Abstracts

Wednesday 1 February

Session 1A: Founding Rome: Rituals and Realities
Chair: Jeremy Armstrong

Geoffrey Thompson University of Auckland

A Very Roman Furrow: Identifying the Romanized Aspects in the *Sulcus Primigenius* Ritual

The ritualistic importance of the plough is well attested in many cultures. For the Romans, having a magistrate draw the *sulcus primigenius*, or original furrow, around the site of a settlement-to-be symbolised to those watching that the gods had given their assent to the undertaking. Despite literary attestation for its place in the overall ceremony, however, scholarly opinion on the origin and relevance of this particular aspect of Roman foundation practices remains divided. The *sulcus primigenius* ritual has been variously seen as an assimilation of Etruscan practices (Eckstein, 1979), an integral yet ultimately peripheral element in land surveying and allotment techniques during the Late Republic and Early Empire (Campbell, 1996), and an essential, symbolic ingredient in a very deliberate transfer of *romanitas* to the daughter foundations of Rome (Palet and Orengo, 2011). The process by which Romans appropriated and customised what was obviously widespread, pan-cultural symbolism, however, has not been addressed.

By examining the literary, monumental, and numismatic record, and contrasting Rome's *sulcus primigenius* with similar rituals from other cultures, I will argue that the crucial nexus occupied by it during the foundation process – that is, the precise point at which the intangible and invisible authority of the religious domain was visibly invested in an earthly official – allowed for a 'Romanization' of very particular elements of the rite (for instance, the garb of the 'ploughman') that were picked up on and exploited for 'spin' by self-serving figures of the Late Republican and Early-Mid Imperial eras.

References:

1. Arthur M. Eckstein, 'The Foundation Day of Roman "Coloniae"', *California Studie in Classical Antiquity* 12 (1979) 85-97

2. Brian Campbell, 'Shaping the Rural Environment: Surveyors in Ancient Rome', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 86 (1996) 74-99

3. Maria Josep Palet and Hector A. Orengo, 'The Roman Centuriated Landscape: Conception, Genesis, and Development as Inferred from the Ager Terraconensis Case', *American Journal of Archaeology* 115.3 (2011) 383-402

James Richardson Massey University

The People and the State in Archaic Rome

When Romulus founded Rome, he did not just found the city, he also founded the state. Hence he was said to have created the Senate, the *curiae*, and the tribes, to have drafted a law-code, and so on. While few today take the foundation myth to be anything other than a myth (the most notable exception is Carandini), it nonetheless matters that the Romans took it seriously. What they wrote about their state was based on the assumption that it had come into existence when Romulus created it. And, while few accept that today, the influence of those Roman assumptions arguably does still affect modern discussion, of Rome in the sixth and fifth centuries BC.

This paper will present some of the evidence that suggests that the state took some time to develop and – no less important – that it also took time for everyone to subscribe to the idea of it. The possibility that the state emerged over a longer period than is usually supposed allows for other issues to be brought into the discussion, such as the 'Conflict of the Orders'. The plebeian movement is cast by ancient writers as amounting to a state within the state, but it may be that the movement actually played a role in the formation of the state. This paper will explore this possibility, and consider what its implications may be for the development of the Roman state and for the role that states can play in ancient – and modern – society.

References:

1. A. Carandini (ed.), *La leggenda di Roma*, 4 volumes (Milan 2006-2014)

2. T. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome. Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000-264 BC)* (London 1995)

3. M. Torelli, '*Bellum in privatam curam* (Liv. II, 49, 1). Eserciti gentilizi, *sodalitates* e isonomia aristocratica in Etruria e Lazio arcaici', in C. Masseria and D. Loscalzo (edd.), *Miti di guerra, riti di pace. La guerra e la pace: un confronto interdisciplinare* (Bari 2011) 225-34

James Crooks University of St Andrews

Legally Bound: Roman Boundaries and Identity in the Twelve Tables

Despite its status as Rome's first law code and, more importantly, arguably the most extensive and trustworthy piece of documentary evidence from the early republic, the Twelve Tables have often been neglected in recent studies of Roman identity.[1] It is possible that this is a result of the Twelve Tables not being an all-encompassing law code or constitutional document and thus they contain surprisingly few direct references to contemporary conceptions of citizenship and identity.[2] Nevertheless, the Tables may still provide important evidence about the nature of Roman identity in this formative stage. Although there are a range of different approaches which could be adopted, one possible way in which identity might be revealed is through the conception of space and boundaries found in the laws. The Tables refer to at least two 'public' boundaries. The first is a possible reference to *ager peregrinus* while the second sets the Tiber as the boundary across which the sale of debtors was deemed socially (and legally) acceptable. This paper seeks to explore how these two boundaries might inform our knowledge of the development of Roman identity in the early republican period.

Notes:

[1]For example, Dench, in her formidable work *Romulus' Asylum*, avoids all discussion of the Tables; meanwhile Howarth (2006), in his study of the development of citizenship, does interact with some of the laws but only very superficially.

[2]Notably, the terms Rome, Roman, Latin and Etruscan do not occur in any of the surviving fragments of the code and even the two references to citizens are contestable.

References:

1. E. Dench, *Romulus' Asylum* (Oxford 2005).

2. M. Crawford, *Roman Statutes II*. BICS Supplement 64 (London 1996)

3. R. S. Howarth, *The Origins of Roman Citizenship* (New York 2006)

Session 1B: Helen and Menelaos in the Odyssey: μῦθος, νόστος and ξενία (Panel)
Chair: Elizabeth Minchin

Fiona Sweet-Formiatti Australian National University

The ξεινήϊα of Menelaos – and of Helen – in the Odyssey

Abstract : The theatre of hospitality provides the structural and thematic framework for the Odyssey. Homeric hospitality is the outcome of a series of inter-related social interactions involving decisions shaped by what Pitt-Rivers (2012, 515) calls the 'natural law of hospitality'. This paper will examine the dynamics in the selection and presentation of ξεινήϊα ('guest-gifts') by the powerful and experienced hosts, Menelaos and Helen, to the callow Telemachos. The couple's relationship with each other and with Odysseus provide nuances of complexity in their hospitality to his son, as illustrated by their ξεινήϊα (Reece, 1993, 89–90, 96). I propose that Helen asserts herself not only as co-host with Menelaos and 'virtuous housewife', (de Jong, 2001, 368), but also as host in her own right through her ξεινήϊον and presentation speech (15.104–109, 123–129). Menelaos's initial announcement of ξεινήϊα (4.589–592) acts as a test for Telemachos during his first quest. His skillful refusal of part of the ξεινήϊα (4.600–608) brings him increased τίμη (honour) in a replacement that is the most precious of Menelaos's treasures (4.613–619 = 15.113–119). Thus, the

combined, yet separate, ξεινήϊα provide insights into the character and relationships of those involved as well as commentary on their performance as hosts and guest.

References:

De Jong, I. A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey (Cambridge, 2001).

Pitt-Rivers, J. 'The Law of Hospitality', HAU: Journal of EthnographicTheory 2.1, (2012), 501–517.

Reece, S. The Stranger's Welcome (Ann Arbor, 1993).

James O'Maley University of Melbourne

Stories and Audiences in* Odyssey *4

The *Odyssey*'s obsession with stories is evident throughout the epic, as characters vie with the poem's narrator to tell their own and others' stories. But, as Doherty (1995) in particular has demonstrated, the poem is as much about the stories' varying audiences as it is about the stories themselves. This paper will therefore examine the ways in which the *Odyssey* engages with four distinct narrative levels and intended audiences throughout one specific episode: the stories (μῦθοι) of Odysseus' exploits at Troy delivered by Helen and Menelaos in *Odyssey* 4 (4.235-64 and 4.266-89, respectively). These narratives ostensibly aim at entertaining the guests Telemachos and Peisistratos – Helen asks at the beginning of her story that the guests take pleasure at her μῦθοι (μύθοις τέρπεσθε, 4.239) – but commentators have long recognised that their juxtaposition also invites the poem's external audience 'to take the one as a correction of the other' (de Jong, 2001, 101). What's more, as Olson (1989) notes, the μῦθοι serve as anticipatory doublets of the *Odyssey*'s climax in Odysseus' eventual return. But they work on yet another level: as narratives of well-known episodes from Cyclic poetry they serve as a commentary on this poetry, and on the *Odyssey*'s place within the broader epic tradition. These four separate layers of meaning are each manipulated for their own purposes by characters, external narrator, and the poem itself, and their simultaneous deployment in a single episode of the epic aptly demonstrates the variety and sophistication of narrative levels within the *Odyssey*.

References:

1. L. Doherty, *Siren Songs: Gender Audiences and Narrators in the* Odyssey (Ann Arbor 1995)

2. I.J.F. de Jong, *A Narratological Commentary on the* Odyssey (Cambridge 2001)

3. S.D. Olson, 'The Stories of Helen and Menelaus (*Odyssey* 4.240-89) and the Return of Odysseus', *AJP* 110 (1989), 387-94.

Elizabeth Stockdale Macquarie University

With and without you: The νόστοι of Helen and Menelaos as paths to μῆτις.

Abstract : The *Odyssey*'s prime focus is a journey, the νόστος of Odysseus, but there are many journeys in this epic. This paper examines two narrative instantiations of νόστος as both journey and pathway to knowledge: the journeys of Helen and Menelaos. Barker and Christensen (2014) have discussed the epic's patterned treatment of νόστοι, Malkin (1998) relates *νόστοι* to later identity and ethnicity in non-Greek lands, while Olson (1989) has argued that Helen's and Menelaos' 'tales' are part of the epic's wider discussion on the proper husband and wife relationship. Though the audience knows they have journeyed together, I argue their self-reporting within the retellings of their *νόστοι* serves the purpose of revealing the knowledge they gained on their journeys. Additionally, both have encounters at the fall of Troy involving the gaining of knowledge (4.250-64), have guiding gods (4.289, 4.365-424; 4.472-480), 'shift' in voice or in shape exemplifying δόλος (4.277-9, 4.435-53), acquire μῆτις in Egypt from foreign and otherworldly individuals (4.226-32; 4.472-570), and both return to Sparta. They have a joint *νόστος* as they journey to the same places, have similar encounters, and return together. Therefore, the joint *νόστος* of Helen and Menelaos glimpsed separately and presented in multiple narrations, gives further weight to the *Odyssey*'s focus on the importance of νόστος. The uniqueness of their individual but joint *νόστος* highlights not only the conceptual facets of the physical and sensory experiences of their journey, but also their pathway to individual enlightenment; their acquisition of μῆτις, which greatly contributes to their κλέος.

References

Barker, E and Christensen, J. 'Odysseus' nostos and the Odyssey's nostoi: Rivalry within the Epic Cycle' *P.A*. 7 (2014) 85-110.

Malkin, I. *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonisation and Ethnicity,* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998.

Olson, D. 'The Stories of Helen and Menelaus (Odyssey 4.240-289) and the Return of Odysseus' *A.J.P*.110. 3 (1989) 387-394.

Session 1C: Greek History: 5th and 4th centuries
Chair: tbc

David Phillips Macquarie University

The Missing Garrisons of the Athenian Empire

There has been a widely supported assumption, indeed assertion, that Athenian garrisons in allied states were a major instrument of Athenian imperial control. It is present in numerous articles, monographs and textbooks. For a recent example see Samons (2016; cf. Rhodes, 2nd ed. 2010).

Based on his earlier papers and the work of the authors of *ATL* Vol. III (1950) Meiggs (1972) established the 'orthodox' position, viz. that there were numerous Athenian garrisons in place throughout the history of the Delian League/Athenian Empire (478-404/3 BC). Meiggs did not review the evidence but accepted the study and conclusions of Nease (1949). Nease remains the *only* specific study of the topic. However a close re-examination of the evidence, both literary (Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch) and epigraphical, establishes a list of garrisons most of which were in place during the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC). These garrisons have been cross-referenced to the inventory of *poleis* to be found in Hansen & Nielsen's *CPCInv.* 2004.

My paper argues that there was a limited use of garrisons until the Peloponnesian War when they became a strategic necessity. Gomme appears to have been correct when in 1945 (*HCT* , I.38) he wrote: 'For the Pentekontaetia there is no certain evidence for universal or systematic garrisoning …'

I will also comment briefly on the implications of my analysis for the history of the Athenian Empire.

References:

1. Nease, A.S., 'Garrisons in the Athenian Empire', *Phoenix* 3 (1949) 102-11

2. Meiggs, R., *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972)

3. Samons, L.J. II, *Pericles and the Conquest of History: A Political Biography* (Cambridge 2016)

Kirra Larkin University of Sydney

Konon-trary to Popular Belief: Re-evaluating Honorific Statues

Honorific statues were used to negotiate between a *polis* and its benefactors, both those in its citizen body and with powerful foreigners (Ma, 2013). This paper will argue that the practice of awarding statues to these individuals, at least for Athens, has its origins in the convergence of competitive euergetism and the city's ambition to maintain its democratic image and regain their empire in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War (Domingo Gygax, 2016).

This paper, then, situates honorific statues in their highly politicised context of the fourth century. It will argue that their 'Cultural Capital' – by which is meant the transfer of symbolic and economic power within the *polis* – encourage a predictable level of reproduction of benefactions from the aristocratic élite (Bourdieu, 1993).

In 394 B.C., the Athenian Konon was awarded a bronze statue in the *agora* in recognition of his military achievements off Cnidus. Using this example and its accompanying inscription, I will demonstrate the

political purpose of this award as an instance of Athenian speech-act that brought into its citizenship a former runaway mercenary as a function of its democratic prerogatives.

References:

1. J. Ma, *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 2013).

2. M. Domingo Gygax, *Benefaction and Rewards in the Ancient Greek City: The Origins of Euergetism* (Cambridge, 2016).

3. P. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (United States, 1993).

Kara Braithwaite-Westoby Otago University

Diodorus and the Alleged Revolts of 374-373 B.C.

Because of their similarities, scholars have generally agreed that Diodorus' account of the peace of 375/4 is a doublet of the first peace of 371 (Diod. 15. 38. 1-4; 15. 50. 4-5), which has led to the conclusion that he has conflated events (Lauffer, 1959, 315-348). Regardless of whether or not this is an accurate adduction it has had a profound effect on the interpretation of some of Diodorus' narrative. Following the peace of 375/4 he describes a series of failed revolutions in the Peloponnesus, which are not mentioned by any other source (Diod. 15. 40). Though these events are placed after the earlier peace, most scholars maintain that they actually occurred after the battle of Leuctra in 371, during the democratic revolts (Diod. 15. 58-59), when the situation in the Peloponnesus is considered more appropriate for such actions (e.g. Hornblower, 2011, 192, 348 n. 7).

In this paper the evidence for and against the later dating of the revolts will be examined and weighed against one another. With arguments that go back well over a hundred years (e.g. Stern, 1884, 155) the discussion must be largely historiographical and will demonstrate that there is no conclusive reason to place Diodorus' revolts anywhere other than the date that he has provided.

References:

1. S. Hornblower, *The Greek World 479-323 BC*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

2. E. von Stern, *Geschichte Der Spartanischen Und Thebanischen Hegemonie Vom K Nigsfrieden Bis Zur Schlacht Bei Mantinea*. Dorpat: Leakman's Buch und Steindruckerel,

1884.

3. Lauffer, 'Die Diodordublette XV 38-50 über die Friedenschlusse zu Sparta 374 und 371', *Historia* 8 (1959) 315-348.

Session 1D: Intersectionality in Antiquity (AWAWS Panel)
Chair: Amelia Brown

Maxine Lewis University of Auckland

Modern theory meets ancient evidence: do we need intersectionality?

This paper explores the methodological implications of applying an intersectional lens to ancient cultures. The term 'intersectionality' denotes the experience of people who suffer from multiple burdens of identity, for instance women of colour in a society that is both sexist and racist (Crenshaw 1991). The language and framework of intersectionality crystalized in nineteen-eighties America in response to the particular discrimination faced by Black women (Crenshaw 1989); as such intersectionality is a fundamentally modern discourse. However, instances of multi-axis prejudice and discrimination can be found in evidence from antiquity, raising the possibility that intersectionality has relevance to the ancient world.

In this paper, I first compare identity categories from the contemporary Western world with their Greco-Roman counterparts, highlighting points of similarity and difference. Race and sexuality emerge as particularly problematic terms that cannot be projected back onto antiquity (see McCoskey 2012 on race in antiquity and Foucault 1978 on the modern invention of sexuality). Any exploration of intersectionality in antiquity must thus extrapolate identity categories from the ancient evidence, rather than projecting modern categories. Ethnicity and social status, particularly free and servile, emerge as dominant classifications. Second, I survey cases from antiquity where levels of oppression and privilege were determined by the intersection of two or more aspects of identity. This paper will demonstrate that while modern categories of

identity do not map exactly onto ancient categories, intersectionality can provide a valuable methodology with which to examine identities in antiquity.

References:

1. Crenshaw, Kimberlé Williams. 1991. 'Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color.' *Stanford Law Review* 43.6: 1241-1299.

2. Crenshaw, Kimberlé Williams. 1989. 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics.' *University of Chicago Legal Forum*: Vol. 1989.1.

3. McCoskey, Denise Eileen. 2012. *Race: Antiquity and Its Legacy. Ancients and Moderns*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

4. Foucault, Michel. 1978. *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Elizabeth Smith Macquarie University

The *mitra* and Clodius' transvestism: the value of an intersectional response

This paper explores the value of an intersectional approach in analysing ancient Roman female head-covering garments, specifically the *mitra*. Hitherto unstudied in Roman contexts except by Tatham (1990), the *mitra* was a turban of Near Eastern origin, not considered respectable dress for young Roman women because of its associations with mistresses (Prop. 2.29a, 4.7.62), prostitutes (Lucr. 4.1129; Prop. 4.5.72; Juv. 3.66, 6.114-119), and old women (Sen. *Suas*. 2.21-22). Bender (1994) argues that when Virgil (*Aen*. 4.215-218, 9.614-617) depicts men wearing the *mitra*, the wearer is characterised as effeminate. I contend that this charge of effeminacy, among others, can be analysed using an intersectional lens, as it was the intersection of the garment's Greek origins, and associations with women of low status, that made it suitable for use in invective against certain men. For instance, Cicero (*Har. Resp*. 44; *In Clod. et Cur*. frg. 21) states that a *mitra* was one of the garments of disguise worn by Clodius when he impiously intruded upon the rites of the Bona Dea festival held in Caesar's house in December 62 BC. Hopman (2003) observes that Cicero condemns Clodius' womanish dress as part of his invective against him.

I propose that Cicero's selection of '*mitra*' to describe Clodius' headgear is especially damning as it holds multi-layered pejorative connotations that are transferred to the wearer. Thus, examination of the *mitra* is enriched through an intersectional lens; negative connotations of the garments are identified, allowing for inquiry into perceptions of gender and ethnicity in ancient Rome.

References:

1. Bender, H., '*De Habitu Vestis:* Clothing in the *Aeneid'* in Sebesta, J. L., and Bonfante, L., eds, *The World of Roman Costume* (Madison, 1994), pp. 146–152.

2. Hopman, M., 'Satire in Green: Marked Clothing and the Technique of *Indignatio* at Juvenal 5.141-45' *The American Journal of Philology*, 124.4 (2003), pp. 557-574.

3. Tatham, G., 'Ariadne's Mitra: A Note on Catullus 64.61-4' *The Classical Quarterly* 40.2 (1990), pp. 560-561.

Mark Masterson Victoria University

Intersectionality and Eunuchism in Elite Men's Culture in Byzantium

In this paper, I demonstrate the usefulness of intersectionality as a theoretical lens for understanding elite men's culture in Byzantium (circa 1000 CE). While it might seem that intersectionality--a concept that describes the overlapping (and frequently stigmatizing) categories of race, gender and sexuality in the modern West (Cho et al. 2013) --is too focussed on modern-day injustices to be of use, it turns out to be helpful when considering the interactions of eunuchs and non-eunuchized men in elite Byzantine circles.

Men who were eunuchs mixed with men who were intact and held positions of similar power and authority in Byzantium. All the same, though, the eunuch men were different. Eunuchism was an induced state which was at times subject to gendered abuse, and there were, of course, no marriage alliances possible. Still, standing aside from the reproductive arena could be advantageous too. The source material for this paper are the letters of a general and high official under emperor Basil II, Nikephoros Ouranos (Darrouzès, J. 1960), whom most scholars agree was a eunuch. I will suggest that expressions of same-sex desire and of homosocial affiliations of various kinds (brotherhood and friendship) in his letters be seen as strategies of connection to meet personal emotional needs, further political objectives, and advance familial strategy (for

at this time in the empire's history, elite families were castrating a son or two regularly) (Messis 2014). In summation, one could say that eunuchism demanded relational strategies to lessen the stigma of difference.

References:

1. Cho, Sumi, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall. 2013. 'Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications, and Praxis.' *Signs* 38.4: 785-810.

2. Darrouzès, J. 1960. *Épistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (*Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 6*). Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines.

3. Messis, C. 2014. *Les Eunuques à Byzance, entre réalité et imaginaire*. Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des hautes études en sciences sociales.

Session 2A: The Use (and Abuse) of Myth in Rome (Panel)
Chair: Maxine Lewis

Alison Griffith University of Canterbury

Representing Roman Myth in the First Century BCE

This paper, part of a larger study of family violence in Roman myths, explores the representation of these myths in Roman art. T.P. Wiseman (2004) and others have shown that the stories date at least to the fourth century BCE. However, there was surge of interest in these old tales during the first century BCE, which is epitomised by their dramatic retelling by Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and reference to them as *exempla* by Valerius Maximus a generation later. Thus during the (arguably) most violent century of the Roman Republic, there developed an intellectual preoccupation with promulgating examples of the behaviour, both good and bad, of the Romans of 'yore' (Chaplin 2000; Roller 2004; Stevenson 2011 and others). But these are violent stories in which the victims, who are frequently but not exclusively women, suffer brutal acts—rape, bride-theft, murder—at the hands of family members, a fact passed over in scholarship on this topic. One must therefore ask, 'Examples of what, exactly?'

During the first century BCE some of these myths began to appear as subjects on coin reverses, stone relief and, perhaps, statuary. This development almost certainly derived from, and contributed to, the Roman predilection for 'documentary' or 'narrative' art, and it is likely that scenes of the death of Tarpeia and the theft of the Sabine women were meant to communicate with their viewers. This paper will examine the range of possible meanings—allegorical, literal, symbolic—intended by the public display of these violent mythical moments.

References:

1. J. Chaplin, *Livy's Exemplary History* (Oxford and New York 2000)
2. T. Stevenson, 'Women of Early Rome as *Exempla* in Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* Book 1,' *CW* 104.2 (2011) 175-89
3. T. P. Wiseman, *The Myths of Rome* (Exeter 2004)

Jeremy Armstrong University of Auckland

Romulus, Remus, and Roman Expansion

The evidence for the myth of Romulus and Remus in early Rome is incredibly problematic. The famous statue group set up by the Ogulnii at the *ficus ruminalis* demonstrates that the myth was extant in Rome by the start of the third century BC but, with the (admittedly contested) redating of the 'Capitoline Wolf' to the early medieval period, evidence for the myth in the fourth, fifth, or sixth centuries BC is extremely thin on the ground. Indeed, this scarcity prompted Wiseman to famously argue for a fourth century origin for the Roman iteration of the myth, largely constructed against the backdrop of the ending of the 'Struggle of the Orders'. The present paper will generally follow Wiseman's dating of the origins of the Roman version of the myth to the fourth century, but explore the wider context of its creation in Rome's nascent empire. While the 'Struggle of the Orders' may have provided one relational dynamic for the myth to exploit and explain, Rome's relationship with the Latins provided another – and arguably more complete – point of reference. Emphasizing the wider currency and appeal of the myth in the fourth century BC, as well its deployment in Roman foreign relations in the period, this paper will argue that the (re)creation or evolution of the myth of Romulus and Remus can also be seen as an important part of Rome's renegotiation of identity within Latium during this period.

References:

1.Wiseman, T. P. (1995) *Remus: A Roman Myth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2.Fox, Matthew (1996) *Roman Historical Myths: The Regal Period in Augustan Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

3. Coarelli, F. (2003) 'Remoria' in Braund and Gill (eds.) *Myth, History and Culture in Republican Rome. Studies in Honour of T. P. Wiseman*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

Gwynaeth McIntyre Otago University

Maxentius, the Dioscuri, and the legitimization of imperial power

In 306 CE, Maxentius was declared emperor in Rome by the Praetorian guard and gained control of Italy, thereby ruling in direct conflict with the Tetrarchic system established by Diocletian. He then proceeded to promote himself as the saviour of the city of Rome and the individual responsible for restoring her to her former glory.[1] This paper examines one aspect of this promotion, namely Maxentian coin types which include two figures from Roman mythology, Castor and Pollux. It argues that Maxentius use of Castor and Pollux on his coins served as a reaction against the ideological use of these brothers by the Tetrarchs. For the Tetrarchs, Castor and Pollux served as the ideal figures to symbolize the importance of *concordia* in the collective rule of like-minded individuals and were promoted both in their art and on their coins.[2] However, Maxentius used Castor and Pollux in connection with other symbols of the city of Rome (such as Romulus, Remus, and the she-wolf) on his coins to promote his restoration of the city of Rome (in conjunction with titles such as *princeps* and *conservator urbis suae*). By contextualizing his use of Castor and Pollux in this way, Maxentius was able to promote his own devotion to traditional *romanitas* and reject the Tetrarchs symbols of their own *concordia*, thereby legitimizing his position within the city of Rome.

References

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2. Hekster, O. 1999. 'The City of Rome in Late Imperial Ideology: The Tetrarchs, Maxentius, and Constantine.' *Mediterraneo Antico*. 2:717-748.

Session 2B: Greek Literature: Theoretical Approaches
Chair: Peter Gainsford

Rachel Yuen-Collingridge Macquarie University

Memory Research and Cognitive History: refinements, applications, and obstacles

This paper will review current trends in cognitive science and philosophy of mind and assess their potential for ancient historical research. While the influence of the 'cognitive turn' is now apparent in many other humanities disciplines, its reach into ancient world studies seems most developed in the history of religions (Martin 2014). As it stands, memory research in ancient history has been concerned with reconstructing the ancient 'art of memory', with appropriations from earlier psychological and sociological research into collective / cultural / social memory, or with redescriptions of old preoccupations (tradition, orality, reception, identity) into the language of remembering. Advances in the cognitive sciences have provided new ways of understanding how collective memory actually works 'in the wild'.

Beginning with Wegner's model of transactive memory systems (1986), attempts to address psychological portraits of memory within philosophy of mind have aimed at bridging the gap between theory and lived experience. Recent developments in the extended mind thesis (Sutton / Michaelian among others) speak to how individuals integrate objects and other people into their cognitive systems. Such work offers a model through which we might understand materiality and community in antiquity. This paper will outline significant interdisciplinary developments in philosophy and cognitive science for the study of memory, consider the applicability of these models to our evidence, and identify points of conflict with our disciplinary commitments.

References:

1. L.H. Martin, *Deep History, Secular Theory: Historical and Scientific Studies of Religion* (Berlin 2014).

2. J. Sutton, K. Michaelian, 'Distributed cognition and memory research: history and current directions', *Review of Philosophy and Psychology* 4.1 (2013) 1–24.
3. D.M. Wegner, 'Transactive memory: a contemporary analysis of the group mind', in B. Mullen, G.R. Goethals (eds), *Theories of Group Behaviour* (New York 1986) 185–208.

Elizabeth Minchin Australian National University

Reading emotional intelligence: Antilochus and Achilles in the *Iliad*

Antilochus, at *Il*. 23. 543-554, addresses Achilles, the host of the funeral games for Patroclus, making a case for keeping the prize he had won (for second place) in the chariot race. Achilles responds with a smile of 'spontaneous warmth' and of 'affectionate admiration' (Halliwell 2008: 99). What Halliwell fails to discuss is what it is that generates this warmth, and what Achilles admires in Antilochus as he challenges his decision.

Taplin (*Homeric Soundings*, 1992: 255) suggests that Antilochus has spoken 'cheekily'; Richardson (*The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. 6, 1993: 229) proposes that Antilochus' 'frankness' impresses Achilles; Martin (*The Language of Heroes*, 1989: 188f.) is on the verge of something interesting when he draws attention to what is a rare Homeric moment: when the young man attempts to read Achilles' mind.

Taking the discussion further, I consider Antilochus' behaviour from a cognitive perspective, with an account from social and developmental psychology of the four mental aptitudes that constitute emotional intelligence. I demonstrate, through reference to several Iliadic episodes, that Homer's Antilochus exhibits all four. Achilles, I argue, shares these aptitudes; his smile at 23.555 is all that Halliwell says, but it is also, significantly, a smile of recognition.

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Reuben Ramsey University of Newcastle

'Homer, or some other of the tragic poets': Tone-grouping and the Analysis of Ancient Greek Poetics

Homer is the ultimate model for the tragedians; Plato and Aristotle sometimes treat Homer and the tragic poets as members of the same class (e.g. Plat. *Laws* 605c1; Arist. *Poet*. 1449b17-18). Certain similarities between Homer's epic and the poetry of the tragedians (diction, mythic-historical and poetic traditions, and the principle of impersonation) are well-known.

This paper will demonstrate further similarities, on the level of phrase-length and rhythm, between the Homer's *Iliad* and the anapaests of the *Persians* of Aeschylus. These are observable when the texts are analysed by tone groups, that is, according to the natural-language tonal groupings inherent in the texts (Ramsey, 2016).

Wallace Chafe first defined tone groups in 1994. This paper will briefly discus the application of tone-grouping in classical scholarship (Eduard Frankel, 1962; Helma Dik, 2007; Frank Scheppers, 2011), and will then focus on Egbert Bakker's work (1999) on tone-grouping and Homeric epic, and on my own work on the *Persians*, which demonstrates that the phrases analysed by tone group can be scanned to word-end as regularly-recurring measures.

Finally, similarities – and differences – in the phrase-lengths and recurrent measures observed in both Homer and Aeschylus will be presented.

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Session 2C: Greek History: 4th and 3rd centuries
Chair: Matthew Trundle

Bill Richardson Otago University

The Rule of Two: *Hegemon*, *Strategos*, and Philip's League of Corinth

Within the sphere of investigations into the League of Corinth established by Philip II in the wake of the Battle of Chaeronea lies a perplexing issue. There is disagreement in the sources regarding the leadership position that Philip assumed within the League. Was he the League's executive leader (*hegemon*, e.g. *IG* ii^2 236), or was he its military commander (*strategos autokrator*, e.g. Diod. 16.89.3)? Last century, the view arose that there was no problem in this disconnect, and that these two titles referred to one and the same position (e.g. Bosworth, 1980, 48-50). More recent scholarship most often tacitly accepts this interpretation of events, conflating the two positions without discussion (e.g. Worthington, 2008, 158-163; Dmitriev, 2011, 74).

This paper seeks to demonstrate that the positions and powers of *hegemon* and *strategos autokrator* both existed within the framework of the League, and while they tended to be held by the same individual, each were appointed separately and each fulfilled distinct roles. A different approach to this question will be explored, arguing that the series of events during the establishment of the League, described by Diod. 16.89 and Just. 9.5, demonstrate that the position of *hegemon* must have existed and been filled before Philip was made *strategos autokrator*. Moreover, precisely the same process occurred during Alexander's rise. As both Philip and Alexander were separately made *hegemon* and then *strategos autokrator*, this paper argues that these two roles were indeed separate.

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Graeme Bourke University of New England

The Mass Execution at Elis in 343 BC

Abstract (150-250 words): Diodoros (16.63.4-5) records, in a digression from his report for 346/5 BC, that certain Eleian exiles employed a large number of mercenaries, transported them to the Peloponnese and made war upon the Eleians. The Eleians, however, supported by 'the Arkadians', defeated the exiles and captured 4,000 mercenaries. While the Arkadians sold their half share, the Eleians executed theirs on account of 'the transgression committed against the oracle'. Diodoros' report seems to concern the same events mentioned in both a speech of Demosthenes delivered in 343 BC in which Philip II is held responsible for massacres in Elis (19.260) and a passage of Pausanias (4.28.4). Scholars have suggested that the Eleian exiles who hired the mercenaries were democrats who had come to power in Elis c.352 BC but were overthrown by the oligarchs in 344 or 343 and then attempted to return (Hammond and Griffith 1979, 499-501; Gehrke 1985, 56-7; Robinson 2011, 31).

A closer examination of the relevant ancient texts reveals, however, that while the evidence for an oligarchic coup is slender, the mercenaries had been closely associated with forces that favoured oligarchy. The Eleians who defended their *polis* with the assistance of Philip II and 'the Arkadians' are thus more likely to have been democrats. They seem to have executed the mercenaries, who had earlier been paid out of treasure taken from Delphi, because they were concerned for the safety of Olympia if such sacrilege went unpunished.

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Session 2D: Early Christianity in Material Culture
Chair: tbc

Greg Horsley University of New England

Early Christianity in Pisidia: assessing some problematic evidence

In contrast to some other regions of Asia Minor, Pisidia has given the impression to numerous investigators that its mountainous terrain and other factors account for its perceived resistance to the spread of Christianity. In fact, archaeological evidence of various kinds demonstrates that this view is incorrect. The paper will examine three inscriptions, and also consider certain architectural remains, using for the latter the Roman colony of Kremna in particular as a test case.

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Aleksandra Michaelewicz University of Melbourne

Gendered mortuary rituals at the Samtavro Cemetery, Caucasian Iberia

This paper will provide an exposition of gendered mortuary rituals during the Roman Imperial to Late Antique periods at the Samtavro Cemetery of Caucasian Iberia. Specifically, it will examine the transition in burial customs discernible during the period of Christian conversion during the early fourth century. Samtavro, positioned in the ancient Iberian capital of Mtskheta, was located at an important cultural, political and economic centre. The burial grounds are particularly significant owing both to their expansive size and the extensive excavations undertaken, with over 1000 graves from the relevant periods having been analysed. Georgian archaeologists have studied the site of Samtavro for many decades and, more lately, a Georgian-Australian expedition has worked there (Sagona 2010); yet, only recently has a synthetic study of Samtavro's material culture been completed (Michalewicz 2014).

This research focused on tomb architecture, human remains and grave accoutrements, but many questions remain. Amongst these are the extent to which various cultural practices—Roman, Parthian, Hunnic—were felt, and the ways in which these intersected with one another. The paper takes as its cue a study of Late Bronze to Early Iron Age materials from the north Caucasus, which assessed gendered mortuary costumes during a period of social transition (Reinhold 2003). For the relevant period at Samtavro, however, we must also consider how historical accounts and the Christian narrative compare with archaeological evidence. Attention to gendered patterns of deposition and mortuary assemblages will help further bring to life those interred at Samtavro and the traditions practiced at death.

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Amelia Brown University of Queensland

Demons, Dumps and Drains: Disposal of Sculpture in Late Antique Corinth

Corinth circa 400 AD had hundreds of ancient and brand-new statues around the Forum, temples, fountains, baths and public spaces: local grandees, governors of Achaia, venerable cult statues and pediments. Over the next two centuries, most of this sculpture was utterly destroyed and devalued, apparently at every level of society. Yet scholars debate whether Christian iconoclasm, economic imperatives or construction of defensive walls was most to blame, at Corinth as around the ancient Mediterranean (1). A notable decline in

the quantity and quality of production of new sculpture occurred in 5th-century Corinth. Contemporary texts warmly praise the naturalism of the new portraits which were created, even as their proportions appear more awkward, and their material of manufacture *ad hoc*. But by the 6th century, these 'new' portraits were just as often defaced with crosses as divine images, and then both were discarded or repurposed, often together.

While monks and barbarians are blamed for violent and sudden destructions, it seems it was most often the bishops of the new Christian hierarchy who systematically placed portrait statues alongside old gods into the ground to construct churches, forts and roads. This paper gives an overview of the disposal of sculpture in Late Antique Corinth. It makes comparisons with other cities, and draws conclusions about the reasons why those responsible destroyed most ancient sculpture.

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Session 3A: Late Republican History
Chair: Jon Hall

Tim Smith Victoria University

Consular Iterations in the Pre-Sullan Late Republic

Significant legal restrictions were imposed on the holding of political office during the Roman republic. It was illegal, at least for a time, to hold the consulship more than once, lest an individual gain too much power. And yet infrequent iterations of the consulship occurred before Sulla's reforms of 81. My paper will look in particular at the ostensibly illegal continuous consulships of C. Marius and L. Cornelius Cinna. For modern scholars (such as Ernst Badian and Michael Lovano) who seek to defend Cinna as a 'respecter of the constitution', his re-elections may be justified along lines similar to Marius' re-elections over a decade earlier: if Marius could do it, owing to popular demand and military necessity, so could Cinna. After all, both men attained their consecutive consulships in times of great crisis, which certainly had precedent. I will argue, however, that Cinna's *continuatio* was anomalous: Cinna's multiple consulships were utterly divorced from standard Roman practice. The repeated self-appointment to the consulship by Cinna and his colleagues, reported by both Appian and Livy's epitomator, was unparalleled, and strongly suggests the fleeting presence a unique electoral system in the mid 80s. There is little consensus on constitutional history of the so-called *Cinnae dominatio*, during which Cinna managed to secure four successive consulships, and to maintain them *sine armis*. But in order to gain some understanding of the Roman constitution in the last few years before Sulla's reforms, we cannot rely on the precedents of the previous century.

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Kit Morrell University of Sydney

'Who wants to go to Alexandria?' Pompey, Ptolemy, and public opinion, 57–56 BC

One of the most contested questions in Roman politics in late 57 and early 56 BC was whether—and by whom—Ptolemy XII Auletes should be restored to the Egyptian throne. We can detect differences of opinion between the so-called 'triumvirs', within the '*optimates*', and among the king's creditors. The resulting debate was carried out not only in the senate but in rumours, pamphlets, and public meetings, most famously the orchestrated heckling by P. Clodius and his gang: 'Who wants to go to Alexandria?' 'Pompey!' 'Who do you want to go?' 'Crassus!' (Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.3.2 SB 7).

This paper examines the role of public opinion in the debate over Ptolemy's restoration. I argue that division within the senate made public opinion more broadly an important battleground. We hear of various attempts to influence the attitude of the Roman people, and in some cases we can trace a direct effect on political action: for instance, the publication of the Sibylline oracle by the tribune C. Cato served to rule out the use of an army, while Clodian heckling led Pompey to abandon any hopes of an Egyptian command. I will also show that the 'Egyptian question' was not simply a matter of *who* should restore the king. The Sibylline oracle, the *invidia* surrounding Ptolemy, and the senate's eventual decree—that he should not be restored at all—reflect real misgivings about assisting a king who had bribed Roman senators and murdered his own subjects.

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David Rafferty University of Adelaide

Legitimate command in the civil war between Caesar and Pompeius

The civil war between Caesar and Pompeius was fought all around the Mediterranean, with a bewildering variety of subordinate commanders often operating on their own. Welch 2012 demonstrates the concern of the Pompeians to maintain a legal command structure down to (at least) the war in Africa. And, in the *Bellum Civile*, Caesar goes to great lengths to impugn his various opponents' right to command. In a war which was largely a dispute over legitimacy, by what right did these subordinate commanders claim their authority? And what was the source of legitimate command authority in any case, in a Republic which had seen enormous experimentation with the granting of *imperium* in recent decades?

There are plentiful sources, literary, epigraphic and numismatic, which can throw light on this problem, largely collected in Broughton's *MRR*. Recent scholarship (notably Morstein-Marx 2009 and 2011) highlights the usefulness of concentrating on legitimacy rather than legality in explaining the support and obedience which soldiers and provincials did (or did not) offer to the various commanders in civil war situations. Yet until now, this scholarship has focused on the principals in these wars, neglecting their subordinates. The legal/constitutional/political claims on legitimate authority which these subordinates could make would prove crucial in the more momentous contests over disputed authority which took place after Caesar's assassination.

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Session 3B: Euripides
Chair: Anastasia Bakogianni

Marc Bonaventura University of Melbourne

Athenian Ambivalence towards Foreigners: Trojans and Thracians in Euripides' *Hecuba*

Scholars disagree over how the Greeks regarded non-Greeks in the Classical Period. Some, such as Edith Hall (1989), argue for a prominent and pervasive Greek/barbarian polarity, whereas others, such as Kostas Vlassopoulos (2013), focus on the extensive tradition of cultural interaction, influence, and exchange which the Greeks shared with the Near East.

This paper will examine the portrayal of the Trojans and the Thracians in Euripides' *Hecuba* and what it reveals about Greek attitudes towards non-Greeks in the late fifth century. It will discuss Euripides' use of the term *barbaros* and whether he associates the Trojans with tyranny, as James Morwood (2014) argues, or casts them as noble and admirable characters. Then, it will analyse Euripides' depiction of the Thracian king Polymestor, focusing on his impiety, savagery, and parallels to the Homeric Cyclops. After comparing the Trojan and Thracian portrayals, it will argue that Euripides' *Hecuba* reflects the diversity of attitudes towards non-Greeks which co-existed in fifth-century Athens, ranging from polarity to admiration. Euripides clearly draws on the contemporary Athenian stereotype of the cruel and primitive Thracian for his portrait of Polymestor, but there is no trace of the eastern barbarian stereotype in his depiction of the Trojans, who receive a most favourable portrayal throughout the play. Ultimately, it will comment on what the *Hecuba* indicates about the significance and prevalence of the Greek/barbarian polarity in late fifth-century Athens.

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Arlene Allan Otago University

'If I could turn back time': Further Thoughts on Phaedra's Delirium in Euripides' *Hippolytus* (208 - 227)

Scholars who have considered Phaedra's delirious desire to rest in a meadow, drink from a pure spring (208-11), go the mountains to hunt deer with hounds (215-222) or work with race-horses within Artemis' *temenos* at Troizen, generally agree that this is the expression of a subconscious desire to 'be with' Hippolytos (e.g. Knox 1952; Glenn 1975/6; Kovacs 1987; Roisman; 1999). While I do not dispute the validity of this interpretation, in this paper I seek to deepen our understanding and appreciation of the significance of this scene by linking the longed-for activities more closely with that period in a girl's life when she too was in service to the goddess to whom Hippolytus is wholly devoted. It will be argued that in her delirium Phaedra gives voice to the two-fold desire at the heart of her torment: to remain pure and chaste in resisting Aphrodite, as though she were once again an inexperienced girl *and* to be that *parthenos* departing Artemis' service who is wholly ready to become a *nymphē*.

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Simon Perris Victoria University

Is there a polis in Euripides' *Medea*?'

Most scholars agree that Greek tragedy is political (e.g. Carter 2007). Few, however, agree on how, to what extent, or to what ends. Moreover, attention has tended to focus on plays which most clearly reflect elements of the fifth-century Athenian democratic *politeia*. In this paper, I address that selection bias with a play which is not typically considered political, and which offers a useful test case for rethinking tragic politics: Euripides' *Medeia*. In particular, I take up Griffith's brief suggestion that *Medeia*, like other surviving tragedies, does not substantively reflect (on) Perikles' citizenship law of 451; and, more broadly, that the surviving plays of Euripides and Sophokles engage with more or less 'the same themes of inter-elite marriages (both endogamous and exogamous), extended kin, disputed parentage, and long-distance *xenia*-relations that we also encounter in Aeschylus' (Griffith 2011: 196, 193–4). I also draw on Finglass's (2005) analogous account of the polis in Sophokles' *Elektra*, another play set in a Mycenaean urban centre. Speakers in *Medeia* do indeed use πόλις, πολῖται, ἄστυ, and ἀστοί to refer to Corinth, Athens, or Colchis. It is another thing altogether to say that any of those places is a polis in the archaic–classical sense: an autonomous collective (*koinōnia*) of free citizens governing an urban centre and its territory (*khōra*). The question I will answer is this: how political (in either the Aristotelian or the everyday sense) can a tragedy about a metic and his non-Greek *pallakē*, set in mythical Corinth, be?

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Session 3C: Diadochs and Kings
Chair: Graeme Bourke

Evan Pitt University of Tasmania

Polyperchon and Antigonus' *Letter to Scepsis*

Since the discovery of the letter written by Antigonus Monophthalmus to the Troad city of Scepsis by Munro (1899. 330-340), the document has offered a rare insight into the Wars of the Diadochoi and the political environment following the Peace of the Dynasts in late 311 B.C.E. Over the last century the letter, in which Monophthalmus relays the settlement to his holdings in Western Anatolia, has received substantial evaluation by modern scholars (Hauben, 1987).

Particular attention has been paid to the cessation of hostilities between Antigonid forces and the coalition of Cassander, Lysimachus and Ptolemy, yet more information can be gleaned from the correspondence. Conspicuously absent from the discussion is Polyperchon, Antigonus' ally and the former regent of Macedon who had been embroiled in a war against Cassander since 319. While Polyperchon is explicitly named in the letter (*OGIS* 5 = RC 1. 39), little advance beyond this identification has been made.

Lines 41-46 in particular can yield further information about the nature of the alliance between Antigonus and Polyperchon. While these lines are generally taken to refer to the terms of peace between Antigonus and Ptolemy (Bagnall & Derow, 2004. 8-10; Austin, 2006. 86-88), the text is not so clear as has been supposed, and may in fact refer to Polyperchon. This paper evaluates the presence of Polyperchon within Antigonus' *Letter to Scepsis*, with particular focus on lines 41-46 and the information that can be gained about the Antigonid-Polyperchon alliance and Polyperchon's impact on the Peace of the Dynasts.

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John McTavish University of Queensland

Casting a Long Shadow: Seleukos Nikator in India

This paper will examine the political and military ramifications of Seleukos Nikator's invasion of India, in order to assess his motive for expanding his empire further east. For, despite the pivotal role played by the elephants Seleukos acquired through his peace treaty with Chandragupta in blunting the Antigonid offensive at Ipsos in 301 B.C.E., the Seleukid-Mauryan War is generally thought to have been a strategic failure for Seleukos. The principal aim of this paper is to challenge this assumption, and this paper argues that his expedition was far from an outright failure. In a climate of profound social and political transformation, the actions of Seleukos should be judged as a reflection of the means the Diadokhoi used to inform and legitimise their rule.

By attempting to expand rather than simply pulling together scraps of the rapidly disintegrating Macedonian Empire, Seleukos was promoting himself as a true Successor to the legacy of imperial conquest that had seen Macedonian dominance spread across the world. The strength of the peace settlement indicates that no protracted conflict took place, and is a testament to both Nikator's conservative approach to strategy and the severity of the Antigonid threat looming in the west.

Much of the relevant scholarship focuses primarily on the chronological difficulties associated with this period (Hauben 1974; Mehl 1986), or lacks crucial criticism of the ancient sources (Grainger 1990). This paper seeks to build upon the existing chronological framework developed these scholars and address the Seleukid-Mauryan War in the context of the extraordinary career of Seleukos Nikator.

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Edward Anson University of Arkansas

Ptolemy and the Destruction of the First Regency

The debate over the Diadoch Ptolemy's ambitions after the death of Alexander the Great centers on whether he wished to partition Alexander's empire or to become the new Alexander holding the empire intact under his personal authority. This paper will argue that Ptolemy was not simply in favor of partition, but in the ultimate dissolution of the empire and its attendant Argead monarchy. In this sense he may have been the most ambitious of all the Diadochs from the very beginning. After all, it was Ptolemy who early began to act independently of the central government, and it will be argued that it was Ptolemy who provoked the First Diadoch War. The Egyptian satrap and later king's desire from the time of the death of Alexander the Great had been to dismember the empire and secure his possession of what he must have considered its jewel, Egypt. The First Diadoch War was then Ptolemy's opening salvo in this ultimately successful quest.

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Session 3D: 'Becoming like god' in Late Antiquity (Panel)
Chair: Dirk Baltzly

Michael Champion Australian Catholic University

Becoming Godlike: Problems and Possibilities in Late-Antique Christian Thought

The claim that philosophers aim to become godlike 'insofar as is possible' (*Tht.* 176b) plays a significant role in the Platonic tradition, and requires further investigation (Sedley 1999, Runia 2013), especially as it is taken up in other ancient philosophical traditions, and in Christian and Islamic thought. Reydams-Schils has recently argued that the distinctively Platonic claim, in Middle Platonism, is not merely Platonic: it is mediated and transformed by key aspects of Stoicism, and hence arguments about becoming godlike become a key point of contest between different intellectual traditions (Reydam-Schils forthcoming). By the time Christian thinkers appropriate the claim, there are still further layers of tradition, but it is no less generative and contested. In this paper, I explore two related claims: that Christian uses of the theme of godlikeness are shaped by, and help generate, distinctive Christian virtues; and that the theme of godlikeness helps to make the practical and theoretical life of the Christian sage cohere.

The paper will advance these claims primarily drawing on hagiographic literature, especially Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Macrina*, allowing for consideration of aspects of the relationship between philosophical/theological claims and narrative genres. Most generally, the paper argues that investigating the theme of godlikeness in early Christianity provides insight into the relationships between Christianity and Classical thought, key features of the mechanics of the appropriation and transformation of traditions, and distinctive features of early Christian ethics and metaphysics.

References:

1. Sedley, D.N. 'The Ideal of Godlikeness', in G. Fine (ed.), *Plato 2: Ethics, Politics, Religion and the Soul* (Oxford, 1999), 309-328.
2. Runia, D. 'The Theme of "Becoming Like God" in Plato's *Republic*', in N. Notomi and L. Brisson (eds.), *Dialogues on Plato's Politeia (Republic)* (Sankt Augustin, 2013)

Han Baltussen University of Adelaide

A Note on the Purpose of Eunapius of Sardis' *Lives of Philosophers and Sophists*

Eunapius of Sardis (346–c. 414 CE; cf. Goulet 1980) is an important source for biographical information on the late Platonists for the period 200 CE (Plotinus) – 350 CE. The *Lives* (*bioi*, not biographies) give episodic accounts of the deeds and ideas of sophists, philosophers, theurgists and some physicians of that period. In this paper I want to revisit Eunapius' attitude to Christianity (also givein new attention in recent editions of Becker 2013 and Goulet 2014). I intend to strengthen the working hypothesis that the purpose of the work is in part to offer an alternative to the Christian saints' lives. I will argue that Eunapius aims to achieve this by a polemical subtext against Christian ideas (a subtext also present in his *Universal History*—only extant in a few fragments). Porphyry's *Letter to Marcella* (234–305 CE) appears to be a good parallel (Whittaker 2001).

The evidence I will select consists of four passages in which the 'competitive drive' of the work becomes clear, in particular by the focus on how, as Eunapius sees it, these thinkers aspired to connect with the divine. Eunapius' emphasis on the pagan philosophers' ability to achieve a divine quality serves his higher agenda of offering a counter-narrative to both doctrine and exemplary lives of the Christians.

References:

1. Becker, M. (ed.). *Eunapios aus Sardes, Biographien über Philosophen und Sophisten* (Stuttgart 2013).
2. Goulet, R. 'Sur la chronologie de la vie et des oeuvres d'Eunape de Sardes', *JHS* 100 (1980): 60–72.
3. Goulet, R. (ed.) *Eunape de Sardes: Vies de philosophes et de sophistes* (2 vols, Paris 2014).
4. Whittaker, H. 2001. 'The Purpose of Porphry's *Letter to Marcella*', *SO* 76 (2001) 150–68.

Graeme Miles University of Tasmania

Gendering godlikeness in late antiquity: Hypatia and Sosipatra

Sosipatra (*fl.* AD 350) and Hypatia (died AD 415), as the two best known female philosophers of the Platonic schools of late antiquity, present an immediate resemblance (see Lewis 2014). In the surviving details concerning the lives of each, there are indeed similar details (e.g. male students falling in love with their teacher). They differ markedly, however, in their approaches to the philosophical life: while Hypatia is both mathematician and philosopher, and a product of the Alexandrian Platonic education, Sosipatra's instruction by two mysterious Chaldeans is entirely atypical, and directed almost entirely, it seems, to theurgic practice. In both instances, the language of divinisation and godlikeness appears, though most emphatically in the case of Sosipatra.

The current paper uses these differences in the presentation of these contrasting female philosophers, especially by Eunapius and Damascius (on whom see Goulet 2014 and Athanassiadi 1999), and the appraisal of their philosophical and theurgic accomplishments, to explore the gendering of godlikeness in late antiquity.

References:

1. Among the little discussion of Sosipatra see N.D. Lewis, 'Living Images of the Divine: Female Theurgists in Late Antiquity', in K.B. Stratton and D.S. Kalleres, *Daughters of Hecate. Women and Magic in the Ancient World* (Oxford 2014), 274-297.
2. On Eunapius in general: R. Goulet (ed.), *Eunape de Sardes: Vies de philosophes et de sophistes*, Belles Lettres, 2014.
3. For Damascius: P. Athanassiadi, *Damascius. The Philosophical History*, Apameia, 1999.

Session 4A: Law and Legalism in Roman History
Chair: Kit Morrell

Elisabeth Slingsby University of Sydney

Mercy or Erasure: Amnesty in Late-Republican Thought

In the opening chapter of the *First Philippic,* Cicero drew a comparison between the Athenian Amnesty of 403BC and the Amnesty he had negotiated between Caesar's assassins and supporters. What did he mean by this? This question is significant, since it provides insight into how Cicero believed the schism created by Caesar's murder should be resolved, yet scholars have rarely addressed it, though acknowledging the importance of Cicero's parallel (e.g. Wiseman 2009, Carawin 2013).

My proposed solution to this question rests on a re-examination of the construction of forgiveness and forgetfulness in the Late Republic. I contend that, to Cicero, the Amnesty existed at the nexus between *clementia* and *damnatio memoriae*. Cicero's perception of the Amnesty was influenced by both Caesar's acts of clemency and also his own belief that the Roman people could only avoid civil war by erasing subversive conduct from public memory. Contributing to a wider discussion concerning the realm of possibilities in the wake of Caesar's assassination, Cicero's appropriation of the Athenian Amnesty embodied an endeavour to find a viable solution to political strife and civil war, a solution that encompassed both mercy and erasure.

References:

1. E. Carawin, *The Athenian Amnesty and Reconstructing the Law* (Great Britain: Oxford University Press 2013)
2. H. Flower, *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture* (London: University of North Carolina Press 2006)
3. T. Stevenson and M. Wilson (ed.), *Cicero's Philippics: History, Rhetoric, Ideology* (Auckland: Polygraphia 2008)
4. K. Welch, *Magnus Pius: Sextus Pompeius and the Transformation of the Roman Republic* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales 2012)
5. T.P. Wiseman, *Remembering the Roman People: Essays on Late Republican Politics and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009)

Tristan Taylor University of New England

The Curious Case of Uspe: Legalism, Profit and Terror in Roman Imperialism

Tacitus' brief narrative of the destruction of Uspe in the Bosphorus in 49 CE (*Ann.* 12.16-17) shows a tension, inherent in imperial ideology, between the ideal of *clementia* and the necessity of exemplary violence. Tacitus provides the Roman deliberations that followed the Uspenses' offer – after the first assault – to exchange the free population for 10,000 slaves. The Romans reject this and massacre the Uspenses: *trucidare deditos saeuum, tantam multitudinem custodia cingere arduum: belli potius iure caederent* (12.17.1). The narrative demonstrates four points about massacre and imperialism. First, the deliberations are notable for their legalism (Ando 2011) in their insistence that the surrender would be refused so that the Uspenses could be massacred following the *ius belli* (eg, Caes. *BG* 2.32; Levithan 2013). This legalism suggests anxiety to legitimize mass-violence. Second, the deliberate rejection of the surrender suggests that the Romans intended a massacre to achieve deterrence through terror (Van Wees 2010). Indeed, the strategy was effective, compelling the king of the Siraci's surrender (12.17.3). Third, terror is prioritized over profit in the rejection of the slaves (Levithan 2013; Van Wees 2010).

Finally, the passage conveys an impression of military discipline, reflecting the discomfort of Greco-Roman writers with the undisciplined behaviour of soldiers during the sack of a city (Levithan 2013). Thus the curious case of Uspe suggests a paradoxical view of massacre in Roman imperialism: at times a necessity trumping *clementia* or profit, yet also provoking such anxiety as to require justification, even if only in a legalistic manner.

References:

1. Ando, C. (2011) *Law, Language and Empire in the Roman Tradition.* Uni. Of Penn. Press.
2. Levithan, J. (2013) *Roman Siege Warfare*. Uni. Of Michigan Press.
3. Van Wees, H. (2010) 'Genocide in the Ancient World' in D. Bloxham and A. Dirk Moses (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies.* Oxford Uni. Press: 239-258.

Sven Günther Northeast Normal University

Becoming influential - The 'Sequence of Jurists' (Pomp. Dig. 1.2.2.35-53) as a historiographical narrative

The 'Sequence of Jurists', the third part of the only extant overview on the legal history of Rome by the 2nd century AD jurist Pomponius within the Digests of Justinian (Pomp. Dig.1.2.2.35-53), is well known among researchers of Roman Law. The information on Roman jurists, their works, and their relations among each other have provided the basis for prosopographical studies as well as studies on the development of legal professionalisation during the Roman Republic and Early Principate (e.g. Kunkel 2001). However, the text has rarely been analyzed as a narrative on its own (cf. the demand by Nörr 1976: 501-509). The paper will examine the historiographical method of Pomponius in terms of capability and functioning of jurists in the *res publica*, i.e. to what extent Roman jurists, in the view of Pomponius, were able to use their skills, experience and authority to become the guarantors of legal development and stability in times of crises and change in the Roman state. By comparing Pomponius' narrative with Cicero's view on the value of jurisdiction in the Late Roman Republic (cf. Harries 2006) and the claim of Augustus to be the *restitutor legum ac iurum*, it will be shown how Pomponius created an own interpretation of these historical (r)evolution from the perspective of the 2nd century AD which was regarded as a stable *saeculum* by contemporaries as well as modern historians.

References:

1. W. Kunkel, *Die römischen Juristen. Herkunft und soziale Stellung* (Köln 2001) (new print of the second edition Vienna 1967).

2. D. Nörr, 'Pomponius oder "Zum Geschichtsverständnis der römischen Juristen"', *ANRW* II.15 (1976) 497-604.

3. J. Harries, *Cicero and the Jurists. From Citizens' Law to the Lawful State* (London 2006).

Session 4B: Greek Drama and Performance
Chair: tbc

John Davidson Victoria University

Why 'Embolima'?

In chapter 18 of the *Poetics*, Aristotle criticizes Agathon for the practice, clearly entrenched by the latter half of the fourth century, of employing 'embolima' rather than odes integrated with the plot line of a tragedy, but gives no indication as to why he thinks this development might have occurred. Csapo and Wilson, and Taplin, for example, lay the emphasis in their explanation on the rapid spread of tragedy well beyond Attica, so that the practice made it easier for any chorus, especially one in a locality other than Attica, to rehearse separately from the actors during the initial stages of preparation for performance.

Related to this is the idea, highlighted by Kovacs too, for example, that the rise of professional actors must have increasingly pushed chorus and actors apart. This paper raises the question of why the practice began as early as the fifth century (before the wholesale 'export' of tragedy and significant increase in the number of 'star' actors), not only with Agathon but arguably with Euripides as well. It explores the possibility of an answer in the area of artistic development and innovation as such, especially in connection with the rise of the new music. The new music is certainly well documented and discussed for the last quarter of the fifth century (e.g. by Csapo), but it does not seem to have been seen as the primary reason for the new practice of 'embolima'.

References:

1. Csapo, E. and Wilson, P. 'Origins and History of Greek Tragedy', in Hanna M. Roisman, *The Encyclopedia of Greek Tragedy*, Malden, MA, and Oxford 2014, 926-37.

2. Kovacs, G. 'Performance', in Roisman, *Encyclopedia*, 952-58.

3. Taplin, O. 'How was Athenian tragedy played in the Greek West?', in Bosher, K. (ed.), *Theater Outside Athens*, Cambridge 2012, 226-46.

Rachel Dowe University of Queensland

Gods on the Comic Stage

The gods of Aristophanes share many of the vices of mortals, while his comedies make fun of their worship. It is striking that the old comic poets could depict the gods in such a sacrilegious matter, because the Athenians, outside of the theatre of Dionysus, certainly prosecuted individuals who engaged in such sacrilege or otherwise promoted unconventional religious beliefs. This paper carefully studies Aristophanes' depiction of the gods as well as how it confirms or distorts conventional religious beliefs. While Bowie (1993) is a seminal study of the rituals that served as a background to old comedy, only a small amount of work has been done on this genre's depiction of gods and humans relationship with them (Scullion, 2014, p. 34).

The paper argues that the festival license that the old comic poets enjoyed extended to the divine realm. Their sacrilegious treatment of gods was thus part of the *aiskhrologia* ('foul speech') that was usually directed at prominent citizens. While good work has certainly been done on festival license (e.g. Halliwell, 1991), the sacrilegious dimension of it has hardly been explored. This paper also shows how, in depicting the gods, Aristophanes relied on the conventional religious beliefs of theatregoers. The result was, paradoxically, that old comedy consistently confirmed such popular beliefs rather than encouraging their abandonment. The impiety present on the comic stage was also moderated by the genre's implicit acknowledgement of divine power. This paper uses as its case-study *Birds* by Aristophanes.

References:

1. A.M. Bowie, *Aristophanes: Myth, Ritual and Comedy* (Cambridge 1993)
2. S. Halliwell, 'Comic Satire and the Freedom of Speech in Classical Athens', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 (1991) 48-70
3. S. Scullion, 'Religion and the Gods in Greek Comedy', in M. Fontaine & A.C. Scafuro (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy* (Oxford 2014) 340-56

Session 4C: Imperial Roman Religion
Chair: Alison Griffith

Amy Van der Boor University of Queensland

The Good, the Bad and the Ugly: Isis under the 'Bad' Roman Emperors

This paper will investigate the religious worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis during the Imperial period, and in particular, whether her worship by reputedly 'bad' Roman emperors impacted her wider representation in Roman society. Traditionally, the late first and second centuries AD have been considered as the height of the Isis cult's popularity in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean (Witt 1971).

When exploring Isis' Roman image during this period, scholars have focussed broadly on mapping the tangible acceptance of Isis by each emperor, and her entrenched perception as a 'Hellenised' deity (Donaldson 2003; Takacs 1995). However, the aim of this paper is to present a more critical inquiry into the relationship between Isis and the Roman emperor, and the influence of reputation and politics on the goddess' Roman identity. It will argue that, at times, the 'bad' reputation of emperors such as Domitian and Commodus did in fact affect the social and literary reception of Isis in similarly negative ways. For example, although Isis was largely celebrated as a Greco-Roman deity, damaging portrayals of the Isis cult as both effeminate and Eastern arose alongside her worship by these disreputable emperors. This denigration, however, was motivated less by anti-Eastern rhetoric, than as a political anecdote commenting on the emperor himself, as highlighted through comparisons to Isis' positive reception under emperors such as Vespasian. Through this discussion, this paper aims to balance popular perceptions of Isis in the Imperial period, and the importance of political affiliation in the Egyptian goddess' continuing Hellenisation.

References:

1. Donaldson, M. D. 2003. *The Cult of Isis in the Roman Empire: Isis Invicta*, Lewiston: E. Mellen Press.
2. Takacs, S. A. 1995. *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World*, Leiden: E. J. Brill.
3. Witt, R. E. 1971. *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*, London: Thames and Hudson.

Alex Antoniou University of Adelaide

Emperor worship in Italy. A gift, or an imposition?

Cassius Dio famously stated that '[f]or in the capital itself and in Italy generally no emperor, however worthy of renown he has been, has dared to [install temples to themselves]' (Dio 51.20.8). Dio's comments have confused and disoriented the literature regarding the institutions of emperor worship in Italy (excluding Rome). For instance, some have argued that Dio was simply wrong, Ross-Taylor attempted to explain away the contrary evidence (1920), and Gradel argued that Dio was only interested in provincial cults of political impact, thus excluded Italy (2002, 73-77). In contrast, this paper argues that Dio's words need not cause so much controversy and that there is a simpler reason for his statement. Moreover, this paper argues that the way in which scholars have grappled with Dio reveals much about the unconscious assumptions made about the institutions of emperor worship within Italy and beyond; principally that the institutions of emperor worship were the result of imperial imposition (Fishwick 1987; 1991; 2002).

Moving away from such flawed assumptions, this paper will briefly demonstrate that alternative methodological insights *can* and *should* be applied to the study of the institutions of emperor worship within the Italian peninsula (excluding Rome). It will apply these methodologies to sites within *Regiones I* and *XI* within Augustus' *'tota Italia'* – the two Regions where evidence of the institutions of emperor worship is best attested – to demonstrate that these institutions were not imposed upon communities, but rather that they represented a 'gift' to the imperial household from those communities.

References:

1. Ross-Taylor, L., (1920) The Worship of Augustus in Italy during His Lifetime. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association.* 51: 116-133.

2. Gradel, I., (2002) *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

3. Fishwick, D., (1987, 1991, 2002) *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West.* New York: Brill. Volumes 1-3.

Gail Tatham Otago University

Hercules in the Hypogeum at Via Dino Dompagni, Rome

The Christianization of the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity is reflected in the art of the time. Symptomatic of transition, the late-fourth-century mortuary hypogeum under Via Latina and Via Dino Compagni in Rome is decorated with a curious mixture of pagan and Christian imagery; cubiculum N (c.AD 375-395), although sandwiched between cubicula with biblical scenes, evinces purely pagan iconography referencing the mythological hero Hercules. While earlier studies have seen here a Christianized Hercules, more recent academic perspectives suggest mythological imagery in mixed burial contexts can be taken simply as pagan, a view restated by Nicola Denzey Lewis in a new collection of articles, *Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Rome* (2016). On the other hand, in the same publication, Levente Nagy adduces bronze artifacts depicting Hercules alongside biblical scenes, and argues that cubiculum N may contain Christian allusions after all.

This paper offers an art historical perspective on the debate, to see what may be learned from applying the Roman design principle of *decorum* (appropriateness). The analysis shows that the Hercules panels in cubiculum N are based on well established stock types with conventional pagan associations. Moreover, the placement of these panels relative to one another in the chamber permits a coherent programmatic interpretation, appropriate in a mortuary setting and traditional in content. The emphasis on *mos maiorum* here has parallels in staunchly pagan inscriptions commemorating Praetextatus and his wife (c.AD 384-7. *CIL* 6.1778, 1779, 1780). Consequently, pagan patronage for cubiculum N still seems the more likely option.

References:

1. N. D. Lewis, 'Reinterpreting "Pagans" and "Christians" from Rome's Late Antique Mortuary Evidence', in M. R. Salzman, M. Saghy & R. L. Testa (eds.), *Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Rome* (Cambridge 2016) 273-290

2. L. Nagy, 'Myth and Salvation in the Fourth Century: Representations of Hercules in Christian Contexts', in M. R. Salzman, M. Saghy & R. L. Testa (eds.), *Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Rome* (Cambridge 2016) 377-398

3. E. Perry, *The Aesthetics of Emulation in the Visual Arts of Ancient Rome* (Cambridge 2011)

Session 4D: Hybrid Beasts
Chair: Camilla Norman

Megan Hancock University of Tasmania

***You Would Have Said They Were Lapiths and Centaurs*: The Humanised Hybrid and the Philosophical Savage**

In Lucian's dialogues *Zeuxis* and *Symposium,* it is possible to view two distinct, yet interrelated interpretations of the notion of a hybrid animal. *Zeuxis* acts as a commentary upon the nature of viewing and what one should praise an artistic craftsman for, where the *Symposium* questions the perceived intellect of the modern day philosopher. It is these two dialogues' use of the centaur that is the focus for the following discussion, due to its hybrid nature, bridging the divide between the human and the animal (R. Osborne (1994) 56). *Zeuxis* contains an ekphrastic description of an idyllic family of centaurs (*Zeux.* 3-7), with the mother and father interacting with their young in an almost human fashion (P. von Möllendorff (2006) 72), while *Symposium* depicts a brawl among the race of philosophers, framed as a re-telling of the famous centauromachy.

Through an analysis of these two dialogues, and with reference to Ovid's interpretation of the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs (*Met.* 12.209ff), it can be argued that Lucian engages with ideas of determining the qualities of humanity through the hybrid animal (J.B. DeBrohun (2004) 426; 427). For all their pretense, the philosophers are portrayed as not unlike the savage centaur, while the centaurs are removed of their traditional wild nature, and almost become human.

References:

1. R. Osborne, 'Framing the Centaur: Reading Fifth Century Architectural Sculpture' in S. Goldhill and R. Osborne, *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge University Press: 1994) Cambridge, 52-84.

2. P. von Möllendorff, 'Camels, Celts and Centaurs: Lucian's Aesthetic Concept – The *Charis* of the Hybrid', in R.R. Nauta, *Desultoria Scientia: Genre in Apuleius'* Metamorphoses *and Related Texts* (Peeters-Leuven: 2006) Wilsele, 63-86.

3. J.B. Debrohun, 'Centaurs in Love and War: Cyllarus and Hylonome in Ovid "Metamorphoses" 12.393-428' *The American Journal of Philology* 125:3 (2004) 417-452.

Elicia Penman University of Queensland

The Development of Winged Serpents in Art and Literature.

This paper seeks to explore how the supernatural serpents of Greco-Roman mythology transformed into the dragons of the Medieval period, in particular focusing on the addition of wings to the serpentine form. In the Greek world, *drakontes* were impossibly large, supernatural serpents. While they are certainly the forbearers of the Medieval dragon, a creature that combined the features of an eagle, bat, lion and serpent (Eason 2007, 47), they lack one important element to make them into the iconic dragon - wings. Wings are crucial to the identity of the dragon as it appears in secular and religious texts and artworks (Kessler 2009, 123).

This paper traces stories of winged serpents from their earliest formation until they achieve the canonical form of the dragon. Key moments include the importation of Babylonian imagery into the Greek world and the focus on flying serpents in works such as Herodotus and the representation of the winged serpents pulling the chariot of Medea (Ogden 2013, 198).

References:

1. Eason, C. 2007. *Fabulous Creatures, Mythical Monsters, and Animal Power Symbols: A Handbook,* London: Greenwood Press

2. Kessler, H. 2009. 'Christ the Magic Dragon', *Gesta* 48, 119-134.

3. Ogden, D. 2013. *Drakon: Dragon Myth and Serpent Cult in the Greek and Roman Worlds,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thursday 2 February

Session 5A: Latin Literature: Text and Narrative
Chair: Jonathan Tracy

Alecia Bland University of Auckland

Crowds and Leaders in Statius' Argive Catalogue, *Thebaid* 4.32-344

Statius' epic military catalogues describe scenes of leaders and their contingents as they are mobilized, delineating the army structure in an abridged way within this traditional epic device. In this paper I aim to show how this description may contribute to an understanding of the relationship between crowds and leaders within the epic at large. Related to this question is how the poet frames his role in terms of the distinction between prominent individuals and the massed army, as he narrates war on a huge scale while maintaining a focus on the Seven.

This paper will examine the syntactical relationships between named individuals and their respective groups in *Thebaid* 4.32-344, as a potential source of information for the social structures in the poem. Existing scholarship on epic has touched on this topic and provides a partial methodology, but Statius' Argive catalogue has not yet been treated this way: Bruce Heiden (2008) focuses on the poetic significance of social distinctions in Homer's Greek catalogue; Christiane Reitz (2013) shows how epic poets subsequent to Homer engage with the problem of abundance through their catalogues; Helen Lovatt (2014) shows how the structure of Valerius Flaccus' catalogue 'shapes our impression of what is to come' in terms of the way the Argonauts work as a group.

References:

1. B. Heiden, 'Common People and Leaders in *Iliad* Book 2: The Invocation of the Muses and the Catalogue of Ships', *TAPhA* 138.1 (2008) 127-154

2. C. Reitz, 'Does Mass Matter? The Epic Catalogue of Troops as Narrative and Metapoetic Device', in G. Manuwald and A. Voigt (ed.) *Flavian Epic Interactions* (Berlin 2013) 229-243

3. H. Lovatt, 'Teamwork, Leadership and Group Dynamics in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica'*, in M. Heerink and G. Manuwald (ed.) *Brill's Companion to Valerius Flaccus* (Leiden; Boston 2014) 211-228

Emma Donnelly University of Tasmania

Mythomania and unreliable narration in Petronius' *Satyricon*

The unreliability of the *Satyricon's* narrator, Encolpius, makes reading the text a complex task. Encolpius is frequently emotionally overwhelmed, easily confused, and a 'mythomaniac' (Conte, 1996). This paper will argue that these qualities combine with Encolpius' inherent selfishness to create a melodramatic narrative, which Encolpius uses to displace himself from the banalities of his everyday life, and create a narrative in which he plays a starring role. This allows Encolpius to aggrandise his role in often insignificant encounters; and to bring a greater sense of importance and meaning to his vagrant lifestyle.

This constant melodrama means that Encolpius needs to be at the centre of attention, so that he can play the role of hero or victim to the fullest extent. Thus the *Cena Trimalchionis* creates a complex situation for Encolpius, because he has little control over how the evening unfolds. When Encolpius enters Trimalchio's dining room, he becomes a member of the crowd, a diner at the mercy of Trimalchio's proclivities. Added to this, the dramatics of Trimalchio's dining room over-stimulate Encolpius' senses, meaning that Encolpius has difficulty distinguishing reality from pretence, and understanding the theatrics which Trimalchio presents. This paper will argue that Encolpius' increasing docility throughout the *Cena Trimalchionis* is a result of his inability to make himself the centre of attention; instead he becomes a passive observer of Trimalchio's attempts to create his own patrician utopia, thus giving the reader an insight into the communal dystopia which Trimalchio's dining room creates.

References:

1. G.B. Conte, *The Hidden Author: An Interpretation of Petronius'* Satyricon (Berkeley 1996).

2. V. Rimell, *Petronius and the Anatomy of Fiction* (Cambridge 2007).

3. G. Schmeling, 'The *Satyricon*: The Sense of an Ending', *RHM* 134 (1991) 352-377

Janice Lee University of Adelaide

Another look at the 'Aldine *additamentum'*: Silius Italicus, *Punica* 8. 144 – 225

Given the resurgence of interest in Silius' *Punica*, it is surprising that there has been so little discussion of the 'Aldine *additamentum*' in the two decades since Brugnoli & Santini (1995) published their analysis of its text*:* it is mentioned only in footnotes in the Brill *Companion* (2010, 94 n. 68; 366 n. 37). Since Heitland (1896) argued that the lines are authentic and provided a plausible explanation for their omission from the earliest copies of the text, there has been a consensus that the lines are probably Silian, but support for the consensus amongst those who have studied the text of *Punica* most closely is at best unenthusiastic. In the *Praefatio* to his 1987 edition, Josef Delz dogmatically asserted that the lines are 'unworthy of Silius,' (LXVIII), but he did not argue his case beyond pointing to about a dozen instances of dubious practice. Two modern commentators, Spaltenstein (1986, 508-9) and Ariemma, (2000, 67-8), are equivocal.

Using databases and other digital resources that were not available to earlier scholars, this paper will explore and analyse the metrical, stylistic and linguistic differences that exist between the text of the *additamentum* and the rest of *Punica* 8.

References:

1. Brugnoli, G., and Santini, C.G. *L'*additamentum Aldinum *Di Silio Italico* (Rome 1995)
2. Delz, J. (ed.) *Sili Italici Punica* (Stutgardt 1987)
3. Ariemma, E. M. *Alla Vigilia Di Canne. Commentario al Libro VIII dei Punica di Silio Italico* (Rome 2000)

The following references are added to ensure that the scholarly debate about authenticity is fully covered:

4. Spaltenstein, F. *Commentaire des Punica de Silius Italicus (livres 1 a 8)* (Geneve 1986)
5. Heitland, W.E. 'The "Great Lacuna" in the Eighth Book of Silius Italicus,' *Journal of Philology* 24 (1896) 188-211

Session 5B: Athenian Democracy (Panel)
Chair: James Kierstead

James Kierstead Victoria University

Athenian Democracy and Civil Society: Decline and Fall

Athenian democracy died a slow, painful death between roughly 323 and 200 BC. Athens' main civil associations slowly disappeared around the same period. In this paper I look closely at the chronology of these changes and show that at every stage, the decline of Athens' democracy slightly preceded the deterioration of its civil society. Hence, it was the weakening of the democracy that led to the weakening of associations, and not vice versa.

How exactly did Athens' democratic decline lead to a decline in its civil associations? Membership of various associations was often a pre-requisite for Athenian citizenship. In my account, as the democracy declined, so did the value of Athenian citizenship; as the value of Athenian citizenship declined, so did the associations that helped define the citizenry.

My theory also explains why Athenian associations become more open to non-citizens during the third century BC (Taylor 2015). (There is nothing to justify retrojecting the evidence of citizen involvement in associations into the classical period as Jones 1999 does). This was not because of the delayed effect of two centuries of democratic norms (*pace* Ober 2000).

Instead, it was a consequence of the falling value of Athenian citizenship. Since citizenship guaranteed a person fewer and fewer rights as the democracy declined, citizens became more relaxed about newcomers gaining citizenship. And this made them more relaxed about the entry of outsiders into associations.

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Matthew Trundle University of Auckland

Legal Vigilantism: Law and Violence in Classical Athens

Thucydides (1.5.3-6.1) thought that the Athenians of the fifth century lived in a less violent state than their predecessors in which citizens no longer carried arms in public. Physically harming fellow citizens was theoretically illegal and violence does not appear to play a significant role in democratic society. Modern legal historians view Athens as a paradigm of early civic virtues where violence between individual citizens was mitigated through the popular courts and thus through the rule of law. More anthropologically minded scholars consider that the law simply extended the mechanisms whereby competing citizens and families fought their battles on an additional stage.

This paper argues, pessimistically, that the realities of the need for self-help within the Athenian legal system, verging on vigilantism even if legally sanctioned, along with the exclusive power of elite citizens to exploit the law for their own benefit at the expense of others (even lower status citizens who lived within the community) appears self-evident.

In reality, violence played a central role in classical Athenian society. By examining several famous examples (like the story of the death of Alcibiades' wife in Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 8.3-5) and legal speeches, notably Ps-Demosthenes 47, this paper suggests that the state's legal strength was only as powerful as the power of wronged citizens to enforce official regulations and decisions. Wronged individuals therefore could not expect the state to protect their interests or enforce legal sanctions. Such a conclusion has important ramifications for the relationship between citizen, *oikos* and community.

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Annabel Florence University of Queensland

The Corinthian War: Ships, Walls and Money

The traditional view of the Corinthian War suggests that Athens, despite having bold imperial ambitions, struggled to fund its military campaigns (Böckh 1817). Its concern for its military finances was 'haphazard and improvisatory'. Its decisions on war funding were chaotic and desperate, depending on Persian gold, excessive *eisphorai* ('wealth taxes') and arbitrary rejections of peace (Austin 1994).

This paper re-examines the financial decisions made by the *dēmos* in response to the events of the Corinthian War. It concludes that this traditional view must be modified. Athens, far from mismanaging its military finances, held tight control over them. This paper argues that it was Athens' concept of military security, and its desire to restore *sōteria* ('safety') and *dunamis* ('military might') to the state, which drove Athenian decision-making during the war (Kallet-Marx 1993). In particular, it will show that Athens deliberately and systematically built up its cash reserves in order to rebuild its fleet and fund its naval campaigns. It will argue that Athens rejected Andocides' peace plan with some justification. The paper uses all available literary and epigraphical evidence to reconstruct the financial situation at Athens during the period. This reconstruction allows the wisdom of Athenian decision-making regarding military finances to be assessed. Despite failing to reach its objective, Athens came dangerously close to defeating Sparta and re-establishing itself as a maritime empire within fifteen years of the Peloponnesian War. It did this through careful and deliberate financial planning and the rigorous pursuit of military security.

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Session 5C: Greek Art and Iconography
Chair: Diana Burton

Peter Mountford

On Holding a Spear

The bronze god from Artemision is one of the most famous artefacts in the National Archaeological Mueum in Athens. Over the years scholars have disagreed over the identification of the god. For example, Hammond (1975), Robertson (1981), Boardman (1986) and Stewart (1990 and 2008) identify the god as Zeus; Richter (1959) and Ridgway (1970) as Poseidon (or Zeus); Rolley (1986) and Leoncini (1996) as Poseidon; Pollitt (1972) and Palagia (2006) avoid the issue by referring to the 'Striding God of Artemision'. The paper presents a brief overview of the finding and recovery of the statue. The paper then uses the way in which Greek vases show warriors and athletes holding spears, by concentrating on the position of the hand, to argue that the god is Poseidon. It also considers figurines, especially of Zeus, and other artistic representations of Zeus and Poseidon in reaching this conclusion. The paper also considers how the statue was meant to be viewed and where it may have stood before being placed on the ship which sank off Artemision.

The paper concludes that Poseidon is the correct identification, an identification first made by Karouzos in 1930. The paper offers a new suggestion as to why and where the statue was placed on board the ship and suggests its probable origin and its destination.

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Gina Salapata Massey University

A Love Triangle in South Italian Vase Painting

South Italian artists were preoccupied with the life hereafter and funerary motifs on Apulian vases abound. The myth of Adonis, who ended up spending part of the year with Aphrodite and another part with Persephone, carries allusions to the cyclical descent to Hades and ascent to life thus bearing overtones of both death and rebirth (Moret 1993; Servais-Soyez 1981). This paper reinterprets the scene on an Apulian vase by the White Saccos Painter as representing Adonis in the company of both Aphrodite and Persephone thus emphasising Adonis' capacity to mitigate the absolute opposition between life and death. Cambitoglou (2009) has suggested that the lower scene of the tondo of an Apulian dish (Naples H 2541, inv. 82255), originally described as 'Eros, woman with raised foot, seated youth with cithara, woman with torch, Eros' (*RVAp* II, 976, no. 29/189, pl. 382.4), specifically depicts Adonis in the Underworld in the company of Persephone, who holds a torch with cross-bar. While I agree with this identification, I argue that Cambitoglou's unspecified 'female figure who offers him [Adonis] an alabastron' is actually Aphrodite claiming Adonis back from Persephone. This is supported by her elegant appearance, the alabastron she offers Adonis, a characteristic attribute of the goddess, which manages to draw his attention, and the two similar Erotes flanking the central triad. The scene representing Adonis together with both Aphrodite and Persephone may have thus carried a message of hope for mitigating the absolute opposition between life and death.

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Ted Robinson University of Sydney

A representation of a play by Epicharmus

Prof. Chris Dearden has long argued for the strength of the local West Greek theatre industry in the face of Athenocentric approaches to ancient drama. The relative dearth of textual, archaeological and iconographic evidence for local drama in South Italy and Sicily has always been a problem, and the demonstration by Csapo and others that some of the famous *phlyax* vases must be based on Attic Old and Middle Comedies seems to reduce the pool of potential evidence even further. Yet Epicharmus had the reputation of the Father of Comedy (Plato, Aristotle) and this esteem, plus the substantial editions of his work in the Hellenistic period must be the result of continual reperformance of the plays, especially in Syracuse. One probable representation of an Epicharmian play can now be proposed, and it comes from an unexpected quarter: a scene on a red-figured krater from the tomb of an Italic male buried in Poseidonia at the end of the 5th century. One can propose of method of transmission: we know from literary sources that (Italic) Campanian mercenaries were present in Syracuse shortly before this vase was painted. The scene, of Herakles and Pholos, contains few of the iconographic cues that normally identify a scene from a comic play. This may be an important clue to assist us to identify further representations of Sicilian comedy, the representation of which may have had different iconographic conventions from that of Attic and Attic-inspired comedies.

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Session 5D: Late Antiquity
Chair: Greg Horsley

Chris Malone University of Sydney

Ranks, Hierarchy, and Variations in the Late Imperial Civil Service

Part of the militarised nature of the late Roman imperial administration lay in the use of army (or army-like) ranks to structure the civil service. Our understanding of the origins of the bureaux is complicated by the fact that there is considerable variation in the structure of different branches of the bureaucracy. Ordinary gubernatorial offices maintained a broadly standard pattern of ranks echoing earlier legionary staff offices, but other branches – notably the *agentes in rebus* (sometimes referred to as a kind of 'secret service') and the *notarii* (the imperial secretariat) – show wildly divergent rank hierarchies. Models for explaining the development of the late imperial civil service (eg. evolution out of the army; direct imperial planning) have not dealt well with these variations. This paper attempts an explanation of the major variations in rank structures, and aims to shed light on the development of the late imperial administration by tracing the development of the hierarchies themselves, particularly the oddities of the *agentes* and *notarii*.

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Clemens Koehn University of New England

Ready for Reconquista: Justinian as Caesar under Justin I (AD 525-527)

Whereas Procopius' often repeated assertion that the reign of Justin I was but a mere prelude to the age of his great successor Justinian (HA 6.19, cf. the classic study by Vasilev 1950) has been refuted with good reason (seminal the study by Croke 2007), one should not ignore the degree to which Justinian actually participated in state affairs during his uncle's rule. Based on misinterpreted or overlooked evidence, the paper argues that Justinian, stemming from a military background as an élite soldier of the imperial guard, certainly took the military tasks delegated to him more seriously than hitherto assumed (cf., typically, the remarks by Elton 2007). Having been promoted very quickly from *candidatus* to *magister militum praesentalis*, he kept that seminal position also after his installation as *Caesar*, granted by Justin in 525 AD, which paved the final road to the throne. As the only court general he had practically the supreme command of the Roman army (after the emperor himself). In this position, the future emperor played a key rôle in the operations against the Persians in 526 AD. Moreover, he got the possibility to implement a large-scale reform programme for the army, which was intended to prepare the Eastern Roman military for the aggressive and expansionist policies of his own reign.

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Ryan Strickler Australian Catholic University

On Emperors and Centaurs: Apocalyptic Demonization in Theophylact Simocatta

The *Historiae* of Theophylact Simocatta was composed at a historical and literary crossroads. Written after the hard fought victory of the Emperor Heraclius (r. 610-641 C.E.) over the Sassanid Persians, the *Historiae* have been seen as the final sputtering of classicizing historiography before the dawn of a 'dark age' of literary stagnation (Frendo 1988, 143-44; Whitby 1992, 28). Though composed under Heraclius's patronage, Theophylact focuses on Heraclius's immediate predecessors, and in particular, the sanctity of the beloved emperor Maurice (r. 582-602), and his fall at the hands of the wicked usurper Phocas (r. 602-610).

The *Historiae* is a witness to the domestic instability and military turmoil that plagued the Byzantine Empire at the beginning of the seventh century. Contemporary literature saw the rise of an apocalyptic discourse which envisioned a shift of divine favour away from the Empire or as a punishment for sin. Traditionally, scholarly conceptions of apocalyptic literature as *Volksliteratur*, at the exclusion of so called 'elite' literature such as classicising historiography has prevented Theophylact from being analysed from this perspective (Martinez 1985, p. iii). This paper argues that, contrary to prior scholarly trends, the *Historiae* can be understood as an example of Byzantine apocalyptic discourse. This is exemplified in the way in which the decline of the empire is depicted as divinely ordained, the way in which blame is placed on Phocas's sin of usurpation, and the portrayal of Phocas in demonic and bestial terms, many of which are taken from the classical canon.

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Session 6A: Ancient Behaviour and Values
Chair: tbc

Jon Hall Otago University

Seneca's *De Beneficiis* and Non-verbal Politeness in Aristocratic Manners

This paper examines several passages from Seneca's *De Beneficiis* and considers their value as evidence for Roman aristocratic manners in face-to-face encounters. As Griffin (2013) 66-70 has noted, Seneca stresses the importance of a linguistic 'courtesy of exaggerated deference' in meetings between members of the elite (e.g. *De Ben*. 2.3.2 and 5.22.1); see also Griffin (2003). But the philosopher's vivid descriptions of awkward social encounters also draw attention to the importance of *non-verbal* politeness. At *De Ben*. 1.1.5, for example, his depiction of a patron's rude behaviour as he tries to avoid a visitor highlights several inappropriate elements in the man's facial expression and body language. Likewise, at *De Ben*. 2.3.1 Seneca identifies the way in which a patron's agreement to bestow a favour can be rendered impolite by his affectation of a pompously grave demeanour. Through such astute details Seneca emphasizes the aristocrat's obligation to present a pose of easy and generous affability when dealing with requests from acquaintances – an ideal that is articulated in the Late Republican period also. (See Cic. *De Off*. 1.88; Q. Cic. *Comm. Pet*. 44; Dyck (1996) 227.) Urbane manners in Rome, then, required polite fictions not just in language, but in non-verbal aspects of self-presentation as well.

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Abigail Dawson University of Auckland

Modern Reflections on Ancient Suicides

Abstract (150-250 words):

The object of this paper is to consider suicides recounted by ancient sources in the light of the work of Thomas Joiner, academic psychologist and leading expert on suicide, who has recently proposed a theoretical model explaining why people commit suicide. I will be largely covering accounts of suicides in the Greek and Roman historians, in particular Herodotus, Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

Joiner emphasises three factors which have a huge influence on whether a person may attempt or commit suicide. These are: thwarted belongingness, perceived burdensomeness, and acclimatisation to pain. These factors in turn have a complex variety of phenomena which feed into the overall picture of why people commit suicide.

While ancient sources do not lay out the reasons for suicides (attempted or completed) in a scientific manner, we can nevertheless deduce a certain amount from stories about those who commit or attempt suicide. I will be examining six accounts of suicide: those of Adrastus, Cleomenes, Antigone, Antony, Brutus, and Lucretia. These will help to paint a broad picture of ancient suicides, considering the influence of ethnicity and sex, to explore whether we can find the three triggers for suicidal behaviour proposed by Joiner in ancient sources.

John Nash Australian National University

Sailing The Wine Dark Sea – Classical Greek Navigation

The practice of navigation in the Greek Classical world is a little understood topic in modern scholarship. The idea of a 'sailing season' and a 'closed sea' has dominated discussion of the maritime realm, with little regard to the practicalities of navigation.

This paper will argue that sailing in the ancient world was not so constrained by sailing seasons as has been commonly thought. The recent work by Beresford (2013) has done much to demonstrate the sailing potential of ancient vessels during winter. Using this work and my own training and experience in navigation, I will

highlight some of the practicalities of sailing and navigation in the Greek world. I will argue that there were many different tools and aids at hand for the Greek sailor to navigate the Mediterranean, across open seas and during winter. I will explore some methods of terrestrial and celestial navigation, such as swell refraction and polar star sailing, as well as plotting and discussing navigational routes across the Aegean. This will highlight just how the Greeks sailed the seas, in peacetime and in war.

In exploring these practicalities, it can be seen that maritime activities could be and were more widespread than has often been acknowledged. Winter sailing and more direct trade routes indicate a far more complex and important system of maritime networks than has often been assumed.

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Session 6B: Reception and Modern Fiction
Chair: John Davidson

Tom Stevenson University of Queensland

Some Developments in Historical Fiction set in Ancient Greece and Rome: From the 19th to the 20th and 21st Centuries

With respect to historical novels set in ancient Greece and Rome, many novels of the 19th Century have been studied at length, e.g. Bulwer Lytton's *Last Days of Pompeii* (1834), Kingsley's *Hypatia* (1853), Newman's *Callista* (855), Wallace's *Ben-Hur* (1880), and Sienkiewicz's *Quo-Vadis* (1895), which won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1905. These were novels with serious religious and political comment for contemporary conditions. Novels of the 20th and 21st Centuries tend not to be held in such high regard, nor compare on the score of influence. Yet it seems clear that there were many developments of a positive nature: female novelists of the highest calibre emerged, the genre diversified in its treatment of social and sexual topics, ancient Greece began to receive appropriate attention in comparison to Rome, the backgrounds and interests of the professional writers and enthusiasts who wrote the novels gave rise to tales and viewpoints that were often very different from those of the aristocrats, clergy and other notables of the 19th Century. Moreover, familiarity with, and analysis of, ancient source material probably rose on the whole during the 20th Century. This paper aims to argue for this more positive appraisal by sampling works of various leading novelists, such as Robert Graves, Mary Renault, Bryher, Gore Vidal, Steven Saylor, Robert Harris, Colleen McCullough, and Harry Sidebottom.

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Babette Pütz Victoria University

'What will happen to our honour now?': The reception of Aeschylus' Erinyes in Philip Pullman's *The Amber Spyglass*

This paper discusses how the depiction of the Harpies in Philip Pullman's young adult novel *The Amber Spyglass* builds on and reworks Aeschylus' treatment of the Erinyes in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (among other ancient sources, most notably *Aeneid* 225-258). The discussion will look at their physical descriptions, their values, the ways they affect human characters and compare how the Erinyes and Harpies are persuaded to become benevolent towards humans.

Both, Erinyes and Harpies, are promised important, beneficial tasks, honour and a home. Elements of amatory language are used in both passages. (cf. Reynearson 4-5, 11-15). However, as opposed to the Erinyes-Eumenides who will still instil a beneficial fear in humans (cf. Bacon 58-59), the Harpies will have no morally judgemental role.

Their transformations generate cosmic changes: in Aeschylus, the triumph of the Olympian gods and rationality; in Pullman, the elimination of human fears of punishment after death, which results in destroying the tyrannical power of 'the Authority'.

Even though secondary literature comments on other literary influences on Pullman's trilogy, both modern and ancient (e.g. Smith), this is the first study to look at the reception of Aeschylus in this work. Pullman places his Harpies in a new, provoking context. This paper will help shed light on the ways in which these ancient mythological figures are transformed and functionalized in modern young adult fiction, in particular in regard to the representation of 'otherness' and as a catalyst for Lyra's maturation.

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Leanne Glass University of Newcastle

Ben Ferris' *Penelope* (2011): Pandora's Box of Horrors

Influenced by Homer's *Odyssey* and James Joyce's *Ulysses*, Ben Ferris' *Penelope* (2009) represents a unique, cinematic interpretation of this ancient Greek heroine's longing for her husband's return. The film's emphasis on beautiful aesthetics, limited dialogue and slow, methodical pacing, offset by the ever-present suitors, lulls the spectator into the familiar of Penelope's world. Yet the seductiveness of the film is deceptive; rather, the meta-narrative of this Australian/Croatian production exposes the horrors experienced by women (and men) by Serbian forces during the Bosnian War (1992-1995). Thus, this presentation will approach the film from two perspectives: firstly, a brief consideration will be assigned to Ferris' literary adaptation of Penelope's story to the screen. Focus will then shift to the ways specific elements in the film connect to the plight of women during Bosnia's military conflict. Based on archival research – newspaper reports, journal articles and video footage – this lesser-known aspect of Ferris' stunning filmic reception will form the main basis of this presentation.

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Session 6C: Ancient Religion: Approaching the Divine
Chair: Arlene Allan

Diana Burton Victoria University

'My beauty, my virtue, my wealth': Personal assertion in public religious contexts

In this paper I explore the the articulation of personal religious experience within the structures of public religion, through an analysis of selected dedications. The range of dedications offered to a deity is richly varied, and an individual's choice of dedication often says more about the dedicant than the deity, as can be seen by the nature of the dedications and their inscriptions. Personal dedications likely formed the greater part of the votives in most sanctuaries, which sometimes even needed to restrict their placement (van Straten 2001, 213-14). While there is a considerable body of work on the nature of dedications (e.g. van Straten 2001; *ThesCRA* I.2.d), I explore, in particular, areas in which the personal rubs closely against the public face of the cult. I argue that, even within cults that are publically focused on the community as a whole, dedications commonly assert individual identity or seek to form a connection with the deity for a specific and personal purpose. The importance of such gifts, and the tension between personal and public, is tested by the cases in which a group of individual dedications is melted down to create something more impressive or useful. In such cases, the original dedicants and their dedications may be identified on a stele so as to preserve the relationship between dedicant and deity even after the original votives are gone (e.g. *IG* II^2 839; *LSCG* 41; van Straten 2001, 215).

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Katherine Moignard University of New England

Different ways to become a god: Herakles paradigms in the orations of Dion of Prousa

This paper explores different images of Herakles that occur – or are hinted at – in the orations of Dion of Prousa. The Herakles of myth was a mortal – son of Zeus and the mortal Alkmene – granted apotheosis after a life most noted for the Labours (*athloi*, *ponoi*, *erga*) imposed on him by his cousin Eurystheus. In his First and Eighth Orations, Dion presents two dramatically different interpretations of Herakles' life: in the First, Herakles is a conqueror who imposes his will by force of arms and a benefactor who uses his power for good; in the Eighth, he is a homeless wanderer, but free. As has often been noted, Dion's Herakles figures are intended to be recognized as, respectively, Trajan and Dion himself.

The paper traces briefly the development of these images of Herakles, noting in particular Prodikos' tale of Herakles' Choice, the Cynics' Herakles, Alexander's association with Herakles, and reinterpretations of the nature of 'human divinity' that arose in the course of Alexander's expedition to the east. Dion identified himself as a Stoic (*Or.* 36.29). This paper notes his self-depiction as a 'Stoic Herakles' at *Or.* 47.1-4 and suggests intimations of a later-developed Stoic conception of Herakles – as an all-powerful god, the Sun or Zeus – for example in his reference (*Or.* 3.57) to the Labours of the Sun.

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Natalie Mendes University of Sydney

The Secret Life of Statues

Interactive statues—think of the statue of Victory turning herself to face Julius Caesar as he defeated Pompey—appear at critical points in Roman history. This paper shows that including such statues in ancient narratives was part of an ongoing dialogue about the role of the gods in securing the future prosperity of Rome.

Scholarship on cult statues in the Greek imagination demonstrates that they were conceptualised as vessels in which divinity resided. They were also communicative channels between humans and the divine (Faraone 1992; Steiner 2001; Kindt 2012). Recently, Bremmer (2013) has argued against a belief in moving statues during the Imperial Roman period. This raises an important question, however: if the Romans didn't 'believe' in the power of these statues, why did they remain such a popular literary trope?

I argue that neither the narrative function, nor occasional political manipulation, of such animated statues changed over time. Even if the Romans did not believe that statues could interact with humans, retaining this feature in Roman historical accounts is significant. The 'statue microcosm' appealed to ancient writers because it described one half of a conversation that the Romans imagined to be taking place between themselves and the gods. Attributing agency positioned these statues as key intermediaries. A statue foreshadowing crisis, for example, had to be ritually placated to avert disaster. Failure to 'get it right' could have devastating consequences. The statue was the principal actor in a dynamic performance of the gods' power in the human realm.

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Session 6D: Early Christianity
Chair: Graeme Miles

Alex Macdonald Macquarie University

Covenant and Contradiction: Mark 12, Hebrews 11, and Jewish Resurrection

Christian belief in resurrection has its roots in Jewish eschatology. In the first century CE, however, there was not total agreement about resurrection and eschatology. In Mark 12, The Sadducees seek to ridicule Jesus' resurrection belief with an apparently impossible scenario; if a woman is married multiple times, which marriage persists into the afterlife? In response, Jesus refers to Exodus 3:6 – 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob' – and states that God is the god of the living, not the dead. If this argument relied on the present tense of the quotation (I *am* the God of Abraham) and an additional premise (God is god of the living), this would be rather unconvincing argument, easily dismissed by the Sadducees. Scholars have thus sought a better explanation, taking Jesus' argument as a subtler statement about divine faithfulness. The best of these proposals is that of Bradley Trick (2007), who argued that Jesus' argument moves from marriage to resurrection by focusing on covenant. Trick provides several helpful insights, but his argument suffers from a contradiction at a crucial point. This paper will advance a variation on Trick's proposal, avoiding its inherent contradiction. This alternate proposal will maintain an emphasis on covenant faithfulness, and will find support in Hebrews 11 – a text rarely discussed in relation to Mark 12.

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B. Trick, 'Death, Covenants, and the Proof of Resurrection in Mark 12:18-27' *Novum Testamentum*, 49.3 (2007) 232-256

Aimee Turner Monash University

Jerome and univira: Roman concepts in Early Christian thought

Jerome of Stridon (347CE – 420CE) is known to have widely read classical literature although he repented of this sin (Jer. *Ep.* 22.30). In his *Adversus Jovinianum,* Jerome draws on his knowledge of Classical women to defend the esteem in which he holds chastity, with the virginal woman held in highest regard, closely followed by the unmarried widow. In doing so, he picks up the Roman concept of the *univira,* the woman with only one husband. Jerome reframes this ideal for the new Christian context and draws on examples from both Greek and Roman literature. Jerome's role in shaping Christian views of women (McLeod, 1994, 39) and acceptable use of pagan literature have been recognised (Greenfield, 1981, 35), but the significance of his choice of exempla has not. This paper intends to examine the pagan women chosen by Jerome to illustrate the unmarried widow and discuss the implications of his selection for the choice of exempla made by later Christian authors. In doing so, this paper will highlight the importance of understanding the early Christian views of pagan women when exploring their reception in Medieval and Renaissance literature.

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Natalie Mylonas Macquarie University

What do eunuchs, prostitutes and cross-dressers have in common? Characterisation and focalisation in the Syriac Life of Pelagia

In the late antique Christian milieu, in which holiness and masculinity were virtually synonymous, the notion of the holy woman presented a paradox. Nowhere is this paradox more evident than in the *Life of Pelagia* – the story of a prostitute who converts to Christianity and lives the remainder of her life disguised as a eunuch.

Some have argued that Pelagia's eunuch identity serves to assert her attainment of a sexless state (Hotchkiss 1996: 27); others have argued that it highlights her virility (Miller 2003: 427; Burrus 2004: 144). Both interpretations attempt to explain this identification through recourse to gender norms in late antiquity, often neglecting a consideration of the narrative itself.

This paper will attempt to bring some clarity to the issue by considering how focalisation impacts the characterisation of Pelagia. It will argue that previous scholars who have approached the question within a gender framework have distorted the picture of Pelagia by attributing too much value to the characterisation of the saint offered by internal focalisers. These focalisers may identify the saint as a eunuch, but they are embedded within the spatio-temporal constraints of the primary narrative and thus are only limited observers. Their characterisation of Pelagia as a eunuch should be subordinated to that of the omniscient narrator, who uses the eunuch as a foil to assert Pelagia's true identity as a woman.

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Session 7A: Authors and Audiences
Chair: Art Pomeroy

Jonathan Barlow Trinity College, University of Melbourne

The Date and Historical Context of Panaetius' Concerning the Appropriate

The aim of this paper is to assess the moral and political treatise 'Concerning the Appropriate' (*Peri tou kathēkontos*), written by the Stoic philosopher Panaetius of Rhodes. 'Concerning the Appropriate' survived in Cicero's *De Officiis* Books 1-2, and, although the degree of Cicero's dependence on Panaetius is disputed, the two Commentaries on the *De Officiis* (Pohlenz 1934; Dyck 1996) agreed that Cicero had followed the content and structure of his source, albeit with editing and emendation. (See also the case made by Brunt 2013.) Both Commentaries detected a deep layer of psychological and philosophical thought which can only have come from Panaetius.

However, the Commentaries diverged over publication date and historical context, divergence which has shaped different scholarly interpretations. Pohlenz (1934: 125-6) placed publication to after the death of Scipio Aemilianus in 129 B.C., Dyck (1996: 21) to around 138/9 B.C. (Brunt 2013: 193, 241, favoured c. 140 B.C.). The publication date is significant because it raises questions about Panaetius' intentions and the degree to which he responded to contemporary events. This paper will argue that the later date advanced by Pohlenz is correct.

From the detail of the internal evidence of the *De Officiis*, the paper argues that Panaetius had employed ideological language and concepts of the Gracchan age which demonstrate his response to the social and economic reform program in Rome from 133 B.C, and hence his involvement in Roman politics. The paper concludes that Panaetius had held a political intention in writing his moral treatise.

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Sarah Lawrence University of New England

#therealValeriusMaximus: Audience, Author and the Facta et Dicta

Despite the confidence with which Valerius Maximus has been categorised over the years, we know very little about Valerius or his intentions in composing his collection of *exempla*—just a few clues gleaned from the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* itself (Langlands 2006, 124) and conclusions often drawn from the perceived quality of the work. This paper argues that, while Valerius' text offers little in terms of biography, close reading of authorial assumptions on the model of textual critcism proposed by Martha Nussbaum (1990, 31-5) and others can reveal a great deal about Valerius Maximus' intentions and his assumptions regarding the audience and purpose of his work. This approach stands in marked contrast to Tara Welch's recent analysis, which contends that Valerius deliberately strips the *exempla* back to their bones, removing personal and literary touches as he goes (2013, 67-82). Using the opening preface of the *Facta et Dicta*, in tandem with two *exempla* in which Valerius writes himself into the work as a character (2.6.8 and 4.7.ext.2b), I will propose that Valerius presents himself as writing a work with serious literary aspirations and that, within this frame, he constructs himself, and his work, as skilful guides, leading an educated audience through the literary, cultural and philosophical traditions of Rome.

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Session 7B: Reception Studies I
Chair: Simon Perris

Anastasia Bakogianni Massey University

Ancient Plays, Modern Conflicts: Performing Greek Tragedy in a Troubled World

How did Euripides' *Troades* come to be regarded as one of world theatre's greatest anti-war plays? This paper charts the play's change of fortunes; from being largely ignored in the nineteenth century to becoming one of the most often performed ancient dramas at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first (Goff, 2009). This ancient tragedy is now an exemplar of how Greek drama can be used as a powerful tool to represent the human rights of the victims. This is part of a general trend in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries when Greek drama was co-opted in the fight against war and injustice (Hall, 2004: 1-9). The weight of Greek tragedy's cultural status was brought to bear in the struggle for a fairer world. Political interpretations of Greek drama proliferated in this period and tragic heroines like Hecuba, Cassandra and Andromache repeatedly raised their voices as an act of resistance against violence and oppression. In its modern incarnations the drama can also offer a form of emotional catharsis to practitioners and modern audiences alike, as they struggle to come to terms with the devastation that modern conflicts cause (Hartigan, 2009). In the new millennium the conflicts in the Middle East and the ongoing refugee crisis have opened a new chapter in the reception of Greek tragedy. This is a timely opportunity for us to re-evaluate once more Greek drama's function in today's troubled world and its relevance in modern cultural debates.

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3. K. V. Hartigan, *Performance and Cure: Drama and Healing in Ancient Greece and Contemporary America* (London 2009)

Adrienne White Australian National University

Soldiers on Stage: the Second Life of Ajax and Philoctetes

In recent years, Sophokles' *Aias* and *Philoktetes* have had something of a revival. Modern performances of these plays (such as Bryan Doerries' *The Theatre of War* project) have been used to examine the role of violence and trauma in war, as well as for cathartic purposes by sufferers of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This paper will argue that Sophokles' utilisation of Homeric myth uses the same therapeutic mechanism as modern performances of Sophokles' own content.

I will discuss the parallels between Sophokles' use of the mythical Homeric past to discuss the hardships of war in *Aias* and *Philoktetes* and how the 'mythic' Greek past is utilised by modern soldiers to do the very same thing, showing how these plays have been renewed and revitalised for modern audiences. In doing so, I will consider recent research on this topic by Palaima, Raaflaub and Sherman (Meineck and Konstan [eds.] [2014]) and how this has refined earlier views on how the Greeks dealt with trauma (such as those posited by Lawrence Tritle [2000]).

Building on Meineck's work, I will consider just why these plays resonate in modern society by examining how plays like *Aias* and *Philoktetes* display trauma in a comprehensible way for the general public and how these plays have been increasingly employed as cathartic texts in modern discourses around PTSD and war trauma more generally. This will include particular focus on moral injury, troubled homecomings, issues of memory and the importance of 'soldier speak' and social debriefings.

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Gary Morrison University of Canterbury

New Zealanders sail 'the wine-dark sea'

Every New Zealander and Australian knows about the Gallipoli campaign. The landings on the 25th April 1915 and the sacrifices made by the Anzacs are part of each nation's psyche. It is also well recognized that Classical allusions are an integral component in creating the heroic imagery that dominates the Anzac narrative. Recent scholarship explores these links, consider Chris Mackie's 'Hell and Helle at the Dardanelles'; and Sarah Midford's 'Constructing the 'Australian Iliad': Ancient Heroes and ANZAC Diggers in the Dardanelles'. Jenny Macleod in her book *Reconsidering Gallipoli* demonstrates classical associations in the Australian historiographical record of the Anzac legend (esp. Pp. 7ff), and the different, albeit classically linked, British focus: themes that she continues to explore. Notably, none of these authors analyze the New Zealand component of the legend and how Classical imagery contributes to the New Zealand story. To the contrary, Macleod makes it clear that the Anzac legend is based on Australian imagery; New Zealand is, at best, neglected (cf. (2004) n.20 p. 20).

This paper begins to address this omission by analysing select diaries of New Zealand participants (e.g. Prof./Col. Hugh Stewart), New Zealand newspaper reports, and a range of literature produced during and after WW1. Our focus is Classical references and allusions, and we consider how they contribute to New Zealand's Anzac story. Not only does this provide a new way of interpreting events in New Zealand history, we gain insights into the role or place of Classics in early Twentieth century New Zealand society.

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Session 7C: Archaeology: Early Greece and its Influence
Chair: tbc

Theo Nash Victoria University

Path to Power: Late Minoan II Knossos, Linear B, and the Birth of the Mycenaean Palatial Age

The Late Minoan (LM) II period at Knossos, c. 1450-1400, represented a pivotal point in the history of the Aegean Bronze Age. While this has been recognized in the literature of the subject (Palaima 1990), the full extent to which it shaped the following centuries has yet to be fully appreciated or studied. During this period, Mycenaeans from the mainland came into control of the palace of Knossos, an administrative centre hitherto unparalleled in their world. From the necessity of maintaining political control over an often hostile island, these Mycenaean dynasts were thrust into new roles, rulers of a palatial administration for the first time (Driessen 2000). This talk will focus on the birth of the Linear B script and administration in this period and the causative role thereof in the development of later Mycenaean society. Thus LM II Knossos may be viewed in its neglected aspect as a period of Mycenaean history, and the foundational phenomenon of the florescent Late Helladic III period – the birth of the Mycenaean palaces – can be placed within its proper historical context. The first Mycenaean experiment in palatial administration at LM II Knossos provided the model followed shortly after by the mainland polities, who in following this path to power came to dominate the Aegean for the next 200 years.

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Margaret Miller (paper read by Camilla Norman) University of Sydney

In Search of the Social Economy of a 9th - 8th c. BC Settlement on Andros

A primary goal of the ARC-funded Zagora Archaeological Project (field seasons 2012-2014) was to elicit evidence that would contribute to the understanding of the social economy of the settlement through the application of modern methods of scientific analysis.

During excavation, sealed domestic deposits were sieved; in addition, sensitive contexts were water-sieved to ensure retrieval of such items as seeds and fish bones. The assistance of an archaeobotanist, a faunal specialist, a marine archaeozoologist, and a geologist (with expertise on ancient metallurgy) was sought, as well as advice on the collection and preparation of materials deemed suitable for residue analysis. The latter is expected to assist in determination of the contents of, for example, storage vessels of agricultural produce / foodstuffs (and so to determine whether vessels were differently shaped in accordance with their intended contents); and to assist in identifying the use of what appears to have been a late 8th-century industrial installation. Preliminary observations have already yielded insight into the primary foodstuffs available to the people of Zagora and their animal husbandry practices.

Post-excavation analysis of a range of non-artefactual material is ongoing. Some of the work will be undertaken at the Fitch Laboratory of the British School of Archaeology in Athens late in 2016.

It is hoped that the assessment of all such data will give exciting new insight into the social economy of 8th-century BC Zagora on Andros; and guide our decisions in planning a new round of fieldwork.

Camilla Norman University of Sydney

The Fields of Diomedes: ritual in Iron Age Daunia

Societial constructs in Iron Age Daunia (northern Apulia, Italy) are not well understood. Unlike contemporary Italic cultures, such as the Etruscans, the Daunians left behind little to tell of their everyday activities and belief systems. Their material record prior to the late 5th century BC speaks of a relatively unsophisticated people, living in proto-urban villages in kin-ship groups: a tribal society with an agrarian economy. The Daunians were pre-literate, did not decorate their pottery with figures, their tombs with wall paintings, or their buildings with architectural terracottas, and were largely ignored by later ancient Greek and Latin commentators. They had no communal civic or religious buildings; the grottos and springs at which they worshipped are only identifiable after they adopt the Hellenic practice of offering votives. Yet, for all the gaps in the archaeology, we can tell much about this enigmatic society from their stelae, a remarkable group of 1300+ anthropomorphic standing stones unique to the region and without parallel. The Daunian stelae are decorated to show not only the clothing and accoutrements of the people they represent, but are further incised with vignettes of local life, cultic traditions and folklore. The stelae, among other things, throw light on the spiritual beliefs and practices of these people and allow us to reconstruct something of Daunian metaphysical constructs that are otherwise not visible in the archaeological record.

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Session 7D: Coins and collectors
Chair: tbc

Ana Isabel Correia Martins University of Coimbra

The meeting of two contemporary collectors in the Renaissance

The poetic and rhetorical productions in the Renaissance such as *Collectaneae*, *Florilegia* and *Miscelaneae* are organized in *loci communes sententiarum et exemplorum ex thesauris graecorum et latinorum*, revealing the *ingenium inventionis* of *ars bene scribendi*. The humanists elected the quotation method as truly *modus faciendi* of literary construction because the *genus sententiarum* satisfies their pedagogical aims and philological intentions. Therefore, this present proposal intends to present a comparative study of recognized Latin works of two humanists with an important role in Portuguese and European Renaissance: *Loci communes sententiarum et exemplorum memorabilium ex probatissimis scriptoribus* (1569) by *Andreas Eborensis* and *Collectanea Moralis Philosophiae* (1571) by Fray Louis of Grenade, a Spanish humanist who lived more than thirty years in Portugal.

We aim to make a careful scrutiny of literary operative concepts, to systematize the classical and modern authors collected and also their philosophical *themata,* discovering their similarities and differences. Despite their common humanistic program, we should recognize the individual variation of each one and underlining the singular merit of these handbooks.

In short, nothing comes *ex nihilo* and the process of *renovatio* is a process of remembering and forgetting, assimilating what truly deserves to be remembered in a circumscribed historical context by invoking the origins, presuppositions and frameworks that define our identity and invite us to self-knowledge throughout a hermeneutic exercise.

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John Melville-Jones University of Western Australia

The Roman sesterces of Giovanni Cavino: forgeries or imitations?

Giovanni Cavino of Padua (1500-1570) was an accomplished medallist who was commissioned to make medals showing portraits of important people of his own time. He also (perhaps with the help of his friend Alessandro Bassiano) created a large number of imitations of large brass sesterces of the Roman emperors which were so well designed that even in the twentieth century they were included in some collections as genuine ancient coins.

He is often described as a forger, but this study will show that in the context of his time, and particularly because of the description of his work that appears on his tombstone (a point which is frequently not considered), this judgement is incorrect: he was, like so many artists and writers of the high Renaissance, aiming to equal the ancients.

This is an aspect of the Renaissance enthusiasm for imitating classical works of literature and art and architecture that has often received less attention than it deserves – the emotional desire to display merit by equalling the ancient in these areas was often strong.

This presentation will also show two coins that have been attributed to Cavino, but are not of his fine style.

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Bruce Marshall Macquarie University

Heads and Tales – Portraits of Living Romans on Republican Coins

Famously, the first living Roman to have his head put on republican coins was Julius Caesar. The Senate gave permission for his portrait to be placed on coins in 44. But one can trace a process by which the way was prepared for the representation of a living person. Traditionally, since around 130, moneyers had depicted the deeds of their ancestors on coins as a means of advertising the worth of their family – and of themselves. While this conservative approach continued, the time-gap between coin and deed or event depicted on it gradually narrowed. One coin showing this trend of a near-contemporary event was a *denarius* issued by P. Licinius Nerva c. 113 referring to C. Marius' *lex tabellaria* carried only seven years before. Other coins followed, progressively depicting contemporary events: a *denarius* of C. Fundanius in 101 shows C. Marius' triumph that year; gold and silver coins of c. 81 shows Sulla's triumph; an *aureus* of 81-80 comes even closer to depicting a contemporary figure, showing the equestrian statue put up for Sulla – an image of an image of a living person; an *aureus* of Pompeius in 61 depicts his triumph that year; while contemporary coins of his supporters draw attention to his world conquests.

It is not without significance that these coins are contemporaneous with the rise of the great generals, and the increasing emphasis on military power and political dominance.

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Session 8A: Texts and Rulers
Chair: Ron Ridley

James McNamara University of Cambridge/Victoria University

Tacitus and Claudius the historian: the Lyon Tablet as historical summary

Tacitus' version of the speech given by Claudius in favour of extending senatorial honours to aristocrats from Transalpine Gaul has usually been read as an improvement in style and persuasion on a rambling original. This paper proposes lending greater recognition to Claudius' use of historiographical structures and style. Tacitus' account at *Annals* 11.24 is, in turn, read as a response to Claudius' claims to authority as a historian, an aspect that has been relatively neglected. In particular, the paper begins by examining the Lyon Tablet and Claudius' construction of his argument through an excursus that summarises Roman history. Sallustian and Livian excursuses provide context, and Tacitus' own persuasive use of historical summary will be adduced for comparison.

The new contribution to scholarship on these heavily studied texts will be to offer a more detailed understanding of what has, particularly in poetry, been termed 'generic enrichment' (see references). Both Claudius' speech on the Lyon Tablet and Tacitus' version of that speech make use of the conventions of historiography and oratory simultaneously: historiographical structures are used within a small compass for the purposes of persuasion. Recognising the different effects of generic enrichment in each piece throws open new possibilities for understanding the effect of Claudius' representation of Roman history in the Lyon Tablet, and the challenge offered by Tacitus to the historiography of a Caesar. More broadly, the paper prepares the ground for further investigation into the senatorial historian's confrontation of versions of historiography approved by the Caesars.

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Jonathan Tracy Massey University

Memes vs. Genes: Lucan, Virgil, and the Dynastic Principle

Virgil's *Aeneid* shows the successful transmission of values, beliefs, and customs (memes) across generations occurring almost exclusively within bloodlines: especially from Anchises to Aeneas (in Book 6) to Ascanius (12.432-440), and onwards. Such familial bias (explored by Bettini, ch. 11) is in keeping with Virgil's (arguable) loyalty to Augustus, whose claim to legitimacy rested not only on his adoption by Julius Caesar but also on his genetic affiliation with the divinely originated Julian clan.

In Lucan's *Civil War*, by contrast, memes are repeatedly elevated above genes. The dynastic principle appears either spurious or dangerous (or both), as in Caesar's boast of descent from Aeneas (9.990-999, see Zwierlein) and the decadence of the final Ptolemies (8.692-693). Effective championship of Republican *libertas* precludes dynastic considerations. Nowhere in the poem does Cato 'the Younger' seek to buttress his authority by appeal to his illustrious ancestor and namesake, nor does Lucan mention Cato's son or daughter, both celebrated by Plutarch for their commitment to their father's cause (*Cato Minor* 73). Lucan dismisses Pompey's son Sextus as *proles indigna parente* (6.420); indeed, Pompey's soul chooses neither of his sons as posthumous dwelling-place, entering instead the hearts of Brutus and Cato (unrelated to him) to inspire continued resistance (9.17-18, see Narducci 345-349).

By his deliberate separation of Roman meme-transmission from heredity, Lucan simultaneously undermines the Julio-Claudians' dynastic pretensions and asserts his own right of participation in the historic struggle against Caesarism, despite the probable lack of any family tradition of such struggle among his Annaean forebears.

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John Penwill La Trobe University

Gentesque fouebo mox alias: Valerius Flaccus and the Flavian Regime

Recent scholarship on Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* is divided on the question of how this, the first surviving Flavian epic, interacts with the ideology of the political dynasty that after enormous upheaval finally replaced the Julio-Claudians as rulers of the Roman world. Views range from the positive, that the new era presents an opportunity for resurgence and renewal (e.g. Stover (2012)), through the mixed, that while the new regime opportunistically exploited the political upheaval that followed the death of Nero and engaged in full-scale civil war in order to gain power, it does offer the best hope we have for enduring peace (e.g. Buckley (2010)), to the negative, that the one enduring legacy of the year of four emperors is the fear that the same will happen again (e.g. Ganiban 2014)).

Crucial for understanding the poem's attitude towards the regime is the intertextual relationship Valerius sets up between his own epic and those of the two poets whose texts present fundamentally diverse visions of the Julio-Claudians, Virgil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile*. This paper examines selected instances of such intertextuality, notably the invocations of the emperor at *Bellum Civile* 1.33-66 and *Argonautica* 1.7-21; the encounter between Venus and Jupiter at *Aeneid* 1.223-296 and the council of the gods at *Argonautica* 1.478-573; and the abrupt ending of each of the three poems in which the protagonist is left hanging at a critical moment in his story. The result will show that the third of the above options is the most compelling one.

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3. R. Ganiban, 'Virgilian Prophecy and the Reign of Jupiter in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*', in M. Heerink & G. Manuwald (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Valerius Flaccus* (Leiden & Boston 2014), 251-68.

Session 8B: Reception Studies II
Chair: Simon Perris

Sarah Midford University of Melbourne

Vergil in the Bush: Locating the Roman Pastoral Ideal in a Colonial Australian Landscape

When Captain Cook claimed *terra Australis* for the British Empire the continent was understood to be an empty land, devoid of history, culture and civilization (Atkinson, 1997). Since the foundation of the colony of New South Wales poetry commonly made comparisons between Australia and classical antiquity in the hope that one day soon the history and literature of the new settlement would enter the Western canon (Dixon, 1986). Colonial Australian literature often focused on the great potential the young civilization might enjoy. In the nineteenth century the beauty of a landscape was underpinned by classical ideals of monumentality and the Australian landscape, with its lack of monuments, was disturbing to European sensibilities. To compensate for a lack of recognisable cultural heritage Australia was depicted in literature as a new Rome in its earliest stage of development (Dixon and Hoorn, 2013). This paper examines connections between Australian colonial literature and the poetry of Virgil. It looks at the work of Michael Massey Robinson, the freed convict appointed New South Wales Poet Laureate by Governor Lachlan Macquarie in 1810, who casts the British decedents of Aeneas as the founders of the Australian continent. It also looks at the work of the classicist and botanist William Woolls who connects the Virgilian pastoral ideal to the beauty and functionality of the Australian landscape. The paper concludes by demonstrating that it was by emphasizing Australia's agricultural merits that the great potential of the young civilization could be celebrated and the need for ancient ruins negated.

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Joel Gordon University of Otago

'I am Hercules': emerging trends in Hercules' filmic reception

This paper addresses two 2014 Hollywood blockbusters which both feature Hercules as the primary protagonist: *The Legend of Hercules*, starring Kellan Lutz, and *Hercules*, starring Dwayne 'the Rock' Johnson. While contemporary scholarship tends to belittle these films as having little to offer reception studies (e.g. Winkler 2015, 6), I will argue for their significance: when considered in tandem, these films reveal the emergence of new trends in the contemporary reception of Hercules' character.

Firstly, these films both share a rationalizing approach to Hercules' identity. This can be clearly seen in their promotional material and in the shared theme of 'myth versus truth', a narrative element both films embrace in a self-aware manner. Furthering this, however, such rationalization represents a distinct paradigm shift within Hercules' reception. By focusing upon the ordinary man behind the mythic material, these films depart from the traditional portrayal of Hercules in film.

Yet these films also offer different interpretations as to what this 'true' identity is. For example, while *The Legend of Hercules* begins with Hercules 'the man' and concludes with the revelation of Hercules 'the god', *Hercules* does the opposite, moving from god to man. However, this divergence is also meaningful. It reflects larger paradigm shifts within popular culture itself, such as changes in the concept of heroic identity.

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Cf.: Kovacs, George. 2014. 'Classical Mythology comes to Hollywood'. *OUPBlog* 8 October, 2014.

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3. *Hercules.* 2014. Brett Ratner (dir.). Paramount and M.G.M.

Arthur Pomeroy Victoria University

Agora: the reception of Late Antiquity in the contemporary world

Although the depiction of the development of Christianity was a regular theme for films from their inception until around 1960, in recent times such stories have become much rarer. An exception is Mel Gibson's *Passion of the Christ* (2004). Alejandro Amenábar's *Agora* (2009) examines the belief systems operating in Alexandria in the fourth century CE. To understand this film and its fate it is important to understand the tradition of tales of church and state in late antiquity dating back to Charles Kingsley's *Hypatia* (1853) and Cardinal Wiseman's response in *Fabiola* (1854; film versions, 1918, 1949), together with John Henry Newman's prequel, *Callista* (1855). *Agora* questions the glorification of martyrdom and the dangers of religious organizations controlling civic power by clear parallels with modern movements. The subject matter shows the continuing importance of this period in the popular imagination for the establishment of Christendom. Reactions to *Agora* also indicate the continuing political struggles between integralism and secularism in Europe and North America.

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Session 8C: Archaeology
Chair: Ted Robinson

Daniel Osland University of Otago

Report on the University of Otago/Consorcio de Mérida 2016 Excavation Campaign

This paper will offer a preliminary excavation report from the University of Otago/Consorcio de Mérida 2016 excavation campaign, set to take place in July and August, in Mérida, Spain. This excavation, funded in part by a University of Otago Research Grant, focuses on an intramural (urban) site that appears to have been occupied from the early Imperial period down through the Moorish occupation of the city **(1)**, which ended in the 13th century AD. The research driving this project focuses on the transition from late Roman to late antique/post-Roman urban contexts, seeking to identify precise chronological evidence for the changes to the urban structure that are characteristic of this transition **(2)**. This excavation-and-study campaign thus focuses on an area of the city where we expect, based on earlier (undocumented) excavations in the neighbourhood, to find a segment of the Roman city wall, paved Roman roads with successive modifications and re-surfacings across several centuries, and private and/or public architecture. In order to accomplish our goal of identifying precise chronological evidence, we will be conducting a month-long post-excavation analysis of the ceramic material uncovered during this excavation **(3)**. This analytical work should allow us to offer a reconstruction of the site's use and architectural phases across several centuries of late Roman and post-Roman occupation.

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3. Osland, D. 2012. 'Documenting Change in Late Antique Emerita Through the Ceramic Evidence', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 5.2 (Fall 2012), 322-344.

Jaimee Murdoch University College London/Victoria University

Getting a handle on chronology: a study of Rhodian amphora handles at the PEF

The Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) currently houses 544 stamped Rhodian amphora handles from various early 20th century excavations in Jerusalem, which remain largely unstudied and only broadly dated to the Hellenistic period. In the first detailed assessment of this important assemblage, the handles' stamps are being assigned to a more specific period using the Rhodian eponym chronology of Finkielsztejn (2001). So far dates could be assigned to as few as 11% of the handles due to the poor legibility of many of the stamps. To overcome this limitation the project is also piloting a novel compositional approach to the chronological ascription of the amphorae handles. All securely dated handles are being characterised geochemically via portable X-ray fluorescence spectrometry in order to detect changes in their raw materials and technology that may correlate with stamp type and date. In a second step, a test group of artefacts with poorly preserved stamps will then be analysed and compared to the compositional groups identified in the well-dated group. Secure correlations will hopefully enable us to assign a date in absence of clear eponyms.

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3. I. Whitbread, *Greek transport amphorae: a petrological and archaeological study* (London 1995).

Session 8D: Ancient Philosophy
Chair: tbc

Dougal Blyth University of Auckland

God and Cosmos in Plato's Politicus Myth and Aristotle

Since the god in the *Politicus* myth, uniquely in Plato, shares three significant features with Aristotle's prime mover, causing movement, being ontologically independent and explicitly called a god, here I investigate other possible similarities. In summary (i) I oppose Ostenfeld's claim that this god is the world-soul's 'circle of the same' from the *Timaeus*, evaluating whether the *Politicus*' god might not be meant literally to rotate (as similarly Skemp has argued is the case for divine intellect in *Laws* Bk X), (ii) I suggest reasons to think that he contemplates the forms (following Perl's defence of this interpretation of *Sophist* 248e-249a, just as Aristotle's god correspondingly contemplates himself), and I argue (iii) that the cosmos in the myth might be meant to be everlasting, and (iv) that the same god is also the demiurge, maintaining the world's natural order by causing its movement. Finally (v), by experimentally abstracting from the myth's motif of alternating periods, I show that an apparently consistent, although obscure, possibility results, that, like Aristotle's, this god would then seem to cause movement teleologically while transcending the cosmos. These results are meant merely as consistent interpretive options available to Aristotle, but they do suggest how closely in the conception underlying the myth's cosmo-theology Plato might have anticipated many of Aristotle's distinctive ideas, and what nevertheless the latter clearly could not accept from Plato.

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2. J.B. Skemp, *The Theory of Motion in Plato's Later Dialogues* (rev. ed., Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967 [1942]), pp. 25, 83, 86, cf. 22-3.

3. Eric D. Perl, *Thinking Being: Introduction to Metaphysics in the Classical Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 64-9.

Brandon Zimmerman Catholic University of America

Was creatio ex nihilo first formulated by the Neopythagoreans?

In the wake of Gerhard May's study of early Jewish, Gnostic, and Christian accounts of creation, historians of thought generally accept the teaching that God did not create out of a pre-existing substrate but out of nothing whatsoever, and that this was not clearly expressed in Christian circles until the second half of the second century CE. May suggested that the Gnostic Basilides was the first to teach that God made matter, although through intermediaries. G. C. Stead has suggested instead that the idea that matter and everything ultimately originates from a first cause was developed within the Neopythagorean branch of Platonism in the first centuries BCE and CE, such that creation is not a uniquely Judeo-Christian idea. In support of Stead, John D. Turner has identified a number of Neopythagorean texts describing a single first principle and has argued for their influence upon Gnosticism, including Basilides. In this paper, I will first present a metaphysical definition of creation as the ontological dependence of everything upon an absolutely First Principle, thereby setting aside the questions of time and God's free choice. Second, I will analyse key Neopythagorean texts from the first centuries BCE and CE in order to determine whether they were the first to formulate the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*.

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2. G. C. Stead, 'The Appropriation of the Philosophical Concept of God by early Christian Theologians: W. Pannenburg's Thesis Reconsidered' in *Doctrine and Philosophy in Early Christianity*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000. (English Translation of an article in *Theologische Rundschau*. Tübingen, 1986.)

3. John D. Turner, *Sethian Gnosticism and The Platonic Tradition* (Louvain-Paris, Peeters, 2001).

Friday 3 February

Session 9A: Text and Materiality
Chair: tbc

Daryn Graham Macquarie University

Augustan Attitudes to Volcanic Activity

Attitudes to the volcanic activity of Mount Etna and Mount Vesuvius took on three main forms in Augustan Rome. Firstly, there was the religious view endorsed by the Augustan poets Virgil, Horace and Ovid, that these mountains were the haunts of gods, or more precisely, giants, trapped there by the gods to remain for ever lest they should break loose and threaten the order of the world as they had once done in myth. Secondly, there was the scientific view held by Diodorus Siculus, Vitruvius and Strabo, that entailed that whereas Etna was indeed a volcano, Vesuvius was an extinct volcano now categorised as a mere mountain much like the other extinct volcanoes the are embedded throughout Italy's countryside. Finally, there was a more 'romantic' view, experimented with by the poet Propertius and at times Ovid too, whereby volcanic activity served as a playful metaphor for one's fondness for a lover. In this talk, I will explore each of these three strains of literary tradition, their religious, scientific and social natures, and their legacy to Roman history.

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Magdalena Öhrman University of Copenhagen

Patterns in Words, Patterns in Weaves: Materiality-focused Readings of Descriptions of Textiles in Roman Epic

Literary analysis of descriptions of textiles in Roman poetry often focusses on artistic use of *ekphrasis*, metapoetics, or on how richly decorated textiles symbolise exoticism and luxury (e.g. Nosch, Harlow and Fanfani 2016). By this approach, we dismiss such descriptions as too extraordinary and too extensively shaped by literary tradition, to consider in detail what the choice of this particular material/literary vehicle might in itself tell us of Roman ways of relating to textiles. This paper takes advantage of recent interest in Roman textile history (e.g. Droß-Krüpe 2014) to explore the literary engagement with the materiality of Roman textiles, especially the creation of patterned cloth. When describing textiles, authors explicitly mention coloured bands, embroidered decorations, embellishments with gold thread, etc, but they also make more subtle allusions to the practicalities of textile-work and pattern-creation like the use of starting borders, alternation, or recurring self-bands. The paper discusses three examples (Ov. *Met*. 4, Sil. It. 7.79-83, and Claud. *Rapt*.1.259-265), highlighting how diverse stylistic devices in descriptions of patterned textiles mimic devices used in actual textile production (cf. Gineste 2000 on Claudian). Thus, we may establish the awareness of the complexity of textile pattern-creation in mainly elite, male authors. Taking into account that Roman authors also convey sophisticated technical understanding of textile work through sound-play transposing the rhythm of textile work into text (exemplified in the Ovid passage discussed), this paper explores the implications of the knowledge of textile work displayed in literature for discussion of domestic space use.

References:

1. M. L. Nosch, M. Harlow, and G. Fanfani *Spinning Fates and the Song of the Loom: The Use of Textiles, Clothing and Cloth Production as Metaphor, Symbol and Narrative Device in Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford 2016).

2. K. Droß-Krüpe, *Textile Trade and Distribution in Antiquity: Textilhandel und -distribution in der Antike* (Wiesbaden 2014)

3. M-F. Gineste, 'La signification du motif du tissage dans le De raptu Proserpinae'. *Vita Latina* 2000) 48-56.

Guy Smoot University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

Tarentum and an Underworld Subtext in Plautus' Menaechmi

I argue that the *Menaechmi,* a comedy about a brother's quest for his twin, from whom he was separated in childhood, contains hitherto overlooked catabatic elements. Their father sails to Tarentum with one of his sons, where there happens to be a festival, *Tarenti ludi forte erant* (29)*,* replete with *mortales* (30), a hapax. The son gets lost and is then taken away by a wealthy merchant (*nisi divitiae, nil erat*: 59), who becomes his foster father in Epidamnus, 'the City of Loss' (e.g. *damnum in Epidamno:* 267, cf. 263-264). Upon losing his son, the natural father dies of grief on the spot: *Tarenti emortuost* (36 & 39). The geographical position of Tarentum on the way between Syracuse and Epidamnus sets up the expectation that the natural father dies in Apulia. Plautus, however, complicates this expectation by superimposing upon the Greek city two cultic sites in Rome and an archaic Roman festival: 1) the *Ludi Tarentini* in the Campus Martius, which were dedicated to another father figure, *Dis Pater*; and 2) the *Tarentum Accas Larentinas* in the Velabrum, the burial site of the foster mother of Rome's most famous twins, Romulus and Remus. Vetter and Watkins demonstrate that *tarentum* meant 'tomb' in early Latin, originally 'crossing place'. A collation of the *Menaechmi* with Valerius Maximus 2.4.5 and Plutarch's *Romulus* suggests that Roman folklore was one of the sources, in addition to Greek comedy, from which Plautus drew his inspiration for the play.

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2. E. Vetter, 'Zum Text von Varros Schrift über die lateinische Sprache', *Rheinisches Museum* 101 (1958) 257-85, 289-323.

3. C. Watkins, 'Latin *tarentum*, the *ludi saeculares*, and Indo-European eschatology', *How to Kill a Dragon* (Oxford 2001), 347-356.

Session 9B: Greek Poetry
Chair: tbc

Ippokratis Kantzios University of South Florida

Memory and Forgetfulness in Alcaeus

Despite monody's affinity for remembering, scholarly interest has focused primarily on epic memory, with articles such as that of W. Rösler on sympotic *mnemosyne* being a rare exception. In my paper, I focus on this neglected aspect by using as a case study the treatment of memory and forgetfulness in Alcaeus, a poet who, through frequent references to μνημοσύνη (frr. 6.11, 75.7, 169.6; 206.4) and λήθη (frr. 39.4, 70.9, 72.7, 73.8) and sheer use of the past tense (35% of all verbs–highest rate in monody), best exemplifies the genre's gravitation toward the past. I argue that Alcaeus uses memory and forgetfulness primarily in political/military exhortations or invective, making them the foundations of a rhetoric aimed at the reestablishment of his *hetaireia* in its privileged place. But the poet also adds an ethical dimension to this realpolitik by elevating Pittacus' shift of alliances to a grave moral violation that requires his companions to assume a role similar to that of the Erinyes (who do not forget), so that they may deliver justice and punish the wrongdoer. Just as later in Herodotus memory becomes a source of historical causation and in tragedy a source of divine τίσις, so in Alcaeus memory is a force that guides the actions of the *hetaireia* for the restoration of moral and political order.

References:

1. R. Gagné, 'Atreid Ancestors in Alkaios', *JHS* 129 (2009) 39-43.

2. W. Rösler, '*Mnemosyne* in the *Symposion*', in O. Murray (ed.), *Sympotica* (Oxford 1990) 230-7

3. M. Simondon, *La Mémoire et l'Oubli dans la Penseé Grecque jusqu'à la Fin du Ve Siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris 1982)

Aaron Floky University of Western Australia

Honey in the biographical traditions of Greek and Roman poets and philosophers

The construction of honeycomb within the mouth, or other metaphors which link honey to the mouth, are motifs which occur within the biographical traditions of several poets, as well as the philosophers Plato, and Lucretius. Horsfall (2010), Ogden (2001: 221-223), and many others recognised that bees were a metaphor for the soul, but this equation does not reconcile well in the context of living personalities. Detienne (1981) argued that honey denoted excess, and so Orpheus' excessive love for Eurydice lead to their tragic circumstances. But why does honey appear in the biographical traditions of these Ancient personalities? Could we meaningfully accuse Plato and Lucretius of excess? Does it suggest some interaction with the dead? The appearance of honey seems to suggest something not suitably explained by these approaches. Ogden recognised a connection with prophecy, necromantic and otherwise, and this paper suggests that the key to this polyvalent metaphor lies in the wisdom of the underworld, granted by souls such as Teiresias, or by divine beings. Through a close reading of Greek and Roman mythical narratives on bees, and chthonic and necromantic traditions, this paper proposes that honey be equated with knowledge, though the nature of that knowledge may be far from scrupulous. I argue that this interpretation of honey as a kind of esoteric knowledge informs ancient narratives, and can stand with other interpretations to give richer meaning.

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2. Horsfall, N. (2010), 'Bees in Elysium', Vergilius, 56, 39-45.

3. Ogden, D. (2001), Greek and Roman Necromancy (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Session 9C: Late-Antique Gaul (Panel)
Chair: Mark Masterson

Sven Meeder Radboud University Nijmegen

Past and Present in the Memory of Sixth-Century Church Synods in Gaul

The Gallo-Roman church of the sixth-century was extremely active in legislating for a new reality of Christianity under barbarian rule, resulting in a torrent of local synods organised in partnership with Gothic, Burgundian, and Frankish rulers. Much scholarship has been devoted to the analysis of the synods' backgrounds and consequences, as well as the information they provide about the ecclesiastical elite and the Gallo-Roman Church in general (Halfond, 2010). Less work has been done on the memory of these synods in the decades and centuries afterwards in the form of the dissemination of their acts and the reception into other canonical works. Yet, there is enough reason to study the reception of the synodal acta, for although their objectives were local the post-Roman church synods have exerted great influence on (the formation of) later collections of canon law and medieval legal thought in general (Mathisen, 2014). This paper analyses the mechanisms of dissemination and reception of these synodal decisions, arguing that development of canon law, in particular the introduction of systematic canon law collections, sharpened the dialogue with the past (Meeder, 2015) and ensured the preservation of the memory of these local synods of bygone days.

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2. Ralph Mathisen, 'Church councils and local authority: the development of Gallic Libri canonum during Late Antiquity' in: Carol Harrison, Caroline Humfress and Isabella Sandwell (eds), Being Christian in Late Antiquity: A Festschrift for Gillian Clark (Oxford, 2014), 175-93.

3. Sven Meeder, 'Biblical past and canonical present: the case of the Collectio 400 Capitulorum', in: Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick and Sven Meeder (eds), The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe (Cambridge, 2015), 103-17.

Lisa Bailey University of Auckland

Servants of God, Slaves of the Church: the ideologies and realities of religious service in Late Antique Gaul

This paper argues that the adoption of the imagery of service by high status Christian figures could belie an actual reinforcement of social hierarchies, but also led to a rhetorical spillover of broader consequence. Scholars have already observed that many late antique religious men and women took titles such as *famulus/a dei*, *servus christi* and *ancilla dei* which displayed an appropriate humility and embraced a symbolic inversion, or undertake deliberately humiliating labours of service such as cleaning, serving food or bathing the sick. (Van der Loft, 1981, p. 45; Zumkeller, 1991, p. 438) The churches of late antique Gaul were also served, however, by a variety of laypeople who performed the essential and less metaphorical work which kept churches clean, clerical linen washed, monastery lamps lit and cloistered nuns fed. Bailey has pointed out that the concept of service therefore cut across the categories of lay, clerical and ascetic and offers a means for understanding and representing a range of quite different relationships with religious institutions. (Bailey, 2016, pp. 43-50) This paper pushes this idea further, exploring literary accounts, legal texts and epigraphic records which conjoin these ideas and realities of service in referring to the servants of God and slaves of the church. There is evidence that lay people bound in service to the church were brought into the ambit of religious life in interesting ways and were considered, as a result, no longer wholly 'secular', but in some respects elevated and protected.

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3. Zumkeller, Adolar, 'De Gebrauch der Termini famulus dei, servus dei, famula dei und ancilla dei bei Augustinus', in *Eulogia: Mélanges offerts à Antoon A.R. Bastiaesen à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, edited by G.J.M. Bartelink, A. Hillhorst and C.H. Kneepkens (Steenbrugis: The Hague, 1991), pp. 437-45.

Hyun Jin Kim (paper read by Mark Masterson) University of Melbourne

'Herodotean' Huns? Priscus and Jordanes

In this paper I will be discussing 'Herodotean' reminiscences in Priscus and Jordanes. The topic was first discussed in detail by Brodka (2008), whose main arguments have been critiqued by Kim (2015). This paper builds on Kim's arguments arguing that while the classicizing 'Herodotean' allusions in Priscus do not seriously affect the veracity of the historical information on the Huns found in Priscus, Jordanes' 'Herodotean' account of the great battle between the Huns and the Romans at Chalons seriously distorts the history of that event with major historiographical ramifications. Much of Jordanes' battle narrative, contrary to popular belief, does not derive from Priscus' account of the Hunnic invasion of the Western Roman Empire. Rather, it is argued, much of the information we find in Jordanes' battle narrative is actually 'Herodotean' reminiscence (via intermediary sources) modelled on Herodotus' account of the famous Battle of Marathon. As a consequence, it is almost impossible to state with any certainty which side achieved victory in one of history's most celebrated encounters.

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Session 9D: Women in Latin Literature
Chair: Lea Beness

Caroline Chong University of Melbourne

Women and Rape in the Latin Declamationes

In recent years, the act of rape in ancient texts has become an important topic in classical scholarship. Although two important articles (Kaster 2001, Packman 1999) have been written on rape in the Latin *declamationes*, outside of these studies, there has been little detailed discussion on the representation of women in these rape narratives.

In a recent article, Erinn Cunniff Gilson (2016) discusses the concepts of 'vulnerability' and 'victimisation' in relation to sexual violence and modern (Western) ideology. Using Gilson's feminist approach as a theoretical framework within which to read the Latin *declamationes*, this paper will focus on how female rape victims are represented in declamation texts, and whether modern conventional conceptualisations of 'vulnerability', 'invulnerability', and 'victimisation' are applicable to *declamationes* written in the 1st century CE. For example, using the passive participle *rapta* to designate the female rape victim can be seen as a linguistic tactic to emphasise the girl's lack of agency and power, as she is grammatically relegated to a passive position. This inherent linkage between lack of agency and the idea of 'victim' aligns with modern ideas of 'victim' and 'victimisation'. Such discussions will illuminate whether there is any similarity between the conceptualisation of female rape victims in the early Roman Empire and in more recent times, as well as elucidate Roman ideology concerning female victims of rape.

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Leah O'Hearn La Trobe University

Wo(men) who love too much: emotional excess in Catullus 63, 64, and 68b

Though *doctus*, Catullus is now typically figured as a poet of extreme emotional intensity. However, an anxiety about the limits of emotion, its consequences and implications, seems to permeate his work, even the longer more obscure, mythological poems.

In poems 63 and 64, Attis and Ariadne can be seen as negative exempla for excessive emotion in that their respective feelings of devotion and love result in a turning away from homeland, parents and society. In poem 68b, sex and death, love and grief come together in a complex meditation upon legitimate and illegitimate passion, the limits of emotion and its consequences for the *domus*: the tragic story of Laodamia is intertwined in overflowing narrative with that of Catullus' affair with Lesbia and the death of the poet's brother.

This paper grows out of work in the Roman history of emotions, as well as theories of excess, which have driven many recent studies in Early Modern and contemporary comparative literature, but have only just begun to bear fruit in studies of Latin literature. The time is more than ripe to ask what does Catullus' vocabulary of emotional excess entail and what are poet's strategies for expressing, depicting and controlling emotional excess and restraint?

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Christina Robertson University of Auckland

The groves of Helicon: gender and genre in Ovid's epic landscapes

A striking feature of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is the repeated motif of sexual violence in an idyllic, idealised landscape, as in the interrelated episodes of Proserpina (*Met.* 5.346-571), Cyane (*Met.* 5.409-437) and Arethusa (*Met.* 5.572-641). The present paper seeks to analyse Ovid's treatment of these rape narratives, and of the gendered landscape in which they are set, in terms of his approach to the generic tensions at the heart of his epic.

Keith (2000) has analysed the pattern in which women in Latin epic are assimilated to the landscape, becoming the background and setting for masculine action. Hinds (2000) has shown that epic, for its authors and audiences, was constructed as quintessentially masculine, in opposition to the more feminised genre of elegy, and that this gendered dichotomy plays a significant role in Ovid's poetics. Recently Hejduk (2011) has argued that Ovid uses rape narratives in the *Fasti* as a tool for engaging with the poem's generic hybridity and its juxtaposition of themes of *amor* and *arma*.

Building on these readings, the present paper argues that both Ovid's rape narratives and the gendered (and sexualised) *loca amoena* in which they take place are key to Ovid's negotiation of the gendered boundaries of epic. Far from being merely a background to the action, these *loca amoena*, as settings for Ovid's stories of rape, are sites of metapoetic reflection, in which Ovid engages with and interrogates the gendered landscape of epic.

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Session 10A: Ancient Biography
Chair: Tom Stevenson

Phoebe Garrett Australian National University

Childhood anecdotes in Suetonius' De Vita Caesarum

Timothy Duff (*JHS* 2008) has shown that Plutarch is capable of using childhood anecdotes in either a static (childhood anecdotes show characteristics present in the child as they will be in the adult) or a developmental (childhood experiences show formation of character traits) model. Plutarch is particularly interested in education. Suetonius is largely uninterested in education, but he does report about twenty stories about childhood and youth across the *Lives*. Only one of them appears to be formative. This paper collects and analyses the anecdotes Suetonius reports on his subjects' childhoods to discover whether Suetonius is doing the same thing as Plutarch. It seems that Suetonius is doing only one of the two things Plutarch does, using childhood to foreshadow consistent traits, something that other ancient biographers do as well; but also that Suetonius uses childhood in another way that is possibly unique to him, looking back from adulthood to childhood to demonstrate continuity. He uses childhood to show continuity of character traits across childhood and adulthood, often to foreshadow future behaviour, but sometimes just as another example in a list of stories about adulthood. This paper will discuss the ways Suetonius uses childhood stories to foreshadow and to look back, and will also make some observations about the possibility of character change, control over vices, and the origin of character, noting the unusual examples of Caligula's daughter and the various predictions of Nero's character.

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Stephanie Golding University of Queensland

Livy, Scipio, Augustus and Serpent-Siring

Livy's characterization of Scipio Africanus (26.19.3-7) has been used as evidence for his disbelief of religious phenomena (Levene), for discussions of aspirations to divinity and complex connections to the image of Alexander (Spencer), and to support a hypothesis that Scipio's serpent-siring was a story created by, or for, Augustus (Ogden).

Taking the evidence that supports the last discussion above, my paper proposes that Livy's authorial comment on the stories of serpent siring by Alexander and Scipio, *et vanitate et fabula parem,* is designed to be implicitly critical of the serpent-siring story told about Augustus. How could it have been possible for Livy to state openly that the stories of Scipio and Alexander's serpent-siring were absurd without also being seen to say the same thing about the story told about Augustus' miraculous conception? I suggest that Livy got away with it by his employment of the adjective *volgatus*, that which is generally known, and that it enabled him to distance himself sufficiently without drawing negative attention, since he is known to have maintained favourable relations throughout with the *princeps*.

It can be argued, using evidence beyond that of Ogden, that Livy was being critical of Augustus. Thus my discussion, I hope, will contribute to the continuing appreciation of the historian and his characterization of Scipio Africanus.

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Francesco Ginelli University of Verona

Cornelius Nepos and the Evidence of Themistocles' Decree: A Note about Latin Biography and Greek Epigraphy

The purpose of the paper is to demonstrate the relation between Nepos' account of the evacuation of Athens proposed by Themistocles in *Them.* 2, 8 and the description of the same episode preserved by *Themistocles' degree*, a discussed epigraphy discovered by M. H. Jameson during 1959 in Troezen, first published by him in 1960. Even if this episode is one of the most famous of Greek history, ancient sources [1] do differ in the existence of an official degree, the proposer, and the evacuation place. After a comparison of historical tradition with Nep. *Them.* 2, 8, the paper will analyse the relationship between Nepos' version and *Themistocles' degree* (the debate about its authenticity and date to V or IV-III cent. B.C. will be only outlined because not relevant to the aim), focusing on points in common, some not elsewhere attested (e.g. both date Athenian evacuation before the battle of Artemisium), and rejecting doubts about Nepos' historical mistakes (partially Bradley 1991, 13; Johansson 2003, 1, n. 3, who seems to contradict Johansson 2001, 75). Finally, the paper will attempt to outline which the 'intermediary source' between Nepos and the epigraphic document was: Damstes of Sigeion (Hammond 1982, 91); Cleidemus of Athens (Huxley, G. 1968); Philochorus (Burstein 1971, 95, n. 11; see Philoc. *FGrHist* 328 F 116), more probably Ephorus, as already supposed by Bracciesi 1968, 25: «Lo *psefisma* temistocleo [...] ha influenzato, incidentalmente o volutamente, tutto un filone stroriografico, che, forse partendo da Eforo, è arrivato fino a Cornelio Nepote» [2].

Notes:

[1]. Mainly Herod. 8, 41; Thuc. 1, 18; Lysias 2, 34; Isocr. 4, 96; Demosth. 18, 204; 19, 303; *epist.* 2, 18-19; Hyper. 3, 33; Arist. *Pol.* 1304a, 20; *Ath. Polit.* 23, 1 Kenyon; Ctesias *FGrHist* 688 F 13 (30); Plut. *Them.* 10, 4-6; *Arist.* 10, 7; Ael. Arist. p. 1, 225-226; p. 2, 225-226 Dindorf; Cleidemus *FGrHist* 323 F 21; Lycurg. *in Leocr.* 68; Philoch. *FGrHist* 328 F 116; Diod. 11, 13, 4; Cic. *off.* 1, 75; 3, 48; Front. *strat.* 1, 3, 6).

[2] English Transl. «Themistocles' *psefisma* [...] influenced, accidentally or intentionally, an entire historical tradition that, perhaps from Ephorus, arrived to Cornelius Nepos».

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Session 10B: Continuity and Change: the Augustan Republic (Panel)
Chair: Catherine Steel

Bronwyn Hopwood University of New England

Roman Women and the Rhetoric of Empire

Usually conceived as an exercise in imperial social engineering, Augustus' marriage legislation has attracted significant interest and intense debate. Yet it is a mistake to read this legislative program in isolation from its Republican precedents. This paper surveys the place of women in the rhetoric of empire from the adoption of the *lex Voconia* in the second century BC to the promulgation of the *leges Iulia et Papia Poppaea* by AD 9. It argues that the concerns voiced by Romans over procreation and women's property

must be contextualised against their engagement with Greek rhetoric on *Politeia* from at least the beginning of the second century BC. It will demonstrate not only that Augustus' marriage legislation was the continuation of a thoroughly Republican practice of passing such laws to secure the manpower necessary for empire, but also that the rhetoric of empire provides the critical background against which we should read comments on Augustus' marriage legislation by later authors including Dio and Tacitus.

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Amy Russell Durham University

The senate and the coinage in the Augustan republic

This paper reconsiders the base metal coinage of the Rome mint marked SC during the reign of Augustus. What can they tell us about the role of the senate in Augustus' *res publica*? Debates about the exact *senatusconsultum* referred to have fizzled to a halt; we will likely never know exactly which monetary change or innovation was sponsored by a senatorial decree, and historical approaches which seek to understand the institutional history and 'division of powers' between senate and *princeps* are out of fashion. Instead, I ask how these coins might have been understood by the audiences who used them every day. I use evidence for usage patterns of base metal coinage to argue that these coins had the potential to be a powerful means of communication, and look at comparative evidence to ask how the abbreviation might have been read. These coins were the most ubiquitous, most visible signs of the senate's role, or even the senate's existence, during the Augustan period and beyond. They placed a symbol of senatorial power where audiences might have expected to see either Augustus himself or the designs of individual moneyers from prominent families. They testify to both continuity and change: a senate eager to assert its importance as an institution and a symbol of tradition in the new regime, but also a new conception of the role of the senate as a group, rather than a collection of competing individuals.

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Kathryn Welch University of Sydney

Primores feminae: women on the coinage 40 BCE—29 CE

One of the fascinating features of the Triumviral and early Imperial period is the fashion for placing well-known Roman women on coinage. These types were mostly (but not only) produced in the Greek East. From the Tiberian period, the practice was extended to the official coinage of Rome itself.

Most scholars explain this fashion in terms of women's importance to questions of dynasty and the succession. In my view, such explanations are overly influenced by the yet-to-unfold drama of the Julio-Claudian house. The numismatic presence of Octavia, Livia, and even Fulvia, predates the Augustan victory, let alone any signs of an emerging imperial family. Moreover, even if dynasty was important, it was the last thing this experimental and tentative regime was likely to publicise.

Motherhood was, of course, always significant to the lives and status of these women. I argue, however, that it does not explain their representation on coinage. Qualities such as concordia and salus, attributed openly to Livia and implied for Octavia, were public virtues traditionally associated with other great women in the grand narrative of Roman history. The context of the Greek East, where elite women were queens and benefactors, also deserves attention. The coins advertise the importance of female partnership in the

enterprise of restoring Rome to its former state. Tradition and innovation stand side by side in a very surprising way. What happened later is another story.

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Session 10C: Egyptology
Chair: tbc

Caroline Crowhurst University of Auckland

'How to be both'?: Dual identity in the ancient Egyptian funerary texts belonging to Anhai, Chantress of Amun

This presentation will give a close reading of the funerary texts from the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead included on papyrus (BM EA 10472, 1-7) in the burial of Anhai, Chantress of Amun, who died c.1070 B.C. Much of the contemporary rebirth mythology centred on the creative sexual power of the male element (Bryan, 1996), linking the deceased individual to Osiris, god of the dead, who provided a divine prototype for them to emulate in their quest to achieve life after death. This practice has led some Egyptologists to consider much of funerary ritual and the texts intended to guide the deceased through the Afterlife as being originally intended for male use only (Robins 1993), a matrix into which females had to be accommodated. It has been suggested by Kathlyn M. Cooney that this accommodation required a 'fragmentation' of female identity, obliging the deceased woman to retain her mortal gendered 'self' even as she took on the guise of the male god in order to be reborn (Cooney, 2008). Utilising Cooney's theory, I will assess the contradictions presented in Anhai's Book of the Dead papyri, examining the incongruities between the textual gendering of her as 'Osiris Anhai', and the overtly feminised depictions of her in the accompanying vignettes. Ultimately I will demonstrate that this individual was conceived of as adopting a dual, fragmented identity in order to successfully traverse the Afterlife, requiring more gender-fluidity than that of her male counterparts to do so.

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Susan Thorpe University of Auckland

The Medium and the Message: the realities of ancient Egyptian life found in private letters compared to the idealism of personal stelae

This paper will compare the idealistic information found on personal stelae with the realistic issues which were the concern of private letters. By this comparison it will evidence the importance of private letters as primary sources of knowledge regarding the ancient Egyptian people and their lives. Personal stelae provided the permanence necessary for commemoration within the funerary culture after death. They were primarily an idealised representation of the person being remembered**.** Their content was intended as a eulogistic record of the person's life and character and the following of the codes of right behaviour. In contrast private letters were concerned with actual events and issues. They provide insight into the people, their behaviour and attitudes, the problems and concerns. Sourcing examples from the Second Intermediate

Period and the New Kingdom from the works by Franke (2013) and Martin (2005) and the collection of letters compiled by Wente (1990), this study will compare and analyse the content, structure and style of writing found on personal stelae and in private letters. It will show how, in comparison to the medium of a personal stele and its idealistic content, the medium of a private letter is able to provide information about the people themselves, their personalities, relationships, issues, revealing the realities of their daily lives, religious duties and military responsibilities.

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Malcolm Choat Macquarie University

Hermippus of Beirut, Simonides of Symi, and the forgery of papyri

This paper argues that far from being academic omphaloskepsis or effort better expended on genuine artifacts, the study of the forgery, circulation, and deauthentication of ancient manuscripts, and the conversations these processes generate both within and beyond the academy provides a frequently neglected insight into the history of academic disciplines, the development of technical expertise(s), and the relationship of Classics and Ancient History with both other fields of study and the general public. I examine these issues by focusing on one of the most prolific forgers of papyri, Constantine Simonides, who produced a wide variety of manuscripts of different alleged ages, formats, and contents in the mid-nineteenth century.

Previous discussions have focused on particular aspects of Simonides' career (especially his claim to have forged Codex Sinaiticus, Elliott 1982), or subsumed him in general discussions of forgery (Grafton 2010, Jones 2015). This paper examines Simonides' aims and technique by focusing on the papyri forged by him in the Meyer collection (now in the World Museum, Liverpool), and in particular on seven letters attributed to the second-century CE grammarian Hermippus of Beirut. These papyri, which collectively act to support Simonides' own interpretations of Egyptian Hieroglyphs, present a rare case of forged documentary papyri (the vast majority of such fakes being literary texts). This paper situates an investigation of the models which Simonides may have used for the handwriting and text of the letters within consideration of his aims in forging them, and the socio-historical and historiographical context of their production.

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Session 10D: Greek Cult and Cult Sites
Chair: Sean McConnell

Adam Brennan University of Queensland

The Dioscuri Parallels: At Home and Abroad

Cults to the Dioscuri pay worship to the sons of Zeus – Castor and Polydeuces – as divine among the stars and chthonic beneath the earth, but heroes to the mortal world wherever one chooses to direct ritual worship. In their association with the sea the sky-borne twins are consistently more than mortal, closely linked to saviours and protectors of sailors as divine patrons and members of mystery cults. Examples of these include the Kabiri of Samothrace, as described by Diodorus Siculus (4.43.1), and Bruneau's epigraphic research into their Delian worship during the Hellenistic period. While ancient maritime cults continued to pay homage to

the Dioscuri as divine saviours, they still retained both a hero-cult and a divine-cult together on the Greek mainland in similar fashion to the worship of Herakles as both god and mortal.

This paper seeks to investigate the Dioscuri seaborne cults (including their presence at Delos) in a comparison to their worship in Sparta, culminating in their development in the Hellenistic era as seen in their cult network throughout Greece and the Aegean. The paper will use this investigation to assess the extent to which the seagoing Dioscuri and the Tyndaridai at their home in Sparta either gathered new attributes or retained existing ones to reflect the diversity of their worship in the Hellenistic period as Panhellenic saviours and heroic patrons.

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Katherine McLardy University of Canterbury

'Green Bowers, Laden with Soft Dill': The Gardens of Adonis

The Gardens of Adonis, small gardens full of quick growing plants like lettuce and fennel housed in potsherds, were an important part of the Adonia festival in the Greek world. These gardens became so famous that they gave rise to the proverbial meaning, found in sources including Plato's *Phaedrus,* Diogenianus, Zenobius and the Suda, that gardens of Adonis referred to things that were sterile or unproductive. A small number of sources from the 2nd and 3rd century CE suggest that the gardens were deposited in water sources at the end of the festival period. I will focus particularly on Zenobius 1.49 and a scholion to Theocritus *Idyll* 15.arg.9-11 as the most important of these sources. Scholars such as Reed (1995, 325) and Simms (1997, 129) have suggested that the gardens were portable funerary bowers for little figurines of Adonis and that they may also have functioned as a focal point for the women's lamentation. Most recently, Reitzammer (2016, 19-20) has argued that the gardens themselves functioned as a stand-in for Adonis. This paper investigates the evidence for depositing these items into water sources at the conclusion of the festival and considers both how widespread this practice was and what significance it may have had. In addition, I will argue that the creation of the gardens of Adonis may not have been interpreted in the same way by women celebrating the Adonia at different times and places.

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Nikki Carter Victoria University

The Use of the Adyton at the Temple of Apollo at Bassae

This paper concerns itself with the use of the adyton inside the Temple to Apollo Epikourios at Bassae through a review of the evidence of the architectural remains of the site. The room must be deemed an important part of the overall function of the temple, since many conventions are ignored in order to draw attention to it. These abnormalities have invited a great deal of scholarly attention (Cooper, 1996; Kelly, 1995, 227-77). Its importance, however, is discussed in general, not specific, terms. The peculiarities include a side door leading straight into the adyton which upsets the symmetry of the temple, the phenomenon of the sunshine creating a shaft of light which hits the south-west corner of the adyton twice a year at sunrise (Cooper, 1996; Yalouris, 1979), and the small reinforced plinth, located also in the south-west corner. This paper re-examines the architecture with a view to establishing the likely religious use of the adyton. The peculiarities are actually precisely calibrated and many of the refinements have been carried through from the Archaic temple. I argue that these uncanonical architectural features are meant to create a focal point of worship. The south-west corner is therefore the focus of attention for the entire complex and it is even plausible that it held the temple's cult statue.

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Session 11A: Cicero
Chair: James McNamara

Sean McConnell University of Otago

Horace's engagement with Cicero's philosophy in his Epistle

Horace's *Epistles* are saturated with philosophical arguments and allusions. Scholars have argued that Horace uses philosophy as a tool with which to explore certain stock moral themes such as friendship and *otium* (e.g. Kilpatrick 1986), and as a way to navigate various ethical problems and tensions in his own life, in particular his relationship with his patron Maecenas and his political role as a poet under Augustus (e.g. Moles 2007).

Horace demonstrates a comfortable familiarity with all the major Greek philosophical schools. Less clear, however, is the extent of Horace's engagement with the philosophical writings of the Roman philosopher-statesman Cicero, perhaps the most influential Roman philosopher in the generation before Horace. O'Neill (1999) argues that in *Epistle* 1.3 Horace provides a sustained critique of Cicero's views on glory as they appear in the second book of *De officiis*, and there is the well-discussed allusion to Cicero's epic poem on his consulship in the letter to Augustus (2.1.256); there is little else.

In this paper I contend that Horace's engagement with Cicero's philosophy is more fundamental to the project of the *Epistles* than has been recognised. In particular, I argue that Horace adopts Cicero's pragmatic Academic scepticism, which is the most central feature of Cicero's philosophical persona in his dialogues and treatises. I first demonstrate that Horace signals the connection in the first letter of the first book, and I then lay out some of the implications of connecting to Cicero in this manner.

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The Rhetoric of Topography: Cicero and the Strait of Messana

In the *In Verrem*, Cicero condemns the most vile of the corrupt governor Verres' actions: the flogging and crucifixion of Publius Gavius, a Roman citizen. According to Cicero, Verres was especially cruel in his execution of Gavius, as he crucified him in Messana, overlooking the Strait, and facing Italy. In doing so, Verres taunts Gavius, showing him his freedom while he condemns him to die. This paper presents a case study of how Cicero constructs the Strait of Messana in *Verr.* 2.5.169-170, demonstrating how Cicero uses geography and topography for his own rhetorical purposes. Following the methodological approaches to geographical history of Katherine Clarke, Diana Spencer, and Ann Vasaly, this paper argues that Cicero uses the Strait as a rhetorical tool. This technique enables Cicero to frame the cruelty of Verres within its geographical-historical context, demonstrate the danger Verres presents to Cicero's Roman audience, and reflect the paradoxical nature of the Strait of Messana as both a boundary and connection between Rome and Sicily.

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Law and Rhetoric in Cicero's pro Tullio

Cicero's forensic speeches are often along with his political speeches regarded as the epitome of Roman oratory. Aimed at persuading an audience which consisted of a jury or college of judges in a court setting, forensic speeches feature the finest elements of rhetoric of the ancient world with which we are familiar. From this perspective, it cannot surprise to find scholarship on Cicero's orations devoting abundant amount of attention to the (meaning of) rhetorical elements (e.g. Kirby 1990; Steel, 2001). Although such an approach has facilitated a good comprehension of Cicero's speeches and of wider aspects of Roman society during the Late Republic (such as the role of oratory and rhetoric in politics and law), it has also clouded the fact that the arguments brought forward in Cicero's forensic speeches are as much grounded in rhetoric as in a legal context. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate this by looking at one of Cicero's orations: the fragmentarily preserved *pro Tullio* of 72/71 in defence of M. Tullius, who had brought a suit against P. Fabius due to the unlawful damage of his property. In a recent article, La Bua (2005) has focused on the rhetoric with which this speech is imbued. Accepting the importance of oratorical technique in this particular speech, my presentation redresses its imbalance by firstly demonstrating Cicero's wide knowledge of the case's legal framework, and secondly arguing that Cicero's preoccupation with legal issues form an integral part of the speech's argumentation while rhetoric comes second.

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Session 11B: Greek Literature: Ethnographic Approaches
Chair: Gary Morrison

Peter Gainsford Victoria University

Migration and demigration: the Catalogue of Ships as a lesson in pre-Dorian geography

The Catalogue of Ships, *Iliad* 2.484-759 (see Visser for the major commentary), plots out a poetic map of the Greek mainland and southern islands (see Kirk). It is organised in three sections: (1) 'Achaian' Greece, comprising all parts of the mainland south of Thermopylae; (2) the southern Aegean islands, specifically those considered to be Dorian in the Classical era; and (3) 'Aeolian' Greece, from Phthia northwards to Thessaly.

These divisions come about from reversing the effects of several legendary migrations: the migrations of the Dorians, the Achaians, the Ionians, and the Boeotians. (See especially Hall on migration legends.) When these migrations are superimposed on the Catalogue, the result is close to the actual ethnic layout of contemporary Greece. The migrations have the net effect of adding Dorians to the Peloponnese, while confining Achaians to the north and removing Ionians altogether; and removing Achaians and Minyans from Boeotia and replacing them with Aeolians.

This paper will outline this geographical framework, then go on to look at indications that the Catalogue's ethnic map is a construction, not an authentic record of the real geopolitics of Greece at any period. This especially means looking at variations on the Dorian migration legend. The best-known story—the (Spartan?) legend found in Apollodorus and Diodorus—is just one among many variants.

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A Foreign Aphrodite: Herodotus and Helen in Egypt

The framework within which Herodotus conducts his historical research in Egypt is made clear from the statements he makes about his sources throughout the course of Book 2. These sources can be summarised as what he saw himself (*opsis*), what he heard (*akoē*), the results of his own questioning of informants (*historiē*) and his own reasoning and judgement (*gnōmē*). The focus of this paper is the role of observation, and therefore the physical objects he supposedly saw, within Herodotus' historical method.

The Proteus *logos* (2.112-120) is a useful passage through which to closely examine the interplay between Herodotus' sources and how he makes his own judgements on the information he has gathered. Firm judgements regarding 'truth' are rare in Book 2 and the existence of a physical object is not a prerequisite for a judgement being made. This paper will argue, however, through an analysis of the Proteus *logos,* that *opsis* applies as much to eyewitness accounts that Herodotus was told as it does to what Herodotus saw himself. Importantly, Herodotus was aware of where his information came from and the ultimate origin of that information affected the application of his *gnōmē*.

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The Ethnographic Eye in Theocritus' 'Hymn to the Dioscuri'

A major difficulty for readers of Theocritus' 'Hymn to the Dioscuri' (*Idyll* 22) is the poem's moral incongruity. Most of the narrative is taken up by two violent conflicts. Polydeuces spares the life of the arrogant barbarian king, Amycus, while Castor kills the fellow Argonaut, Lynceus, in a duel over the abduction of Lynceus' and his brother's brides. Polydeuces narrative is an obvious morality story, in which he defends the Greek institution of *xenia* from Amycus' disdainful noncompliance. This focus on morality makes the contrast between Polydeuces' clemency and Castor's cruelty more stark. I propose that we should focus on the human antagonists rather than the divine twins. These figures represent different 'ways of seeing,' which link the poem's different ethical orientations with different ethnic identifications.

Amycus' barbarian vision contrasts with the close connection of Greekness and vision in Lynceus' narrative. Polydeuces tries to initiate the verbal rites of *xenia*, but Amycus refuses because he '[has] not seen [these men] before' (22.55). Amycus uses references to vision as a means of threatening Polydeuces, and his eyes are punished in the ensuing fight. In the Castor narrative, Lynceus' famous vision is also neutralized, but his death and that of his brother draw attention to Greek rites of passage in which vision establishes the individual's status within the community. Focusing on vision confirms the aforementioned problem of the poem: despite his ethical and ethnic alterity, Amycus fares better than Lynceus. I close by offering possible historical contexts for this outcome.

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Session 11C: Livy
Chair: tbc

Edward Blume-Poulton

Transition problems between the pentads in Livy's third decade: a new interpretation

Livy structured his decade on the second Punic war to place the turning point of the war at the transition between the two pentads. Problems exist with this transition, especially within the final passages of the first pentad (25.23 – 25.40); commencing with the capture of Syracuse, attributed to 212 by many but, arguably completed early 211, then the death of the Scipios in Spain, actually occurring in 211, then Marcellus' final activity in Sicily in 211. The elections for 211-10 are then called, ending the first pentad. It is generally accepted these passages show that Livy wrongly saw 212 as the transition point of the war, has followed an incorrect source on the death of the Scipio brothers and, seriously erred including Marcellus' activity for 211 within 212.

The second pentad continues with 211-10 election details. Focus then shifts to Hannibal's futile march on Rome and Rome's capture of Capua and other activity for 211.

I propose Livy knew 211 was the transition point in the war and these final passages of the first pentad all refer to that year. Livy ended the first pentad by contrasting the first Roman and last Carthaginian significant victories before commencing the second pentad with the two events demonstrating the future trend of the war, victory for Rome, all occurring in 211.

Far from being an apparent indication of a chronological separation, the elections are a contextual innovation linking the transition between pentads within the year 211.

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The unessayable essay: Livy, a life

This year marks a major anniversary: 2000 years since the death of the historian Livy (59BC-AD17, following Eusebios' dates). He thus lived 76 years which saw some of the most momentous transformations of the Roman world. 'Not much material for a biographer', pronounced Syme—and everyone has, of course, assented. There is both the problem and the état. There have been (failed) attempts to destabilize his dates, and there has been some attention to sorting out when he began to write. There is, however, much that can be learned about his education, his travels, his beginnings (who has heard of the historian Cornutus? Not Walsh!); most especially we can try to talk sense about what has been totally misunderstood: his military experience, and his relations with Augustus (Livy 4.20, Tac.Ann.4.34) and Claudius (Suet.Claud.41), and conclude with the evidence for his tomb and the search for his portrait. The evidence has always been there. The argument: that the texts can be--must be-- read correctly! Livy did not say that Augustus showed him any breast-plate, Cordus did not say that Livy and Augustus were friends, Suetonius did not say that Livy was the prince's tutor. What they did say will be revealed.

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Session 11D: Polysemy in Attic black-figure vase painting (Panel)
Chair: Gina Salapata

Samantha Masters Stellenbosch University

From narratives to subtexts: The 'problem' of Helen's abduction and recovery in Attic black-figure vase-painting

Helen's abduction by Paris and her recovery by Menelaus are popular narratives from the Trojan War cycle, and one would expect these two events to be popular scenes in Attic black- and red-figure vase-painting too. Red-figure examples are abundant and relatively unproblematic, however when it comes to black-figure, it is questionable whether such scenes exist at all. In Ghali-Kahil's two studies of Helen (1955 and 1988), 83 black-figure examples that are potentially either the abduction or recovery are represented through the same, or very similar, image matrix: an armed hoplite confronts or leads a veiled woman who uses a veiling/unveiling gesture. Investigation of their iconography reveals that while they *could* lend themselves to these interpretations, they are in no way securely identifiable as such. In this paper I argue that while the Trojan War narratives, including Helen's stories, have relevance to a society that fought in wars, the value of this 'problematic' group of scenes is not in their precise identification, but rather in their ability to lay bare the subtexts or metanarratives of the day. Such scenes, whether about Helen or not, articulate contemporary discourses around war, justifiable anger, competition, violence, revenge, and the possession and retrieval of women, all of which are shown by Van Wees (1992; 2000) and Lendon (2002) to be important to 6th century Athenian society. This approach demonstrates how a successful image matrix can be a useful communicative tool through which the artist and his audience can think about their world.

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Stranger than mythology: festive satyrs and maenads in black-figure

Analysing trends in black-figure vase-painting can enable us to draw some conclusions about what elements or values were continually reinforced and therefore accepted by the ancient Athenians. In addition, black-figure tradition is such that each vase-painting image brings with it several layers of meaning created from other contexts, scene-types, and from the tradition itself. Using these two premises, I argue, alongside Guy Hedreen (2007), that some scenes of satyrs and maenads that have been interpreted as mythological in fact also reflect Athenian festival practice from the archaic period. The focus of this presentation will be on the depiction of the *aulos* in black-figure, a musical instrument that can be found in several different contexts. These contexts include symposia, athletic competitions, festivals, choruses, and Dionysian revels with satyrs and maenads. Some of these instances of the *aulos* are already linked to festival practice, as Shapiro (1992) notes in his discussions of musical contests at the Panathenaia, or at least with revelry in honour of Dionysos as Smith (2010) describes in her book on *komast* dancers. By finding the trends within the more than 700 examples of *auloi* accessed from the Beazley Archive Pottery Database, it is possible to demonstrate that the 'mythological' scenes of satyrs and maenads which include *auloi* can be interpreted as another representation of festival practice.

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'Busting' assumptions: black-figure cups with an outline head motif

A number of black-figure cups after the mid-6th century feature profile 'busts' in outline as isolated motifs on the exterior: some men but mainly women. The most comprehensive scholarly treatment is by von Vacano (1973), within his broad study of profile heads on vases from the 8th century to the end of black-figure; for him the heads tended to signify the whole figures, and he felt that although the phenomenon defied generalisation, when there is inscriptional or iconographic identification, a mythological action might be evoked.

Callipolitis-Feytmans (1980) analysed the Kallis Painter's unusual cup in Athens with busts of men and women, proposing Aphrodite for the most prominent female, between Hermes and Adonis. Cornelia Isler-Kerényi (2001) questioned this in her monumental study of archaic Dionysian imagery, preferring to see all the busts on cups as 'in some way Dionysian', with the women to be identified as nymphs or hetairai; she further suggests a potential for cultic reference.

These views represent a standard approach to the analysis of recurrent figures and scenes, whereby anonymous figures are interpreted in light of similar examples where specific (mythological) identification is included. This paper will contend that in the case of the outline busts, this approach might usefully be reversed, with the anonymous examples regarded as the norm, among which some few have a specific identity overlaid. When account is taken of technique, date-range, and the implied symposion context, the potential for polysemy in these motifs presents itself, open to individual subjective responses.

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