideological agency remains to a great extent blurred by the loss of direct sources.

However, the widespread and numerous epigraphic testimonies regarding the personal cult of the queen after her death – and sometimes long after her death – make tangible the great concern invested by the Ptolemies into the symbolic power of the goddess Philadelphus. On the other hand, the reasonably large success of Arsinoe's cult tends to show the peculiar ability of the newborn goddess, be it a fully Ptolemaic creation, to be embedded in local, traditional religious landscapes. This assessment exceeds the mere Alexandrian and – to a certain extent – Egyptian context.

Cyprus plays an important role in the almost three hundred years of Ptolemaic history. The island is closely integrated into the empire and constitutes with few other territories (Cyrenaica and to a certain extent the Koile Syria) the core of Ptolemaic power. The military, economic and political status of Cyprus tends to make it the “pearl of the Ptolemaic possessions” (Mooren 1977). But Cyprus also supplies the most distinctive evidences of the worship of the queen Philadelphus outside Egypt. Cypriot inscriptions are of the highest importance for the history of the Ptolemaic dynasty and offer an unparalleled observatory for the study of Ptolemaic policy, documenting in addition the evolution of the dynastic history and ideology. My paper will contextualize the Cypriot documentation concerning Arsinoe Philadelphus' cult and explore a regional aspect of this widespread political, religious and cultural phenomenon.

Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Altay Coskun, University of Waterloo [altay.coskun@uwaterloo.ca]

The Title of Basilissa (or the Lack thereof) Among the Early Seleukids

Scholars of the ancient world have been aware for a long time that 'queenship' – or perhaps more broadly the role of the 'royal consort' – gained a particular prominence

in the Hellenistic age. The *basilissa* title was of course not entirely new, but had occasionally been attached to mythical and historical figures; it appears nonetheless much more consistently as of the days of the Diadochs. This is most clearly the case for the Ptolemies and Antigonids, among whom the (main) wife of the king enjoyed the title and the status that came with it from early on. The evidence for the early Seleukids, however, is not as clear as it might seem. Many (modern) arguments have been built on the epigraphic and papyrological evidence for the *basilissa* title of Berenike Phernophoros, the second wife of Antiochos II; accordingly, the lack of the same for Laodike I, his first wife, seemed to imply her divorce, a view that has now been rejected on various grounds (Coşkun 2016). While previous interpretations tended to take the title of the official wife for granted, this paper seeks to reverse the argument by suggesting that both the employment and lack of the title can and should be explained consistently within the broader context of Seleukid (and Ptolemaic) royal ideologies. In our specific cases, I tentatively suggest to explain the lack of Laodike I's title with the predominant role of Stratonike I. After the latter's death, Antiochos II continued to withhold the *basilissa* title from his wives, either because he felt discomfort about overly prominent female members within the royal family, or with an intention to keep all options for the dynastic succession open.

[Friday]

Slot 11: 9:00 - 9:50am

Sarah Eisenlohr, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill [sheisen@live.unc.edu]
Reading Between the Lines: Ptolemaic Queens in Callimachus' Hymns

In two of his six *Hymns*, Callimachus focuses on the dangerous aspects of female divinities and the emotional distance between these goddesses and their mortal inferiors: in *Hymn 5*, Athena punishes the son of her attendant Chariclo without seeming to feel empathy for her friend; and in *Hymn 6*, Demeter causes suffering not only for the blasphemous Erysichthon, but also for his entire innocent family. My paper questions how these negative portrayals of goddesses would have been received by the Ptolemaic queens, who were Callimachus' patrons.

Callimachus establishes a pattern of praise for the Ptolemaic kings, whom he compares to gods in *Hymns 1, 2, and 4*. Therefore, it is puzzling that he treats the goddesses so differently by highlighting their heartless behavior in *Hymns 5 and 6*. It is difficult to imagine that Callimachus would not offend the monarchs of Alexandria with such negative depictions of divine apathy and violence. Scholars like Peter Bing have denied wholesale any reference to the Ptolemaic queens in these *Hymns*. By contrast, I argue that the parallels between the goddesses and historical queens evoke the broader idea of Ptolemaic queenship, even if they do not point to specific women.

One possible explanation for Callimachus' negative portrayal of the goddesses is based on Susan Stephens' revised chronology; she claims that, despite the final ordering of the *Hymns*, Callimachus composed the goddess hymns between 270 and 246 BCE, when no Ptolemaic queens were on the throne. I conclude that, without the risk of offending any particular queen, Callimachus was free to explore the darker aspects of divinity and monarchy. Overall, his collection of *Hymns* sustained and promoted the Egyptian custom of divine rule embodied in royal sibling couples.

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Thomas J. Nelson, University of Cambridge [tjn28@cam.ac.uk]

The Coma Stratonices: Hair Encomia, Queenly Power, and Ptolemaic-Seleukid Rivalry

In this paper, I explore how Ptolemaic poets' well-known presentation of their queens compares with and relates to the practice of their major rivals, the Seleucids.

No poetic celebration of a Seleucid queen survives extant, but an anecdote preserved by Lucian sheds intriguing light on Seleucid poetic practice (*Pro Imaginibus* 5). Queen Stratonice, while still the wife of Seleucus (c. 300-294 BC), is said to have set up a competition to see which poet could best praise her hair. Lucian is an admittedly fiddly source, creative in his handling of the literary past. But at various other points in his works, he treats Seleucid myth in a way that seems to echo Seleucid ideology and literature (*De Dea Syria* 17–18: Almagor 2016; *Zeux*. 8–11: Nelson forthcoming). If the same is true here (cf. Ogden 2017: 182), it is worth asking how this scene of Seleucid royal encomia compares with Alexandrian poets' praise of Ptolemaic queens.

First, we can note a parallel strategy of epicising: Stratonice's locks are praised as 'thick' and 'hyacinthine', aligning her with the Homeric Odysseus (*Od.* 6.231, 23.158), just as Arsinoe is associated with epic prototypes by Theocritus (Foster 2006). Besides this general parallel of technique, we can also situate the Seleucid episode against a specific Ptolemaic poem that treats queenly locks: Callimachus' *Coma Berenices*. At the end of the *Aetia*, Callimachus famously ventriloquises a lock cut from Berenice's head as her husband Ptolemy III goes out to fight in Syria. Scholars have recently detected strains of anti-Seleucid rhetoric in this poem (Visscher 2017). Building on this approach, I argue that Callimachus' *Coma* is a response to native Seleucid traditions of royal hair encomia. Royal women and their hair stood at the centre of a literary battleground, in which poets not only celebrated the status of their own queens, but also negotiated the poetry and authority of their rivals.

Almagor, E. (2016) 'Seleucid Love and Power: Stratonike I', in Coşkun/ McAuley (2016), 67–86.

Coşkun, A. and McAuley, A. (eds.) (2016) *Seleucid Royal Women: Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleucid Empire* (Stuttgart).

Foster, J.A. (2006) 'Arsinoe II as Epic Queen: Encomiastic Allusion in Theocritus, *Idyll* 15', *TAPA* 136, 133–148.

Nelson, T. J. (Forthcoming) 'Beating the Galatians: Ideologies, Analogies and Allegories in Hellenistic Literature and Art', in A. Coşkun (ed.), *Towards a 'New History of Ancient Galatia'* (Leuven).

Ogden, D. (2017) *The Legend of Seleucus: Kingship, Narrative and Mythmaking in the Ancient World* (Cambridge).

Visscher, M.S. (2017) 'Imperial Asia: Past and Present in Callimachus' *Lock of Berenike*', in M.A. Harder, R.F. Regtuit and G.C. Wakker (eds.), *Past and Present in Hellenistic Poetry* (Leuven), 211–32.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Gaia de Luca, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales - Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" [gaia.deluca@ehess.fr]

Policing Marriages: Between Social Engineering and Women's Agency

In my work, I wish to question the role of epigraphy in representing women's agency during the Hellenistic period, especially when studying the increasing political weight of female subjects in civic life. I will approach this topic focussing on the particular phenomenon of mixed marriages and their effects on parental and civic structures.

Starting from the revision of the rules of descent which mixed marriages imply, I will argue that this particular and exceptional modification of parental structures and its consequent impact on the representation of bloodlines enable us to observe a special political agency granted to women. As Riet Van Bremen stated, women visibility is bounded to their prestige, that is why I will consider together the two social categories of gender and class. I will take on the hypothesis of Damet 2014 according to which it is in period of crisis that women get a wider political agency within the Greek polis. Extending this concept outside interfamilial relationships, I will base my argument on the study of epigraphical evidence of matrilinear and mixed descent during the Hellenistic period. This exceptional marital 'regime' is justified by the city's *oliganthropia*. My hypothesis will be supported by a systematic analysis of some epigraphical documents from the *Delphinion* at Miletus testifying the inclusion into the civic community of bastard sons from mixed marriages (I. *Milet Delphinion* 41, 46, 78).

Considering Greek citizenship as a variable-geometry ensemble which must be considered in its pragmatic definition, I will take into account the role of women and matrilinear descent in the transmission of citizenship and the consequent redefinition of legitimacy.

Damet, A., "La domination masculine dans l'Athènes classique et sa remise en cause dans les crises intrafamiliales", *Siècles* [En ligne], 35-36. journals.openedition.org/siecles/1503

Ogden, D., *Greek Bastardy in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods*, Oxford, 1996.

Pomeroy, S., *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece*, Oxford, 1997.

Sebillotte, V., "Gender studies et domination masculine", *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz: Revue d'histoire ancienne*, N° 28, 2017, 7-30.

Van Bremen, R., *The Limits of participation : women and civic life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman periods*, Amsterdam, 1996.

Wilgaux, J., "Entre-soi matrimonial et construction communautaire. La question des mariages « mixtes » en Méditerranée orientale à l'époque classique", *Cahiers "Mondes anciens"* [En ligne], 10 | 2018, URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/mondesanciens/1974>.

Slot 14: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Branko Van Oppen de Ruiter, Independent Researcher [bvoppen@yahoo.com]

The Wives of Lysimachus – a Study of Dynastic Relations

This proposed presentation will examine some of the chronological, genealogical, diplomatic and ideological aspects of the various marriages of Lysimachus. While Plutarch (*Comp. Demetr. Ant.* 4.1) relates that Lysimachus was polygamous, most scholars before Daniel Odgen's *Polyamy, Prostitutes & Death* (1999) have stubbornly maintained that Lysimachus was in fact serially monogamous. Examining the marital relations with his four or five possible wives, and those of his eight or nine known children, will not only confirm Plutarch's statement, but will add to our understanding of the status and posi-

tion of (early) Hellenistic royal women.

Lysimachus must have married a Persian or Median noble woman at the mass wedding in Susa. He did not have to repudiate any of his wives, as is commonly claimed regarding Amastris when the king married Arsinoe, nor should we assume that his previous wife, Nicaea, had died by that time. I will argue that a possible fifth wife, a supposed Odrysian princess, derives from a confusion with Amastris, daughter of Oxyathres.

Lysimachus' familial affairs, to be sure, conformed to the practice of establishing military and political alliances through personal and diplomatic ties, which for instance strengthened his bonds with Antipater and Ptolemy, while rejecting such ties with Antigonus and Seleucus. He furthermore (re-)named cities in honor of his wives and one of his daughters; thus promoting the image of dynastic unity and augmenting his glory. Before the downfall of Agathocles, his son and heir apparent, what can be gleaned about the wives of Lysimachus is that they were assertive and active participants in his royal power.

Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Chiara Battisti, Independent Researcher [chiarabattisti718@gmail.com]

Between the Private and Public Spheres: The Role of the Queen in the Attalid Royal Ideology

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the role of the Attalid queens in the Attalid royal ideology, and to reassess their importance in the making of «a new ethical discourse of monarchy» (Thonemann 2013). It will be convenient to examine in detail the figure of Apollonis. The inscriptions provide the most consistent bulk of evidence, in particular regarding the existence of a divine cult of the queen. An inscription from Teos attests the institution of a cult with precise regulations. Another inscription from Hierapolis mentions divine honours for Apollonis. A cult of Apollonis and Attalus is also attested at Metropolis. The temple of Cyzicus dedicated by her sons, displayed examples of filial love. It would be instructive to observe the iconography of the images of the temple, according to the late epigrams preserved in the *Greek Anthology*. These images have to be considered along with the statues of Apollonis and his sons in the temple of Apollon Clarios. It would be interesting to reflect on the qualities of a 'good queen', as listed in the laudatory portrait of Apollonis in Polybius, which echoes, as Virgilio (1993) remarks, the widespread motives and themes of the documents that celebrated the virtues of Apollonis. The sons of Apollonis in particular praised her φιλοστοργία. At the same time Apollonis' qualities can be reconnected to the exemplary ethical values remarked by the members of the Attalid family in their *propaganda*. Another Attalid queen deserves also attention, Stratonice, daughter of Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia.

Slot 16: 3:30 - 4:20pm

M. Dolores Mirón Pérez, Universidad de Granada [dmironp@ugr.es]

Queenship in Pergamon: Public Agency and Dynastic Image

This paper analyses the role and image of the queen in the Hellenistic kingdom of Pergamon, focusing on Apollonis and Stratonice, the two *basilissai* of the Attalid dynasty. In the diversity of the Hellenistic world, the constitution of Pergamon as a kingdom entailed the creation of an own way of "queenship". On the one hand, the

basilissa played a core role in the self-representation of the Attalids as a cohesive, harmonious and loyal family that pretended to be a champion of traditional Greek virtues, including the domestic ones. In this sense, the queen's image pivoted around her role as a family unifying-force, her virtues as a mother and her religious piety. These aspects were thoroughly cultivated by Attalid propaganda, as manifested in literary sources and epigraphy, as well as in iconographic and architectural programs; and queens themselves actively participated in the construction of this image. On the other hand, the *basilissai*, particularly Apollonis, had an own public agency as benefactresses and in the relationship between royal power and the Greek cities. In this way, they created a singular way of being queen, linked to gender traditional values, but at the same time increasing the visibility and agency of women in the public-political realm.

[Saturday]

Slot 17: 9:00 - 9:50am

James Ryan, King's College London [james.ryan@kcl.ac.uk]

Enter Roxane: Re-interpreting the Presentation of Alexander's Queen in Relation to the Ideology of the Great Royal Couple

This paper takes it lead from, and so rightly pays homage to in the title, Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg's seminal paper that over thirty years ago questioned the prominence assigned to Atossa by Herodotus by deploying a combination of Near Eastern evidence and an evaluation of Greek literary *topos*.

Here I extend to similar question the picture of Roxane that has been promoted in the literary accounts and largely accepted by scholarship.

Roxane was the first queen of the Hellenistic era and her prominence and significance for Alexander, ideological and politically, bleeds through the surviving accounts. When considered within Near Eastern tradition, Roxane emerges as a significance counterpart to Alexander, and approaches the ideology encapsulated in the mythical (Semiramis) and divine (Ishtar) that had conceptualised the great royal couple for centuries.

The strategic and political significance of the marriage with the daughter of Oxyartes to settle a war of attrition in Bactria and Sogdiana is well understood. The significance of this region as a satrapy in the Persian Empire, and integrated nobility, also made this a region from which a legitimate 'Persian' queen could be sought. These realities led to a weaving of narratives that legitimized this union and set in within a tradition of the Great King and Queen in the Ancient Near East. Upon the very rock of Sogdiana and the surrounding lands, Alexander finds himself beset by the shadows of royal encounters of the female kind. We as scholars, are confronted by traditions of Greek, Mesopotamian, and Persian making, and the melding of all with common purpose.

Roxane paved the way for the Hellenistic Queens who followed and was consigned by the Diadochi to the position of obscurity and sexuality, as they weaved their own narratives of legitimization, whilst they maligned Alexander's Queen. This paper will question that narrative.

Slot 18: 10:00 - 10:50am

Marco Ferrario, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg [marco.ferrario@geschichte.uni-freiburg.de]

Breakfast at Rōxanē's. Power, Agency and Wealth in Bactria at the Dawn of the Hellenistic Age

Among the many ways in which the Persian Kings were able to make their presence sensible on their territory, the Royal Table was particularly effective. It was a place for displaying generous wealth, a way to bind the élites of the satrapies with the Royal family, as well as a huge instrument of economic mobilization. Satraps were fast in adopting this «informal institution» at their courts. But they were not alone. Royal women at Persepolis had their court as well as their Table too. They travelled through the empire (not rarely without the King), they owned estates as well as a bureaucracy that mirrored the King's one, thus allowing the «Imperial Signature» of the Persians to be effectively felt in every corner of the empire. Thanks to the recently published *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria*, we are able to assume with confidence that institutions similar to the King's Table were present in the Far East as well.

By discussing textual as well as archaeological evidence from Bactria and Sogdiana, this paper argues that, in order to successfully control such key provinces of the empire, the Persian court may have encouraged the development of the institutional economy centered on the Royal Table. May princesses like Rōxánē and Apama have been the heirs of Irdabama and Irtaštuna? And if so, what does this tell us about the political significance of the famous marriage between Alexander and the young Bactrian, as well as that between Seleucus and Apama?

Slot 19: 11:10 - 12:00am

Gościwit Malinowski, University of Wrocław [gosciwit.malinowski@gmail.com]

Agathokleia Theotropos, a Hellenistic Queen at the Crossroads of Greek, Indian and Iranian Traditions

Agathokleia Theotropos, an Indo-Greek queen in Gandhara and Punjab (ca. 110-100 BC) is known only by her coins. She is one of a very few women represented in Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins. The other ones are Laodike, the mother of Eukratides, and Kalliope, the wife of Hermaios. However, Agathokleia is the only one who bears a special royal epithet – Theotropos. It is not easy to understand the exact meaning of this epithet, because the adjective Theotropos is used very seldom in Greek onomastics, inscriptions and literature. The case of Agathokleia allows us comparative studies on the role of a woman from a Hellenistic royal family at the crossroads of Greek, Indian, Iranian and steppe nomadic traditions. This paper would be focused mainly on the interpretation of the epithet *Theotropos*, which was used later also by Machene, wife of Maues, the first-recorded Indo-Scythian king (ca. 85-60 BC). In my opinion, the royal epithet *Theotropos* had a much more specific than simple *Goddess-like* meaning, which was important for the ideology of power in the late Hellenistic states influenced by Indian, Iranian religions and traditions.

Slot 20: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Ashwini Lakshminarayanan, Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza” [ashwini.lakshminarayanan@uniroma1.it]

Envisioning the Dream of Queen Maya in Gandhara Art

Gender relations and female figures are under-investigated in Gandhara art but there are numerous reliefs emerging from this region that reveal the dynamic nature of male-

-female interactions and what it means to be “female” in Gandhara art. My aim in this presentation is to provide an overview of theoretical approaches and their limitations to study gender as depicted in Gandhara art using the example of Queen Maya.

This discussion will focus on the depiction of Maya during the non-traditional conception of Siddharata (who will later become the Buddha) using visual arts and gender theory to understand the ideological underpinnings of the myth and origins of the conception iconography. Analysis of all the components of this narrative scene provides yet another clue regarding transmission and connectivity within the various cultures in Gandhara as well as on the perception of the female body during this period. Thus, this presentation will address the nature of the conception scene, the role of the core and supporting actors in creating a standardized (or varied) narrative, partial nudity and its relevance, architecture, and iconographic parallels to conception scenes in Indian and Greco-Roman myths.

[PANEL 17] THE MARITAL AND THE MARTIAL:
EXEMPLARY WOMEN BEYOND LUCRETIA

[Wednesday]

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Karen Hersch

Peregrina Tanaquil

If captive Greece fascinated its captors, it seems that Romans felt even more perplexed about the cultural inheritance of their Etruscan neighbors. This fraught relationship is most evident in portraits of Tanaquil, who was a prophet, mother, queen, woolworker, and healer. An Etruscan aristocrat, Tanaquil was commemorated as a foreigner even in death, as Livy (1.47) labels her *peregrina Tanaquil*.

Previous interpretations of Tanaquil have focused on her role as kingmaker (Hall 1985), goddess (Santini 2005, Boëls-Janssen 2006) and matron (Hersch 2007). Yet none have considered to what extent Tanaquil's self-imposed exile and pilgrimage to Rome are connected to her miraculous deeds, most notably her ability to provide healing relics, 600 years after her death, in the form of a miraculous statue in Rome. In this paper, I reevaluate the ancient accounts in light of scholarship on ancient and medieval queenship (Earenfight 2013, Gillespie 2018) to connect immigration, prophecy, and leadership in regal Rome.

Boëls-Janssen, N., "La déesse au fuseau et la sacralisation du *lanificium* matronal" *Mélanges H. Zehnacker* (2006) 55-70.

Earenfight, T., *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke, 2013).

Gillespie, C., *Boudica: Warrior Woman of Roman Britain* (Oxford, 2018).

Hall, J., "Livy's Tanaquil and the image of assertive Etruscan women in Latin historical literature of the early empire" *AugAge* IV (1985) 31-38.

Hersch, K. K., "The Woolworker Bride" in eds. L. Larsson Lovén and A. Stromberg, *Ancient Marriage in Myth and Reality* (Cambridge, 2010) 122-136.

Myers, G., "Women and the Production of Ceremonial Textiles: A Reevaluation of Ceramic Textile Tools in Etrusco-Italic Sanctuaries" *American Journal of Archaeology* 117(2) (2013) 247-274.

Santini, C., "'Tanaquil vel Fortuna': una figura femminile nel percorso tra mito, testo e icona" *GIF* 57 (2) (2005) 189-210

Marion Boos

Women and Religion in early Rome

The Roman calendar knows several religious festivals in which women played a leading role. Aside from their gender, their social status was of particular importance. The *Matronalia*, festivals in honour of Juno, were celebrated by free married women. The *Matralia*, in honour of Mater Matuta, were also mainly celebrated by Roman matrons, while slave girls were forbidden to even enter the sanctuary of the goddess. During the *Nonae Caprotinae*, on the other hand, slave girls were honoured in commemoration of a legendary episode after the Gallic War, when the Romans were threatened by the Latins to surrender some of their girls as brides; but they were saved from disgrace by slave girls who took the place of freeborn virgins and seduced the enemy soldiers, thus giving the

Romans the chance to overwhelm them. In the festivals dedicated to Venus Verticordia and Fortuna Virilis, taking place on the same day, both respectable matrons and women of ill repute were involved.

Apart from these recurring events, women were also called upon in individual, one-time religious actions, especially in the expiation of bad omens. All these reports show that women were an essential part of Roman religious life, thus sharing the responsibility of giving the gods their due with the Roman men. However, the deities – usually female – that required special attention from women are often conceptualised as “women’s goddesses” and thus marginalised as divinities with a focus on supposedly female concerns: home and family, fertility, birth and health. This paper will review some of these so-called “women’s goddesses” known from early Rome and look into the roles both women and men played in the cultic activities of these deities.

Slot 4: 4:40 - 5:30pm

Giambattista Cairo

Structural Anthropology and Women’s Role in the Legend of Roman Kings

What role did women play in archaic matrimony? What was the function of the dowry? When was *coemptio* introduced? Did ‘marriage by rape’ exist? Structural anthropology handles such questions persuasively and innovatively. Applying categories described by Lévy-Strauss to legends such as the rape of the Sabine women, I demonstrate that archaic Rome had a marital system of generalized exchange in the guise of restricted exchange. In such systems, women have value: movement from one group to another starts a recurring chain of credits and debits. Yet in generalized exchange, debt repayment falls to later generations. Marriage by *coemptio* was introduced to resolve this problem. The dowry also helped the system function by providing a wife for individual groups, yet returning to its origin at the end of the cycle initiated by the marriage. The requirements for restitution of the dowry in the event of divorce falls outside of this system’s logic and were introduced later.

Camilla Tosi

Panegyris and Pamphila. Two sisters, two Wives

I would like to talk about the women in Plautus’ comedies, and in particular in the comedy of Stichus. I would reflect on their perspective after they have been left alone at home, without their husband. Senex wants them to remarry, but the two sisters oppose: they prefer waiting for the return of their two husbands. Roman law forces the two daughters to submit to the paternal will. However, in order for comedy to be resolved with a happy ending, the author must stage a family conflict. I explain then how the same father is incoherent: he himself wanted them to marry, and now that they are absent the senex wants to make them divorce, only in order to increase his own patrimony. In my paper I discuss how, because of paternal potestas and the absence of husbands, the will of these two women is completely ignored. Their loyalty, though threatened by the power of the father, becomes a necessary element in the plot of this Plautine comedy. I try to explain how the female position during the Republican age is gradually changing.

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am**Beatrice Polletti**

Female Sexuality and Political Change in the Early Books of Dionysius' Roman Antiquities: The Case of Hersilia and the Sabine Women

In a well-known episode of Rome's early history, King Romulus contrived and executed the mass abduction of Sabine women to provide wives for its male subjects. The ensuing war and reconciliation—promoted by the Sabine women themselves—resulted in the formal union of the Roman and the Sabine peoples. This union ratified the permanent alliance between Rome and its neighbours and the practice of intermarriage as a crucial political tool for Rome's growth.

In my presentation, I focus on the version of this episode transmitted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his history of Rome. His version is underrated in modern scholarship due to its lack of pathos and vividness compared to Livy's celebrated account. Yet, Dionysius' reconstruction proves extremely useful in understanding his attempts at negotiating Roman history and values for a mostly Greek readership. As I argue, Dionysius' preoccupation with female chastity and male virtue—the latter being evident in his description of Romulus, of the senators, and of the Roman citizens at large—supports idealized views of early Roman society and government and justifies not only Rome's subsequent victory over the Sabines and their allies but ultimately Rome's supremacy and right to rule.

Further, Dionysius ascribes unprecedented agency to the Sabine women in ending the conflict and consistently emphasizes their desirable female qualities as well as their masculine traits. These are especially manifest in the description of Hersilia, the true instigator of the reconciliation process. Unlike most Roman writers (including Livy), who conceived of Hersilia as the wife of Romulus—divinized as Hora Quirinis—Dionysius portrays her as the devout mother of one of the Sabine abductees and, notably, as a skilled and inventive orator, able to carry out the conferences with the Roman Senate and with the Sabine Councillors on her own initiative. As I show, Dionysius' narrative choices bear specific ideological significance, in that they seek to legitimize Roman power and conquest by exploiting, and to some extent subverting, common ideas about female expected behaviour and societal role.

Angeliki Roumpou, University of Nottingham [Angeliki.roumpou@nottingham.ac.uk]
"How can I prove my chastity?" Claudia Quinta and the end of the Hannibalic War in Silius Italicus' Punica

In the final book of Silius Italicus' *Punica*, the 2nd c. AD Roman epic on the Hannibalic war, Silius describes how Claudia Quinta, a Roman matron, facilitates the advent of a foreign deity, Magna Mater (Cybele) in Rome which, according to a prophecy, will expel the external enemy, Hannibal, from Italy (17.1-45). This episode serves two purposes: first, it redeems Claudia Quinta's reputation who had previously been accused for improper behaviour, and second, it ensures the expulsion of the invader, which corresponds to the military success at Zama, described later in the same book and concluding the epic. In this paper, I will analyse the different versions and adaptations of Claudia Quinta's character in literature, with particular emphasis on her appearance in the final book of

the *Punica*. Why does Silius decide to use a female character in a completely masculine epic to assist the Romans and give the final resolution of the poem? What does this episode reveal for the perception of female and chastity in Imperial times? Are there any implications behind the story of Claudia's alignment with a foreign deity connected with the Flavian ideology on territorial expansion and the subsequent removal from the city to the periphery?

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Jeremy Swist

The Women of Regal Rome in Imperial Abbreviated Histories

Livy's first book features several women of exemplary agency. While Tarpeia and Tullia are largely negative exempla, they are outweighed by the positive exempla of the Sabine Women, Tanaquil, and Lucretia. This latter group effects positive change in the development of Roman society with persuasive speech and independent action. In the reception of Livy's text by non-Christian historians of the imperial period up through late antiquity, however, we find this exemplarity either scaled back, erased, or distorted. While the general process of abbreviation and epitomization necessarily condenses narratives and largely removes direct speech, I argue that these imperial breviarists carefully rewrote, selected, and omitted details from their sources on regal women in response to their own socio-political contexts.

I first examine authors of the middle Empire, namely Florus and Justin. Florus undermines the agency of several women, even negative ones like Tullia, while rather than forgiving Lucretia he treats her death as a just expiation of dishonor. Justin, in epitomizing the historian Pompeius Trogus who in turn drew from Livy, mitigates the violence and injustice of regal rapes, both of Rhea Silvia and the Sabine Women. In late antiquity, Eutropius restricts the exemplarity of the Sabines and Lucretia in line with recent legislation on rape and abduction marriages (see Evans-Grubbs 1989; Holden 2008). Aurelius Victor and the *Epitome de Caesaribus* recast Tanaquil as an exemplum of the dynastic scheming of empresses, arguably a reaction to the increasing power and visibility of imperial women in late Roman courts (see James 2001; Angelova 2015).

This survey aims to demonstrate two things: first, that imperial abbreviated histories were creative compositions consciously in dialogue with contemporary contexts; second, that the process of abbreviating history came at the cost of positive, feminine exemplarity, a phenomenon not unique to this specific time period.

Angelova, D. 2015. *Sacred Founders: Women, Men, and Gods in the Discourse of Imperial Founding, Rome through Early Byzantium*. Berkeley.

Evans-Grubbs, J. 1989. "Abduction Marriage in Antiquity: A Law of Constantine (CTh IX 24.1) and its Social Context." *Journal of Roman Studies* 79: 59-83.

Holden, A. 2008. "The Abduction of the Sabine Women in Context: The Iconography of Late Antique Contorniate Medallions." *American Journal of Archaeology* 112.1: 121-142.

James, L. 2001. *Empresses and Power in Early Byzantium*. London.

Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Jaclyn Neel

Tarpeia in metal

In this paper I re-analyze the coinage depicting Tarpeia. This coinage has previously been understood in one of two ways: scholars either believe that the iconography depicts Tarpeia as a deity (relying on the “astral symbolism” of star and crescent; see particularly Ercolani Cocchi 2004 and Mazzei 2005) or they argue that the images depict Tarpeia’s death by crushing in a manner similar to Livy’s description in *AUC* 1.11 (most recently, Welch 2015). While not rejecting either of these two arguments, my analysis focuses on the numismatic models for these Tarpeia coins in order to draw broader conclusions. In particular, I focus on the militaristic iconography and argue that this iconography relates to the Tarpeia who accompanies Camilla in *Aeneid* 11.655-664. A reader familiar with the iconography would be able to predict Camilla’s demise, while a viewer familiar with the *Aeneid* would understand the coins in two distinct ways.

Ercolani Cocchi, E. “*Aeternitas* e il crescente lunare in età repubblicana, ovvero: la riabilitazione di Tarpeia” in M. Caccamo Caltabiano et al. (eds.), *La tradizione iconica come fonte storica. Il ruolo della numismatica negli studi di iconografia*. Reggio Calabria 2004, 47-73.

Mazzei, P. “Iuno Moneta-Tarpea.” *RCCM* 47 (2005) 23-79

Welch, T. *Tarpeia: The Workings of a Roman Myth*. Columbus, 2015.

[PANEL 18] BASED ON A TRUE STORY?
FICTIONALIZING IMPERIAL AND LATE ANTIQUE BIOGRAPHIES

[Friday]

Slot 11: 9:00 - 9:50am

Koen De Temmerman, Ghent University, [koen.detemmerman@ugent.be]

Too good to be true. Life-writing, love and desire in Greek Martyr Acts of Late Antiquity

This talk starts with a brief overview of how scholarship on late antique martyr acts has traditionally tended to focus on a relatively limited number of texts that were commonly accepted to be historically accurate representations of the persecutions in the first few centuries of the Common Era. I then continue to focus on a few of the many martyr acts that were not. These acts typically offer narrative elaborations (of varying length and complexity) of the lives preceding the martyrdoms of their protagonists. I am especially interested in those acts that develop the themes of erotic love and desire, and I examine how these narratives construct lives of female martyrs in particular. Finally, I pay attention to interpretational and ideological questions raised by such constructions, notably about their fictional (or not) qualities.

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Anna Lefteratou, Heidelberg University [anna.lefteratou@uni-heidelberg.de]

Mark Bilby, California State University, Fullerton [mgb8nsd@gmail.com]

Orestes and Paul on the Areopagus: From 'make-believe' to 'make-belief'?

In Acts 17:15-33 the Apostle Paul finds himself in Athens, where he makes his famous speech on the Areopagus (17:22-31). As is commonly noted, in Acts 17:28 Paul describes the origin of humans from God the Creator by quoting from Aratus' *Phaenomena* 5: τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἔσμεν. As Clement of Alexandria later observes, Strom. 1.19.91.4, Paul was trying to negotiate classical *paideia*/religion with the Christian gospel, and did so not only in words but also in deeds. The Areopagus conveyed a wide array of fictional and symbolic connotations. In particular, it was the site where murders were famously tried throughout antiquity, Orestes the matricide son of Agamemnon being the foremost example among these. Did the author of Acts place Paul, the Apostle to the gentiles, on such a famous site to evoke such connotations? Was the legend of the trial of Orestes on the Areopagus part of the strategic setting for this narrative? If so, what are the fictional ramifications of this choice?

This paper will argue that Acts did model Paul after Orestes in the Areopagus scene. This is corroborated by Orestian parallels elsewhere in Acts in regard to themes of murder, madness, blindness, restoration, exculpation, friendship, divine quests, self-sacrifice, and providential escape. By the time of the Areopagiticus speech, a learned Graeco-Roman audience would hardly miss the intertextual and metafictional hints to the famous myth. Myth-related intertextuality, in other words, created a fictional foil about this otherwise unknown Christian apostle that, instead of weakening, strengthened the compelling portrayal of his heroic character. Pagan authors had used mythical vernacular as enhancement of characterisation or foreshadowing plots in both fictional and non-fictional genres, such as biography and/or historiography. This paper will argue

that the Acts employ the Orestes myth similarly: yet whereas classical myth in pagan fictional/non-fictional narratives enhances the fictionality of the story, in a narrative that aimed at the conversion of the Athenians, the manipulation of myth towards non-fictionalising ends is stunning, as the text transitions from ‘make-believe’ to ‘make-belief’, the term recently coined by Schechner (2002) to delineate where imagination ends and belief begins. In the Pauline appropriation of Orestian lore, mythic trial narrative turns to Christian philosophical protreptic.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Claire Rachel Jackson, University of Cambridge [crj33@cam.ac.uk]

Beyond belief: Fiction, plausibility, and thauma in Gregory of Nyssa's Life of Macrina

Gregory of Nyssa's late-fourth century biography the *Life of Macrina* continually displays awareness of its own fictionality. The text has often been seen as at least partially rooted in a historical event, namely Gregory's visit to his dying sister, and follows a traditional birth- to-death biographical pattern. And yet, at a time when Christian biographical conventions were still crystallising, the *Life of Macrina* presents itself as a letter necessitated by the limitations of oral conversation (1), a self-conscious framing which dramatises the slippage between speech and writing, truth and fiction. Moreover, in an epilogue Gregory states that he has only told some of the miracles (thaumata) Macrina performed because their unbelievable nature might strain the audience's credibility (39). Rather than just highlighting the text's fictionality, the description of Macrina's thaumata as beyond belief instead challenges how the text's fictionality should be understood. Is the acceptance of Macrina's miraculous powers a test of audience faith, or a way of emphasising Macrina's uniqueness even among saints? In short, how does this fictional framing affect how the *Life of Macrina* can be read and interpreted as a biography?

In this paper, I will explore how the *Life of Macrina* uses these explicit markers of fictionality to explore the distinctions between fiction and faith, the plausible and the miraculous within a biographical narrative. In particular, I will look at how the *Life* thematises thauma as a key element of its fictionality, and how this both alludes to earlier examples of thaumata in classical biographical narratives and also transposes them into Christian contexts. By reading the fictionality of the *Life* through the themes of thauma and plausibility, I will show how the text situates itself between fiction and history, faith and disbelief, Christian and pagan biographical traditions, and within the late antique politics of fiction.

Slot 14: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Lea Niccolai, University of Cambridge [niccolai.lea@gmail.com]

Lives to be read (through): Late antique biography as spiritual exegesis

The *Life of Constantine* composed by bishop Eusebius of Caesarea around 337 CE, the autobiographical section at the heart of emperor Julian's *Against Heraclios* (361 ca.), Synesius of Cyrene's representation of his own life and work in his account of recent Constantinopolitan history known as Egyptian tales, and Palladius' apologetic biography of the life of John Chrysostom (408 ca), represent four heterogeneous attempts, by four equally heterogeneous voices (in terms of purposes, poetics, religious allegiance,

social position), to make biographical narrative interact and intersect with the writing of contemporary history. All these works do share, however, one crucial feature: they draw on allegory and, more generally, on devices pertaining to Biblical and/or philosophical hermeneutics, to represent the life and deeds of their main characters.

My paper will explore this deliberate translation of methods of exegesis into narrative strategies. Particular attention will be devoted to scenes where such translation, as providing the framework to episodes of human interaction with the divine (epiphanies, prophecies, miracles, etc.), flags up the status of the protagonists as agents of God (or of the gods). I aim to show that the re-shaping of formal requirements of biographical fiction is finalised to legitimise the authors' claims of privileged insight into the divine design: the presentation of holy lives as available to be simultaneously read and told through the lens of allegory advertises the capacity of the biographers to deploy hermeneutical tools, their expertise as interpreters of the "book" of sacred history and, consequently, their reliability as biographers. My contention is that, to the question on how to legitimise the (re)presentation of a life as particularly dear to the divine, late antique biographers replied with their own self-representation as exegetes able to "read through" the lives that they were reporting.

Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Thomas Kuhn-Treichel, Heidelberg University [tkuhntr@uni-heidelberg.de]

Gregory of Nazianzus: a tragico-epic hero?

The case of Gregory of Nazianzus is of special interest for the question of fictionalization in biography, not only because he is one of the first Christian authors to provide so much autobiographical information but also because he does so in different literary forms. Gregory refers to his life in his letters, but even more striking is the amount of autobiographical details in his poems, which in turn differ in length, style and metre. However, genres in antiquity were often associated with fixed poetic personae or particular literary heroes, which is not only a touch of convention but also part of the fictional pact between a poem and its audience. Thus, genre unavoidably would have influenced the shaping and reception of Gregory's autobiographical material.

This paper aims to address the question as to how the different literary traditions taken up by Gregory affect his autobiographical self-presentation and lend a fictional flavour to it. My main focus is the representation of suffering, which features prominently in all of Gregory's personal writings. As I am going to show, the terms and phrases Gregory uses to describe his sufferings are strongly connected with the respective generic tradition: E.g. in iambic poems like 2.1.11, he favours phrases involving forms of $\mu\omicron\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, recalling tragedy and, most of all, Euripides, while in dactylic poems like 2.1.1, he shows a predilection for phrases with $\mu\omicron\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, which can be paralleled in Homeric epic, whereas in the letters, neither of the two verbs occurs. I will argue that the choice of different words does not just reflect metrical exigencies but, and at the same time, parallels Gregory with tragic and epic heroes. The result is not only a fictionalization of the autobiographical account, but also a remarkable blending of mythological and Christian concepts of suffering.

Slot 16: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Oliver Gengler (via skype), Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities / University of Tübingen [olivier.gengler@adw.uni-heidelberg.de]

Epos, drama, history, novel or mythography? Biographical elements in Malalas' Chronicle

The work attributed to John Malalas, written in its original version at the beginning of Justinian's reign, is a kind of generic pot-pourri. It presents itself (in the version known to us) as a universal history of the world, from Adam to the present (Prooimion [p. 3.4-11 Thurn]), and follows for the contemporary period a kind of annalistic structure (Books XV-XVIII), but is actually a millenarian and teleological presentation of the past up to Justinian's first years. On another level, however, it looks rather like a collection of entertaining stories, one in which portraits and short biographies are central to the overall balance of the work, setting a strong focus on the destiny of individuals, especially the monarchs or basileis. As much information stemming from a wide range of texts found its way into the chronicle, it is possible to observe both the historicization of fiction and fictionalization of history at work in those biographical passages, as the analysis of the narrative strategies developed by the author will show.

[Saturday]

Slot 17: 9:00 - 9:50am

Francesco Padovani, University of Pisa [francesco.padovani@alumni.sns.it]

Achilles as a mythical and fictional paradigm in Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus

The relationship between fiction and history within Plutarch's biographical accounts has raised an increasing interest among scholars in the last few years. The works of Mossman and Pelling among others have focused on the influence of different literary genres upon Plutarch's biographies, as well as on his employment of novelistic features in order to give his audience a thrilling account of the historical events. The *Life of Pyrrhus* provides a particularly exciting example of this kind of fictitious history. The portrait of Pyrrhus' heroic status follows a highly refined narrative pattern: the references to Achilles and Alexander not only determine the historical destiny of the king of Epirus, they also influence the way Plutarch describes the acts and feelings of his main character. Along with typical elements of Greek biography, such as the scrutiny of the hero's childhood, the *Life of Pyrrhus* displays genuine fictional features, for instance the allusion to the king's magical powers or the insertion of intriguing episodes and novellas within the tale. Thus the main focus of my paper concerns the intersection between history, fiction, literary tradition and myth according to the account Plutarch provides of Pyrrhus' heroic descent. I will argue that Plutarch actually portrays Pyrrhus as a new Achilles, as his individual *aristeia* in the battlefield, equal to the courage of the Homeric hero, makes clear to the reader. The king's unfortunate destiny is caused by his imitation of the Achillean paradigm, insofar as he is unable to understand that the strength of the Roman enemy derives from militaristic discipline rather than from individual bravery. I will point out that such an explanation of the events does not reflect the principles of historical truth and is instead strictly bound to the literary and mythical characterization of Pyrrhus. My analysis will provide an example of how fiction can take over history in Plutarch's biographies.

Fotini Hadjittofi, University of Lisbon [f.hadjittofi@campus.ul.pt]
The best (and the last) of the Achaeans: Plutarch's Philopoemen as Achilles

It has long been recognised that a number of Plutarch's Lives (Alexander, Pyrrhus, Camillus, Aristides, and Coriolanus) measure up their subjects against the epic model of Achilles. The Life of Philopoemen has been curiously neglected in these discussions. Yet this work begins by comparing the young and orphaned Philopoemen, who will be raised by a guardian, to Achilles, who was raised by Phoenix. The adolescent who will, eventually, become the best (and the last great) general of the Achaean League before Rome's conquest of Greece reads Homer as a stimulant to *andreia*, devotes himself only to lessons useful for a soldier, and is marked by his propensity to anger.

This paper will argue that Plutarch shapes some crucial episodes in the Life of Philopoemen with Achilles in mind. As well as rejecting an embassy sent (three times over) to offer him presents (15.6-12) and defeating an enemy that resembles a weaker version of Hector (10.8-13), Philopoemen gives new arms to the young men of the Achaean League, at which point the Homeric Achilles is explicitly evoked (9.12). The emphasis on the workshops making the weapons and the precious materials they use is indeed reminiscent of Thetis' arming of her son (an imagery also appropriated by the historical Pyrrhus), but Plutarch's comments on the distinction between other luxurious objects, which implant effeminacy, and the trappings of war, which – almost magically – exult the spirit and instil manliness, rather indicate that he is (also) thinking of the myth of Achilles on the island of Skyros, handling feminine objects among the daughters of Lycomedes. An allusion to the same myth could also be discerned in a later episode (13.1-9) which sees Philopoemen abandon the Achaean League because of his restlessness (an Achillean quality, as Plutarch says elsewhere) and join the Gortynian forces on the island of Crete, where he puts on (like a garment) a way of fighting that is foreign to him and involves hiding and trickery. Finally, it will be argued that Philopoemen's death (20.1-4) is described in a way that evokes the (Achillean, according to Plato) death of Socrates, and thus acquires an added layer of tragic fictionality.

Slot 18: 10:00 - 10:50am

Sonia Pertsinidis, The Australian National University [sonia.pertsinidis@anu.edu.au]
You could have fooled me! Fiction and biography in the Aesop Romance

The *Aesop Romance* is a comic biography of Aesop from the first-second centuries CE. It incorporates fictional motifs, including miraculous events, wondrous tricks and travel to exotic destinations into a pseudo-biographical account of Aesop's life. The genres of comedy and tragedy are intertwined, as Aesop's mischievous deeds evoke the crudity and hilarity of Aristophanic comedy, while his unjust execution represents a tragic end and brings punishment upon the Delphians. At the same time as engaging and entertaining the reader, the narrative has strong moralizing themes: in its emphasis on piety, the contest between practitioners of popular wisdom and learned philosophers, and the overt criticism of power and authority. Ultimately, there is a powerful expression of faith in practical wisdom, as represented by the triumph of Aesop's fables over other forms of speech. In this paper, I will argue that like a fable itself, the *Aesop Romance* combines fictional and non-fictional elements whilst proclaiming a profound, moral message that is intended for real life.

Slot 19: 11:10 - 12:00am

Eleanor Okell, University of Leeds [E.R.OKell@leeds.ac.uk]

Dictys Cretensis, contracts of fictionality and the cultivation of the suspicious reader

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

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

Starting from the question 'How does Dictys know?' the paper will first use the summarised homecomings (6) to identify specific strategies used to allay reader suspicion (generally held to follow the model of the historiographical fetishization of the eyewitness, consisting of source identification and copious detail; Kemezis 2014, Clark 2011) and show how these authentication strategies are supplemented in the main account (1-5) with: verbs of seeing and hearing; first person plural pronouns or narration; clear indication of surmised motives; cross-referencing etc. It will then focus on when these suspicion-allaying strategies are used, revealing that Dictys is conscious of the readers' developing suspicion and even deliberately raises it, e.g. by introducing direct speech and then delaying identification of its source until the reader has reached the point of asking 'But how can Dictys know this?'

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

Slot 20: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Stella Alekou, University of Cyprus [stella.alekou@gmail.com]

Female (anti-)exempla in Pliny's and Ovid's 'Heroines'

Pliny's letters have often been examined as a valuable historiographical source on women's role in Roman society, as the use of real people as models for behavior actively participates in the Plinian fashioning of Roman uirtus through the moral instruction of exempla. The letters' role is in fact twofold: both prescriptive and descriptive, they extol as well as advocate specific patterns of behavior, including that of the ideal wife. These texts may thus be further studied as rhetorical constructions of cultural stereotypes from which we can but learn about gendered norms and ideologies. In a quite different temporal setting, Ovid too writes letters in which women appear quite prominently. As opposed to Pliny's female portrayals, women in the *Heroides* are far less conceived as exempla of the 'ideal wife', are mainly fictional and are, furthermore, 'enabled' to rewrite their pseudo-biographies, as if they were the fabricators of their own portrayals, even though these are composed, filtered and 'edited' by a male poet.

Notwithstanding the temporal lacuna and the many contextual divergences that distance the Plinian from the Ovidian letters, Ovid offers both a canon of style and a polemical target source that activates in Pliny's writing a network of allusions. This paper will examine Pliny's letters with regard to their Ovidian reminiscences in order to shed light on a literary exchange that has been consistently overshadowed in scholarship. Focusing on death notices in Pliny's epistolary historiography and Ovid's epistolary fiction, the study of clusters of letters will show that the Ovidian work participates in the Plinian readers' mental encyclopaedia as an intergeneric exemplum. In reading Ovid to further understand Pliny, we will be called to see the Ovidian *Heroides* no longer as mere fictional letters but to finally situate them in their historical context. Most importantly, in reexamining Ovid's unconventional *feminae vis à vis* the Plinian perception of distinguished women, we will eventually be encouraged to reconsider some well-established views on Pliny's social, cultural and political conservatism.

List of Speakers

[PANEL 19] TECHNICAL WRITING IN LATE ANTIQUITY:
LITERARY STRATEGIES AND SOCIO-CULTURAL AGENDAS

[Wednesday]

Slot 1: 1:30 - 2:20pm

Thorsten Fögen [thorsten.foegen@durham.ac.uk]

Research on technical writing in late antiquity: Problems and prospects

Slot 2: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Markus Dubischar, Lafayette College, USA [dubischm@lafayette.edu]

Late antique auxiliary texts: What the writers are saying

In the field of technical literature, auxiliary texts (anthologies, commentaries, compilations, epitomes and glossaries) play a vital role in transmitting knowledge. It is worth investigating whether, or how, late antique auxiliary texts differ from those of earlier times. Prefatory remarks by auxiliary writers about their own works are, in this context, of particular interest. While these authors are not always highly esteemed because of the derivative nature of their work, they may be regarded as effective responders to communicative needs which they perceive within and around their disciplines. The auxiliary writers' closeness to contemporary intellectual realities and literary practices makes their statements about their own work valuable for the literary historian today. Authors considered in this presentation include Claudius Donatus, Eutropius, Festus, Oribasius, Stobaeus, Vegetius and others.

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Benjamin Thommen, Universität Zürich [benjamin.thommen@archaeologie.uzh.ch]

From the 'whole body of architecture' to a manual for the private builder: Marcus Cetus Faventinus' epitome of Vitruvius' De architectura

Originality in content is certainly no characteristic trait of Marcus Cetus Faventinus' small book on domestic architecture. When the author set out on his task of writing a manual for the private builder, he largely epitomised Vitruvius' classical text *De architectura*. Nonetheless, Faventinus presents himself as an author of his own value, producing a concise and therefore valuable source of knowledge for a demanding audience.

My paper examines how Faventinus selected, evaluated and rearranged the vast and manifold material that he found in Vitruvius' text. By limiting himself to write exclusively about private buildings, he opted not only for a very small part of the *totum corpus architecturae* that his predecessor had attempted to cover. Faventinus also avoided most of the subject matter Vitruvius had artfully interwoven into his treatise in order to promote his socio-cultural agenda. Faventinus wanted to appear as a new type of expert writer in the field of architecture who deliberately replaced universal ambition with hands-on applicability. Faventinus' book is an example of the direct reception of a classical technical text in the later Roman Empire. It shows the success and failure of Vitruvius' literary model and the professional ambition connected to it.

Slot 4: 4:40 - 5:30pm

Elodie Turquois, Universität Mainz [eturquoi@uni-mainz.de]

De architectura? Didacticism, aesthetics, and ekphrasis in Procopius' Buildings

Procopius of Caesarea wrote *the Buildings of Justinian* in the sixth century A.D. by skilfully combining literary and rhetorical traditions going as far back as Pindar. This panegyric which rests solely on the theme of imperial constructions presents some close affinity to technical literature, highlighting the tenuous distinction between technical and rhetorical, as well as giving us a sense of audience's interest in this period. This paper will examine ekphrases of buildings in Procopius' work as well as contemporary texts of a similar nature as comparanda. It will look at the didactic and aesthetic aspects of his prose taking into account narratology and reader-response in order to get an idea of the perception of architecture in the sixth century and its place in the intellectual culture of the period.

[Thursday]

Slot 5: 9:00 - 9:50am

Matthijs Wibier, University of Kent, Canterbury [M.H.Wibier@kent.ac.uk]

Imagining the scholarly community in the writings of Justinian's antecessores

This paper will study the rhetoric whereby the legal scholars active under Justinian, the so-called *antecessores*, constructed authority for their learning and writing. I will argue that an important strategy for them is to emphasise continuity with the early imperial past, in particular with the culture of the "classical" jurists. Active primarily in the time from Augustus until the Severans, the jurists went to great lengths to develop points of law and tended to do so in debate with one another. The interest in jurists' law on the part of Justinian and his *antecessores* is evident from the production of the *Digest*, which is an anthology in fifty books of the writings of the "classical" jurists. However, some of the writings of the *antecessores* themselves also survive, albeit often in fragmentary form. In this paper, I will argue that it is a key element of the *antecessores'* self-presentation to emphasise their intellectual pedigree, which is characterised by a chain of named teachers stretching back to a certain Cyrillus from fifth-century Beirut (which had a well-known law school). By mentioning their immediate predecessors and the passionate debates they had over points of law (for which sometimes the classical jurists were invoked for support as well), I argue that the *antecessores* attempt to present themselves as a new flourishing of the "classical" type of jurisprudence in a late antique world in which law teachers and legal authors tended to remain anonymous.

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Laurence Totelin, Cardiff University [TotelinLM@cardiff.ac.uk]

Carmen salutiferum: Quintus Serenus and his Liber medicinalis

The *Liber medicinalis* of Quintus Serenus (perhaps Quintus Serenus Sammonicus) is a rather neglected verse pharmacological text in which numerous recipes are presented roughly in the 'head-to-toe' order. The prevalence of 'disgusting' ingredients (Quintus

Serenus himself calls them thus), such as excrement, animal bile, and other animal products, has led modern scholars to turn their nose at this poem. This was not always the case: during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the poem of Quintus Serenus was extremely successful and inspired other medical poems (such as that attributed to Benedictus Crispus). The *Liber medicinalis* may be an unoriginal collection of recipes, mostly gathered from sources such as Pliny the Elder, but it is a highly unusual medical poem. In particular, it mentions more non-medical sources than medical ones: Cicero, Ennius, Homer, Lucretius, Plautus and Livy, among others, are quoted.

In this paper, I will examine the role of these non-medical sources in Serenus' medical project. I will start with the preface of the poem, where in the very first line, Serenus calls his poem a 'health-giving song' (*salutiferum carmen*). This appears to be a reference to Lucretius' famous lines, where the Epicurean compares the role of poetry in making philosophy more palatable to that of honey in sweetening a bitter medicinal draught. For Quintus Serenus, poetry is 'healing' because it conveys healing remedies, but also perhaps in itself – learning poetry, listening to it, and studying it may play a healing role. I will then examine the nature of the quotations in the *Liber medicinalis*: the ways in which, for instance, Serenus has plundered ancient comedy to find remedies. Is this merely a bookish exercise, or can we perhaps suggest that Serenus believed in the healing power of laughter? For it seems to me that the *Liber medicinalis* is not entirely to be taken seriously, and that it is full of learned jokes. In this context, it will be useful to recall Galen's own fascination for comedy. I hope that this paper will contribute to a re-evaluation of Quintus Serenus' project, one that moves beyond simplistic judgements of its pharmacological and poetic value.

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Cadance Butler, Cardiff University [ButlerCL3@cardiff.ac.uk]

But the horses of Achilles wept: Literary motifs and animal rationality in late antique veterinary texts

The late antique veterinary texts remain largely unexplored as literary works, perhaps misjudged as dry, clinical instructions for animal care providers. In this paper, in order to challenge this view, I will analyse the engagement of authors such as Vegetius, Palladius and Pelagonius with literary and philosophical texts that dealt with the rationality of non-human animals. As a case in point, I will look into their descriptions of pain, and more particularly, of tears. After discussing in some detail the vocabulary they deploy for these descriptions, I will turn to instances of intertextuality with stories such as that of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Finally, I will consider how statements in these veterinary texts might compare to contemporary, late antique Christian doctrine.

Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Tim Denecker, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven [tim.denecker@kuleuven.be]

Technical aspects of grammatical texts from late antiquity: The case of the Pseudo-Augustinian Regulae

Latin grammatical texts from late antiquity occur in many forms and types (cf. e.g. Ax 2005 and Zetzel 2018). At least since Law (1987), a basic distinction is made between grammatical texts of the *regulae* type on the one hand (offering an enumeration of indi-

vidual morphological models or paradigms), and those of the *Schulgrammatik* type on the other (offering a systematic treatment of the various word classes and their properties). One Latin grammatical text that stands out by defying this basic distinction is a treatise entitled *Regulae* and formerly attributed to Augustine (CPL 1558), an attribution which is nowadays commonly denied (Law 1984). The work at hand can best be described as a grammar handbook of the “mixed” type, combining features of the *regulae* and of the *Schulgrammatik* types. The work furthermore owes its interest to the metalanguage it employs, which clearly reflects the various interactions taking place in the didactic setting of the (fourth- or fifth-century, probably North African) classroom. This is even more clearly the case in this work than in the fifth-century grammatical commentary of Pompeius, which has long been thought to reflect the interaction between a *grammaticus* and his pupils, but which – as has convincingly been argued by Kaster (1988) – should rather be read as a condensation of the instruction offered by a senior *grammaticus* to his younger trainee or colleague. In my paper, I will approach the pseudo-Augustinian *Regulae* as a technical text, which puts to use a particular metalanguage and terminology, and which organizes and encodes in a specific way the grammatical information which it transmits as well as the real-life didactic interactions to which it goes back.

Ax, Wolfram (2005): Typen antiker grammatischer Fachliteratur am Beispiel der römischen Grammatik. In: Thorsten Fögen (ed.), *Antike Fachtexte – Ancient Technical Texts*, Berlin & New York, 117-136.

Kaster, Robert A. (1988): *Guardians of Language. The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley & Los Angeles.

Law, Vivien (1984): St Augustine’s *De grammatica*. Lost or found? In: *Recherches augustiniennes* 19, 155-183.

Law, Vivien (1987): Late Latin grammars in the Early Middle Ages. A typological history. In: Daniel J. Taylor (ed.), *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, 191-204.

Zetzel, James E. G. (2018): *Critics, Compilers, and Commentators. An Introduction to Roman Philology, 200 BCE-800 CE*, New York.

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Hildegund Müller, University of Notre Dame, USA [Hildegund.G.Muller.17@nd.edu]
Technical writing and the genres and styles of patristic literature: An inquiry into Augustine’s oeuvre

The formal education of the young Augustine was certainly not much different from that of other important Christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., but his career as a school teacher makes him a particularly interesting subject of inquiry into the traces of ancient school literature, and more generally technical literature, in Christian writings. I am interested in the formal influence of this schooling on the styles and genres of patristic literature: Can we trace the wide formal variety of Christian genres to pagan predecessors? In which way did the language and style of school literature influence genres such as commentaries or sermons? How can we situate unprecedented new literary forms, such as *quaestiones* or *locutiones*, in a broader context of technical literature? I will also consider Augustine’s early dialogues, his treatise *De musica*, and his worklist *Retractationes* (which has an unexpected parallel in Galen’s works), to develop a comprehensive picture of the technical predecessors of Christian literature.

Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm**Han Baltussen**, University of Adelaide [han.baltussen@adelaide.edu.au]*The ancient philosophical commentary: A misunderstood genre*

Among the more technical literary productions in antiquity, the ancient philosophical commentary (*scholê*, *hypomnêma*, *scholion*) takes a special place. Despite several pioneering studies in the early twentieth century, it has only received broader scholarly attention over the past three decades. When we ask the question what type of document it is, several different answers can be found, but often its reactive or secondary nature is emphasized. In this paper I want to focus on the technical aspects of the late philosophical commentary in order to explore its dynamic and autonomous features and argue that these can inform us about the distinctive as well as misunderstood nature of this ‘genre’ (*technê*, technique or teaching tool). The main characteristics point to the slow evolution of the commentary and its variable contexts of use, thus assisting in a more detailed and appropriate understanding of its fluid, yet serious purpose.

Slot 11: 9:00 - 9:50am**Douglas Boin**, Saint Louis University, USA [douglas.boin@slu.edu]*Religious division, xenophobia, and the social milieu of the later Roman Empire in Marius Victorinus’ Commentary on Galatians*

Literary commentaries are a specialised form of writing, and biblical commentaries, such as those written in Latin by Marius Victorinus in the fourth-century Roman Empire, are no different. Yet as recent scholarship has shown, even in the pages of dense technical literature, issues of language and cultural history are “frequently intertwined” (Fögen 2016: 87), suggesting that opaque treatises can offer surprising perspectives on social-historical realities. Victorinus’ own *Commentary on [Paul’s Letter to the] Galatians* speaks to the divisive Christian world of fourth-century Rome, the pivotal period after Christianity was legalised, but before the Theodosian regime established it as the state religion (Boin 2014). In this presentation I situate the linguistic and cultural concerns of Victorinus’ *Commentary on Galatians*, as well as the contemporary production of the first Latin Bible translations, in a different way: against the growing anti-immigrant fervour of fourth- and early fifth-century Rome, as seen in Claudian, Synesius and Prudentius, and in archaeological material like the Column of Arcadius and the Obelisk of Theodosius. By taking account of the increasingly protectionist stance of political leaders during a time of rising migrations and immigration, I suggest that the development of specifically Latin biblical translations and scriptural commentaries – including, for example, Victorinus’ decision to eschew the well-established Greek vocabulary for paganism (‘Hellenismos’) and instead, coin a Latin word for the same phenomenon (‘paganismus’) – represent an important departure from trends in earlier technical writing, when multilingualism and cultural fluidity were the norm across Mediterranean writers. Victorinus’ *Commentary* can thus be seen as both as product of and a contribution to broader, divisive cultural forces that took root in Rome on the eve of the empire’s falling apart.

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Jan Stenger, University of Glasgow [Jan.Stenger@glasgow.ac.uk]

Religious knowledge in sophistic guise: Choricus of Gaza as a teacher of Christianity

The rhetorical school of sixth-century Gaza has been labelled the ‘Christian school of Gaza’. However, generally it is not specified whether and how religious identity distinguished this particular school from other late antique institutions in which students acquired rhetorical skills. My paper aims at a reassessment of the modern perception of the school of Gaza through an analysis of the intellectual profile of its head, the sophist Choricus. His epideictic speeches show, indeed, that the traditionalism of his profession notwithstanding, he occasionally addressed religious matters, such as charitable work and scriptural exegesis. He also entertained a close relationship with the local bishop Marcian, an alumnus of the school, and was commissioned by him with orations celebrating newly erected churches. When Choricus turns to Christian topics, it is often in the context of questions of learning and the transmission of knowledge, including the relationship between classical *paideia* and Christian learning. This relationship comes to the fore in the *ecphrasis* of a church building in Choricus’ first panegyric of the bishop. The paper will examine the literary technique of this description and demonstrate the fruitful blend of religious knowledge and classical rhetorical style, a combination in which skilful eloquence serves to popularise the message of the gospels. It is argued that it is this elementary religious instruction of a wider audience through oratory that justifies, to a certain extent, the image of a ‘Christian school’. The school of Gaza was Christian insofar as religion, though not part of the curriculum, was integrated in its general pedagogic mission, alongside mythology, classical literature, Greek history and other traditional subjects.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Ulrich Eigler, Universität Zürich [ulrich.eigler@sglp.uzh.ch]

Isidore’s Origines as an archaeology of knowledge at the end of antiquity

In his *Institutiones* (1.30) Cassiodorus writes about the manual labour (*corporeus labor*) of the copists (*antiquarii*) as being outstanding among the other activities and tasks in a monastery’s daily life. The privileged position of writing as such is even more stressed when Cassiodorus points out its outstanding importance within Christian culture. According to his perspective on the history of salvation, the cultural technique of writing materialises in the everyday instruments of *calamus* and *atramentum*, representing not only the tools of writing as craftsmanship, but also the active participation in the propaganda of Christian faith. Writing gains even more importance through the allegorical interpretation of its instruments as weapons against the devil who literally receives as many wounds as holy words are written. Cassiodorus re-evaluates the traditional technique of book-copying, formerly carried out mostly by slaves, within the setting of a cosmos of features, books and tools of writing, which reflects the secular nucleus of the divine order.

One generation later, Isidore takes up this concept in the sixth book of his *Etymologiae*. There, in one single book, he builds up a Christian world of the technology of writing. He closely connects his exposition of the canon of the biblical writings and the order of liturgical practice with a detailed description of the techniques of writing.

This paper will try to elucidate how Isidore combines technical information with a literary narrative describing the Christian culture at its centre. As a result, he not only describes writing as a technique, but legitimates it as a cultural practice within a Christian world, soon to be threatened by veritable dangers for the transmission of the written heritage.

[PANEL 20] NOT COMING

[PANEL 21] WHAT'S (NEW) IN A NAME? ONOMASTICS, DATABASES AND THE
ANCIENT WORLD

[Thursday]

Slot 5: 9:00 - 9:50am

Milagros Navarro Caballero & Jonathan Edmonson
ADOPIA Lusitania

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Yanne Broux
Trimegistos People 2.0: new directions for digital onomastics

Trismegistos (www.trismegistos.org) started in 2005 as a platform to facilitate access to information about published papyrological texts in all possible languages and scripts from Graeco-Roman Egypt. Since 2012, we have started expanding to the rest of the ancient world by adding all Latin sources, as well as those in indigenous languages, and incorporation of the Greek material originating outside of Egypt has started in 2018. Trismegistos has thus grown into a platform pointing to places where information can be found about all texts from antiquity, in order to facilitate cross-cultural and cross-linguistic research.

Apart from texts, Trismegistos also intensively deals with places (TM Places – www.trismegistos.org/geo) and people (TM People – www.trismegistos.org/ref). Building on open access to the full text in repositories, we have developed a Named Entity Recognition [NER] procedure to create lists of toponyms and anthroponyms that occur in our sources. Starting out with Greek papyri, where Trismegistos could build on the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (a Who's Who of Ptolemaic Egypt), we distilled over 375,000 Greek, Egyptian and Latin personal names from the full text of some 50,000 documents found in the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (now incorporated in papyri.info). Several important studies have been written using this data set, for example on double names (Broux 2015 and Coussement 2016), hybrid names (Dogaer 2015), and the emergence of Christian names (Depauw & Clarysse 2013).

In 2016, the NER procedure was applied to the Latin texts in the Clauss/Slaby database (www.manfredclauss.de), distilling over 360,000 'identification clusters' pointing to individuals (e.g. *Titus Statilius Titi filius Palatina Felix*). Although these results have not yet been processed entirely, preliminary case studies have already demonstrated the value of such an empire-wide data set (e.g. Broux 2017). In 2019, Trismegistos will team up with the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* to perform a much-needed update of the onomastic material from Egypt. This will in turn allow us to give TM People a thorough makeover and to translate this section of the platform to our new, higher standards. By incorporating data visualization and advanced statistical analyses, we aim to pave the way for a more digital approach to ancient onomastics (Broux forthcoming).

Broux 2015: Y. BROUX, *Double Names and Elite Identity in Roman Egypt* (Studia Hellenistica 54), 2015.

Broux 2017: Y. BROUX, 'Ancient Profiles Exploited. First results of Named Entity Recognition Applied to Latin Inscriptions', M. NOWAK, A. ŁAJTAR and J. URBANIK (eds.),

- Tell Me Who You Are: Labeling Status in the Graeco-Roman World* (Studia Źródłoznawcze 16), Warsaw, 11-33.
- Broux forthcoming: Y. BROUX, ‘Things Can Only Get Better for Socrates and his Crocodile’, *Classical Quarterly* (accepted).
- Coussement 2016: S. COUSSEMENT, ‘Because I am Greek’: Polyonymy as an Expression of Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt (Studia Hellenistica 55), 2016.
- Depauw & Clarysse 2013: M. DEPAUW and W. CLARYSSE, ‘How Christian was Fourth Century Egypt? Onomastic perspectives on Conversion’, *Vigiliae Christianae: A Review of Early Christian Life and Language*, 67 (2013), 407-435.
- Dogaer 2015: N. DOGAER, ‘Greek names with the ending -ιανός/-ianus in Roman Egypt’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 45 (2015), 45-64.

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Ana Isabel Blasco Torres, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven [anaiblasco@hotmail.com]
Data Analysis in Graeco-Egyptian Onomastics. Greek/Egyptian Linguistic Features, Dialectal Isoglosses and Ghostnames in Greek Renderings of Egyptian Personal Names

Greek renderings of Egyptian personal names are part of the onomastic material preserved in papyri, ostraca, inscriptions or in other documents, generally from Egypt, written in Greek characters. The large number of Egyptian anthroponyms attested in the Graeco-Roman period in different Egyptian writings as well as in Greek transcription (more than 12500 different names, of which some have several variants with thousands of attestations) makes their manual study difficult. However, databases allow quantitative and statistical analysis and make possible not only the study of the Greek or Egyptian linguistic characteristics of the different components of Egyptian names attested in Greek transcription, but also the establishment of some dialectal isoglosses (e.g. *a/o* in anthroponyms composed of the name of the Egyptian god of fate Ὶzy (cf. Ψαις/Ψοις < P3-Ὶzy), as pointed out by J. Quaegebeur) and, therefore, the delimitation of the ancient pre-Coptic Egyptian dialects. In addition, the analysis of the best attested variants in Greek rendering for each geographical area allows the detection of inexistent variants and ghostnames, aside from the reconstruction of abbreviated anthroponyms.

Melanie Groß, Leiden University [m.m.gross@hum.leidenuniv.nl]
The Prosopography of Babylonia open access database

The database “Prosobab – Prosopography of Babylonia: 620–330 BCE” is currently being developed at Leiden University within the framework of the ERC project “Persia and Babylonia: Creating a New Context for Understanding the Emergence of the First World Empire” (<http://persiababylonia.org/>) led by Caroline Waerzeggers. Thousands of cuneiform clay texts have survived in archives of Babylonian families and temples (c. 620–330 BCE). These sources offer valuable data for socio-historical research but their potential is difficult to exploit so far. The Leiden project wants to contribute to their accessibility by an online prosopography, designed to provide information about attested individuals in Babylonia during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods based

on a questionnaire. As an open access database it is (along with other online databases) intended as a research tool for specialists. At the same time it also aims at contributing to a better insight into the cuneiform material for non-specialists. Moreover, it provides the flexibility and durability required by the ever on-going publication of the corpus. While we are currently busy with adding and processing data, we plan to publicly release the database over the first half of the year 2019. This lecture discusses the structure of the database, the range of data systemized in the database and its envisaged contribution to the field of “new digital prosopography”.

Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Rada Varga [radavarga@gmail.com]

Annamária-Izabella Pázsint [a.i.pazsint@gmail.com]

Imola Bod [boda_imola@yahoo.com]

Romans 1 by 1. Insights into a Prosopographical Database

The current proposal focuses on presenting Romans 1by 1 (<http://romans1by1.com/>), a population database encompassing people epigraphically attested in the ancient world and the new perspectives gained on Roman provincial population through researches undertaken on the material made available by the database. At this moment, the database has around 20.000 (over 16.000 already open access) individual files and by the time of the conference the number will have increased.

The first part of the talk (envisaged as a 25-30 min. presentation) will be an on-line, hands-on, demo of the database as a working tool. We will present its basic technical and architectural details, but will focus on its possible employments by external users and on its practical functionalities.

The second part will be divided into two sections. As such, in the first section we will present the results of general researches undertaken on the provinces whose epigraphically attested population has already been registered exhaustively (Moesia Inferior, Moesia Superior, Dacia). Macro-analysing the provincial epigraphic manifestations proved to be revealing, as it allowed us to know and understand slices of real Roman lives – not from books written by the elites, but from the inscriptions dedicated by the ‘commoners’ themselves and improved our knowledge on social fabric, social psychology and identity construction patterns.

In the second section we will bring forward a case study which focuses on the social and professional network developed by a veteran (T. Aurelius Flavinus) outside the military environment. The example will reflect in practical ways not only the overall usefulness of the database, but also the insights which it can bring into understanding both the micro-history of individuals and the broader provincial history.

Andreas Gavrielatos, University of Reading [a.gavrielatos@reading.ac.uk]

A socio-onomastic study on the names of potters on Gallo-Roman Samian ware

The development of a database with the names recorded on Samian ware pottery from Roman Gaul (<https://www1.rgzm.de/samian/home/frames.htm>) offers a variety of possibilities for both archaeological and historical investigation. At the same time, the database consists of a list of names used in a multilingual environment, thus presenting a

fruitful case study for a study on onomastics.

The fact that these names belong to peoples, whose cultural and linguistic identities, as well as their professions, can be assumed, fulfils a basic prerequisite for the study of this onomastic stock with relation to the linguistic context and the onomastic choices recorded in the epigraphic material of the region. Naming choices interpreted in this environment reveal specific patterns that subsequently indicate corresponding identities and regional diversities. Within this context, this paper aims to indicate the norms and patterns that can be deduced through this onomastic material and compare it with the geographic distribution of linguistic elements and semantic connotations that have been otherwise attested, mapping the distribution of names and of naming choices in the region. This will be done for a first time with a complete onomastic database in our disposal.

In this process, the utilisation of the electronic database will be stressed, thus demonstrating its importance for a study in onomastics. Moreover, it will be shown how such a database enables to examine these names under the recent developments in the fields of historical socio-linguistics and socio-onomastics.

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GAVRIELATOS (Andreas), «The value of names on ceramics for the study of ‘bilingual onomastics’», in E. Dupraz, and W. Broekaert (eds.), *Epigraphy on Ceramics*, Geneva, 2019 (forthcoming).

GAVRIELATOS (Andreas), «Latinate Nomenclature for a Romanized Identity: Attempts to Construct an Aspired Displayed Identity», in *Self-presentation and Identity in the Roman World*, A. Gavrielatos (ed.), Newcastle, 2017, p. 140-159.

GAVRIELATOS (Andreas), *Names on Gallo-Roman Terra Sigillata (1st – 3rd c. A.D.)* (unpublished PhD Diss.), Leeds, 2012.

HARTLEY (Brian R.), and DICKINSON (Brenda M.), *Names on terra sigillata; An Index of Makers’ Stamps and Signatures on Gallo-Roman terra sigillata (samian ware)*, 9 vols., London, 2008-2011.

MARICHAL (Robert), *Les graffites de La Graufesenque*, Paris, 1988.

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MULLEN (Alex), *Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean. Multilingualism and Multiple Identities in the Iron Age and Roman Periods*, Cambridge – New York, 2013.

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Florian Réveilhac, Sorbonne Université et UMR 8167 « Orient et Méditerranée »
[florian.reveilhac@gmail.com]

Un nouveau répertoire de noms lyciens attestés en grec

Le territoire de la Lycie antique, aire de polyglossie en raison de son histoire politique, vit le grec s’imposer dès le IV^e siècle a.C. au détriment du lycien. Cette langue épichorique, qui appartient au groupe anatolien des langues indo-européennes, se trouve attestée seulement grâce à deux cents inscriptions environ et demeure donc fragmentaire. Néanmoins, l’onomastique indigène a persisté en Lycie jusqu’aux premiers siècles de notre ère, à tel point qu’un nombre très important d’anthroponymes proviennent d’inscriptions grecques de cette région.

Plusieurs relevés de noms lyciens attestés dans les sources grecques ont été publiés, parmi lesquels certains constituent encore des relevés de référence : ZGUSTA 1964 et 1970, SCHWEYER 2002, COLVIN 2004 et CAU 2005. Il est toutefois possible et nécessaire aujourd'hui de réviser ces répertoires, à la lumière de nouvelles lectures d'inscriptions, et de les compléter, grâce à la récente base de données du *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. 5B et à l'identification de nouveaux noms.

Le matériel onomastique doit être traité avec la plus grande rigueur, surtout lorsqu'il relève d'une langue d'attestation fragmentaire comme le lycien. Aussi proposons-nous de classer les anthroponymes lyciens des sources grecques selon cinq degrés d'identification : ceux qui sont attestés dans des inscriptions bilingues, autrement dit mentionnés aux côtés de leur original lycien (p. ex. Ἀρτεμηλῖς ← *Erttimeli*) ; ceux que l'on peut rattacher à un original lycien attesté (p. ex. Ἀρμοῶς/Ἐρμῶς ← *Hrmmuwē*) ;

ceux dans lesquels on identifie au moins un lexème lycien ou anatolien (p. ex. Τεδενηνῖς : *tede/i-* « père » et *nēne/i-* « frère ») ; ceux que l'on suppose être lycien (p. ex. Σολαμῖς) ; les anthroponymes inanalysables, principalement des *Lallnamen*, non exclusifs de la Lycie (p. ex. Λαλλᾶ).

Ce nouveau répertoire, qui présente un certain nombre de nouvelles identifications, doit être utile l'historien, à l'épigraphiste ainsi qu'au linguiste spécialiste des langues anatoliennes.

BALZAT, J.-S., T. CORSTEN et R. W. V. CATLING (éd.), 2013, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. 5B, *Coastal Asia Minor : Caria to Cilicia*, Oxford.

CAU, N., 2005 : « Onomastica licia », *Studi Ellenistici* 26, 345-376.

COLVIN, S., 2004 : « Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia », in S. Colvin (éd.), *The Graeco-Roman East:*

Politics, Culture, Society, Cambridge-New York, 44-84.

SCHWEYER, A.-V., 2002 : *Les Lyciens et la mort : une étude d'histoire sociale*, Istanbul-Paris.

ZGUSTA, L., 1964 : *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag.

—, 1970 : *Neue Beiträge zur kleinasiatischen Anthroponymie*, Prag.

Gabriele Busnelli, University of Cincinnati [gabriele.busnelli@gmail.com]

Onomastic puns in Greek sepulchral epigrams

I will present examples of puns based on onomastics - here taken broadly as including names of both persons and places - in Greek metrical inscriptions on tombs. I will highlight the strategies and purposes that govern the employ of this stylistic feature. This is the preliminary stage of a project that aims at the production of a book-length study.

Two strategies that are amply attested are popular etymology and paronomasia, an example of which respectively I will offer presently. In *SGO* 08/08/01, the prophet Γαῦρος boasts about his achievements and expresses his pride with the verb γαυρόνομαι. As the Liddell-Scott (*suppl. s.v.*) points out, this is not only a hapax but a deliberate double wordplay on the personal name and on the adjective γαῦρος "exulting". In *Anth. Pal.* VII 333, Ἀμμία (line 3) is described as not being ἄμμορος of gifts from her living relatives (line 1): the paronomasia and the litotes anticipate the name of the deceased while characterizing her eternal condition in the afterlife. Onomastic puns also crossed language barriers, as it is shown by examples like *GVI* I 716, in which Πρεμῆρως has lived δ[ι]τ[ρ]

σὰς [οὐκ] ἑτέων δεκ[ά]δας; the age determination picks up on the Latin element *πρεμι-* of the name (see *Bulletin Épigraphique* 186 in «REG» 105, p. 463) and amplifies it with the alliterating doublet of numbers.

Such proceedings, especially paronomasia, were a help in composition for the author. They also aim at strengthening the textual cohesion of an epigram, in order to impinge more efficaciously on the attention of the reader (for a modern parallel, see R.J. Alexander, Article headlines in “The Economist”, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43023400>). This points to occasions in which the poems were read aloud, perhaps for a small family audience.

Slot 10: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Eleonora Colangelo, Paris Diderot University, Sorbonne Paris Cité – Centre ANHIMA – University of Pise [eleonora.colangelo@gmail.com]

In the name of Eros. Origin, forms and meanings of female erotic names in ancient Greece

À la suite de la publication du dossier « Le noms des femmes »¹, l'intérêt sur l'impact, la fréquence et la distribution des noms féminins en Grèce demeure fort. Cette proposition vise à poursuivre l'analyse de l'onomastique féminine en Grèce par le biais d'une catégorie particulière, celle des noms féminins 'à Éros'. Linguistiquement formés du théonyme Éros, ces noms peuvent être qualifiés de « théo-phoriques », ou « porteurs (du nom) du dieu ». Quoique révélateurs, plus que d'autres, des interférences subtiles entre sexualité et religion dans l'Antiquité, ces noms manquent à ce jour d'une étude systématique. Sauf un très récent article d'Araceli Striano sur l'anthroponymie ibérique d'Éros à l'époque impériale², le thème des noms érotiques semble avoir été complètement négligé. Réunissant tout le matériel citant des femmes au nom d'Éros, plusieurs particularités, à la fois morphologiques et historiques, émergent. Cela permet d'amender la liste de Bechtel et enrichir la base de données EURYKLEIA³. De nombreux éléments relatifs à l'affirmation de ce nom suscitent notre intérêt, comme sa *gender-affected distribution*. En fait, les noms féminins érotiques semblent plus fréquents et répandus que leurs variantes masculines correspondantes, contredisant ainsi la tendance andro-centrique de l'onomastique grecque résumée par la formule de R. Parker phénomène guidé par le testostérone »⁴. C'est de cet aspect encore inexploré que ma recherche s'inspire. Essayant de clarifier si les noms 'à Éros' pouvaient construire ou non la visibilité des femmes en Grèce ancienne, il s'agira aussi de comprendre dans quelle mesure ce type de noms peuvent contribuer à l'analyse des systèmes relationnels entre théonyme et anthroponyme. Pour répondre à cette macro-question, j'ai individué quatre aspects méthodologie fondamentaux à enquêter et motiver dans le cadre de cette présentation : **a)** la déclinaison au féminin : pourquoi choisir les noms des femmes à Éros ? **b)** La visibilité des noms érotiques des femmes. Il s'agira de se demander jusqu'à quel point les Grecs accordaient-ils de l'importance aux noms *érotiques* des femmes ? Dans quelles limites les Grecs les ignoraient, ou dans quels contextes au contraire ces noms étaient-ils considérés comme pertinents et mobilisés dans des cadres institutionnels et/ou privés ? **c)** Les interfaces entre les divers enregistrements du nom érotique des femmes entre pratiques discursives, documentaires et iconographiques. Est-ce qu'Éros et ses composés étaient de « fashion names » (pour utiliser une définition d'Elaine Matthews) ou bien de « functional names » ? **d)** La morphologie des noms érotiques. Limitant l'analyse aux seuls noms dérivant de la racine ἐρω-/ἐρωτ-, on essaiera de comprendre si les différentes stratégies de suffixation pouvaient sous-entendre de différentes manières d'interagir et,

pourquoi pas, de jouer avec le dieu concerné, comme préconisé déjà par R. Parker en relation aux noms théophoriques de Déméter.

¹A. Fine, C. Klapisch-Zuber (dir.), « Les noms des femmes », *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire* (45) 2017

²A. Striano, « Éros dans l'anthroponymie grecque », *Mnemosyne* (2017), 1-13

³F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917. Pour le projet Eurykleia : <https://eurykleiaen.hypotheses.org/1>.

⁴R. Parker, « Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion », in S. Hornblower, E. Matthews (ed.), *Greek Personal Names : Their Value as Evidence. Proceedings of the British Academy 104*, Oxford, 2001 : 64-65.

Anna Chiara Bassan, University of Rome “La Sapienza” [annachiara.bassan@uniroma1.it]

Double onomastic structures in the etruscanitalian area: the case of the theonym

The aim of this paper is to consider the interpretative issue linked to the double-membered theonym in ancient Italic languages.

The expression ‘double theonym’, is used across the current studies in order to define a name of divinity that must be accompanied by a further element, epithet, aimed at qualifying the divinity; the second element of such formula may have different morphological, etymological and semantic characteristics. This use is attested in ancient Italy between VII-I and C., and constitutes an interesting parallel with the double anthroponymic system widespread in the same linguistic area.

However, the analysis of Italic theonymic system involves difficulties that do not emerge in cases where the object of study is not of a theological nature: the signifier of the theonym, in fact, conveys a markedly ideological and historical meaning, in a far more pervasive way than do not make the signifier of an anthroponym. This necessary and irreducible link between the theonymity and the ideological framework that generated it is explained because of the absolute culture of the individuals underlying the theonym, for which there is no real phenomenal referent, but only ideological- cultural.

Despite that the amount of the studies published among this subject is remarkable, it's never been written a complete historiographical study to date that collects and compares the major exegetical positions. Correlatively to that, the enlargements of the past opinions seems to be essential and founding to any exegetical future proposal. Firstly, the present work gives an account of the major exegetical position of to the double-membered theonym. Secondly, the results previously identified has been compared to the field of the Etruscan language, in order to allow a comparative point of view on this subject.

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BENVENISTE 1969 = E. BENVENISTE, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, Parigi: Les Editions de Minuit, 1969 (*Il vocabolario delle istituzioni indoeuropee*, traduzione a cura di M. Liborio, Torino: Einaudi, 2001).

BUCK 1904 = C. D. BUCK, *A grammar of oscan and umbrian with a collection of inscriptions and a glossary*, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1904¹.

DEVOTO 1937 = G. DEVOTO, *Tabulae Iguvinae*, Roma: Typis Regiae officinae, 1937.

- DEVOTO 1967 = G. DEVOTO, *Gli antichi Italici*, Firenze: Vallecchi, 1967³.
- GRASSMANN 1867 = H. GRASSMANN, *Die italischen Götternamen*, in 'Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete des Deutschen, Griechischen und Lateinischen', Vol. 16, Berlino: 1867, p.101-119, 161-196.
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- LATTE 1926-27 = K. LATTE, *Ueber eine Eigentümlichkeit der italischen Göttervorstellung*, in *Archiv für religionswissenschaft*, 24, 1926-27, p. 244-258.
- PLANTA 1973 = R. V. PLANTA, *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 1973.
- PROSDOCIMI 1984 = A. PROSDOCIMI, *Le Tavole Iguvine*, vol. I-II-III, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1984.
- PROSDOCIMI 1989 = A. L. PROSDOCIMI, *Le religioni degli italici*, in 'Italia omnium terrarum parens', a cura di G. Pugliese Carratelli, Milano: Garzanti-Scheiwiller, 1989, 477-545.
- RADKE 1979 = G. RADKE, *Die Götter Altitaliens*, Münster: Aschendorff, 1979, 24-36.
- RIX 1998 = H. RIX, *Etruskische Texte*, Tübingen: 1991.
- RIX 1998 = H. RIX, *Teonimi etruschi e teonimi italici*, in 'Annali della fondazione per il Museo "Claudio Faina"', vol. V, Orvieto:1998.
- UNTERMANN 2000 = J. UNTERMANN, *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen*, Heidelberg: C. Winter, c2000
- USENER 1896 = H. USENER, *Götternamen*, Francoforte: Verlag G. Schulte-Bulmke, 1896.
- WACKERNAGEL 1908 = J. WACKERNAGEL, *Genetiv und Adjectiv*, in 'Mélanges de linguistique offerts à M. Ferdinand de Saussure', Parigi: Société Linguistique de Paris, Librairie Honoré Champion, 1908, p. 125-152.

[Friday]

Slot 11: 9:00 - 9:50am

Benet Salway [r.salway@ucl.ac.uk]

Onomastics as an index of popular culture in the Roman world

Changing fashions in the naming of children by parents are certainly considered today, in the Anglophone world at least, as a cultural indicator and a matter of public interest. Annual league tables of the most popular baby names are regularly reported in the media. The fluctuating onomastic canon offers an insight into a nation's cultural profile, reflecting its ethnic and religious influences as well as other cultural phenomena. However much social convention and family tradition may have constrained choices, for parents in antiquity choices of personal name for their offspring (and indeed for slave-owners also for their slaves) and how they used them within the context of contemporary naming systems are nevertheless undeniably expressions of cultural identity. Onomastic evidence is regularly used to construct arguments about the extent of regionalism, or the extent of 'Romanisation' or resistance to it of subject peoples. This paper will explore how the repertoire of personal names surviving from the Roman empire may be exploited to examine name-giving as an indicator of popular cultural identity, whether defined as shared across all social groups or as 'non-élite'. Although the material making up the body of evidence is largely documentary (names on epitaphs) rather than literary, among problems to be tackled is the question of the extent to which any results may reliably be taken as representative of the entire cross-section of society.

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Michele Stefanile, Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”

The last candidates before the eruption of the Vesuvius. New data on the electoral programmata of Pompeii

The electoral inscriptions found in the ancient city of *Pompeii* constitute an amazing source of information for the scholars interested in reconstructing the political life of the Vesuvian sites, especially in the last decades before the eruption.

In spite of a very rich scientific literature on the subject, there is still a lot to say about the Pompeian elections and their chronologies. An ongoing project, within the huge work for the creation of the database EDR-Epigraphic Database Roma (a part of the EAGLE Project for Europeana), is now offering new interesting data, thanks to a deep reconsideration of all of the 3.000 *tituli picti Pompeiani*, with a new approach based on the highlighting of the important superpositions among earlier and later inscriptions on the same walls.

In this contribution the A. presents the first results about the careers of several Pompeian candidates, with a special attention on the last ones, before the eruption of the Vesuvius, and some remarks about the datation of the famous intervention in *Pompeii* made by *Sue-dius Clemens* on behalf of the Emperor *Vespasianus*.

Gianluca Mandatori

Formas onomásticas itálicas entre los magistrados de las colonias de derecho latino: los testimonios numismáticos

El fenómeno de la romanización de las regiones apenínicas y poco después del sur de Italia llevó, a través de la fundación de colonias de derecho latino, a la creación de comunidades mixtas, donde los componentes itálicos y latinos a menudo vivían juntos, dando lugar a contextos multilingües y multiculturales. Estamos hablando de un panorama complejo, atestiguado –entre otras cosas– por las evidencias arqueológicas que transmiten formas onomásticas, típicas de un substrato cultural prerromano.

Objetivo de esta comunicación es examinar la aportación de la investigación numismática a la comprensión de las persistencias onomásticas. En particular, empezando por el caso concreto de la colonia *iuris Latini* de *Luceria*, se examinarán algunos nombres propios de magistrados –muy probablemente *praetores*– indicados en las acuñaciones de la ceca local. Se trata de formas onomásticas raras, expresadas en caracteres latinos y por supuesto integradas en el mismo ámbito cultural, aunque de derivación falisca y osca, indicativas del nivel de participación de algunos colonos de origen itálico en la vida política de la nueva colonia, desde su deducción; una integración, deseada tanto por los Romanos como por los colonos, en la que sobrevivían los elementos culturales más tradicionales.

En segundo lugar, se propondrán algunos casos en los que los nombres de los magistrados, indicados en las monedas, resultan ajenos al contexto local y, por tanto, sugieren la posibilidad de una movilidad de personas físicas o, al menos, de formas onomásticas no autóctonas. Además, una mención rápida podría hacerse a los nombres púnicos de los magistrados que presiden las primeras acuñaciones romanas de Cerdeña, aunque mucho más recientes.

En última instancia, siguiendo un enfoque interdisciplinario, se compararán los datos ofrecidos por la numismática con los conocidos por vía epigráfica, para sacar una conclu-

sión orgánica sobre los casos propuestos y, sobre todo, para ofrecer pistas de reflexión metodológica.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Elena Duce Pastor, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Don't call me by my name: respect and invisibility in women's names in Athens

One of the main historiographical *topoi* in History of Athens is related with men's visibility and women's reclusion. A good woman knows little and hears even less. Due to the fact that the majority of sources are Athenian, this situation had been generalized to the rest of Ancient Greece. Nowadays scholars are able to distinguish among *poleis* and set different uses of women's visibility. In this paper, I am going to focus on one of the main public expression of visibility: female names.

Greek onomasty is complex, specially for Athenian women because it is very difficult to find traces of women's names. Women are called by their husband or father's names, avoiding pronouncing surnames. This situation was noted by Schaps (1977: 323-330) but was constrained to oratory.

This situation can be easily explained. Men had to be distinguished in political life. Therefore they used father names, *demoi* name e. g. In contrast, women are completely excluded from politics and were never individualized. According to this fact were poorly presented in courts, where they were not able to defend themselves. They were invisible, mixed and unnamed. This pattern changes in grave stones, in which their name is included and in certain periods they had certain position (Closterman 2007: 633-652).

In this paper I will propose a different set of Athenian sources in which it is possible to trace women names in various sources, testing Schaps theory in other sources. As far as nowadays scholars can better distinguish citizen women from metic and foreign women it is possible to go a little further in this study. Contrasting not only oratory, already studied, but also historiography, it will be analysed how women's names are set. In fact, the other main purpose of this study is to differentiate the use of real female names from nicknames (meant to conceal the real ones. In this part recent studies about female names composition (Striano 1994; 2013; 2014; 2015) will be added to the study.

The main purpose of this paper is to show how name invisibility is used in Athens as a way of respect and status that only did work in Ancient Athens. Orators, historians and theater's authors distinguished status in the treatment of women names. This taboo affected only to living women. So, gravestones were treated under their special circumstances.

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Closterman, W. E. (2007) 'Family Ideology and Family History: The Function of Funerary Markers in Classical Attic Peribolos Tombs', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 111(4), pp. 633-652.

Schaps, D. (1977) 'The Woman Least Mentioned: Etiquette and Women's Names', *The Classical Quarterly*, 27.2, pp. 323-330.

Striano Corochano, A. (1994) 'Sobre algunos antropónimos femeninos de Rodas y de Cos', in *Quid ultra faciam? Trabajos de griego, latín e indoeuropeo en conmemoración de*

- los 25 años de la UAM*. Madrid: Publicaciones de la UAM, pp. 87–92.
- Striano Corochano, A. (2013) ‘Los antropónimos femeninos latinos de origen griego de la Península Ibérica’, *Emerita, Revista de Lingüística y Filología Clásica*, 31, pp. 65–81.
- Striano Corochano, A. (2014) ‘Aspectos del comportamiento lingüístico de los nombres propios: el ejemplo del griego antiguo’, in *Ágalma. Ofrenda desde la Filología Clásica a Manuel García Teijeiro*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, p. 302 - 311.
- Striano Corochano, A. (2015) ‘Los nombres propios de las mujeres en la Grecia Arcaica’. *VII Jornadas Filológicas in honorem Álvaro Rovayo Alonso*, Bogotá.

Tuomo Nuorluoto, Uppsala University [tuomo.nuorluoto@lingfil.uu.se]
The Emergence of the Cognomen in the Nomenclature of Roman Women: New Observations and Reconsiderations

The cognomen was the latest component to be introduced to the Roman onomastic system. Once it had been fully established it quickly became the most important individualizing name of Roman citizens, men and women alike. For men this meant that the original, diacritic function of the praenomen eventually shifted from the praenomen to the cognomen. For women on the other hand, who did not usually have first names in public, the introduction of the cognomen had even larger consequences: rather than being merely extensions of their *gens*, women finally received a more specific identity in the public eye.¹ The aim of this paper is to discuss the early evidence concerning the emergence and establishment of the cognomen in the nomenclature of Roman women, and to present some fresh observations and reconsiderations.²

The questions that the proposed paper addresses include the following: When does the cognomen first appear in women’s nomenclature and how quickly does it become a standard item, and importantly, how does this compare to the similar process among Roman men? The last question has been subject to some scholarly debate, initiated well over a century ago by Wilhelm Schulze, who notably claimed that Roman women, as a rule, were one step ahead of men in adopting the use of the cognomen.³ This idea was later criticized, amongst others, by Iiro Kajanto, who found Schulze’s arguments untenable.⁴ Kajanto’s view has also been accepted in later scholarship (by Kajava (cit. n. 1), amongst others). A critical examination of the material, however, suggests that perhaps we should not so eagerly reject Schulze’s idea. The proposed paper at hand will make a new contribution to the debate and examine the question in light of more recently published epigraphic evidence.

Moreover, the paper tackles the very names and their semantic and other implications as well as their social and geographical distribution—and what this all may tell us about the circumstances under which the cognomen came to be in the first place and eventually established itself as the name that gave all Roman women a genuine individual identity.

¹ During the Republic women could and did sometimes have praenomina, as is known from numerous inscriptions, but the phenomenon was never a standard practice. For a more thorough discussion, see M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina: Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, 14), Rome 1994.

² The observations are largely based on those made in my forthcoming doctoral dissertation on Roman female names.

³ W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin 1966 (2. Aufl.; 1904), p. 505.

⁴I. Kajanto, 'On the first appearance of women's cognomina', in *Akten des VI. internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik*, München 1973, pp. 402-404.

Slot 14: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Anamarija Kurilić

Naming Patterns of Women at the Adriatic Region

Anthony Álvarez Melero, Universidad de Sevilla

Onomastics and Prosopography. A Few Examples Regarding the Women Related to Roman Knights

The purpose of my speech is to focus on the onomastics of the women related to Roman knights. In spite of the fact that those ladies never belonged to the equestrian order, they had to meet the requirements of the laws against immortality and vice. However, since the recruitment of *equites Romani* was heterogeneous, as was the background of their female kins, what can be said of their names? To what extent did they reflect their social origins? Did they have a polyonymous structure or a more simple one? Moreover, how can the study of the names contribute to disclose family ties? I will show that there are no easy answer to those questions.

Slot 15: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Giuseppe Eugenio Rallo, University of Saint Andrews [ger6@st-andrews.ac.uk]

Shaping Identity onstage: 'Roman' onomastics and the extant fragments of the Togata

The aim of this paper is to shed fresh light on characters' names in the extant fragments of Titinius', Afranius', and Atta's *Togata*, conventionally defined as 'Roman play in *toga*', in comparison with and in opposition to the *Palliata*, 'Roman play in *pallium*'.

Why should a contemporary Classics audience be bothered with the names in the *Togata*, for centuries overshadowed by the *Palliata* of Plautus and Terence? Plautine and Terentian *Palliatae* featured the multi-lingual and multi-cultural complexity of the mid-Republic, with allusions (open or not) to the Roman world. And yet, they maintained a strong Greek patina (i.e. Greek settings, Greek dress, and Greek names). By contrast, as the name itself declares, the *Togata* was openly Roman, allegedly representing everyday Roman people, speaking and acting according to the conventions of Roman society, with Roman names which one would not find in the *Palliata*. The *Togata* thus has the potential to reveal precious insights into Roman self-representation in the middle Republic, and the *Togata*'s names reveal the (Roman) identity of a character and the construction of 'identitarian' issue(s) onstage.

Building on studies on onomastics (e.g. Solin 1971, Salway 1994, Kajava 1995, and Petrone 2009) and on Roman culture and identity (e.g. Gruen 1990 and 1992, Dench 2005, Wallace-Hadrill 2008, and Feeney 2016), I will analyse (1) the characters' names in the *Togata*, through a comparison with the names in Plautine and Terentian *palliatae*; (2) I will distinguish the usage of Roman and Greek names in the *Togata* in relation to the process of identities' construction; finally

I will highlight how the *Togata*'s names will contribute to the (re-)appreciation of the

Togata as a dynamic laboratory of identities onstage.

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- Feeney, D. (2016) *Beyond Greek: the Beginnings of Latin Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., London, Engl.).
- Gruen, E.S. (1990) *Studies in Greek culture and Roman policy* (Leiden, NY, København, Köln).
- Gruen, E. S. (1992) *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (Ithaca, N.Y.).
- Kajanto, I. (1965) *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki).
- Kajava, M. (1995) *Roman Female praenomina. Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women* (Rome).
- Petrone, G. (2009) *Nomen / Omen. Poetica e funzione dei nomi nelle commedie di Plauto*, in G. Petrone (ed.) *Quando le Muse parlavano latino. Studi su Plauto* (Bologna): 13-41.
- Salway, B. (1994) *What's in a Name? A survey of Roman onomastic practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700*, 'JRS' 84: 124-45.
- Solin, H. (1971) *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom I* (Helsinki).
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. (2008) *Rome's cultural revolution* (Cambridge).

Alberto Barrón Ruiz de la Cuesta, Universidad de Cantabria [barronal@unican.es]
Measuring the juridical status of the seviri Augustales according to the onomastics

It's widely known that the *seviratus Augustalis* was held mainly by freedmen, but with presence of some freeborn members. But the juridical status of many *seviri Augustales* is difficult to state, due to the few epigraphic cases with explicit mention to their condition of freeborn or freedman and the high number of *incerti*. Therefore, most studies about the Augustality avoid concreting the question of the quantity of *liberti* and *ingenui* holding this position. The way to enquire into this topic is the detailed onomastic analysis of the abundant epigraphic records mentioning *seviri Augustales* (including all their terminological variations) in the Western provinces of the Roman Empire.

The Non-Latin *cognomina* (Greek, Oriental, Celtic...) have been traditionally recognised as a sign of servile origin. This theory fits with the notion of the *seviri Augustales* as freedmen because of their frequent Greek nomenclature, reinforcing further the idea of this kind of *cognomina* as a determining factor; so both hypotheses feed back into themselves reciprocally. Nevertheless, the correlation between Greek *cognomina* and *liberti* has been nuanced in recent studies, and there is also a similar quantity of *seviri Augustales* with Latin *cognomina*.

In order to analyse properly the proportion of *liberti* and *ingenui* between the *seviri Augustales* and to propose accurate estimations, we will pay attention to the *cognomina* of the *certi* and *incerti* in parallel. It will be productive to compare the observable tendencies in the onomastics of both groups, with a special emphasis in the *certi*, which have proved their juridical status. In addition, the particular cases of *seviri Augustales* that are explicitly *ingenui* will be analysed in detail with the aim to establish how common or exceptional could they be into the institution of the Augustality.

Slot 16: 3:30 - 4:20pm

Javier Herrera Rando, Universidad de Zaragoza-Grupo Hiberus [jhrando@hotmail.com]

Emigration from Northwestern Spain to the Baetica province during the early Empire: the contribution of the onomastics

Las primeras décadas del Principado en la Hispania meridional han estado asociadas a una fase de prosperidad económica tras las convulsiones que las guerras civiles supusieron en el territorio. *Prouincia pacata*, la Bética vive durante el periodo julio-claudio un intenso desarrollo comercial fundamentado en la exportación de su producción agrícola y pesquera y de sus riquezas mineras (Domergue 1990; Chic García 2017). Esta prosperidad económica fue un estímulo para la llegada de población de otras partes de Hispania y del Imperio en busca de oportunidades económicas. La investigación cada vez está haciendo más hincapié en la migración de naturaleza económica en el Imperio Romano, que pudo beneficiarse de las condiciones generadas por el Principado. Los grandes centros urbanos pero también las zonas mineras, con un uso intensivo de mano de obra, se convirtieron en focos para dicho movimiento migratorio (por ej. Holleran 2016 para las minas hispanas).

La onomástica obviamente es una de las herramientas principales para detectar esos movimientos de población. En la Bética julio-claudia contamos con una serie de epitafios en los que la mención de *origo* permite rastrear los orígenes hasta contextos indígenas del noroeste de Hispania. Estas inscripciones funerarias presentan además unas características particulares, al aparecer normalmente realizadas sobre estelas que reproducen la decoración de sus lugares de origen. El estudio onomástico puede contribuir a avanzar más allá, posibilitando mediante los estudios de la antroponimia indígena hispana rastrear a algunos de estos emigrantes.

El objetivo de la comunicación es definir a este grupo de emigrantes del noroeste hispano en la Bética de comienzos del Imperio. Estos personajes se instalaron especialmente en las zonas mineras de la Bética, coincidentes en algunos casos con áreas de la Beturia Céltica (Ramírez Sádaba 2009). Partiendo de aquellas inscripciones con mención de *origo* puede rastrearse la onomástica de estos individuos en los *corpora* onomásticos hispanos (Ramírez y Navarro 2003; Vallejo 2016), detectando a otros posibles emigrantes en la Bética. Más aún, una vez definido el conjunto epigráfico se podrá indicar su rasgos comunes, señalando el posible uso de estos epitafios como expresión de identidad de los emigrantes. De esta manera se contribuye a la comprensión de los movimientos de población en el mundo antiguo y su reflejo epigráfico.

Domergue 1990: C. Domergue, *Les mines de la Península Ibérique dans l'Antiquité Romaine*, Roma 1990.

Chic García 2017: G. Chic García, "Perspectivas económicas de la Bética de Augusto", *Gerión* 35 (2017), 839-861.

Holleran 2016: C. Holleran, "Labour mobility in the Roman World. A case study of mines in Iberia", en *Migration and mobility in the Early Roman Empire*, Leiden-Boston 2016, 95-137.

Ramírez y Navarro 2003: J.M. Ramírez Sádaba y M. Navarro Caballero, *Atlas antropónimo de la Lusitania romana*, Mérida 2003

Ramírez Sádaba 2009: J.L. Ramírez Sádaba, "Integración onomástica y social de los indígenas de la Beturia Céltica" en *Acta Palaeohispanica X (= PalHisp. 9)*, Zaragoza 2009,

Vallejo 2016: J.M^a Vallejo, *Onomástica paleohispánica. I. Antroponimia y teonimia, Testimonios epigráficos latinos, celtribéricos y lusitanos, y referencias literarias*, Vitoria 2016.

Francesca Ballotta, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia [846359@stud.unive.it]

The Cognomen Iuba of the Desticii Family from Iulia Concordia (Regio Decima): An "Index Fossil" for Kinships and Prosopography

La présente contribution vise à démontrer que pour une quelconque recherche prosopographique, menée au travers l'étude des épigraphes, la composante appellative représente une des principaux témoignages de l'articulation des « networks » sociaux d'une famille. Dans la ville romaine de *Iulia Concordia* en la Vénétie, les *Desticii*, une *gens* équestre qui en suite a obtenu une promotion à la *dignitas* sénatoriale à l'époque du principat de Marc Aurèle et d'Antonin le Pieux, représente un sujet d'étude intéressant sur le plan propographique et pour les réseaux sociaux avec d'autres familles ou avec les classes subalternes. L'onomastique de cette famille, attestée uniquement au moyen de la documentation épigraphique (18 inscriptions en total), est marquée par l'hérédité parmi ses membres de rang sénatorial non seulement du gentilice, mais aussi du *cognomen Iuba*.

[Wednesday]

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Yoshinori Sano, International Christian University, Tokyo [ysano@icu.ac.jp]

Three summaries of the ruse of the wooden horse in the Odyssey and beyond

There are three notable depictions of the ruse of the wooden horse in the *Odyssey*: at 4. 266-289 narrated by Menelaus, at 8. 499-520 by Demodocus, and at 11. 505-537 by Odysseus. Presumably an ampler description(s) existed in the oral tradition about the fall of Troy (or *Ur-Ilioupersis*, if one uses a Neo-Analytical terminology), and these three versions in the *Odyssey* are 'summaries' of the richer oral version(s). Comparing these three 'summaries', one account (in *Od.* 4) describes both outside (Helen calling the names of the Greeks) and inside (Odysseus trying to save his comrades) of the horse, one (in *Od.* 8) describes only the outside (the Trojans' fatal decision of bringing the horse inside the wall), another (in *Od.* 11) describes only the inside (what Odysseus and Neoptolemus were doing.). Therefore, these three summaries are composed from three different perspectives.

In this paper, firstly, I would like to examine how dexterously each of these three perspectives are chosen in the respective contexts of the three summary accounts in the *Odyssey*. Secondly, I would like to bring in some other later descriptions of the episode of the Wooden Horse including modern materials to illustrate how each of the three 'summaries' with different perspectives have been received or neglected.

David Bouvier, Univ. Lausanne [david.bouvier@unil.ch]

How much are Demodocos' songs in the Odyssey summaries?

If an oral song or poem is the direct result of the Muse's inspiration and if inspiration is linked to a particular moment and context, how may a new song capture or recapture an old one? May one singer include in his performance parts or fragments of a previous one? The tradition requires that singers perpetuate songs and themes by reenacting them. What about the summary of a song in another?

We find in the *Iliad* many mentions of musical performances, but the content of these performances is never told. Such is not the case in the *Odyssey* that seems to establish a clear contrast between singers like Phemios and Demodocos and the «poet» himself of the *Odyssey*. The question will be asked here of the status and the form of Demodocos' songs, especially of the song of Ares and Aphrodite.

The three Demodocos' songs are neither introduced neither concluded with any of the usual formulas generally used to introduce or close other direct speeches (Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη / Τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα και μετέειπεν // Ὡς φάτο / ὧς εἰπὼν). Unlike the many characters' direct speeches, Demodocos' songs are introduced by ὧς (in VIII 76; 268; 500) and are «closed» or, to put it better, suspended, by the demonstrative neuter plural : ταῦτα : ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἀοιδὸς ἄειδε περικλυτός (VIII 83, 367 and 521). This is an exceptional formulation. Paying attention to this word, ταῦτα, we will see how much it is

a good way to refer to a summary. It will be the occasion to study if the song of Ares and Aphrodite is in the *Odyssey* summed up or partially quoted by the narrator of the poem.

Text to be read : *Odyssey* VIII 266-369.

Slot 4: 4:40 - 5:30pm

Maria de Fátima Silva, University of Coimbra [fanp13@gmail.com]

Perfection - an intolerable privilege of the gods. Eça de Queiroz, Perfection

Taking as his model Book V of the *Odyssey*, the Portuguese writer Eça de Queiroz replaces, in a short narrative, Ulysses in Calipso's island.

The structure and style of his narrative preserve, in the main lines, those of the homeric poem, even if some new marks give the new version another effect. Eça underlines, as his central focus, the conflict between mortals and imortals, put together in the same utopian place. departing from the same essencial traces, in life of men and gods - sex, meals, diary activities -, the narrative put in conflict all that constitute opposite marks: eternity, passivity, divine perfection, with suffering, danger, instability, that represent human condition.

To conclude that, for Ulysses, the years during which he shared the excellency of Calypso were for him a prison and a suffered exile, putting him aside from instability, surprise, in which life depends.

Jan Haywood, Open University, UK [jan.haywood@open.ac.uk]

Alice Oswald's Memorial, a new Iliad

One of the most significant literary responses to Homer's *Iliad* in the twenty-first century is Alice Oswald's *Memorial* (2011). Since its publication, the poem has received considerable scholarly attention related to various issues, including its interaction with oral poetics, the poet's use of certain similes and its evocation of more recent conflicts. In this paper, I would like to explore further the ways in which *Memorial* repeats significant strands of the Iliadic narrative (for example, Hector's death at the hands of Achilles), whilst simultaneously providing a new kind of narrative that re-casts the Trojan War. Ultimately, I will argue that the poem, which can be read as a kind of condensed version, or summary, of the *Iliad*, differs from its Homeric precedent in several fundamental aspects, not least in Oswald's primary focus on commemoration and in the poem's extensive coverage of the multiple grisly deaths that occur on the battlefield at Troy.

[Thursday]

Slot 5: 9:00 - 9:50am

Susana Marques Pereira, University of Coimbra [smp@fl.uc.pt]

Revisiting the Classics in the Portuguese Program of Basic Education: Maria Alberta Menéres, Odysseus

To retell the fascinating adventures of Odysseus to a young audience was the challenge that Maria Alberta Menéres set out in her adaptation of the Homeric *Odyssey*.

This rewrite was included by the Portuguese Program of Basic Education, as one of the comprehensive reading works suggested to the students of the 6th level. The repeated overcoming of dangers and obstacles by a hero or the use of the marvelous are *per se* seductive ingredients for the recipients. This age group, however, presupposes a very specific dissemination of a famous myth. It is a purpose of the present study to focus precisely on particularities that a narrative devised for a young audience implied.

Amy Pistone (via skype), University of Notre Dame, USA [apistone@nd.edu]
Greek Mythology for Children and Classical Reception for Young Readers

Children's literature that recounts Greek mythology sits at the intersection of contemporary short narrative and summaries, since stories from Greek myth were often shortened and adapted to make them more suitable for a young audience. However, this process of adaptation is rarely a simple bowdlerization and instead often involves substantial rewriting to avoid plot points that were not deemed appropriate for children while simultaneously crafting a story line that would appeal to young readers.

There do not seem to be many English language texts that predate Hawthorne's *A Wonder Book for Girls & Boys* (with fantastical illustrations by Walter Crane), first published in 1851. My paper will be focusing on this work as a noteworthy intervention in children's literature as well as in classical reception. The content and the structure of Hawthorne's stories speak to a new style in children's literature that goes beyond the already extant "fairy tale" genre and is in many ways indebted to the conventions of classical literary genres while simultaneously breaking new ground. I will address the use of a framing device and narrator (Cousin Eustace Bright) and sly metaliterary winks that recall Plato and Apuleius at times, as well as clever linguistic wordplay that would only be accessible to a relatively learned reader. I will also address the ways that Hawthorne reworks classical mythology to both avoid some of the most sexually explicit content while simultaneously shifting the plot to give characters motivations that are more relatable to young readers.

Finally, I will explore the question of whether Hawthorne's work and the similar works that come after him should be read as a sign that emerging modern concepts of childhood are inflected by or should be informed by the intrinsic value of traditional, canonical works (such as Shakespeare and stories from Greek and Roman antiquity). Or, are "the Classics" primarily of value as works that can be adapted, summarized, and reworked to entertain and delight a modern audience composed equally of men, women, and children, all of whom deserve equal value as readers?

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Naoko Yamagata, Open University, UK [n.yamagata@open.ac.uk]

Homeric Summaries in Plato

Although Plato's frequent use of Homeric quotations and references has been well documented since the publication in 1949 of Labarbe's *L'Homère de Platon*, his use of summaries of Homeric episodes and passages in his writing has not been specifically examined and will be worth closer attention. This paper focuses on three main examples in which Plato employs Homeric summaries in different ways. The first is the summary of Achilles'

resolve to avenge his friend Patroclus' death in *Apology* 28c, which modifies some details of the original passage in *Iliad* 18 to suit the situation of Socrates at the trial. The second is a collection of short summaries of Homeric highlights that Socrates produces at *Ion* 535B to illustrate the power of poetic inspiration. The third is the unique example at *Republic* 393d-394a where Socrates 'translates' the episode of Chryses' attempt to ransom her daughter from Agamemnon in *Iliad* 1 into a prose summary, in order to illustrate the narrative without *mimesis*, i.e. the singer's enactment of the character. While the first two examples recall the emotional effects of the original passages summarised, the third has exactly the opposite effect, removing all poetry out of the passage, prefiguring the expulsion of Homer and other poets from the ideal city in Book 10. This paper examines Plato's varying strategies in using Homeric summaries which mirror his shifting agenda, different from dialogue to dialogue.

Aldo Brancacci, Università di Roma 'Tor Vergata [aldobrancacci@yahoo.it]
Berkeley, Il Teeteto, e la dottrina platonica delle idee

La *Siris* di Berkeley è percorsa da una messe ingente di riferimenti alla tradizione della filosofia antica, in particolare a Plotino, alla tradizione neoplatonica, e a Platone. Molti aspetti del pensiero platonico cui Berkeley si mostra interessato, ma un interesse centrale è riservato alla teoria delle idee, che appare ricostruita sulla base di una ricognizione di numerosissimi passi di dialoghi platonici. Nell'ambito di tale ricognizione spicca una attenta esegesi del *Teeteto*. Delle dottrine ontologiche e gnoseologiche esposte in questo e in altri dialoghi tardi Berkeley si avvale sia per ricostruire una storia propriamente filosofica di tutta una serie di questioni teoriche, che egli solleva nel suo trattato, sia per accreditare i suoi propri pensamenti, sia, infine, per ritrovare in Platone la matrice originaria di nozioni e concetti passati alla filosofia moderna.

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Ana Isabel Martins, University of Coimbra [anitaamicitia@hotmail.com]
Les philosophes présocratiques dans les Histórias Falsas (2010): une déviation de l'œil de l'histoire de la philosophie

Gonçalo M. Tavares affirme : "les grecques ont assuré toutes les relations possibles, donc, nous avons seulement aujourd'hui un point de vue". Concernant cet œuvre, l'auteur reconnaît : "D'un côté, je voudrais d'abord exercer une légère déviation de l'œil par rapport à l'axe central de l'histoire de la philosophie ; de l'autre côté, j'étais curieux de remarquer comment la fiction littéraire peut être trouvée dans un fragment de vérité au point où tout se mélange et devient uniforme".

L'épigraphie de Jorge Luís Borges, avec laquelle l'auteur ouvre ce recueil de contes, guide le lecteur à travers de cette idée de l'inséparabilité dans l'âme humaine de la dimension vertueuse et vicieuse. *Histórias Falsas* présentent neuf petites histoires, indépendantes et autonomes mais en dialogue stricte et en articulation autour de plusieurs références classiques. Les philosophes présocratiques deviennent des personnages – Héraclite d'Éphèse, Thalès de Milet, Empédocle, Diogène, Zeno, Anaxagore – et plusieurs d'autres figures célèbres de l'Histoire de l'Antiquité jouent un rôle dans ce scénario littéraire de Gonçalo M. Tavares – Platon, Procruste, Pindare, Alexandre. Les aphorismes du Portique

d'Athènes favorisent les intertextualités philosophique et littéraires, en promouvant la réécriture de ces racines et de ces origines de la culture occidentale. Sous l'idéal de la brièveté, apanage du genre du conte, l'auteur engage les thèmes classiques, mobilise stratégies narratives et rhétoriques spécifiques et présente une écriture acérée et acrimonieuse.

Ce travail essaie de répondre aux questions suivantes : i) Comment la réappropriation des thèmes est-elle adaptée à l'espace contemporains résultante de la diachronie ? Quel sont les traits intensifiés et quels sont les traits dilués tout au long de ce processus de réception dans l'"hypercontemporanéité" ? Comment se révèle le mérite individuel de l'auteur lorsqu'il s'approprie d'une tradition ? Comment les « déviations de l'œil » par rapport à l'axe central de l'histoire se situent-elles entre la vérité et la vraisemblance ?

Slot 9: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Maria Fernanda Brasete, Univ. Aveiro, Portugal [mbrasete@ua.pt]

The Twelve Labours of Heracles in a Mozambican short-story: Os Sapatos Novos de Josefate Ngwetana, of João Paulo Borges Coelho

"Os Sapatos Novos de Josefate Ngwetana" is one of the short stories of the second volume of the series Índicos Indícios, entitled *Meridião* (2005), written by the Mozambican writer and historian João Paulo Borges Coelho. The narrative focuses on the character of Herculano, son of Josefate, who decides to go away in search of a better life than his father's. The journey that the young Herculano undertakes takes place on the southern coast of Mozambique, but the various stages of his wandering can be read as a Mozambican re-creation of the mythological labours of Heracles. As the Greek hero, this character will also have to pass and surpass "twelve points" to reach his goal, in this case, to find his identity and his memory. At the end of the short-story, the author presents a "Note" on the return journey of Herculano, in which he discusses the relationship between history and reality, mentioning some of the Greek authors who reported "this wondering of Herculano" to, in a parody to Lucian of Samosata, to affirm that the one presented in this tale "is the only true description."

Graciela Zecchin de Fasano, Univ. Nacional de La Plata [gzcchin@isis.unlp.edu.ar]

Inversion and perversion of Greek Mythology in Marco Denevi's short narrative

The publishing of *Falsifications* by Marco Denevi in 1966, three years after the appearance of *Rayuela* (1963) by Cortázar clearly places Denevi in the context of the great Argentinian writers of the 20th century, along with Borges, Bioy Casares and Abelardo Arias, among others. Greek myths, especially those related to *Odyssey* and the Minotaur, were appropriated by Argentinian writers in an unusual way at that time and with a marked predilection for cycles. Perhaps a little overshadowed by those masterful presences, Denevi proposed in his book *Falsifications* a series of micronarratives whose title shows a notoriously and controversial reception: a "desacralized" perspective, but which is supported *ab initio* as a derived falsehood.

Among stories that pervert consecrated Spanish and universal literature texts, Denevi places mythical versions particularly focused on love, war, women, enabling, on the one hand, the treatment of Perseus, Oedipus, Orpheus, Odysseus, Polyphemus and Heracles,

and on the other hand, characters such as Sirens, Helene and Penelope. We try to show that they are not presented aleatory, but they are included to discuss ancient versions told by mythographers as Apollodorus or other writers as Pausanias or Hyginus.

Slot 1: 1:30 - 2:20pm

Samuel Rezende, Pós-Lit-FALE-UFMG [rezende_s@hotmail.com]

Mythical images in the poetry of Orides Fontela

The poetry of Orides Fontela (1940-1998) might be interpreted in close dialogue with philosophical reflection, for example, by the intense speculation between language, being, and real. However, another approach can be profitable due to the occurrence of certain mythical images from ancient Hellenic culture, which are close to philosophy precisely because myth is, according to Ernst Cassirer (1998), a form of thinking, as well. I propose that the relation to myth suggests, in some poems, a particular kind of transposition of images in Fontela's work, as indicated by metaphors like hunting and weaving. The first one would be, according to Flora Süssekind (1989), a sign of fractionation and disassembly of words, and the second one would suggest, according to Ivan Marques (2019), the poetic work with language. In that sense, the mythical images in Fontela's poetry very often disclose themselves in association with the feminine aspect, which operates, among others, through generative sources, such as daybreak or poetic composition. In the poem "The goddesses" ("As deusas"), for instance, Eos sensually opens herself to receive the Sun, and Athena creates an invisible web made of light and mist. Thus, this paper intends to focus on poems in which feminine images can constitute, by transfiguration, conflicting signs in Fontela's work.

Slot 2: 2:30 - 3:20pm

Heloísa Penna, FALE-UFMG [heloisampenna@hotmail.com]

The Romanceiro da Inconfidência by Cecília Meireles, and the Pharsalia by Lucan: commune nefas, in the same cove of time both punishment and forgiveness

Cecília Meireles is known as one of the most important Brazilian writers of the 20th century. She composed in various literary genres like poetry, prose, short story and crônica. The Latin influence of the poet Horace in her lyric works can be seen in poems like "Retrato" ("Portrait") from the book "Viagem" ("Trip"), about the brevity of life and the impotence of man when faced with transformations. Lucan can also be "found" in one of the works of the author, "Romanceiro da Inconfidência" ("The Novelist of the Inconfidence" 1953), epic-lyric poetry on the historical movement of the Inconfidência/Conjuração Mineira. This work seeks to highlight these two aspects of "Romanceiro da Inconfidência" and the "Pharsalia": the reflexive appeal and the evocation of historical facts that allow this approximation between two texts distant from each other in time by 20 centuries. The feeling of horror face civil conflicts that resulted in treason and mutual destruction of compatriots expressed in the poetry of both Lucan and Cecília Meireles, denotes, at the same time, traces of universality and intertextuality, which is favored by the "natural" reception of the classics in the Brazilian Literature, that displays a Greco-Roman matrix.

Slot 3: 3:40 - 4:30pm

Andreia Garavello, Pós-Lit-FALE-UFMG [andreia.garavello@gmail.com]

Oudèn pròs tòn Díonyson!

It is unanimous among the critics that the works by João Guimarães Rosa have a strong Classical content. This paper works with the short story “A Hora e a Vez de Augusto Matraga” (The Hour and Turn of Augusto Matraga). Does this work have anything to do with Dionysus? The fictional space in Rosa’s narratives is the world of the Brazilian sertão (backlands), with no big urban influences, an archaic environment extremely fertile for Dionysiac manifestations. The human ambiguity visualized in Rosa’s characters is well represented by Dionysus, the god of many names. Plus, in Rosa’s works everything that seems quotidian and ordinary is universalized in his lapidary work with language, in his excellence in the research, choice and invention of words. Thus, we ask: “A hora e vez de Augusto Matraga”, the last short story of the book *Sagarana*, has “*Nothing (or Everything?) To Do With Dionysus?*”

Andreza Caetano, Pós-Lit-FALE-UFMG [andrezacaetano@yahoo.com.br]

The Girl that Dawns in Guimarães Rosa

In the speech of cultural appropriation of the Classical Literature by the Brazilian one, we undoubtedly meet with the name of Guimarães Rosa, marking this tradition of Antiquity through the use of a particular type of intertextuality that clearly reflects Classical Reception. In this context, we took as our main objective to match the main character in the text with the goddess of sunrise, Aurora. We will also analyze the peculiarities of the lexicon and the syntax of the text. With this intent we aim to scrutinize specifically the approximation of the Greek lexicon with the word “xurugou” used by the girl, considering the many possibilities conjectured around it. We hope to contribute academically to both Greek Literature and the comprehension of Guimarães Rosa.

[Thursday]

Slot 6: 10:00 - 10:50am

Rafael Silva, Pós-Lit-FALE-UFMG [gts.rafa@hotmail.com]

Anthropophagic Devouring as a Way of Classical Reception in the Works of Haroldo de Campos

Brazilian modern literature has been consciously struggling to assert its place amongst the more traditional literary canons of the Western world at least since the Modernist Movement (1922). With the poet, critic, professor and translator Haroldo de Campos, such aim has been made possible: developing some ideas put forth by thinkers as Oswald de Andrade and Jorge Luis Borges, Brazilian literature has been conceived anew, as a synchronic arena where tradition and invention are forces put in tension to engender not only the present, but also the past and the future. This conception is the touchstone of Haroldo’s work and thought. Dealing freely with the literary tradition, he invents a new way of reading and writing the Classics in his poetry, suggesting also different forms of dealing with the Classical Reception studies in the contemporary university.

André Luiz Visinoni, University of Leipzig [alvisinoni@gmail.com]

Hilda Hilst and the Comical Sublevation of the Ancient in Contos d'escárnio - textos grotescos

Hilda Hilst is considered to be one of the most prolific and audacious writers in Brazilian literature. She was a poet, chronicler, fictionalist and dramaturgist. *Contos d'escárnio* - *textos grotescos* bears many of the main elements which outline her so-called erotic trilogy. Consisting still of *O caderno rosa de Lori Lamby* and *Cartas de um sedutor*, the “bandalheira” (messy, sloppy) prose of these texts is marked by the innumerable ruptures in the linearity of the plot, by the interpenetration of different literary genders and linguistic registers and, principally, by the critical and satirical tone of explicitly pornographic nature. *Contos d'escárnio* - *textos grotescos*, however, equally stands out through its obvious quality as a repository of allusions to the history and culture of the Ancient World. Such peculiarity is immediately observable from the names given to characters – Crasso, Otávia, Clódia, Jocasta – to direct references to authors in form of quotations, for instance, to Lucretius. Even more decisive, in this sense, is the scenic parody in one of the last sections of the book. Clearly remissive to Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, it intends, moreover, to theatricalize a discussion – quite burlesque, indeed – about the Freudian theory of the Oedipus complex. In this way, the exposition will show how *Contos d'escárnio* - *textos grotescos* not only testifies the importance of the Greco-Roman Antiquity in Hilda Hilst's imaginary, but also enables an unwonted encounter between the somewhat erudite knowledge originated in the classical tradition and aischrological obscenity.

Slot 7: 11:10 - 12:00am

Júlia Batista Castilho de Avellar, Pós-Lit-FALE-UFGM [juliabcavellar@gmail.com]

Jorge de Lima's reception of Ovid: Brazilian metamorphoses in Invention of Orpheus

According to Hinds (1998) and Edmunds (2001) contributions on Intertextuality in Roman poetry, Eliot and Borges ideas on tradition and reading, and also philological knowledge, this paper investigates Classical reception in *Invention of Orpheus* (“Invenção de Orfeu”, 1952), last work of the Brazilian poet Jorge de Lima. This ten-book modern epic combines traditional poetic forms and Classical tradition with photomontage technique, surrealistic images, and themes from Brazilian history and culture. In programmatic Book 1, the poet mentions, among other authors, the name of Ovid (1.38), in whose *Metamorphoses* we read the story of Orpheus. I discuss how Jorge de Lima re-reads Ovid's poetry, especially the notion of metamorphosis, a recurring theme, but also a structural principle of both poems. The title reference to Orpheus suggests that the poet is the hero of this so-called ‘epic biography’: he transforms himself between life and literature, and the text, metapoetically, is in continuous metamorphosis.

Sandra Bianchet, FALE-UFGM [sandra.bianchet@gmail.com]

Feminine figures of Roman novel in Guilherme Figueiredo's plays on Greek theme: reinvention of Plautus, Petronius and Apuleius' MATRONAE

In the 1960's Guilherme Figueiredo published *Quatro peças de assunto grego* (Four Greek-

-themed plays), two of which are straightly related to Roman works of Plautus, Petronius and Apuleius: “Um deus dormiu lá em casa” (A God Slept in My Place) and “A muito curiosa história da virtuosa matrona de Éfeso” (The Very Curious Story of the Matron from Ephesus). The programmatic link to Greek and Roman antiquity, announced since the very beginning in the titles, is expanded throughout the plays in a way that emphasizes the author’s choice of mixing up his own Brazilian world to Antiquity in a wide range. In this paper we aim to focus on Figueiredo’s techniques of intra- and intertextuality, namely the way he succeeds in bringing together different perspectives on feminine figures in Classical literature and his own Brazilian *locus*, contributing to the survival of Classical texts.

Slot 8: 12:10am - 1:00pm

Vanessa Brandão, FALE-UFMG [vanessarbrandao@gmail.com]

The myth of Medea and the violence in human relations in ‘Deadzoemedeia’

Medea is a tragic female character often revisited by Brazilian theater. The myth of the betrayed wife who takes revenge by killing her rival and her own children rewritten by Euripides and Seneca is the thread of Deadzonemedeia, a spectacle of intervention by Grupo Teatro Invertido. The place where the play was staged is a deactivated laboratory of sanitary engineering in Guaicurus street, known for its night activities of prostitution in Belo Horizonte. This environment is associated with the theme of human misery and violence in the relations shown in the play. Like the classic tragedies, Deadzonemedeia focuses on family relationships and highlights important aspects that are emphasized in the myth of Medea and in the contemporary world, such as motherhood and the social role of women.

Eduardo Faria, Pós-Lit-FALE-UFMG [chaedfabel@gmail.com]

José de Anchieta and the Virtues of the Medieval Political Imaginary

In Colonial Brazil religious literature was spread all over. José de Anchieta, opposing the European thought of the time, remained loyal to the medieval thought that both the unity and happiness of the kingdom depended on obedience, love, and fear of the Church’s laws. These laws preconized that one of the most important functions of the prince was to act according to the Christian virtues cited above. The benefits of such actions would extend not only to his kingdom, but also to the whole Earth. This paper aims to show how medieval marks like this occur in the works of Anchieta, principally in relevance to the cited virtues: obedience, love, and fear as the bases of an authentic *politia christiana*. In other words, this work aims to show how Anchieta thought that society should have its roots in the belief of the king as the representative of the Divine Law.

[Friday]

Slot 12: 10:00 - 10:50am

Matheus Trevizam, FALE-UFMG [matheustrevizam2000@gmail.com]

Mythical themes in Carlos Drummond de Andrade’s works

In this presentation we intend to discuss how mythical themes were adapted by the famous Brazilian poet Carlos Drummond de Andrade in some of his poetic works. Thus, adhering to a two-tier division in our commentary to these writings, we have divided them in two pieces, being one related to his poetry itself – in which the major symbol appears usually to be Orpheus (as in “Legado”, for instance) and the other one being love, as such. About the latter point, we may even say that the poet not rarely alternated the Classical sources in which he sometimes chose to handle, like, for instance, alluding occasionally to the myth of Narcissus and to the Trojan War in different poems of him (“Destruição” and “Balada do amor através das idades”). The result this commentary intends to achieve is that Drummond’s works during the Modernist phase of Brazilian literature was in a creative debt to Classical mythology.

Douglas Cristiano, Pós-Lit-FALE-UFMG [dsilva1988@gmail.com]

Arejada sala de nítidos enigmas (“*Airy Room of Clear Enigmas*”): *Reception and appropriation in Fábula de Anfion* (“*The Fable of Amphion*”) by João Cabral de Melo Neto

The aim of this communication is to analyze the relationship between the versions of the myth of Amphion that can be found in the ancient sources (above all in *The Phoenissian Women* by Euripides, the *Argonautica* by Apollonius Rodius, and the *Epistle to the Pisos* by Horace) and the use of it made by João Cabral de Melo Neto in his poem *Fábula de Anfion* (*Fable of Amphion*), of the book *Psicologia da Composição* (*Psychology of Composition*, 1947). The two version of the myth are also mediated by another modern visit to the Greeks, the one by Paul Valéry in his melodrama *Amphion*, written for the music of Arthur Honegger in 1931. Amphion and his myth seem to have been meticulously chosen by Cabral in the composition of an ample metapoetic fable starting from the image of the construction, a central exercise in his poetic. Therefore, we will seek to uncover the layers of the myth present in the Cabralian version. In this sense, we will consider the myth as both a narrative that is in continuous progress, and as a “common language” through which three generations so distant in time can discuss issues related to the creative gesture in which, through his choices, Cabral positions his poetics.

Slot 13: 11:10 - 12:00am

Lorena Lopes, UFOPA [lorenalopes85@gmail.com]

Men of Iron Age in the epic tradition of João Guimarães Rosa’s « sertão »

Would there be a literary writing recovering previous models or renewing our image of ancient heroes? The reception of epic poetry by the Brazilian writer João Guimarães Rosa (1908-1967) is essential and it seems that the warrior motivation in the « sertão », a particular Brazilian universe characterized by his fiction not only from its physical description but also from its metaphysical dimension, has a history that goes back to Antiquity. The reading of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and the notes João Guimarães Rosa (1908 -1967) made on the epic heroes leave no doubt that he wanted to set up a dialogue between his heroes and the ancient Greek tradition. This paper seeks to develop this subject. In order to do so, we discuss how the construction of some of his warriors, especially Hermógenes and Diadorim, could not only transpose Homer into the backlands but also the men of the Iron Age of *Works and Days* by Hesiod exploring a way by which

the tradition is kept alive. We aim to explore such a dialogue, through a textual analysis of *The Devil to Pay in the Backlands* (1956) as well as of the ancient poem.

Tereza Virgínia Ribeiro Barbosa, FALE-UFMG [tereza.virginia.ribeiro.barbosa@gmail.com]

Metaplasms of a Daring Sailor

In Literary Studies it is a consensus that the Greek text of the Homeric poems displays a composite language, compromised with orality and representative of a large linguistic territory through the frequent register of dialectal variation. Traditionally, in the translation of this epic in Portuguese language this dialectal variation is neutralized: the elevated style of a classy and noble Portuguese. In this brief analysis we will show the use of metaplasms in these poems, and their poetic value, cumulative of meanings and nuances. We will also comment on the linguistic variation on the Brazilian Portuguese, using the concept of linguistic bias of Marcos Bagno, and exploring the possibilities for the use of the metaplasms in literary texts. Finally, we point out at the urgency of a reconfiguration of the translations of the Homeric Poems with focus on their dialectal richness in a comparative perspective with João Guimarães Rosa's *Grande Sertão: veredas* (*The Devil to Pay in the Backlands* 1956). We aim to demonstrate that the ingeniousness of both these authors provoke a rupture in established biases and offer their readers sophisticated works that are structured with basis on a high level of diversity and linguistic variety. Such characteristics – the accreditation of diverse ways of speaking (from rhotacisms, apocopes, aphereses, syncopes, etc) – incite the translator to constant revisionism and alterations of style. Besides that, we also try to investigate some linguistic phenomena common to both authors, since both rescue speech, transforming it into a bridge of erudition and sophistication on the study of the 'instable' that creates poetry. We understand that the poetic making of both authors value multiple dialects and weave works that, emulating the speech of the people, are multiple and expressive in their enunciation to loud voice.

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