



Panel Abstracts Booklet

Celtic Conference in Classics

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Organization



Funding



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[PANEL 16] “CHERCHEZ LA FEMME”: WOMEN IN HELLENISTIC HISTORY, HISTORIOGRAPHY AND RECEPTION

[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 or 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' αἰρεῖν; 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.es]

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 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 ὅμοια). 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.

Habicht, C. (1985). *Pausanias' Guide to ancient Greece*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Nachtergaeel, G. *Les galates en Grèce et les Sôtéria de Delphes*. Brussels, 1977.

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.

Verdin, H. (1990). "Agatharchide de Cnide et les Fictions des Poètes." In *Purposes of history: Studies in Greek historiography from the 4th to the 2nd centuries B.C.* Verdin, H., Schepens, G., & De Keyser, E. (eds), 1-15. Lovanii: Orientaliste.

Walbank, F. (1955). 'Tragic History: A Reconsideration.' *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 2: 4-14.

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 Erasisistrateans 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 epochs: 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 courtesans (*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

Anaïs Michel, École française d'Athènes [anaïs.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 (Hazzard 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) 'Seleukid Love and Power: Stratonike I', in Coşkun/ McAuley (2016), 67–86.

Coşkun, A. and McAuley, A. (eds.) (2016) *Seleukid Royal Women: Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid 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 be 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 Rōxánē'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 Maves, 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.