Abstracts for Plenary Lectures, Round Tables and Panel Sessions

**Plenary Lectures**

**Anchoring innovation: A classical research agenda**  
Professor Ineke Sluiter (Leiden)

‘Innovation’ is a modern buzzword. We tend to delegate ‘innovation’ to technology, medicine, the natural sciences. But as humanities scholars, we know that innovation can affect all domains of human life. Moreover, people forget that without the ‘human factor’ new ideas will not be adopted. All of this can be amply demonstrated by the study of classical antiquity, where innovation abounds, even though scholars tend to think of this world as ‘in the grip of the past’. The Dutch classicists in OIKOS propose to see a connection there, rather than a paradox: their current research agenda is driven by the concept of ‘Anchoring Innovation’.

**What did the Roman city do for us?**  
Professor Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (Cambridge)

A century ago, Francis Haverfield identified the grid plan of streets as the great contribution of the Roman city to urban civilization. But, apart from the fact he underestimated the contribution of Greek city planners to the grid, was this really the feature of their cities the Greeks and Romans thought most important? Aristotle at least would have disagreed. What did they think really mattered about a city? How influential was the grid, when, with whom and why?

**Round Tables**

**Towards a Digital Classics Infrastructure and Strategy**  
Convener and Chair: Gabriel Bodard (ICS)

This Round Table session will explore the infrastructural needs of digital Classics research at the national and international level. The Institute of Classical Studies is drawing up a strategy for supporting digital practice, which includes attention to expertise, communities, technologies and standards, open data, sustainability and preservation. A panel of scholars and experts from libraries, digital humanities, publishing and classical research will discuss issues from the support, creation and publication of research, to the sustainability of data and the maintenance of non-finite projects in the digital realm. Among questions we hope the audience will contribute to the discussion, is how a central institution and library can support digital research in these or other areas across the country and beyond.

**Support for Digital Classics research in libraries**  
Rossitza Atanassova (British Library)

The British Library is stepping up its efforts to give access to content online and support online research. The Digital Scholarship department engages with the digital research community to raise awareness about the digital content and improves the Library’s understanding of the research community’s emerging practices and needs. More content in digital form, interoperable standards, new services to share digital data, experimental projects, residences, competitions and awards are some of the ways that the Library supports Digital Humanities.
Support for Digital Classics research in digital humanities
Charlotte Tupman (Exeter)

Many Classics departments have staff and students who would like to engage more deeply with existing Digital Classics (DC) initiatives and to develop their own projects and modules, but need advice and practical assistance in order to pursue their research and publication aims. This paper will address the types of support that Digital Humanities (DH) practitioners can provide for Digital Classics within different institutional models, particularly in developing an understanding of key technical skills and methods. It will address areas in which interested Classicists can draw upon the expertise of the wider, very active, DC community, and those in which specific institutional DH assistance is likely to be necessary, suggesting practical solutions for some of the most frequent DC-related requests.

Born digital publication in Classics
Liz Potter (ICS)

I will consider the opportunities and challenges presented by the digital environment to various sorts of publications related to the ancient world, including for example: how we manage sustainability of digital resources; what are the cost implications of digital outputs for the publishing process; what are the challenges and opportunities entailed in Open Access publication; what are the impacts on libraries and archives (discussing, for example, the use of library funding to help create resources); what are the impacts for teaching. I shall look at a few publications and compare print and digital outputs: is digital similar, different, better (etc.) than print versions, in what ways, why, for whom?

Research data management and sustainability of Digital Classics publications
Charlotte Roueché (KCL)

Since we first started publishing online, colleagues have regularly posed the same question: will this work survive as long as a printed volume—or, for that matter, a manuscript? The question is still valid; the only difference now is that institutions and governments are starting to engage with it. The major new developments are the requirements for Open Access, to publications and to data (Research Data Management); interestingly, Classics has been ahead of the curve in these areas. This is a rapidly evolving situation, and it would be very helpful to hear from other colleagues about their experience.

Keeping projects alive: Ongoing collaborative projects in an age of short-term funding
Gabriel Bodard (ICS)

Several digital Classics projects produce not a finite, book-like publication, but rather a growing and evolving body of data and commentary contributed to and corrected by an editorial team, which may be very large and spread over a long period of time. The TLG, for instance, in development for 45 years, survives thanks to an income stream from subscribers and institutional commitment to its continuation; other corpora are similarly supported by commercial publishers. Other projects, such as Papyri.info (Duke) or Diotima (Kentucky), rely on dedicated academic editorial communities, or repeated short-term funding. We shall discuss some of the implications of trying to find sustainable and scalable solutions to the development of these kinds of projects.
During the Renaissance and Early Modern Period Latin was the principal language of intellectual discourse. This was a Latin characterised by a self-conscious attempt to return to the Latin of antiquity, often on the basis of specific models including, notably, Cicero, Vergil and Apuleius. The same humanist project also brought back to light numerous works of classical literature that had been ‘lost’ to Western culture for centuries. Among these works were volumes that would have a lasting influence on European thought, among which the works of the didactic tradition (Aratus, Lucretius), the astronomical and mathematical tradition (Ptolemy, Stobaeus) and epistolary literature (Cicero, Seneca) are particularly worthy of mention. The extent to which the ideas that these texts contained has influenced modern understanding of the physical, natural and social world has been, and continues to be, the subject of intensive study. An aspect of these ancient works often overlooked in considering their impact on the history of western ideas is, however, their form. The fact that authors of didactic poetry could lay out entire philosophical or cosmological systems in verse is a striking fact little reflected upon today. The form in which classical authors chose to present their thoughts is evidently bound to the shape those views would take and the way in which they were reasoned, argued or defended. Their genre also influenced the way in which ‘new’ classical ideas were received and developed by Renaissance and Early Modern thinkers.

**Latin literary traditions and the hidden revolution**

David McOmish (Glasgow)

Evidence from the works and thoughts of three of the most significant figures of the Scientific Revolution – Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo – shows that by the late 16th, early 17th centuries, two Latin literary forms had come to exercise a significant influence upon the formation and conveyance of radical ideas in Europe: the humanist Latin commentary tradition; and the expository classical didactic verse tradition. The lack of interpretative emphasis on the forms themselves from Historians of Science and Intellectual Historians has resulted in serious gaps in our knowledge of the development of the Revolution across Europe. This paper will discuss a large unpublished manuscript of prose commentary (Adam King, Edinburgh 1616) on poetry (George Buchanan, *De Sphaera*) that helps to bring into sharper focus the important role both traditions played during this period. It provides a case-study that both demonstrates how the dialectical potential of the traditions made them such effective conduits through which to pass radical ideas, and also highlights how radically expansive and dangerously pluralistic the classical literary tradition could be in the reductive, tribal environment of Britain immediately before the 17th-century Civil Wars.

**Neo-Latin epistolary writing and the assembly of knowledge**

William Barton (Innsbruck)

Alongside the ‘scientific’ monograph (Copernicus’ *De revolutionibus* (1543) or Brahe’s *Astronomiae Instauratae Progymnasmata* (vol. 1, 1588), to take two examples treated elsewhere in this panel), the epistolary exchanges of early modern naturalists have long been of interest to historians of science. Their correspondence – written overwhelmingly in Latin – can be productively divided into two groups: the private letter, and the more formal epistle, destined eventually for a public audience. While both forms of communication continue to be fruitfully mined by scholars for projects of intellectual history, their literary aspects have been almost entirely ignored. The consequences of this lack of attention to the literary qualities of early modern scientific letter-writing are most acutely appreciable in the case of the epistle. After the rediscovery of Cicero’s letters by Petrarch in 1345, interest in the epistolary form proliferated during the early modern period. Grounded in the classical tradition, from among which the epistles of Cicero, Seneca and Pliny the Younger stand out, Latin epistle writing in the early modern
period was an inherently literary exercise. On the basis of the scientific Latin epistles gathered and published by the Swiss naturalist Conrad Gessner (1516–1565), this paper will consider to what extent the literary aspects of the Latin epistolary genre influenced the shape of scientific knowledge in the early modern period, and whether or not it also affected the course of natural historical understanding as well.

Rhetorical strategies in scientific prose texts
Johanna Luggin (Freiburg)

Notwithstanding the efforts of the history of science, the genre of Latin scientific prose treatises of the early modern world, which constitutes the foundation of modern science, is still little investigated when it comes to its form and, more specifically, style. A large number of historians of science do not study these texts as Neo-Latin works, which respond to contemporary scientific discourses, but owe more to the classical tradition in the formal structure, more precisely classical rhetoric. Important scientific texts such as Johannes Copernicus’ *De revolutionibus* (1543), Athanasius Kircher’s *Mundus subterraneus* (1664) or Isaac Newton’s *Principia mathematica* (1687) were permeated by ancient rhetoric, simply because their readers educated in Classical Studies expected no less from a prose text which is designed to win them over to their new and exciting views. The paper will give one example of the rhetorical strategies used in such scientific texts, Kircher’s *Mundus*, and explain how its ekphrastic techniques in the description of complex circumstances, its artful application of *narratio*, which lets the reader participate in the discovery of the new insights, and the use of pathos were applied to convince the reader of the new knowledge disclosed in his treatise.

Classics in Schools: A Round Table
Convener: Thomas Harrison (Classics for All, Classical Association of Scotland)

Participants:
Hilary Hodgson (Classics for All)
Thomas Harrison (Classics for All, Classical Association of Scotland)
Kathryn Tempest (Classical Association)

This Round Table discussion and workshop will explore Classics in secondary education in the maintained sector. This follows the pattern of the first such round-panel, organised at the Edinburgh CA/CAS conference. This attracted over 60 attendees, and proved an extremely valuable: both in allowing a large number of those involved in outreach/schools work to learn about each other’s work, and in generating new ideas.

This year’s Round Table is a three-part format.

Part One
In the first part (30 mins), we will include briefings on progress in – and new challenges that confront - the expansion of Classics: from the CA, from Classics for All, from key figures in the expansion of Classics invited to attend, and from the floor. This will pick up on key issues raised in the Edinburgh conference, including exam reform and teacher training.

Part Two
In the second part (1 hr and 15 mins), we will address a small number of key themes. Depending on the political context, these may change in the run-up to the conference, but themes will include:

- Access to ancient Greek in the state sector – a plan for regeneration?
- University outreach – distinguishing the effective from the ineffective
- Increasing access to ancient languages in primary schools (models and approaches)
The format for this will be three seminar sessions, to encourage practical thinking about the main priorities for the development of Classics in the state sector, and the best way of delivering on these. (As last year, this will be based around discussion of the Classics Development plan, agreed between the CA, CfA, Hellenic and Roman societies amongst others). The Round Table will feature a number of (c. 10) invited contributors from schools, university outreach, teacher training, and education policy. It is expected, however, that it will again elicit a much wider range of contributions from CA members with relevant experience.
Panel Sessions

Session 1

‘All of it. It’s all true.’ Star Wars and Classical Reception
Theme: Classics in the Contemporary World
Convener and Chair: Tony Keen (Open)

In May 1977, the first paying audiences experienced an Imperial Star Destroyer soaring over their heads, as the original Star Wars opened on general release. George Lucas’ fictional creation is awash with different influences, from Joseph Campbell’s Hero of a Thousand Faces to Kurosawa’s Hidden Fortress. One of these is the fall of the Roman Republic and the rise of the imperial system that replaced it, albeit filtered through Hollywood versions of events. In this panel we celebrate Star Wars’ fortieth anniversary by looking at various aspects of its relationship with the ancient world: the Emperor Palpatine as symbolic of concerns also expressed about Octavian’s rise to power; parallels between the attempt of Oedipus to defy prophecy and that of Palpatine and Darth Vader; Jedi Masters as di ex machina; and images that depict the events of Star Wars in a mode drawn from antiquity.

From Republic to Empire – Rome and Star Wars, Octavian and Palpatine, from Roman Empire to evil Empire
Tristan Taylor (New England, Australia)

As the Roman Empire appears as paradigmatic for modern European colonial powers, so the Star Wars’ Empire can be seen as paradigmatic for post-colonial views of imperialism. The lessons that can be learned from comparing Octavian and Palpatine extend beyond parallels between their rise to sole power: both manipulated circumstances of crisis and emerged from the ashes of civil war as effective sole rulers; both clothed their precipitous rises in powers granted by the very republican systems that they brought down; both skilfully built and manipulated alliances with others during their rise, and ultimately turned on many of these very allies. Furthermore, the figure of Palpatine can be seen as an intense reflection of twentieth and twenty-first century anxiety about dictatorship and imperial regimes, such as that of Augustus that has shaped more negative interpretations of the first emperor from at least Syme’s Roman Revolution. Such anxiety has also shaped interpretations of Augustan literature, including in particular reactions to Vergil’s Aeneid in such scholars as, inter alia, Parry, Putnam and Boyle. At the same time, the very intensity of the negativity of Palpatine’s representation provides a touchstone for reaching more nuanced readings of history: all is not black and white.

‘He could destroy us’: Oedipus, Palpatine, Vader and the self-fulfilling prophecy
Benjamin Howland (Louisiana State)

Upon learning his fate from the Pythia, Oedipus attempts to escape the damning prophecy given to him; this directly positions him to do the opposite. Throughout Oedipus Tyrannus, Sophocles incorporates a common classical theme: fate is inescapable. Sophocles also introduces a paradox found within this theme which begs the question: had Oedipus not known his fate, would he have accomplished it? Just as in Sophocles’ tragedy, George Lucas’ original Star Wars trilogy contains this paradoxical theme of fate and how the knowledge of that fate drives characters unknowingly towards it. The clearest example of this is Emperor Palpatine and Darth Vader’s attempt to prevent their own destruction at the hands of Luke Skywalker. Rather than preventing Luke from destroying them, they give him the tools by which he brings about their destructions. This paper discusses how the Emperor and Vader parallel Oedipus in their attempt to avoid fate. I argue that, through Lucas’ incorporation of Campbell’s archetypical heroic model, the Emperor and Vader’s destruction becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy accomplished only through their attempts to convert Luke to the Dark Side, just as Oedipus’ fate is accomplished only through his attempt to escape it.
The authoritarian tone of many divine interventions remains one of the more troubling features of Euripidean theatre (see discussions concerning Orestes or Ion): faced with nearly unbearable anguish, gods of tragedy all too often appear to issue long series of instructions and commands seemingly – at least for the modern sensibility – at odds with the tone of staged events. This troubling quality appears to be shared by some appearances of Obi-Wan Kenobi, particularly as featuring in The Empire Strikes Back: this seems of particular interest given the fact that for the most part the old Jedi Knight, a mentor to Luke Skywalker, appears to resemble the figure of Athena as portrayed in the Odyssey. Further questions may be raised should one reflect on the function of the ‘arch-master’, Yoda, particularly given the latter’s superior knowledge. Effectively, what we propose to explore is the portrayal of the Jedi Masters as depicted in the original trilogy – in considering it, we would like to draw attention to the possible ancient models and parallels manifest in both in the role these Masters have within the plot and the actual way their role is fulfilled.

Greek vases from a galaxy far far away: An examination of Star Wars–ancient Greece fan art and what it suggests about the public perception of classical culture
Sonya Nevin (Roehampton)

This paper analyses the use of classical motifs within the substantial body of Star Wars fan art. It will focus on exploring the strand of fan art that depicts Star Wars scenarios as ancient Greek vase scenes. These works include an imitation of the Rhodian plate, an imitation of Exekias’ Achilles-Penthesiliea amphora, and many more imitating the colour scheme and patterned borders that are distinctive elements of Greek vase decoration. After discussing individual examples and trends, the paper will consider this mode of fan art within its wider genre (including the inclination for cross-over/mash-up art), and will explore what this style of art indicates about perceptions of the classical world, with emphasis on the concept of ancient history as fantasy.

Narrating the Body
Theme: Experiencing the Body
Conveners: Esther Eidinow (Nottingham) and Georgia Petridou (Liverpool)
Chair: Jessica Hughes (Open)

This panel explores ancient narratives about the body, whole and in pieces, and the contexts in which it appears. The papers investigate the ways in which, and reasons why, the body is depicted as coming apart, the significance of body parts, and the relationship of body parts to the body as a whole. A number of key themes link the papers. We highlight here: the significance of the experience of pain and its resolution for body perception; the relationship of body and body parts to individual and social identities; and the instrumentalisation of the body and its parts. Together, these papers explore the role of the body in the ancient cultural imaginary from four different perspectives, exploring how the body and its parts were conceptualised and narrated by the individual in the classical and post-classical world.

Minds and body parts in ancient Greek binding spells
Esther Eidinow (Nottingham)

This paper starts from the question of why, if curse tablets/katadesmoi were fundamentally a practice of competitive contexts, as scholars have argued, the material record indicates that their early use was primarily not for sporting events, but in political settings, such as the law courts. This paper suggests that these early binding spells should instead be considered primarily as political instruments, which treated the body of the individual as a site of domination. Starting from Michael Taussig’s insights on the ways that ‘societies live by fictions taken as reality’, this paper focuses on the imagined violence
against the individual depicted in these curses, examining the cultural significance of the spectacle of the fragmented body. Importantly, alongside the physical targets (hands, feet, etc.), this conceptualisation of the political body included the intentionality of the victims: a number of these spells also bind various representations of the mind or will of the victim, including *nous* and *phren*. This paper examines how these spells, and their focus on body and mind, expressed and co-created a conception of the individual as political actor, and explores what it means for our understanding of ‘subjectivation’ in ancient Greek, especially Athenian, culture.

**The body undone. Pain’s anatomy and patient experience in Aelius Aristides’ *Hieroi Logoi* and Lucian’s *Podagra***

Georgia Petridou (Liverpool)

For the vast majority of modern chronic pain sufferers, ‘bodily experience assumes enormous proportions’ (Good 1992: 37). Patients describe their pain as ‘shattering’ and ‘world-destroying’. Pain, especially chronic pain, subjugates the body and defines body perception in ways that often defy established biomedical taxonomies. By embracing recent developments in ancient patient history (Roby 2015), this paper argues that the ancient patient experience of one’s body being fragmented by pain was not unlike that of modern sufferers. The main foci of this study are two paradigmatic narratives of the second sophistic, Aelius Aristides’ *Hieroi Logoi* and Lucian’s *Podagra*, which, I maintain, offer an exemplary attestation of a patient’s view of human anatomy and physiology, which differs substantially from that of their attending physicians. In many ways, this paper follows in the footsteps of earlier studies of bodily fragmentation and body perception (Hughes 2008; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010). However, I aim to offer further insights into how the ailing bodily fragments relate to the patient’s body as whole by employing current advances in the emerging field of the anthropology of pain (Jackson 2011 and Houser; and Zamponi 2011) and placing extra emphasis on the portrayal of bodily fragmentation in terms of life-altering religious experience.

**The body in pieces: Real, prosthetic and depicted body parts in text and material culture***

Alexia Petsalis-Diomidis ( Corpus Christi, Oxford)

This paper examines body parts detached from the whole human body using literary and material evidence. The boundary between real, prosthetic and depicted parts is the underlying concern, and the relationship of the parts to the person’s identity and sensory perception. Through a series of close readings of passages from the ancient Greek novels I show the narrative importance of real body parts cut off from the whole person. I then focus on prosthetic body parts through an episode in Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon* and in a number of Hellenistic epigrams, before turning to material culture (prosthetic legs and crutches, red-figure paintings of *olishoi* and votive phalloi). I ask to what extent the prosthetic body part is integrated into the body and identity of the user and how it engages with the senses of user and third-person observer (particularly optic and haptic). Finally I juxtapose these real and prosthetic body parts with archaeological anatomical votives, both healing and non-healing kinds. Through a consideration of display context and sensory interaction the variety of functions of typologically identical objects is brought out. The paper, then, opens pathways to understanding multiple coexisting ways that ancient Greek body parts were conceptualized and experienced.

**Pieces of human flesh: Xenocrates of Aphrodisias and Galen***

Caroline Petit (Warwick)

Although ancient practices of anthropophagy are often associated with myth, and despite ancient doctors’ claims to morality and sound practice, Greek pharmacy is one of the dubious areas in which medicine can be at odds with *philanthrôpia*. Human body parts, excrements and fluids were part of widespread recipes bordering on magic. Xenocrates of Aphrodisias, the author of a lost comprehensive treatise on the use of ‘animal’ (in the ancient sense of animated being) parts, played a pivotal role in diffusing and justifying such practices in the Greek-speaking world. In this paper, I intend to explore Galen’s testimony on Xenocrates of Aphrodisias in his pharmacological works and, through it, how
Galen engages with the trickier aspects of his subject, and negotiates the assumptions of Roman society and politics around the human body.

**The Ancient Roman Bars in Context: Life at the Commercial Frontier**

**Theme:** Everyday Life  
**Convener:** Paula Lock (Kent)  
**Chair:** Ray Laurence (Kent)

Ancient Roman bars are one of the more obvious aspects of commercial activity in the urban environment. The archaeological remains and the written evidence are testament to their central role in the economic and social life of the city. From the lower classes who frequented them on a daily basis to the elite who vehemently disparaged them, they were an important part of everyday life. Frequently dismissed by tour guides as ‘Roman McDonalds’ these establishments are, in many ways, only superficially understood. Bars have become a subject of interest internationally and the panel will draw together researchers from the USA, mainland Europe and the UK. Using an interdisciplinary approach, this panel aims to reveal a deeper, more nuanced portrait of how these commercial premises functioned and how they fitted into the commercial landscape. By drawing on the latest archaeological research at Pompeii, portable finds, gendered activities, literary analysis and sensory evaluation, this panel will challenge some common perceptions. It will view the bars through the eyes of the diverse people who used and worked in them, and so paint a more rounded picture of life behind and in front of the counter.

**Time gentlemen please: The lived experience of the Roman bar**  
Paula Lock (Kent)

The enigmatic ruins of ancient Roman bars can be found at sites across the former empire, their stark silence reminding us that last orders have long since been called. If we believe the hype, in their heyday these bars were noisy, dingy dens of drunkenness, gambling, prostitution and brawls. Places where over-diluted wine and greasy food were served up in an atmosphere thick with smoke to a clientele best described as reprobates. This paper aims to cut through the hyperbole to uncover the ‘real’ role of Roman bars in the cultural life of a city. Through detailed assessment of remains at Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia, I have tried to rationalize bar design, decoration, spatial layout and physical distribution. The result is a fresh perspective on this key component of Roman life that puts the people back into the ancient ruins and considers the sights, sounds, tastes and smells ordinary Romans experienced on a night out.

**‘Behaviour that would disgrace a labourer’: The urban tavern in literature and elite Roman thought**  
Shaun Mudd (Exeter)

‘Of the multitude of lowest condition and greatest poverty, some spend the entire night in wineshops … they quarrel with one another in their games at dice, making a disgusting sound’. The association between urban taverns and the basest elements of Roman society is highlighted here by Ammianus (14.6.25; and Juvenal 8.182 in the title of this paper). Comments and scenes to a similar effect occur repeatedly in ancient literature; bar-staff were said to be cheats and prostitutes, their clientele destitute and criminal, the premises disorderly and disgusting. This reflects the mindset of an aristocracy who were discouraged from attending taverns, and accordingly misunderstood and misrepresented the tavern’s role in the daily lives of others. This paper will survey such literary accounts to outline themes and to identify patterns in their occurrence (for example, whether these change over time, or vary according to nature of the literary work), in order to reflect more deeply upon aristocratic hostility to the urban tavern.
Wine, dice and gender — The material culture of sub-elite identities in Pompeian bars
Ria Berg (Tampere)

This paper examines the creation, performance and display of gender identities through the use of material objects in Pompeian bars — establishments that specialized in serving food and drink, which had a masonry selling counter and were destroyed in the 79 CE eruption of Vesuvius. In particular, the question of the personal appearance of the females — copa or the ancilla coponae — working in these establishments will be examined. What kind of object assemblages pertaining to gender-bound personal adornment have been found in Pompeian bars, and what is their quantitative and qualitative relationship with other objects found in these contexts? With what kind of objects are women working in bars depicted with in Roman iconography? These examples will be used to analyse the mechanics of how material objects forged and presented novel sub-elite gender identities, by paraphrasing, combining and reinterpreting object usages established in different — domestic, foreign or elite — contexts.

Sub-elite strategies for stability: Some individual responses to profit and power
Steven Ellis (Cincinnati)

Questions of economic stability typically target big, regional paradigms and institutions, with the successes measured — whether through archaeology or text — by the most profitable and powerful households, the wide-reach and peaks of trade, the growth of cities, and the economic ties that energized Mediterranean networks. And with good reason: the evidence is abundant and often obvious, but also complex, revealing, and interesting. But to what extent can economic (in)stability be measured, or at least identified, at the level of the individual urban household, particularly a sub-elite one? In this paper I will outline the economic histories of a group of neighbouring sub-elite households uncovered near the Porta Stabia at Pompeii. The University of Cincinnati excavations of 10 individual properties (including shops, workshops, and modest houses) have brought to light a range of evidence — about the use of coinage, the variation in diets, and the wholesale replacement of production with retail activities — that delineate the several centuries of hyper-localized, short- and long-term strategies for surviving the city’s urban and economic growth spurts. The paper considers the balance between the somewhat competitive socioeconomic and sociopolitical motivations behind urban investment, as well as how individual agency operated within, and responded to, broader economic systems and controls.

Livy: Exemplarity and Politics
Theme: Livy’s Bimillennium
Chair: Dunstan Lowe (Kent)

Uncertain boundaries: Reconsidering space and gender in Livy’s Ab urbe condita
Virginia Fabrizi (LMU, Munich)

Several studies have pointed out that the Ab urbe condita constructs gender-related spatial boundaries as a means for thinking about Roman political stability. Most of these studies have considered the spatial structure of Livy’s Rome in terms of an opposition between public (masculine) civic space and private (feminine) domestic space. This paper adopts a different approach by focusing on two episodes which reveal the fundamental ambiguity of those boundaries: Tanaquil’s handling of the royal succession after Tarquin the Elder’s death (Liv. 1.41), and the creation of the cult of Pudicitia Plebeia by a woman called Verginia in 296 BCE (Liv. 10.23). These women are quite unique in Livy’s history, not only because they are the only ones who deliver fully fledged public speeches, but because they act publicly as individuals in a way which is beneficial to the citizen community. I argue that their ability to do so derives from their acting at liminal locations at the very interface between domestic and civic space. By connecting to recent archaeological studies that have challenged traditional dichotomies of ‘private’ vs. ‘public’, ‘feminine’ vs. ‘masculine’ space, my analysis will suggest the potential of literary-oriented readings for further complicating the picture provided by ancient sources.
Livy’s un-Augustan exemplars
Steven Baillie Cosnett (KCL)

Although Livy’s relationship with the first emperor and the age that bears his name has been interrogated and challenged by many scholars from many perspectives, Augustan readings of the *Ab urbe condita* persist. This is especially true of prominent figures such as Camillus and Scipio Africanus, who continue to be interpreted as prototypical *principes* whose depiction draws on and anticipates Augustus. These characters’ positive qualities are not uniquely Augustan, however, and certain aspects of their depiction invite non-Augustan interpretations.

This paper offers such an interpretation of the exemplarity of Camillus, Africanus, and Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, by examining occasions on which each man endured mistreatment by the Roman nation. The significance of these episodes lies in the willingness of these characters to subordinate their *dignitas* to public will, however unjust. These *exempla* can be read most profitably in relation to the dynasts of the late Republic, whose failures to put the *res publica* ahead of their pride had disastrous consequences. Livy and his audience were survivors of the worst of the late Republic after all, so it is hardly surprising that his characters, too, owe their inspiration and their exemplary value to that time.

Rome beta: Livy’s Syracuse as a model for an alternate-reality Rome
Andrew Worley (Exeter)

Livy’s twenty-fourth book has at its heart the rise and fall of liberty at Syracuse following the death of the tyrant Hieronymus. In the wake of assassination, power ebbs from those who should hold authority to unscrupulous demagogues and the advent of mob-rule. For an author whose work is *ab urbe condita* and undeniably Roma-centric in its approach, such a sustained focus on somewhere Rome is not is out of keeping. This extended excursus can either be dismissed as indicative of Livy’s poor skills at collating his sources, or following the modern trend of viewing Livy’s history as *exempla*, the Syracuse episode is included for education. Such a reading as *exempla* sees Syracuse modelled as Rome 2.0 – a city which, like Rome earlier, has thrown off the yoke of tyranny and seeks to assert republican rule. Yet this is also an anti-Rome, where Roman *libertas* is Hellenized, and ceases to function properly. A city which exists in the text for Livy’s audience to experience a alternate-reality of Rome’s republican foundation, and offers the prospect for reading Rome’s contemporary troubles. Livy’s Syracuse is more than just a sad tale, it is both warning and comfort to his audience.

Qui privati fasces et regium imperium habeant: Livy on the political initiative of the second board of Decemvirs after expiration of their term of office
Roman Frolov (Yaroslavl State)

Livy gives an extensive account of the attempts of the second board of decemvirs to stay in power more than a one-year term. Scholars have been focusing on discussing the legal status of the decemvirs. Did they remain magistrates and thus prolong their term of office (even if illegally) or did they become *privati* who styled themselves as magistrates unlawfully, as Livy himself suggests? However, it is difficult, if possible at all, to choose between these two interpretations. In this paper, I suggest as a way out to focus instead on the issue of political initiative. It was magistrates who were expected to exercise the leadership, but it is not so evident that the decemvirs retained a political capability to take initiative, even if they did have magisterial powers. In these terms, their position may be understood as an ‘intermediate’ one between *magistratus* and *privatus*. This informs a new understanding of the alleged connection between Livy’s account of the second decemvirate and the position of the second triumvirs in 37 and 32.
Isocrates is known for his teaching and writing of *politikoi logoi*, concerning the affairs of Greeks, kings and cities (*Panath.* 11; Dion. Hal. *De Isoc.* 1.24-25), but modern scholars have often downplayed Isocrates’ relevance as a political thinker and debated the consistency of his political views. Isocrates was conscious of the usefulness of the past in rhetoric and of its relationship with the specific context of a given speech. He claims that past deeds are transmitted to us all as a common legacy (*koina*), but how to use them at the right time (*kairos*), how to apply the proper argument to each of them (*prosēkon*), and how to narrate them in good style (*onoma*), is an achievement peculiar (*idion*) to the wise-minded (*Pane.* 9). This panel considers Isocrates’ use of the past in his *politikoi logoi* in order to re-evaluate his political ideal and rhetorical power. The speakers address the following questions: 1.) the function of the past in rhetorical argumentation: how Isocrates uses the past as a subtler and more effective way to persuade his audience, and how he reshapes it to express his views in different *politikoi logoi*; 2.) the relationship with contemporary mythical and historical knowledge and literature, for instance how Isocrates uses or avoids concepts pertaining to Greek historiography; 3.) the relation between style and content, with analysis of political language, rhetorical *topoi*, and the form of the narrative. By focusing on these aspects in different genres of speeches, and drawing on social/cultural theory of remembering and forgetting, we hope to provide a new understanding of Isocrates’ political philosophy and a more precise definition of the genre of *politikoi logoi*.

**Autochthony and Athenian identity: Isocrates’ historical narrative in the *Panegyricus* 21-67**  
Mengzhen Yue (University College Dublin)

Isocrates is known for his predilection for the remote past. The nature of epideictic rhetoric and Isocrates’ Panhellenic readership seem to contribute to this (Clarke 2008; Grethlein 2014). This paper studies Isocrates’ encomiastic narrative of the remote past of Athens and his use of Attic autochthony as a rhetorical figure in the *Panegyricus* 21-67. Here Isocrates draws on the *topoi* from the tradition of the *epitaphioi logoi* to thematically elaborate Athenian civic and military *euergesia* for the Greeks, but he reshapes them in a subtler chronological order starting with the myth of Attic autochthony (24-25), followed by the Eleusinian Mysteries (28-33), the Ionian immigration (34-37), the Athenian contribution to the constitution (38-42), festivals (43-46) and education (47-50), as well as the myths of Heracles and Adrastus (54-65). By focusing on how the *topoi* are linked, I shall argue that Isocrates narrates Athenian *euergesia* in a deliberate sequence to legitimate the current Athenian hegemonic claim over Sparta. Moreover, I suggest that his use of the autochthonous myth not only extends the Athenian past into time immemorial, but the narrative sequence, that is the Ionian immigration and establishment of Spartan kingship came after Attic autochthony, downplays Ionian and Spartan identities.

**Historical exempla and the Athenian Hegemony in Isocrates’ *On the Peace***  
Maria Gisella Giannone (Exeter)

As Nouhaud (1982: 87) points out, Isocrates was deeply concerned with the past and its links with contemporary events. Such Isocratic interest is well exemplified in *On the Peace*, a speech which was most probably written during or just at the end of the Social War (357-355 BCE). Indeed, in this work Isocrates refers to the Athenian past in several passages. The historical examples which he employs play a crucial role within the structure of the speech and can be classified into two groups: on the one hand, the forefathers’ deeds at the time of the Persian Wars, which represent a positive model, on the other hand, past events that took place after the Persian Wars (especially during the Peloponnesian War) and that are regarded as negative instances. In my paper I shall analyse the function performed by these two categories of historical *exempla* in order to show how Isocrates skillfully makes use of them to
reach the main aim of his speech, namely persuading his fellow citizens to rethink and reshape Athens’ hegemony.

**Fourth-century history in Philippus 39-56: Panhellenic concord and the Greek poleis**

Massimiliano Carloni (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa)

Historical examples in Isocrates might appear long, too detailed and fundamentally useless with respect to the argumentative aim of a given speech. *Philippus* 39-56 may be considered as an instance of this. Isocrates aims at proving the possibility (*to dynaton*) of Panhellenic concord by means of a thorough discussion of the instability that has marked Greek politics over the last decades. By the analysis of this passage, this paper aims at exploring the different meanings historical examples convey precisely thanks to their rhetorical richness. The historical examples in *Phil. 39-56* develop argumentative strands that are parallel – yet integral – to the most evident ones. They do this especially by appealing to the different audiences of the *Philippus*. From the point of view of the Greek *poleis*, these examples figure as a reproach to a policy merely based on self-interest (*to ophelimon*) and *hybris*. At the same time, these examples advise Philip against repeating the same mistakes of the Greek *poleis*. It is precisely by means of these historical examples that Isocrates expresses here his clearest analysis of the failure of the Panhellenic project proposed in the *Panegyricus*, and his sharpest critique of the policies of Greek cities during the fourth century.

**Isocrates on the power to remember (and forget)**

Niall Livingstone (Birmingham)

Through his pupils and his influence on later rhetorical teaching, Isocrates had a decisive role in articulating ancient views of the relationship between rhetoric and historiography, and expectations about the meaning and value of the past. Across his long career his experiments with historical and mythical *exempla* became increasingly bold and unpredictable. In his final *magnum opus*, the *Panathenaicus*, questions of mythic and historical memory become entwined with reflections on the writer-orator’s own *persona*, in a play of authority which is strikingly self-referential and dialogic; Isocrates draws on both Pindaric and Socratic models as he dramatises his (in)decisions on the paths of memory and praise. In particular, his framing of the ‘Agamemnon digression’ at *Panath. 74*-90 makes his own allegedly age-related forgetfulness (*lēthē*) emerge, with quasi-Socratic irony, as the touchstone of his ability to certify truth (*alētheia*) for an Athenian or Panhellenic community. This paper draws on recent research into cultural and social memory to show how Isocrates’ *oeuvre*, from early exercises in forensic rhetoric to ambitious projects like *Philip* and *Panathenaicus*, develops an influential paradigm for social regulation of collective remembering and forgetting.
Fauns and satyrs and aegipans, oh my! The classical as ‘Strange Monstrous Evil’ in the works of Arthur Machen

Katy Soar (Winchester)

The fantastical literature of Arthur Machen, the Welsh writer and mystic of the late 19th and early 20th century, could well be considered ‘archeological’, revolving as it does around the resurgence of the past in the present. While drawing inspiration from several different periods and contexts, the classical world – in the form of statues, ruined temples, and mythical creatures – features often. By concentrating mainly on his 1894 novella, *The Great God Pan*, this paper will examine the ways in which Machen incorporates Greco-Roman elements into his work. Amongst other representations of the classical past, Machen’s depiction of Pan as diabolical, perverse and sinister, creates a strong parallel between the ancient and the monstrous, and stands in stark contrast to other late Victorian representations of Pan, such as the Anglicized, rustic, harmonious Pan of Grahame’s *The Wind in the Willows* or Kipling’s *Puck of Pook’s Hill*. This paper will consider the representation of Pan as a figure of horror and revulsion in this work, and consider the context – both personal and social – in which Machen was working, and reflect on his representation of Pan in relation to the larger body of classical material in which the goat-footed god is depicted.

Bread and Honour: Romans in *Star Trek’s Bread and Circuses* and *The Captain’s Honour*

Ben Greet (Leeds)

This paper will examine the *Star Trek* episode, *Bread and Circuses*, broadcast in 1968 and the *Star Trek: The Next Generation* novel, *The Captain’s Honour*, published in 1989. Both works present a civilisation which is similar to the Roman Empire, but has never fallen and thus developed modern technologies. Both then use this representation of the Romans as a metaphor for various contemporaneous issues. By focusing on two representations of the Romans within the same fictional universe, it is possible to examine how the Romans were used across both media (television and novels) and between their respective decades. For example, while both use the Romans as a metaphor for American imperialism, the episode focuses on America’s intervention in foreign states, while the novel uses them to express America’s growing cultural imperialism. Yet, they also use the Romans in utterly different ways: the episode used Juvenal as a starting point to discuss America’s distraction from the Civil Rights Movement with television; the novel explores issues of gender, violence, and militarism using emphasis on Roman legionary customs. The paper will also look at how audiences responded to these Roman tropes, both within their respective decades and in the contemporary world.

Classical bodies: Contemporary worlds

Paula James (Open)

According to Laurence Scott ( *The Four Dimensional Human*) in the networked world we can be everywhere; making ourselves insubstantial, we slip through solid surfaces but paradoxically displace ourselves onto pieces of technological hardware. Does this mean that the modern day mortal is mechanical, corporeal and elemental? This paper will apply the critical discourse of modern life to classical literary fantasies and ancient perceptions of ‘being human’ to the 21st century. Drawing upon the texts of Ovid and Apuleius, I shall discuss the porosity of physical identities that characterizes metamorphosing mortals in their narratives and also deities who might appear with bodily extension or as abstract concepts. Lesser beings live in fear of suffering penetration, fragmentation and disintegration but numinous creatures, like Salmacis, could also permanently dissolve. In *Metamorphoses* and *The Golden Ass* we find myths of metamorphosis that resonate with abiding
anxieties about being bestialised. However, they also reveal human aspirations to be (virtually) godlike. Scott suggests that in the new millennium we mimic the Olympians by existing on a representational as well as an actual plane but are we, like the victims in Ovidian and Apuleian fantasies, in peril of losing layers of ourselves while acquiring thick virtual skins?

Violent Bodies
Theme: Experiencing the Body
Chair: Patty Baker (Kent)

αὐτίκα δ᾽ ἔγνω οὐλήν: The scarred name of the autolycan hero Odysseus
Jenna LaRae Ferguson (Oxford)

The debate sparked by Auerbach’s essay on the scar of Odysseus has become hardly less legendary than the article itself. Why Homer included the episode in the first place, why the scar remained hidden from the audience until this point in the narrative, and even, in whose mind the memory of the boar hunt is supposed to have taken place, are all questions that have occupied the minds and pens of scholars for the past sixty years and more. Few, however, have chosen to focus their attention on the scar itself, on its symbolic value for Eurykleia’s tactile recognition of her master, and on its function as a connector between the recognition scene of Odyssey 19 and the Autolycan naming scene embedded within it. This paper considers Odysseus’ scar as a physical representation of the hero’s own identity—that which he has striven for so long to hide, but which may at any moment show through to those who know him best. Odysseus bears in his body the mark of a lifelong struggle with both violence and suffering. His scar and his name each embody his recognition of the suffering he will incur whenever he inflicts suffering on another.

Cicero silenced: Fulvia’s revenge in the visual arts
Jordan Stolze (Roehampton)

Once described by Münzer as ‘the first princess of Rome’, Mark Antony’s third wife, Fulvia, has a murky reputation amongst ancient authors as an ambitious and cruel woman. Hostile sources written after her death delight in embellishing tales of her vice with some claiming that she was not only the political mastermind behind Mark Antony’s career but partly responsible for the bloody proscriptions of the second triumvirate. The incident which has seized the popular imagination most vigorously is one relayed to us by Cassius Dio, where upon learning of Cicero’s execution, Fulvia takes the head of her old enemy between her knees and spits upon it before gleefully piercing his tongue with the pins from her hair. This extraordinary act of violence has become the defining image of Fulvia in the modern world. In this paper I plan to explore the striking legacy of this scene in the visual arts as a means to trace the evolution of Fulvia’s revenge in the public imagination; from its moral and artistic conflation with the Biblical story of Herodias to its more recent reinterpretation as a symbolic triumph over patriarchal oppression.

Suffering on stage: An embodied approach to Aeschylean tragedy
Afroditi Angelopoulou (Southern California)

The aim of this paper is to evaluate the emotionality of Aeschylean tragedy from an embodied perspective, which holds that cognition is grounded in our bodily interaction and experience with the world. I show that Aeschylus relies on an intuitively understood relationship between bodily and mental processes to craft scenes full of visceral intensity, which can elicit ἐκπλήξιν καὶ οἴκτων ἵκανον, as for example Cassandra’s scene in Agamemnon: ‘striking,’ ‘biting,’ ‘shattering,’ are the feeling components that metaphorically structure the chorus’ internal state, and are also the causes of bodily damage, of the suffering of the body (ll.1161-4). In my discussion, I focus on select passages from Aeschylus’ extant works (e.g., Sept. 916-21, Pers. 302-19), and argue that through patterns of interrelations between sounds, images, and the literal and metaphorical meanings of words, Aeschylus provides an embodied
framework within which to engage with the characters’ suffering, and to some extent ‘feel for’ them. Ultimately, this paper offers some fresh insights on Aeschylean language as it occurs at a rather implicit level, whereby meaning is largely constructed out of an experiential understanding of pain and suffering.

Theatricalising Objects
Theme: Everyday Life
Chair: Rosie Wyles (Kent)

Personal experience in civic festivals: The Arrhephoroi and Athena’s Panathenaic Peplos
Ellie Mackin (Leicester)

Classical Greek festivals were overwhelming. They were loud, cacophonous events, that smelled of fresh blood and boiling meat; they were usually joyous celebrations. These were an opportunity to strengthen civic bonds with the gods. But such festivals – particular large civic festivals, like the Panathenaia – are often discussed at the macro-level. As such, we lose the potential to find personal religious experiences because we cannot see what it feels like to be caught up in that cacophony. In this paper, I will present a viable narrative for the lived experience of the arrhephoroi. These were seven- to eleven-year-old elite Athenian girls who lived on the Acropolis and assisted in the production of Athena’s Panathenaic peplos, which was the primary offering of the Panathenaia. I will examine whether direct involvement in producing a sacred garment aids in the personalisation of public religious experience and what the overall experience of the festival on a young girl might be. Finally, I will look at whether the exceptional position of the arrhephoroi influences their religious practice in later life, and particularly during subsequent Panathenaic festivals.

Theatricalising everyday objects
Rosie Wyles (Kent)

This paper explores the interface of theatre and everyday life in 5th-century Athens by examining the way in which everyday objects were manipulated, exploited, and symbolically transformed as props on the tragic and comic stage. While the ‘everyday’ might be more readily identified as the domain of Attic comedy, in fact the mythological world of tragedy was also made up of everyday objects. Even more strikingly, the same everyday objects could appear as a dramatic focus in both genres; voting urns offer a powerful example of this principle since they appear on both the tragic (Aeschylus’ Eumenides, 458 BCE) and comic (Aristophanes’ Wasps, 422 BCE) stage. My paper explores two major questions:

1.) how far are these objects removed from the everyday by being ‘theatricalised’ (given new, or specific, meaning within the dramatic frame)?
2.) how might this mediate audience responses to them both while in the theatre and once they have returned home?

This paper aims to push beyond the implications of the well-known dramatic frisson caused by the 4th-century actor Polus performing the role of Electra with an urn containing his own son’s ashes (Aulus Gellius 6.5.7f), to explore the dynamic of everyday objects on the Athenian stage.

By the light of the lamp: Women, butterflies and secret deeds in classical antiquity
Chiara Blanco (Cambridge)

‘Broadcast now the fiery signal as we arranged…you alone we make privy to our plot…You alone illuminate the ineffable nooks between our thighs…’ (Trans. Henderson, 2002. Aristophanes, Ecclesiazusae, 5-16). With these words Praxagora addresses a lamp in the prologue of Aristophanes’ Ecclesiazusae. In the recesses of their oikos, women used lamps to communicate secret messages and accomplish furtive deeds outside social conventions. Archaeological evidence shows that lamps
featured prominently in women’s intimate life, including genital depilation and sexual encounters. Moving from the association between lamp and female sphere, this paper explores a more complex symbolic relationship which links women, lamps and butterflies in classical antiquity. Pyrallis, ‘nocturnal moth’, is attested in Greek and Latin literature as a proper name exclusively assigned to courtesans, due to the insect’s tendency to flutter around lamps. Apuleius’ tale of Cupid and Psyche is consciously built around the same cultural symbols: while Psyche (also ‘butterfly’ in Greek) conceives her secret plan to break free from her husband’s control, she avails herself of the help of a lamp, gaining freedom and reaching sexual maturity. By analysing both literary and archaeological evidence, this paper discusses how women sought to exercise their (mainly erotic) power outside traditional social conventions, shedding light on an unexplored aspect of women’s role in classical antiquity.

Preservation and Restoration of Buildings in Early Imperial Rome
Theme: Classical Archaeology as Heritage
Conveners and Chairs: Alina Kozlovski (Cambridge) and Chris Siwicki (Exeter)

The way in which the physical fabric of ancient Rome is treated today is a source of great interest and controversy. Likewise, there is good reason to think that the city’s ancient inhabitants were concerned about their heritage, although how Romans perceived and treated the art and architecture they inherited from earlier generations is a subject that has received much less attention. In antiquity, Rome’s historic built environment did not just ‘exist’ as an unchanging collection of material, it was cared for, destroyed, manipulated and reinterpreted. Understanding the processes by which this was done and the reasons behind these decisions is revealing of cultural values and political concerns. This panel brings together research on the preservation and restoration of statues and buildings in early imperial and late antique Rome. It investigates how elements of the city’s past were used by those living in the present, as well as the appropriateness of using the term and concept of heritage in reference to antiquity. The material and chronological scope covered by the collected papers allows for consideration of whether certain types of objects were engaged with differently and whether attitudes and values changed over time.

Approaching heritage in antiquity
Chris Siwicki (Exeter)

Heritage Studies is a growing area of research in a number of humanities and social science disciplines. However, this research is predominately concerned with the modern period and the phenomenon of heritage is rarely seen as having existed before the late nineteenth century. Only occasionally does the term feature in the titles of studies concerned with the ancient world itself and the explicit conceptualising or labelling of activity in Greco-Roman society as ‘heritage’ is limited. Yet by most modern definitions ‘heritage’ was clearly occurring in antiquity, as is demonstrated by the two other papers in this panel. Even if the term is anachronistic it can still be used to describe earlier practices and attitudes. This paper examines the appropriateness and usefulness, as well as limitations, of applying modern concepts of heritage to interpreting activity in antiquity. Focusing on imperial Rome, it sets out how Roman attitudes towards their historic built environment might be uncovered, and underscores the potential of a cross disciplinary approach for doing this.

Backdated buildings: Manipulating sources for architectural history in ancient Rome
Alina Kozlovski (Cambridge)

In this paper I address the relationship of Roman architecture to the texts which record its history. The veracity of such texts has proven problematic as they do not always match their physical remains which demonstrate different histories for the recorded buildings. In reality, such creative interpretations of architectural history in text should come as no surprise since some of our literary sources record how some individuals deliberately mislabelled buildings by not putting their names on the reconstructions they financed. Preferring to honour previous builders in this way has been interpreted by both ancients and moderns as attempts at modesty. I argue that, if we take Augustus’ claims about the Porticus Octavia
in the *Res Gestae* as an example, we can see that such an omission was not just about modesty but also a measured manipulation of historical sources for the future. As a result, the *princeps*’ reconstructions in contemporary ‘Augustan’ styles were effectively backdated, complete with a ‘paper trail’ of inscriptions for later writers studying the history of the buildings to follow. These acts of omission were therefore not only a chance for powerful figures to affect how future viewers would understand the material heritage of their city, but also an opportunity to control how their own new constructions would be understood alongside those that had existed before them.

**Thatched huts and Augustus**  
Peter Wiseman (Exeter)

Vitruvius’ history of building illustrates primitive construction techniques by pointing to examples surviving in his time, in Pontus, Phrygia, Massilia, Athens, and finally Rome: ‘so too the hut of Romulus on the Capitol and the thatched roofs of shrines on the arx can bring to mind and demonstrate the customs of antiquity’ (2.1.5). The ancient sources’ constant use of the *casa Romuli* as an example of old-fashioned frugality strongly suggests that it was preserved deliberately for that educational purpose. However, there was also a *casa Romuli* on the Palatine, and we know that Augustus chose to live on the Palatine because Romulus had lived there (Dio 53.16.5). My contribution to the panel will try to show (a) how many Palatine huts there were, (b) who it was who first exploited them for the Romulus story, and (c) how one of them in particular was significant for the man whose honorific name was derived from Romulus’ *augustum augurium* (Suet. *Aug.* 7.2).

**Seneca and the Epistolary Tradition**  
Theme: Acquiring and Structuring Knowledge  
Convener and Chair: Janja Soldo (LMU Munich)

Ancient (and modern) epistolography confronts us with such an immense variety of forms, styles and topics that it is difficult to subsume its manifold manifestations under one genre. In *La carte postale*, Jacques Derrida even noted that ‘the letter, the epistle…is not a genre but all genres, literature itself’. Despite the diversity inherent in letter-writing, a tradition has emerged that has certain topics and mannerisms in common and that we rightly call ‘epistolary’ (see e.g. Trapp 2003: 1-47; Gibson and Morrison 2012: 1-16). This panel explores how Seneca’s writing, both his letters, the *Epistulae morales*, and his work in general, shapes and is shaped by the epistolary tradition. The first paper (Edwards) examines the influence Cicero’s *Letters Ad Atticum* have had on Seneca’s *Epistulae morales*. It aims to focus on the subtle and implicit Ciceronian traces and to investigate how they function as a negative foil for the right behaviour of the wise man. Moving from epistolary influences to the letter form, the second paper (Soldo) investigates the role of logical argumentation within the *Epistulae morales*, a feature thought to be mostly absent from epistolary writing. The third paper (Jones) moves on from the letters to Seneca’s tragic writing, arguing that Seneca presents two different approaches to oral and epistolary communication in *Phaedra* and the *Epistulae morales*, depending on the role they attribute to writing and speech.

**Cicero as (anti-)model in Seneca’s Letters**  
Catharine Edwards (Birkbeck, London)

Cicero’s letters to Atticus, in circulation in the time of Nero, are evidently an important model for Seneca, whose collection of *Epistulae morales* is also addressed to a single equestrian friend (cf. epist. 21.4, promising Lucilius the fame which Cicero’s letters brought Atticus). Yet Cicero is explicitly mentioned only a handful of times, as Seneca underlines key differences between his own letters, focused inward on self-improvement, and those of his eminent predecessor, often preoccupied with political manoeuvring (118.1-2). The main concern of my paper will be to probe some more implicit reflections on Cicero’s correspondence in Seneca’s letters. For Seneca, the great republican writer, particularly as he revealed himself in his letters (Seneca was also familiar with his philosophical works),
offered a rich and complex example of philosophical aspiration and emotional turbulence. We may, for instance, detect echoes of Cicero’s laments about his exile (*Ad Atticum* Book 3) in Seneca’s account of how *not* to react to such a predicament (24.1–4), while the obsessive concern with the ups and downs of political business evident from so many of Cicero’s letters may be read as underlying Seneca’s excoriation of the forum as the most disturbing of locations for the would-be philosopher (28.6).

**Are letters logical? Argumentation and logic in Seneca’s *Epistulae morales***

Janja Soldo (LMU Munich)

The Stoics divided philosophy into three parts: ethics, physics and logic. While Seneca demonstrates his interest in and enthusiasm for the two former elements, he openly and repeatedly dismisses the latter, logic. His rants against the syllogisms used by Stoics, such as the horn paradox (e.g. *epist.* 49), which are infamous for their scathing criticism. Since antiquity, readers and interpreters have been convinced that Seneca’s *Epistulae morales* lack logic and cohesiveness: they argue that the genre does not allow logical thinking, but demands intimate and friendly conversations which do not necessarily have to be presented by means of a stringent argumentation. However, philosophical writing cannot work without logic and Seneca necessarily uses logic to support his argumentation – even in his letters. The paper will shed some light on Seneca’s use of logic in his epistles and show that he reconciles logic with epistolary writing. I shall argue that it is worthwhile not only to investigate Seneca’s pedagogical strategies, but also to take a closer look at his argumentation. The paper will demonstrate which logical instruments he uses, how he applies or fails to apply them, and when he even refuses to get involved in any kind of argument.

**Letter-writing in the tragic and philosophical traditions: *Phaedra* and the *Epistulae morales***

Madeleine Jones (London)

In *Phaedra*, Seneca follows the pattern of Euripides’ first, lost, *Hippolytos* play by depicting Phaedra as confessing her love for her stepson in person rather than by letter (as in Euripides’ surviving *Hippolytos*). Several passages in *Phaedra* identify communication with two tragic tropes: signs (traces left involuntarily) and pollution (spreading like a contagion). The tragedy suggests that base character shines forth in all speech and actions. This paper considers Phaedra’s confession in the light of Seneca’s treatment of the difference between speech and writing as vectors for philosophy in the *Epistulae morales*. The opposition between speech and writing is motivated by an anxiety about how a philosopher who has not yet attained perfect wisdom and virtue can write philosophical letters without also spreading his own viciousness. Allusions in the *Epistulae morales* to the philosophical tradition of letter-writing and to tragic notions of trace and pollution suggest two competing notions of epistolography. However, Seneca’s decision to hint at rather than directly depict letter-writing in *Phaedra* suggests there is a distinction between the tragic and philosophical traditions.
Session 3

Women’s Classical Committee UK
Classics and Women: Ancient and Modern
Panel 1: Women and Classics: The Female in Classical Scholarship
Conveners: Lucy Jackson (KCL) and Virginia Campbell (Oxford)
Chair: Helen King (Open)

Since the 1975 publication of Sarah Pomeroy’s groundbreaking study *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves*, women have found a place in the study of the ancient world, as individuals and as an integrated part of the historical whole. There remain, however, many aspects of antiquity and its reception where the role of women and their contributions have been underappreciated and understudied. The following papers offer scholarship that utilises new approaches and methodologies to expand our understanding of these issues. Individually considering a range of time periods, cultures, and types of evidence, collectively these papers move the study of women forward, whilst also contributing significantly to the discipline of Classics and Ancient History as a whole. These papers address the roles women held as financial backers of religious centres and warriors in ancient epic, the ancient views held on the female body through smell, and a new contemporary interpretation of the Penelopean myth.

*See further below for abstracts for Panel 2 of this session*

**Penelope: A theoretician somehow from the loom to the laptop**
Penelope Kolovou (Bonn)

In the advent of new media technology, the Greek poet Koula Adaloglou (Οδυσσέας, τρόπον τινά, Σαξπηρικόν, Thessaloniki 2013) appropriates the Penelopean myth within a postmodern literary and technological context, by engaging a laptop instead of a loom, upon which Penelope may ‘weave’ her messages to Odysseus. In her e-mails, Penelope interweaves the poetics and politics of her re-contextualised myth: although it remains dubious whether or not every message shall be sent or at least ‘saved as draft’, Penelope does reveal to the reader of her texting at real time the ideology and identities of her contemporary self. In this very adaptation of the myth, Penelope after having woven at loom, at writing desk, on music scores, on canvas, on stage and so forth – demonstrates foremost her theory on the aesthetics of a poetic collection, by exploiting a new medium, while typing her she-thoughts to be sent to the eternally he-absent beloved one. ‘I am writing… What would Penelope do without writing?’ It is only in this way that the μῦθος may go on, Penelope may fight wear and tear of time, and the poetic collection itself be created.

**Perfumes of Venus and jars of urine: Odour and the female body in Roman elegy and satire**
Thea Lawrence (Nottingham)

Roman elegiac and satirical poetry of the late Republic and early Principate created a literary construct of woman as a primarily physical being, more animal than her male counterpart. This literary, bestial woman was defined by the sensory relationship between her body and the outside world – by sight, touch, sound, smell, and taste. This paper will examine one of these lesser-studied sensory relationships; that existing between the female body and odour. It focuses in particular on the poetry of Propertius, Catullus, and Horace, and the epigrams of Martial. Broadly speaking, Roman poetry constructed two categories of woman based on olfaction: sweet-smelling objects of desire, such as the fragrant Cynthia, rising from her bed in Propertius 2.29a, and grotesque, stinking whores typified by Thais (Martial 6.93).

Drawing on anthropological theories of olfactory codes (Classen, Howes, and Synott 1994), and on previous work concerning odour in antiquity such as Mark Bradley’s *Smell and the Ancient Senses* (2014), I argue that both of these stereotypical archetypes of femininity served to reinforce widespread and enduring Greco-Roman cultural ideas of the female body as simultaneously repulsive, erotic, weak, and dangerous - both threatening and desperately in need of male control.
The role of women-benefactresses in Delphic society
Dominika Grzesik (Wroclaw)

This paper’s intention is to present the role of Delphic women in Delphic society, and to illuminate the relationship between the community and its benefactresses in post-classical times. Twenty five *tituli honorarii* and one honorific decree expose Delphic benefactresses who were prominent figures in the city, moving from the mid-2nd c. BCE through to the early-3rd c. CE. These studies enable us to better understand the place held by the civic elites within the city, focusing on the role of wealthy women. Following van Bremen studies (1996, *The Limits of Participation...*) I would like to investigate the increasing importance of women-benefactress in Delphi in post-classical times, their involvement in public benefactions, and acts of their euergetism toward the Delphic *polis*. Furthermore, the surviving evidence outlines many religious functions held by Delphic women (e.g. a priestess of the goddess Ilithyia (*FdD* 4.242), or ἀρχηΐς (*FdD* 1.466[2]). Relying on these sources, I discuss the custom of inheritance of office within the Delphic family, looking for significant trends and factors. I argue if the priesthood was indeed the only opportunity for women of Delphi to participate in the city’s life, or maybe they had more opportunities for civic-office holding or liturgies.

Warrior women in ancient heroic epic
Susanne Borowski (Amsterdam)

Female warriors have mostly been interpreted as outsiders in the epic world which is dominated by men and described by key-words as *arma virumque* and κλέα ἀνδρῶν. Their fighting was seen as transgressive behaviour, which marked them as the Other both in terms of gender and ethnicity. Nevertheless, female warriors have not been recognised as an epic motif. Scholars have rather turned to individual warriors, e.g. Virgil’s Camilla, and pointed out their uniqueness and differentiated characterisation. But in fact, female warriors are not unique but appear in every heroic epic from Homer to Quintus Smyrnaeus. How is this fact to be explained and which consequences does it have for the interpretation of the epic poems? Careful analysis of warrior women in Homer, Apollonius Rhodius, Virgil, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, Statius and Quintus Smyrnaeus, taking into account their appearance and characterization combined with the presentation of their *aristeiai* and the reactions of male and female characters in the poems leads to unexpected conclusions, e.g. that there is no difference in the description of male and female warriors. This paper will present the most important conclusions of the analysis.

Experiencing Britannia: Sensory Approaches in a Colonial Context (Part 1)
Theme: Experiencing the Body
Conveners and Chairs: Thomas Derrick and Giacomo Savani (Leicester)

The spatial and sensory turn which is currently being felt in Roman Archaeology is not often mirrored in studies of Roman Britain – despite the phenomenological turn experienced in British Prehistory. The sites of Rome, Ostia and Pompeii – due to standing remains, preservation and literature – have been a nexus for sensory research in recent years. This session wishes to build on much of the work that has been, and continues to be, undertaken on spatial and sensory approaches to these central Mediterranean sites. The archaeological reality and nature of Roman period Britain, however, is much different, but there is hope for future research. The quality of archaeological recording and publication in Britain offers us many opportunities to explore the sensory implications of material cultural, environmental and structural remains. Britain is a province where the expression of identity/identities, social memory and reaction or resistance to Roman colonial rule, have been traditional theoretical lines of enquiry. Consideration of the multisensory body within these contexts provides us a tool to further pursue these themes but also aim towards conceptions of ancient lived experience.

*See further below for abstracts for Part 2 of this session*
Conceptualising sensorial experience in Roman Britain
Thomas Derrick (Leicester)

The sensory worlds of Iron Age Britain and the Roman West collided irrevocably in CE 43. Prior to this, contact with material culture and ideas from the continent was largely small-scale, mostly involved elites, and was piecemeal. The grand scale Claudian annexation of Britain, after earlier failed campaigns, resulted in vast changes for its people. Being under the imperial yoke brought a vast number of, potentially life altering, sensory changes for its citizens: new food stuffs, heavy industry, architecture, social practices, and perhaps most importantly, large urban centres. This paper discusses the benefits we might gain from imposing an interdisciplinary theoretical framework on to the texts (however fragmentary) and the archaeology of Roman Britain. By attempting to reconstruct the embodied sensorial experience of the varied communities of Roman Britain we can greater understand the dynamics of imperialism and cultural change in the Roman provinces. The key to reaching this end goal, however, is to survey and discuss the methodologies which will take us there, and to invite others to likewise engage.

Sensing place in the water of Roman Britain
Jay Ingate (Kent)

Water plays an indispensaible role in human survival. But unlike the oxygen we breathe, it possesses a changeable nature that can be experienced with all of our senses. This sensory dynamism means it is impossible to ascribe a fixed definition of its value to individuals and communities through time. In contrast to modernity, sensory engagement with water throughout Europe in antiquity was not merely aesthetic or practical, but rather an action imbued with complex and variable meaning. From analysis of the classical sources and archaeological evidence it is clear in the Mediterranean Roman world that water was powerful, transformative, and often thought of as possessing a defined personified form. Likewise, the contemporary pre-Roman conquest traditions of northern Europe provide copious evidence for its symbolic and ritual value. This paper aims to show how in Roman Britain such charged interactions with water could have played a key role in rationalising new urban developments at the local level. In doing so, it will be outlined how the presence of water contributed towards an enhanced ability of communities to sense the long-term narrative of place within the towns of the province.

Early rural baths in Roman Britain: Forging the senses, shaping identities?
Giacomo Savani (Leicester)

I have previously explored the potential of applying a sensorial approach to the study of Romano-British private baths. Following up on the theoretical implications of this research, in this paper I will look at the role played by the senses in the acceptance of the socio-cultural practice of bathing during the first century of the Roman occupation. The senses are deeply connected with memory and feelings (Hamilakis 2014, 118-125). New feelings become familiar and our sensorium is enlarged, which provokes a slow but steady modification in our perception of our self and others. This phenomenon has been recognised in diverse historical contexts (cf. Porteous 1990, 34) and can be labeled as a ‘colonisation’ of the sensorium. The ritual of bathing was likely a bridgehead for this process: the extraneous and possibly hostile (cf. Cass. Dio 62.6.4), slowly became known and domestic. The smell- and sound-scape of baths were no longer exotic: they gained their place within the daily routine for some rural Britons, forging their senses and shaping their identities. Understanding the size and status of this population and the nature of this change, will shed some light on the process of cultural change promoted by Rome in post-conquest Britain.

Embedded magic: The sensory experience of cursing at the Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath
Stuart McKie (Manchester)

The dominant focus of many studies of Roman curse tablets published over the past 100 years has been on the written words. Linguists have used them to reconstruct vernacular language in the provinces, and
ancient historians, classicists and archaeologists have noted the similarities and differences between them and other written evidence for ancient magic and religion from across the Graeco-Roman world. Rarely have scholars fully appreciated that curse tablets are not just written words, but are the products of a series of ritual actions involving complicated and meaningful movements and gestures, as well as written and spoken words. Tablets were often mutilated before or after inscribing, or manipulated in certain ways that added magical power to them, with the intention of increasing their chance of success. These actions were intimately bound to the spaces in which they were performed, and were governed by a complex network of local, regional and international traditions and conventions as well as individual creativity based on sensory perception. This paper will use phenomenological theory to examine cursing rituals from the perspective of the petitioners as embedded beings-in-the-world. Using the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath as a case study, this paper will consider how the sensory experience of conducting cursing rituals, including a wider sensorium, impacted on the petitioners, and influenced their actions in the moments of their ritual performance.

Architectural of Roman Everyday (Part 1)
Theme: Everyday Life
Convener: Jeffrey Veitch (Kent)
Chair: Ray Laurence (Kent)

Roman urbanism was experienced and constituted through mutual relationships between architecture and social actions, and interactions of diverse individuals, groups and institutions. Urban forms were active participants in the process of social production and reproduction of everyday life, rather than passive by-products of human behaviour. In this panel we will explore the agency implicit in Roman urbanism through everyday movements and associated architectures. By looking at the way Roman urbanism created expected behaviours embodied in architecture, the importance of everyday life in the movements of people and things is made visible. This panel will explore the interactions between people, space and architecture through a series of case studies on streets. The architecture of streets and street frontages provide a distinctive area which is open to contestation through movement and sensory experience. By focusing on streets, this session will critically evaluate the concept of everyday life as everyday movement in urban contexts. Further, it will highlight the role of architectural agency, on various scales, in the production of everyday practices.

See further below for abstracts for Part 2 of this session

Night walking the streets of ancient Rome
Gary Morrison (Canterbury, New Zealand)

Analysis of the night in antiquity is limited, little more than a footnote in discussions on everyday life and society. Balsdon in his Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome is demonstrative in observing that ‘The Romans in general lived by day and slept by night’ (1969: 18); nothing of note happened after the sun went down. There are a few exceptions — James Ker’s article on Nocturnal Writers is fundamental — but in general the brevity of comment combined with a lack of any analysis reinforces the belief that nocturnal events and imagery are either not present in our sources, or are not worth consideration. This paper challenges this view by analysing night time imagery and nocturnal activity in Roman urban spaces. Matthew Beaumont’s Night Walking: A nocturnal history of London is used to identify relevant themes such as night as a literary tool, night in a society’s imagination, and the reality of who actually walks a city at night. Select anecdotes reveal how these themes can be applied to antiquity. It becomes clear that investigating ‘Rome at night’ provides new insights into the city, its spaces and its people. The different perspective shines a new light on the everyday.
‘You belong to the city’: Everyday in the Roman street
Eric Poehler (Massachusetts Amherst)

Few things are more a part of the everyday urban experience than the pavement beneath one’s feet. Walking across Pompeii in 79 CE, the average Roman experienced an ever-shifting landscape of street surfaces that ranged from fresh silex fitted with marble flecks to rutted and eroded streets made of beaten ash. Even more varied were the sidewalk treatments, which could change from decorative pebble mosaics, to tessellated and inscribed cocciopesto, to rustic battuti over the course only a few blocks. New research by the author on the evolution of these surfaces allows for a renewed exploration this architectural landscape, with three case studies revealing some of the more surprising events in the Roman street that impacted everyday life. These case studies include: 1.) the abandonment of some streets and their transformation into waste piles; 2.) the on-going process of repair and replacement of silex; and, 3.) the novel use of iron and iron slag as an emergency procedure in Pompeii’s most deeply rutted thoroughfares.

Mind the gap: Architectural agency of the Vicus Tuscus (Rome)
Eleanor Betts (Open)

The Vicus Tuscus was a busy thoroughfare in the heart of Rome. This paper explores how the architecture of the street and its associated buildings facilitated or hindered movement according to the activities taking place there. The specific focus is on the part of the street which enters the Forum Romanum between the Temple of Castor and Basilica Iulia, buildings with multiple functions, some dependent on the Roman calendar. The experience of moving along the street into the Forum varied according to whether or not judicial business was being carried out in the basilica or a sacrifice taking place in front of the temple. In this way, the architectural agency of these structures combined with the cyclical events of the Roman calendar to alter the rhythms of everyday life in the city. Rather than focus on elite social control of these spaces, this paper takes as its premise the affectiveness of physical structures on the human body, and explores which kinaesthetic sensations were constituents of everyday life, and which marked out the extraordinary. The visual and haptic materiality of the architecture may be contrasted with the transient sounds, smells and tastes associated with particular activities in the street and Forum.

Between the street and shop: Acoustics and portico spaces in Ostia
Jeffrey Veitch (Kent)

Following the fire in Rome in 64 CE, building heights were regulated, streets widened and porticoes added to help prevent future destruction by fire (Tac. Ann. 15.38; Suet. Nero 38). These architectural changes are usually read in terms of fire prevention, a somewhat straight reading of the literary sources. In this paper, I argue that, more than just fire prevention, these changes come out of an emerging auditory experience of streets. This experience is evident in the common noise complaints of Martial, Juvenal and Seneca, which all engage the emerging experience of streets. The portico serves as a case study to show the acoustic agency offered by architecture. More than simply a space for walking, the portico created a different street experience through its acoustic properties. Mediating the space between the carriageway and shops, the portico was also open to auditory control and differentiation. In this way, the portico was a space between the street and shop, but more importantly it was a responsive space to emerging experience of mobility in the late 1st and 2nd century CE.
Sea Monsters, Seascapes, and the Seashore: Ancient Attitudes Toward the Oceanic Uncanny
Theme: Classics in the Contemporary World
Conveners and Chairs: Dunstan Lowe (Kent) and Debbie Felton (Massachusetts)

This panel combines current scholarly trends in monster studies, landscape theory, and scholarship on ancient attitudes toward the sea to provide a fresh look at old stories. Classicists are becoming increasingly interested in monster theory, while recent works by J.J. Cohen and Marie Claire Beaulieu have re-engaged with, respectively, the element of water and its importance in antiquity. Still missing from current scholarship is a study of the monstrous in antiquity as related to the sea. This panel presents four papers that seek to fill that gap.

The east face of Scylla
Dunstan Lowe (Kent)

Antiquity’s most famous sea monster is probably the anthropophagous Scylla, though the origins of her bizarre anatomy are debated. Palaephatus rationalized that the ‘Scylla’ was a pirate ship, which ‘grabbed’ and ‘devoured’ other vessels. Its prow was adorned with a woman’s top half and dogs’ heads below, and Odysseus’ account was misunderstood (20). Palaephatus’ interpretation seems far-fetched, but may reflect Scylla’s earliest iconography. Visual sources divergent from, and older than, Homer’s Odyssey hint at a very differently shaped creature, one connected with the prows of ships that determined Scylla’s later shape. The six-headed form Homer ascribes to Scylla differs greatly from the mermaid-like form widely found in classical art, whose dominance remains mysterious. As Hopman demonstrates, three concepts link the two: sea, woman, and dog. Pre-classical art offers three Scylla-like monsters: a Minoan clay seal, c.1600 BCE; the Hasanlu bowl, 800s BCE; and an Orientalizing Etruscan box, c.600 BCE. Despite being culturally and thematically diverse, they anticipate the canine heads of Scylla so prevalent in classical visual media; tricephaly and decorated prows also feature. The ultimate inspiration for the mermaid-type Scylla with her skirt of three canine heads therefore came not from Homer but from the ancient Near East.

Kētos and Drakōn in the Classical and Christian worlds
Daniel Ogden (Exeter/UNISA)

The classical drakōn (‘dragon’) was fundamentally a massive, coiling snake with a supernatural affinity of some sort, often bearded and sometimes fiery. The classical kētos (‘sea-monster’) was a massive, elongated, sinuous creature, typically sporting a fish-tail, fins, an animalian head, spiky ears and, again, a beard. Despite the basic similarity in their overall shape, these serpentine cousins were for the most part kept conceptually distinct. There were, however, some points of cross-over: e.g. the dracones famously sent against Laocoön in Aeneid II exhibit the modus operandi of kētē, breasting the sea to attack the coast of Troy. But it was in the context of Judaeo-Christian culture that the distinctions between the two creatures really began to collapse. Already the Septuagint deploys the terms kētos and drakōn interchangeably to represent the Hebrew Bible’s Leviathan and Rahab. The merging culminated in the adoption by the early medieval drakōn of the kētos’ broad body and animalian head and in its acquisition of a pair of legs in the position of the kētos’ fore-fins (whilst its wings were derived rather from its identification with flying demons). And so was born the form of the western dragon familiar to us all still today.
Supernatural dangers of the seashore
Debbie Felton (Massachusetts)

In classical literature, the sea commanded much attention as the site of storms, shipwrecks, and suicides. This paper emphasizes instead the problems associated with the sea’s shore, which, as a setting for pirate raids, held realistic dangers of its own. Yet as a liminal space betwixt-and-between the sea and solid land, as a place where the distant watery horizon seems to drop off into nothingness, as a place often bleakly bare and lonely, the seashore was host to an extraordinary number of unsettling and uncanny events. The Trojan War and its aftermath provided the backdrop for not a few such events, including the suicide of Ajax, Laocoön’s encounter with sea serpents, and Aeneas’s stumbling across Polydorus’ corpse-shrub. Elsewhere in literature, on the shore lay Orpheus’ head and limbs, torn asunder by the Thracian women; near it, Apollo turned a serpent to stone (Ovid, Met. 7.358; 11.56-60). On the edge of the shore lurked Amycus, who murdered travelers (Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica 4.99ff.). Very few good things happen on the shore. The high incidence of unnatural and inexplicable events set on the shore suggests an excessively high level of anxiety about the strand, exposed as it was to the sea and sky.

Spectacular sea monsters
Mario Erasmo (Georgia)

When Nero staged a naumachia in his wooden amphitheatre in the Campus Martius in 57 CE (Tacitus, Ann. 13.31; Dio 61.9.5), he was presenting a form of spectacular entertainment developed by Julius Caesar, Augustus, and his Julio-Claudian successors to showcase maritime military victories with the potential for the deaths of participants, human and animal. Nero's inclusion of ‘sea monsters’ in salt-water (Suetonius, Nero 12.1) however, extended the use of maritime motifs exploited by Augustus in architecture following the Battle of Actium, by Tiberius' statue in Sperlonga of Scylla eating Odysseus' companions, and by a silver Triton that emerged from the Fucine Lake during Claudius’ naumachia in 52 CE (Suetonius, Claud. 21.6). On the occasion of his own naumachia, Nero used a blue awning decorated with stars (Pliny, NH 19.24) mimicking a night performance under the open sky that would have darkened the water and perhaps made the sea monsters appear more menacing. A similar star-studded awning was used in the Theatre of Pompey for the visit of Tiridates in 66 CE (Dio 63.6.2). This paper examines the allusive presence of sea monsters in Early Imperial Rome that informs responses to Seneca’s sea monster in the Phaedra.

Texts Without Contexts: New Approaches to Adespota, Pseudepigrapha and Undateable Ancient Literature
Theme: Acquiring and Structuring Knowledge
Conveners: Talitha Kearey and Emma Greensmith (Cambridge)
Chair: Patricia Rosenmeyer (Wisconsin/Cambridge)

Texts without fixity constitute a problem for readers of classical literature. How should we approach works lacking an identifiable author, date or reconstructable cultural contexts? Classical literary studies, however loosely New Critical, are grounded on historicist approaches: historical contexts are simultaneously considered essential for interpretation and, crucially, derived from textual interpretations. When it comes to decontextualised texts, this strategy becomes impossible unless these texts’ deficiencies are neutralised, typically through traditionalist philological hunts for paratextual information. Indeed, treating texts as ‘adespotic’ or ‘pseudepigraphic’ is already an interpretative act, reflecting a long history of scholarly inquiry. This interdisciplinary panel seeks alternative solutions to problematically unstable texts, from both literary and historical starting points. Through reflection on the interpretative paradigms we find ourselves using or eschewing, and following a recent self-reflexive turn in scholarship, we ask: what happens when we read without context, authorial or historical? Our papers share an interest in texts which seem to elide their identity into others: those positioning
themselves as particularly close forms of reception, for example, or graffiti – fragmentary and playing on reproducibility/repetition, but also sometimes startlingly original. Viewing these works without their frames pushes us to confront our preconceptions about how we approach classical texts.

**Homer’s work experience: Pre-writing the Odyssey and anachronistic (self) quotation in Quintus of Smyrna’s Posthomerica**

Emma Greensmith (Cambridge)

The *Posthomerica* (c. 3rd century CE) presents itself as the middle part of a Homeric trilogy, beginning after the final line of the *Iliad* and ending with the storm before the *Odyssey*, all the while claiming to be the work of the bard from Smyrna himself. But Quintus also includes signals which prevent genuine collusion in this claim to Homeric identity: philological deviations, contemporary nods, and allusions to later literature. This paper examines these paradoxical dynamics through the poem’s treatment of the *Odyssey*, arguing that Quintus’ interaction with the Homeric text which ‘he’ has not yet composed encapsulates the continually shifting temporality at the heart of his impersonating poetics. By analysing the covert references to Odyssean material, it is argued that Quintus exploits and expands the chronological pliancy of Homeric epic itself, highlighting temporally problematic moments from the *Odyssey*, and engaging with contemporary debates about which of Homer’s poems was written first. Rather than straightforwardly undermining his ‘still Homer’ pose, Quintus’ game is read as a radical act of self-definition – achieved, crucially, through a (re)definition of Homer and his poems, as the later poet rewinds both literal and literary timing to achieve his position as simultaneously pre- and post-Homeric.

**Remix or sequel? Competing strategies of poetic reception in Calpurnius Siculus’ Eclogues**

Talitha Kearey (Cambridge)

Calpurnius Siculus’s *Eclogues* remain dateless and authorless, despite late Claudian/early Neronian dramatic date and attribution to a named (if otherwise unknown) author. Perplexed critics assign them now to Nero’s reign, now to Gordian III’s; *Siculus* is suspected to be code for ‘Eclogue-writer’, *Calpurnius* a gesture towards the Neronian Calpurnius Piso. Is this paratextual void inherent to the text or merely an accident of history? This paper proposes that Calpurnius’ presentation of his poetic relationship with Virgilian pastoral is key to his poems’ elusiveness. Calpurnius outs Theocritus from pastoral lineage, instead vaunting Virgil as progenitor of all things bucolic (*cecinit qui primus*, 4.62). But Calpurnius’ position in his postulated tradition is muddled, wavering between post-Virgilian ‘sequel’ (temporally later, narratively contiguous, mindful of filiation) and pseudo-Virgilian ‘remix’ (centonising, impersonatory, concurrent). Calpurnius’ avatar Corydon is simultaneously heir to Virgil’s Tityrus and Tityrus reborn; Calpurnius’ defaced (1.20) and ancient (7.5) *fagi* are decayed from their former Virgilian glory (1.1) and identical to Virgil’s own *ueteres... fagos* (9.9). I argue that Calpurnius’ refusal to specify his metaliterary context mirrors his own reception, and close by suggesting that Calpurnius offers an alternative reception model: his temporally deferred, emulative but noncompetitive, imitative but collaborative amoebean song.

**Poet seeks patron: An open letter from me to you**

Tom Geue (St Andrews)

The *Laus Pisonis* has received its fair share of knocks. These have been both evaluative (mediocre poetry!) and temporal (but of what period?!). Scholars have yanked it between Tiberian and Neronian dates. Its reception history is a prime case of Historicist Classics desperately fumbling for a context. Praise poetry usually cries out for ‘political’ reading, which demands a modicum of basic contextual information. *Laus Pisonis* gives us nothing. In this paper, I shall argue that we should brush a political context aside for now, and rather embrace this text’s radical vagueness. The *Laus Pisonis* shoots consciously for survival through achronicity: it aims to become infinitely replicable for all (imperial) times and contexts by targeting a typical noble patron of a name (‘Piso’), as well as relegating its author to a willed ‘obscurity’. I shall also argue that the poem plays on a tradition of poet speaking to an unspecified Piso (Horace’s *Ars Poetica*). When the/a *laudator* calls the/a *laudandus* ‘deservingly
honour-able for all time’ (in totum merito venerabilis aevum 243), he is doing his best to capture a paradigmatic, abstract relationship of poet/patron – valid indefinitely under any old Caesareum...numen (71).

‘Auffidius was here.’ ‘Auffidius who?’ Authors and identities in the graffiti of Pompeii
Olivia Elder (Cambridge)

Pompeian graffiti presents an unusual conundrum within a consideration of authorless and contextless texts. Pompeii is one of the best understood ancient contexts, with a wealth of evidence and a concrete terminus ante quem for its dating. Even when names or signatures are available, however, almost nothing is known about the authors of the c.10,000 sometimes surprisingly sophisticated graffiti. There have nonetheless been attempts to determine these authors’ identities, ages and social statuses. This paper will not engage directly in these debates, but will rather consider what the variety of ways that authors are named and not named within the graffiti suggests about both their aims of self-presentation and the nature of the social and cultural space in which they wrote. I look first at explicit authorship marks including that of the poet Tiburtinus, the author of a four-line Latin epigram. The way he signs his name, using a mixture of Latin and Greek, is revealing of how he sought to present himself and his work. From one extreme of the authorship spectrum to the other, I then turn to examine anonymous graffiti, and consider how anonymity works within the inclusive and playful culture of literacy visible on Pompeii’s walls.
Session 4

Contended Bodies
Theme: Classics in the Contemporary World
Chair: Joanna Paul (Open)

‘Shall I speak for thee? Shall I say ‘tis so?’: Female discourse and resistance in Met.VI and Titus Andronicus
Lien Van Geel (Columbia)

Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* VI.401-674 and Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus* both feature barbaric rapes and illuminate contrasts between female and male rhetoric. Lavinia is Shakespeare’s reworking of Ovid’s Philomela. Ovid’s Philomela undoes her passive victim role as she regains her agency in a female alliance using her weaving. Lavinia, however, seems unable to redefine her subject position, using such art, becoming Philomela’s less effective counterpart. Yet, when employing Shklovsky’s defamiliarisation theory, one notices the sophisticated manner in which Lavinia, too, challenges male rhetoric. Shklovsky states that ‘a work is created ‘artistically’ so that its perception is the vision which results from that automatized perception’ (783). The contrast between action and description in Marcus’s speech prevents the rape’s ‘automatized perception’ but inhibits Lavinia. Despite Marcus’s allusions to Philomela, he never contextualises the two ravishments, preventing the crime’s revelation. Whereas male rhetoric fails repeatedly, Lavinia’s different modes of discourse, inspired by Philomela, including her affective discursivity, Philomela’s weaving, and the copy of the *Metamorphoses*, serve to convey and redefine the nature of her suffering. Thus, despite their deprivation of traditional speech, both female characters overcome their limitations and in their intertextual relationship challenge their submissive positions by inventing combative rhetorical skills.

Viewing sexual violence: Receptions of a statue of a nymph and satyr
Vicky Donnellan (British Museum)

This paper focusses on the British Museum’s statue of a nymph struggling to escape from a satyr, acquired in 1805 as part of Charles Townley’s collection. How have people through time viewed an object which embodies sexual violence against a woman, albeit mythical? How should it be interpreted in contemporary museums? I trace changing receptions of the statue, beginning with its meanings in the ancient world. I consider the extent to which it was an object of sexual fantasy in Townley’s private collection and discuss its display history at the British Museum. Withdrawn from public view in the nineteenth century, more recently it has starred in exhibitions worldwide. The sculpture’s reception is complicated by the late-eighteenth-century restoration of the nymph’s head. How different is her expression from the ancient original? What might this suggest about perceptions of the narrative represented, at the time of restoration, and what are the implications for its reception today? I reflect on my own experience of interpreting the sculpture, as a curator at the British Museum. Finally, I consider ethical questions raised by the interpretation of objects with challenging content such as sexual violence, drawing on recent thinking in pedagogy and museum studies.

The translated beauty of Antinous and Audrey
Jennifer Carrington (Cornell)

Antinous’ life was short, but the same cannot be said of the life his images assumed after his death. Extant sculptures identified as Antinous number almost one hundred and often blend his portrait features with attributes of deities or mythological figures. In a similar fashion, the image of Audrey Munson was allegorized and widespread in the American Beaux Arts movement. Munson modeled for hundreds of sculptures in the early twentieth century, most prominently for public statues in New York such as ‘Civic Fame’ atop the Municipal Building. Contemplating these two figures together breathes new life into the study of their images. The bodies and beauty of Antinous and Munson – distinctive as individuals – were translated and deputed as sculptural icons. Replicating the same physical features
across diverse sculptures necessitated anonymity at the same time as it perpetuated their individual fame. Although reproduced by different methods, the manifold images of Antinous and Munson created similar lattices between their likenesses. The visual frisson sought in the slippage between biography and allegory represents another link between the classical and neoclassical artistic domains.

**Experiencing Britannia:**
**Sensory Approaches in a Colonial Context (Part 2)**
Theme: Experiencing the Body
Conveners and Chairs: Thomas Derrick and Giacomo Savani (Leicester)

The spatial and sensory turn which is currently being felt in Roman Archaeology is not often mirrored in studies of Roman Britain – despite the phenomenological turn experienced in British Prehistory. The sites of Rome, Ostia and Pompeii – due to standing remains, preservation and literature – have been a nexus for sensory research in recent years. This session wishes to build on much of the work that has been, and continues to be, undertaken on spatial and sensory approaches to these central Mediterranean sites. The archaeological reality and nature of Roman period Britain, however, is much different, but there is hope for future research. The quality of archaeological recording and publication in Britain offers us many opportunities to explore the sensory implications of material cultural, environmental and structural remains. Britain is a province where the expression of identity/identities, social memory and reaction or resistance to Roman colonial rule, have been traditional theoretical lines of enquiry. Consideration of the multisensory body within these contexts provides us a tool to further pursue these themes but also aim towards conceptions of ancient lived experience.

**Magic, materiality and the senses in Roman Britain**
Adam Parker (Open)

Drawing on the speaker’s current research into the archaeology of magic in Roman Britain, this paper will present some of the connections between materiality and the sensory experiences of magic. It will focus on the material culture elements of personal protection and present a number of case studies in order to discuss how relevant a material is for both the efficacy of a magical object and how this may be displayed to the wider world. Materiality is not just a visual concern; this paper will explore the haptic, auditory, and olfactory implications which magic may have had upon the body. Magic need not be branded as a series of proscribed rituals and spells – it includes pictures, clothing, lighting, colour, and sound which present a sometimes complex but often simple, subtle sensory experience aiming to ultimately provide some sort of supernatural protection. The range of objects considered as part of the material culture of magic offers an opportunity to discuss some aspects of spatial and chronological issues - when and where did these practices first arrive in Britain? Are they used concurrently? When do they end? which are fundamentally important for developing a better understanding of magic in Roman Britain.

**Controlling the flow: A sensory exploration of movement above and below the Roman Thames Bridge**
Catherine Hoggarth (Kent)

The primary function of a bridge is to facilitate movement; by adapting physical boundaries and defying natural rhythms a bridge creates a route of communication unhindered by daily and seasonal changes. Yet its superstructure can also be a hindrance to river traffic, impeding the movement of tall ships, and acting as a vital component in the control of river trade. The Roman Thames bridge combined these contradictory roles, yet these observations tell us little of the experience and impact of the bridge on Londinium’s burgeoning population. The bridge spanning the Thames represented a unique and diverse series of spaces and multisensory experiences which formed a socially constructed and inclusive pattern of movement, critical to the success of the expanding city. This paper employs sensory indicators to illustrate the way in which the Roman Thames bridge ‘gathered’ (Heidegger, 1971) the indigenous and
colonising communities within its transforming topography. It considers how the bridge represented a constant and unifying presence though war and urban development, contrasting with the perception of impermanence created by its wooden construction. Finally, the paper considers the experience of the multisensory body within the context of the bridge and its surrounding landscape.

**Sensory approaches to new evergreen trees in Roman Britain**
Lisa Lodwick (Reading)

This paper seeks to take inspiration from multisensory textual studies to approach archaeological evidence for new trees in Roman Britain in a fresh light. Plants, such as plane and cherry, have made appearances in multisensory studies of Rome, contributing to the study of lived experiences. However, recent considerations of daily life and identities in Roman Britain have prioritised material culture. The Roman period did not just see a wide range of external people and material culture introduced to Britain, but also a variety of new plants and animals. To fully move beyond Romanised accounts of cultural change, we need to look beyond material culture inherently associated with Rome, and towards these non-humans with the intention of disrupting established narratives of life in Roman Britain. Several evergreen trees were introduced to Roman Britain, primarily Box, Stone pine and Norway spruce. By drawing on multisensory studies, as well as human-plant studies in cultural geography, this paper will consider how plants can affect the human body. The presence of these new plants primarily in urban centres, will be assessed, and their implications for the temporality and quality of lived experience of the urban communities in Roman Britain will be explored.

**Architecture of Roman Everyday (Part 2)**
Theme: Everyday Life
Convener: Jeffrey Veitch (Kent)
Chair: Jeffrey Veitch (Kent)

Roman urbanism was experienced and constituted through mutual relationships between architecture and social actions, and interactions of diverse individuals, groups and institutions. Urban forms were active participants in the process of social production and reproduction of everyday life, rather than passive by-products of human behaviour. In this panel we will explore the agency implicit in Roman urbanism through everyday movements and associated architectures. By looking at the way Roman urbanism created expected behaviours embodied in architecture, the importance of everyday life in the movements of people and things is made visible. This panel will explore the interactions between people, space and architecture through a series of case studies on streets. The architecture of streets and street frontages provide a distinctive area which is open to contestation through movement and sensory experience. By focusing on streets, this session will critically evaluate the concept of everyday life as everyday movement in urban contexts. Further, it will highlight the role of architectural agency, on various scales, in the production of everyday practices.

**Everyday inequality and the urban landscape: The case of Pompeii**
Miko Flohr (Leiden)

Urban communities in Roman Italy were profoundly unequal, and appear to have become more unequal with the expansion of Roman rule over the Mediterranean, and the subsequent flow of booty, taxes and commercially obtained wealth towards the Italian Peninsula. Nowhere is this development better visible in the archaeological material than in Pompeii, particularly in the profoundly increasing differences in the dimensions and quality of living accommodation – not only between atrium houses and the rental units attached to them, but also between the houses themselves. However, inequality is not just something that can be measured by comparing house sizes and domestic luxury. Its actual impact on society depends on human perception and social interaction, and on the extent to which inequality is visible, and can be ‘experienced’ in the urban landscape. In this process, there were relative winners, and relative losers, and this paper will argue that while Pompeii’s urban landscape predictably
privileged the elite, perhaps contrary to expectation, it was not the dependent, renting poor that were spatially marginalized, but rather the middling groups.

**Experiencing sense, place and space in the Roman home**  
Hannah Platts (Royal Holloway)

This paper considers multi-sensory analysis of Roman domestic space. It proposes the need to apply theoretical frameworks – beyond those that focus on vision, movement and walking - to the study of Roman housing. Thus, for example, whilst Pliny points out the murmuring sound of fountains in his Tuscan villa (*Letters* V.6) and silence from voices of his household in parts of his Laurentine villa (*Letters*, II.17), to what extent might the sounds of fountains or people be experienced between dwellings? How might temporal or seasonal changes outside a house affect one’s multisensory experience within a residence? To what extent might the sounds of life outside be heard within the residence, and how might this impact upon both an owner’s aims of personal display within his domestic realm and a visitor’s impressions of the dwelling? Whether we are considering Pliny’s descriptions of his villas or Seneca’s description of Scipio’s villa, that residences had the potential to affect a plethora of sensorial responses is clear. By proposing the use of smellscapes and soundscapes together with methodologies that investigate vision and movement within Roman houses, this approach aims to enable a more nuanced understanding of daily life in the Roman home.

**Visual communication in the streets of Pompeii**  
Annette Haug and Philipp Kobusch (Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel)

A central category of everyday life is communication. Our paper focuses on one main form ‘public’ communication – communication via images. In Pompeii, a wide range of media attest the importance of visual street communication: wall-paintings and terracotta reliefs on house-façades, reliefs on fountains and altars, honorific statues, and pictorial graffiti. Traditional research usually analyses these sources in respect to their genre. This paper, instead, will distinguish the material according to different situations and occasions of communication. This is made possible by analysing the visual content on the one hand, and by questioning the context of images on the other. This leads to the following categories:
- Ritual and religious images which gain a central importance within contexts of ritual interaction
- Commercial images that serve as advertisement of goods (painted or in terracotta)
- Images as forms of individual representation (honorific statues)
- ‘Private’ communication within the public space via spontaneous image-graffiti

Through a contextual analysis of these categories, it will be possible to gain a picture of the complex and multifaceted visual communication in the streets of Pompeii.

**Classical Archaeology as National Heritage**  
Theme: Classical Archaeology as Heritage  
Chair: Sophia Labadi (Kent)

**Iron Age and Roman heritages: An initial assessment of themes and contexts**  
Chiara Bonacchi (UCL) and Richard Hingley (Durham)

This paper will introduce the theoretical framework of a project that tackles the fundamental question of how Iron Age and Roman pasts are embedded and expressed in contemporary British society. It will highlight the importance of understanding how ideas and materials from these periods are interpreted and represented within and beyond the authorised heritage discourse framed by archaeologists and other heritage professionals. It will also discuss how professional practices can influence ‘amateur’ ones, and be more or less consciously used for self-legitimation purposes. The authors will present the results of an initial pilot study showing the broad themes linked to Iron Age and Roman identities that appear to have greater resonance in different pockets of contemporary society ranging from education to
government and institutional media discourse. This work informed the design of the AHRC-funded project ‘Iron Age and Roman Heritages: Exploring ancient identities in modern Britain’, a collaboration between the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, Durham University, and the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. Project team: Prof. Richard Hingley (PI), Dr Chiara Bonacchi (CI), Dr Thomas Yarrow (CI), Dr Kate Sharpe (Post-Doctoral Research Associate).

The changing roles of the Etruscans as national heritage
Phil Perkins (Open)

At a time when there is a notable upsurge of nationalism in Europe, the classical world provides a storehouse of primordial material, or perhaps ammunition, for nationalist narratives. As is well known, in Italy in the twenty Fascist years Rome and the Romans were appropriated to serve as a model by the Italian state. Other Italic peoples have been less consistently appropriated for nationalistic aims. The Etruscans in particular have received varied attention from nationalists and patriots of one kind or another. This paper will trace the key shifts in nationalist sentiment towards the Etruscans since the start of the 19th century. The Etruscans have been claimed as the cultural heritage of Tuscans, Italians and Europeans in various ways. Such claims have often been made in contrast with claims for Roman heritage, from the Papal States, the Unified State of Italy (with its capital at Rome), and 20th century configurations of the Italian state, up to the present day.

Shaping a national and regional identity in Sicily through Classical Archaeology: The island’s culture heritage between the Bourbons and the Kingdom of Italy (1816 - 1918)
Antonino Crisà (Warwick)

The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (1816-60) highlighted a significant phase of Sicilian history, the classical period. In particular, the classical antiquities, which could shape a new concept of ‘cultural heritage’, began to attract strong interest from the Bourbon authorities. They protected statues, coins, inscriptions and monuments representing the Kingdom’s history and contributing to its ‘decorum’. Once Sicily was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy (1860), the national government was committed to creating a new nationwide identity and cultural heritage, taking advantage of classical archaeology as an ideal foundation. However, Antonino Salinas (1841-1914), Director of the Palermo museum, imposed a different, regional perspective: his institution had to represent all the history of Sicily. The aim of my paper is to present selected case studies that help to understand how classical archaeology played a crucial role in shaping a state and regional identity in nineteenth-century Sicily. Therefore, I assess the remarkable classical collections of Gandolfo (1820-22) and Astuto (1858-60) which the Bourbons acquired to enrich the national decorum. Lastly, I evaluate the impact of Salinas’ manifesto on Sicilian Classical archaeology, presenting the episode of Mr. Scolarici, a landowner from Lipari (Messina) who possessed a collection of Hellenistic finds which Salinas did not consider of high-artistic value (1879).

Hero of Alexandria, On Making Automata
Theme: Acquiring and Structuring Knowledge
Convener and Chair: Ian Ruffell (Glasgow)

This panel presents the ongoing work of a research project funded by the Leverhulme Trust, *Hero of Alexandria and his Theatrical Automata*, which is being conducted at the University of Glasgow. The papers that make up the panel introduce material from the three strands of the project: textual (re-examination of the text with translation and philological commentary), historical (analysis of the treatise within its cultural context and within the broader history of automata in antiquity), and experimental (the modelling and construction of Hero’s designs and the insights that can be drawn from them). Taken together the three papers are mutually reinforcing and show how this comparatively neglected and inaccessible treatise can benefit from systematic and integrated analysis using different methodologies.
Hero of Alexandria’s place in the history of classical automata
Ian Ruffell (Glasgow)

Hero presents his account of automata as the product and reconfiguration of a long tradition. Comparisons with unspecified previous practitioners (arkhaioi or similar) recur throughout the work, although only one predecessor is ever named, Philo of Byzantium (?late second century BCE), on whose work Hero’s stationary automaton is based. This paper traces this history of making automata as both practice and formalised discourse, down to Hero's own time (first century CE). It covers the varied automata used in the fourth century, from marionettes and self-powered carts to more exotic devices such as Demetrios of Phaleron’s giant snail. It considers the likely performance contexts, including the relationship to other types of thaumatopoiia (‘wonder-working’), with which Hero associates early automata, and in particular explores the role of automata in political performance. An association of automata with pioneers of catapult technology heralds their later role in formal technical treatises, from Ktesibios (early third century BCE) onwards, as can be unpicked from remarks by Hero himself and scattered references in Philo and Vitruvius. The paper concludes by considering how far the devices described by Hero reflect or are at least compatible with what is known of their role in Hellenistic and Roman contexts.

Pseudo-interpolations in Hero of Alexandria’s Περὶ αὐτοματοποιητικῆς
Francesco Grillo (Glasgow)

In his edition of Hero of Alexandria’s Περὶ αὐτοματοποιητικῆς, Schmidt (1899) detected a fair number of interpolations. Since the appearance of Olivieri’s (1901) article on textual problems in the treatise and Schmidt’s (1903) rejoinder, scholars have primarily focused on the scope and significance of the treatise, but very little, if any, attention has been paid to text-critical problems. This paper analyses some suspected interpolations in the Automata, such as Aut. 6.3 (= 360.2-7 Schmidt) and 28.6 (= 444.3-5 Schmidt), and argues for their authenticity. Drachmann’s (1948, 82-4) account of the differences in the wording of the chapter headings of Hero’s Pneumatica suggests that when similar expressions and variations thereof occur in the Automata, they likewise indicate a multiplicity of sources and the way that Hero is interacting with them. The phrasing of the interpolations thus point to both the repeated forward and backward motion of the mobile automaton and the capping of the lamp in the stationary automaton being Hero’s own improvements on pre-existing technology. Furthermore, most of the contradictions and inconsistencies in the treatise, as well as the absence of letter labels in certain descriptions, are most likely due to the variety of underlying sources and incomplete authorial revisions.

Hero of Alexandria and his automata in virtual and real space
Duncan Keenan-Jones (Glasgow)

In his work On the making of Automata, Hero of Alexandria claims (e.g. 20.1) that he has improved upon previously described automata, making them more feasible (εὐκόπως) and more easily reproduced in practice. The experimental part of the project is testing Hero’s devices and his claims, building the two automata described by Hero in a computer-aided design (CAD) package and then in the physical world. A primary objective is to determine to what extent Hero’s descriptions were informed by his own practical experience of automaton-making. This paper will present results from the digital construction of the mobile automaton, the more challenging of the two. This is essentially a mobile shrine of Dionysos that performed rituals such as sacrifices and libations. The creation of both 3D digital and physical models has proved to be a useful tool in the analysis of ancient technologies and the texts describing them. This paper outlines several case studies where specific passages of Hero’s text have been illuminated through simulations of the operation of the automaton based upon quantitative data derived from the CAD model. These simulations can then be tested using the physical model to gauge their effectiveness and inform future digital modelling.
Violent Receptions
Theme: Classics in the Contemporary World
Chair: Dunstan Lowe (Kent)

Polynices’ aggression: Violence following loss of civic identity
Fiona McHardy (Roehampton)

This paper makes use of psychological studies to explore the phenomenon of violent risk-taking in warfare, ancient and modern. In analyzing the behaviours of modern fighters, Kruglanski and others have demonstrated how a feeling of ‘significance loss’ and a desire for ‘significance gain’ can cause men to react with extreme aggression undertaking even suicidal missions. Similarly, in tragic myth, those who have lost their civic identity are keen to react fiercely to restore it and to undertake suicidal risks. This paper focuses on the character of Polynices who elects to use military action against his own city in an attempt to regain his perceived losses. In Euripides’ Phoenissae, Polynices is depicted arguing that he cannot back down from military aggression, although he is aware of the risk to his own life because of his sense of loss. As an exile he is powerless and was living in penury (390ff). Polynices’ plight is therefore recognizable as that of a man who is desperate to regain his lost sense of identity and significance, but is simultaneously a tragic plot, because he fights against his own family and city to achieve this.

Finding the non-combatant within the Greek Poleis
Richard Evans (Leicester)

The term non-combatant is used frequently within modern scholarship concerning ancient Greek warfare, but rarely, if ever, do scholars define it. Rather, non-combatant is used as an evident fact, with no exploration as to its meaning and where it belongs, if at all, in describing conflict and law within the ancient Greek world. This is worrying, primarily because the concept of non-combatant status, for a modern audience, is wrapped up in expectations that are reflections of a post-WW2 world, not of the ancient Greeks. Consequently, to appreciate how conflict was structured between poleis without the imposition of modern expectations, I argue that it is vital for historians not only to investigate carefully what we mean by non-combatant, but also attempt to understand who or what the ancient Greeks themselves might have regarded as inviolable during periods of conflict. Just how far do the primary sources guide us on these issues? What approaches can be taken to extract new information? Can modern concepts be used to understand conflict within the classical world? This paper offers new ideas on where the ancient non-combatant lay within the Greek city-state structure.

Epicurus on death and the assisted suicide debate
Jonathan Griffiths (Heidelberg)

In this paper, I wish to present an Epicurean evaluation, guided by a series of Epicurean arguments, on what is an increasingly prevalent debate in contemporary bioethics, namely the ethics of legally assisted suicide. Epicurus famously wished to eradicate our fears of death, asserting that ‘death is nothing to us’ (KD 2, cf. DRN 3.830-1). He is reported to have countered the physical suffering endured before his death through the recollection of mental pleasures (DL 10.22, Cic. Fin. 2.96-8). This outlook adheres to his own hedonistic calculus, which holds as the telos of every individual life the pursuit of pleasure and the avoidance of pain. Later Epicureans adduced from his example a qualified endorsement of voluntary suicide (e.g. Cic. Fin. 1.49, 62). Can Epicurus’ own death through terminal illness and Epicurean writings on fears of death help us to reflect sensitively on the contemporary question of medically assisted dying? Can both his example and his outlook teach us anything about how to handle terminal mortality compassionately, or about the value of death, or about the importance of individual volition at the end?
Session 5

Teaching Classics
Theme: Pedagogy
Chair: Rosie Wyles (Kent)

Classics in the contemporary classroom
Bob Lister

This paper will argue that if we believe that students today, of all abilities and backgrounds, should be given access to the classical world during their compulsory education, the best time for this to happen is during the last two years of primary and first two years of secondary school (Years 5 to 8, i.e. students aged 9 to 13) and that the most appropriate aspect of the classical world to teach is classical mythology. It will consider the most appropriate place to locate a unit on classical mythology within the framework of the national curriculum; argue the case for making classical epic the focus of such a unit; consider the most effective methods for teaching Homer and Ovid to the suggested age range; draw on interviews from teachers and students to show how they have engaged with, and been enriched by, stories from classical mythology; and identify particular aspects of students’ learning which can be enhanced through study of the classical world.

Fresh approaches to teaching Classics: The applicability of teaching resources of British universities to promote Classics in Sri Lanka
Isha Gamluth (Kelaniya, Sri Lanka)

This paper will demonstrate the applicability of teaching resources currently being used in British universities to school curriculum in Sri Lanka. The study will first assess the educational value of ‘Outreach Programmes’ and ‘Classics Open Days’ to a Sri Lankan audience. It will then consider how ‘Literacy through Latin and Greek,’ a major scheme of the Iris Project, could be applied for raising awareness of the efficacy of classical history and civilization as well as Greek and Latin. The endeavour is designed to make Classics accessible to a wider audience and not to limit it to the two universities and few local schools in Sri Lanka in which the subject is currently being taught. Interaction with Outreach experts in British universities via email and Skype could ensure a realistic fusion of ‘Classics Open Days’ and ‘Literacy through Latin and Greek’ in the Sri Lankan educational system, with a depth of vision at no extra cost for training abroad or expenses for air passage. This initial interchange of ideas between British and Sri Lankan academics will inspire the latter to develop their individual teaching programmes, taking into account the proficiency and interest in learning Classics among local students.

‘Collaborating with Aeschylus (and Sophocles and Euripides)’: Perils and promises of undergraduate translation for performance
Sophie Mills (UNC Asheville)

While undergraduate productions of Greek drama have a very long pedigree, translations of Greek drama by undergraduates are less common, even though Greek drama itself is a staple of advanced courses in Undergraduate Classics programmes. Since 2012, I have used Greek drama translation classes to work with advanced students to create translations of the Oresteia (abridged, 2012), Philoctetes (2014) and Bacchae (2016), which are then performed for a general audience. With four vital elements in place, creating and performing these translations, even with limited resources, is achievable and valuable. The benefits of this particular exercise are many, both to the individual student and to the discipline of Classics as a whole as it is taught as an inevitably minority discipline in a small public liberal arts college in the 21st century. For the individual student, it is typical to find at the end of the process an increased sense of mastery of Greek idiom. Connected with this sense, and at least equal in importance to it, is their increased sense of the continuing value of their discipline in the 21st century and of their unique role in interpreting and conveying 2500-year-old material to their fellow students.
Technology for Latin learning: Exploring the benefits and challenges of some online resources
Mair Lloyd (Bosworth Independent College) and James Robson (Open)

The use of a variety of technology is now an accepted and expected part of modern foreign language learning and is increasingly in evidence in support of the teaching of classical languages. But what benefits do UK university Latin students gain from its use and what challenges discourage adoption of a wider variety of materials? This paper considers Open University student perceptions of the strengths and weaknesses of a variety of online resources and describes some of the challenges met during their implementation. It demonstrates innovative approaches to evaluating the usefulness of technology and proposes approaches for overcoming obstacles to wider uptake of the opportunities it presents.

KYKNOS

Beauty, Madness, Pleasure and Death: Bodily Representations in Greek Novels
Theme: Experiencing the Body
Convener and Chair: Rachel Bird (Swansea)

With the complexity of the Greek novels now well established, the range of their cultural expression, intertextuality, narrative technique and characterisation invites further exploration. The way in which these texts play with ideas surrounding the representation and experiences of the body is a case in point. Chariton’s portrayal of the physical beauty of his heroine involves corporeal imagery relating to divinities, the significance and meaning of which points to sophisticated characterisation (Jackson). Intertextuality is present in the novelists’ use of Scheintode and by their representation of corpses. Each novelist reacts to his generic forebear(s) in this focus on false death and bodily remains and the emotional responses to these, with metanarrative implications (Trzaskoma). Achilles Tatius’ heroine experiences insanity after being drugged, and the theories relating to madness and remedy which are alluded to in this episode illustrate the influences on this novel in both philosophical and medical terms (Hilton). The various approaches to female sexual pleasure have implications relating to gender, encapsulated in the role of marriage in the novels (Dennis). These papers demonstrate how the novels, as part of their narrative strategy, represent the body in terms of its beauty, vulnerability, cultural and gendered role and mortality.

Female pleasure: A reasonable expectation within marriage?
Pamela Dennis (Swansea)

In the wider context of women’s general subordination to men in the ancient world, it is perhaps surprising that male writers expressed any interest at all in female sexual pleasure. I would like to look at this topic with reference to three novelists in particular and their different perspectives: Chariton emphasises the link between a mutually pleasurable wedding night and conception; Achilles Tatius has his hero Clitophon offer a detailed description of a woman’s sexual climax; Longus’ Daphnis and Chloe indulge in ‘games’ that may be a preparation for marriage. I shall suggest the possibility that, within marriage, a woman’s sexual pleasure was not an end in itself but an enjoyable way-station en route to achieving the larger goal of producing children, the means by which a couple became anchored within a community and ensured continuity.

Alexandrian medicine and Leucippe’s μανία (Ach. Tat. 4.9-10, 4.15)
John Hilton (KwaZulu-Natal)

In this passage from Achilles Tatius’ novel, Clitophon diagnoses Leucippe’s violent behaviour towards himself and his friend Menelaus as a case of madness (μανία) and later as an illness (ἀσθένεια). Charmides suspects her behaviour is a trick devised by Menelaus, but later he sees that she is genuinely deranged and takes pity on her. They tie Leucippe up with ropes, as recommended by current medical advice, while they seek help from a doctor. Clitophon views her condition as one of the many disasters (ναυάγια) that Fate (Τύχη) and an ‘evil spirit’ (δαίμον) has afflicted them with. Menelaus tries to
console him with a medical theory of her condition, which concerns ‘boiling’ her youthful blood and a blockage that ‘drowns her reason’. The doctor applies a remedy in two phases that calms the patient but her delirium continues for ten days and her illness is only successfully treated when the Egyptian servant of Gorgias, a herbalist (φαρμακεύς), who had given her an excessive dose (φίλτρον) of an aphrodisiac, applies a cure (ἰάσις) for her condition. This paper investigates the competing Greek and Egyptian theories of medicine alluded to in this episode, and contextualises them within the framework of Platonic discussions of μανία.

**Describing the indescribable: Corporeal characterisation in Chariton’s Callirhoe**
Claire Rachel Jackson (Cambridge)

Many scholars have commented on the paradox of female beauty in the ancient Greek novels, as while novelistic heroines are frequently said to be transcendently beautiful, there is often a marked absence of physical description. Instead, their beauty is reinforced by its effects upon their audiences, or by literary-mythological comparisons. Despite its generic prevalence, Chariton’s Callirhoe, possibly the earliest extant novel, expresses this trope with particular acuity due to its pervasiveness throughout the text and role in characterising the heroine. Chariton’s interest in visuality has been explored generally by Richard Hunter (1994) and Froma Zeitlin (2003), but the relationship between this indirect description and its narrative function needs further reflection. A key example of this is 3.8.6, a paradoxical comparison of the postpartum bigamist Callirhoe to Artemis or Athena holding a baby which has largely been ignored in scholarship but which invites consideration of this scene’s resonance for the narrative as a whole. Focusing primarily on this scene, this paper argues that the construction of Callirhoe’s physical appearance through mythological comparison not only demonstrates the sophistication and significance of this corporeal characterisation, but also offers models for interpreting both the heroine and the novel as a whole.

**Corpus Dilecti: Corpses, love and narrative in the Greek novel**
Stephen Trzaskoma (New Hampshire)

This paper investigates the role that corpses, particularly the corpses or supposed corpses of loved ones, play in Greek romantic prose fiction. The presence of Scheintode, or false deaths, is a commonly noted feature of the genre in discussions of the five surviving extant novels; for in four of them the motif has a distinct prominence in the construction of the plot, the concentration of elaborated rhetoric and the manifestation of strong emotion. I will begin with a brief survey of these narrative features in Chariton’s Callirhoe, Xenophon of Ephesus’ Ephesiaca, Achilles Tatius’ Leucippe and Clitophon and Heliodorus’ Aethiopica. My primary intention, however, is to analyse the manner in which Xenophon, Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus deploy corpses to respond in specific ways to the corpses in the work of their predecessors (Xenophon to Chariton; Achilles Tatius to Xenophon and Chariton; Heliodorus to all the others). These connections form an intertextual chain that runs through the history of the genre, with each successive novelist commenting not only upon earlier stages of that history but metanarratively drawing attention to his own innovations in the use of the technique.

**Everyday Life in Ostia, Past and Present**
Theme: Everyday Life
Conveners and Chairs: Arja Karivieri (Stockholm) and Katariina Mustakallio (Tampere)

The project ‘Segregated or Integrated? – Living and Dying in the harbour city of Ostia, 300 BCE – 700 CE’ investigates how established and incoming cultures interacted within the built environment, and with material and literary culture, over a millennium, in terms of their political, social and religious life, both in the local community and in the central hub of Mediterranean travel. In this panel we compare the relationship between urban space and the activities and rhythms of everyday life in antiquity, and in the modern city of Ostia. A central question to be discussed is to what extent ritual activities such as
Religious festivals were part of everyday life in Ostia. How can we discern archaeological evidence for the specific rituals of various Oriental cults and the identities of the people participating in them? Can we distinguish between elite and non-elite, local and foreign practices and identities, in the common space, bars and cauponae, or in the necropoleis of Ostia? Furthermore, we will discuss how everyday activities shaped individual and group identities in antiquity, and how local identities are shaped in modern Ostia. Can we, should we, and by which criteria may we separate the local identities of Ostia and Rome?

**Oriental cults in the urban landscape of ancient Ostia**
Marja-Leena Hämminen (Tampere)

Ancient Ostia in the Imperial era is characterized by the ethnic variety of its population. The variety of different religious cults is also conspicuous. Traditionally, a rather sharp distinction has been made between the so-called traditional cults and newcomer cults, often labelled as Oriental cults. Furthermore, it has been supposed that Oriental cults were favoured by women and lower classes and were, thus, coloured by social marginality. In this paper, I am asking if there are more nuances in this picture. I will discuss the cults of Magna Mater, Attis and Bellona, as well as Egyptian cults in Ostia, from the point of view of such concepts as marginality, isolation, exclusivity and inclusion. What was, after all, the place of these cults and their rituals in the urban landscape, society and social life of Ostia? Who were the people involved in these cults in Ostia and what was their role in the society of the colony? The paper will be based on epigraphical evidence and considerations of the topography of Ostia.

**Display and the city: Identities and the Ostian Collegium of the Fabri Tignuarii**
Ghislaine van der Ploeg (Tampere)

More than sixty collegia have been identified in Ostia and one of the most prominent of these was that of the Fabri Tignuarii, the guild of builders. A membership list, dated to 198 CE, includes a list of 325 names which are inscribed on the left hand side of a cippus dedicated to Septimius Severus and the divi. The names flow down the side of the cippus, onto the base of the inscription, while leaving the right side bare apart from some decoration. Other guilds also inscribed membership lists, and contemporary parallels were often presented on plaques, making the names more visible and readable. This paper seeks to explore why this inscription was executed in this way and what it can tell the viewer about the membership of the collegium, and to examine the connections between the imperial cult and the Fabri Tignuarii. The main questions for this paper are: What can the way in which this inscription has been inscribed tell us about the collegium? What were the relations between the collegium and the cult of the emperor? How was the civic and religious identity of the collegium and its members displayed in this inscription?

**Imported and immigrated - Foreign objects and identities in Roman Ostia**
Ria Berg (Tampere)

This paper is a small theoretical exercise for a study of identities of foreign objects in Ostia, discussing the complex relations between the identities of immigrated people and ‘populations’ of imported objects. Roman Ostia was a place densely populated by people with various ethnic backgrounds and, in parallel, permeated by the presence of objects of foreign origin. The role of objects in ethnic identity construction is multiple and well recognized: earlier they were studied as markers of distinct ethnic groups in movement, and as elements of an exchange system of luxury objects as status symbols. More recently, however, interest has shifted to the role of material objects as hybrids in between different cultures, malleable and changing rather than fixed in their meaning. As artefacts are such important tools for identity construction of ethnic groups, it is worthwhile to ponder in detail the multifaceted meanings that imported objects could have for immigrant groups of persons. Was their foreignness underlined or downplayed? What was their relation with spaces with foreign connotation, such as cauponae and hospitia? In this paper these questions are applied to Syro-Phoenician glass vessels,
containers for cosmetics and drinking vessels, perceived as containers of foreign habits, costumes and ideas.

**Ostia. A liminal identity between past and present**  
Marxiano Melotti (Milano-Bicocca)

Ancient Ostia is one of the most interesting Italian archaeological sites. Its richness and proximity to Rome makes it a potentially great attraction. But it does not play a primary role in collective imagery, in cultural and tourist policies. Ostia is fragmented in three areas: the archaeological site, the Mediaeval small town and the modern seaside district. Ostia is a suburban area of contradictory liminality for modern Romans: on the one hand, crime, violence and corruption; on the other, entertainment, fun and pleasure. Its image moves from the beaches of mass tourism, bars and restaurants, to the chronicles of political scandals and criminal activities. There, ancient Ostia with archaeological remains is a weak element, inspite of the post-modern tendency to historical theming and culturalization of consumption. A shopping centre with Roman theming and an amusement park with ‘Roman’ attractions connect Ostia and Rome, and confirm the difficulty of Ostia in defining autonomy. Ancient Ostia reflects the contradictions of its territory. Some areas of Ostia offer a gaze on the daily life of its inhabitants and suggest links between history and contemporary everyday life. My paper focuses on the dynamics linking ancient Ostia and the contemporary life in Rome.

**Adaptation in Late Antique and Byzantine Literature**  
Theme: Late Antiquity and Byzantium  
Chair: Anne Alwis (Kent)

*Looking back from Byzantium: An ‘eyewitness’ account of Rome*  
Graham Andrews (Corpus Christi, Cambridge)

In the eleventh century CE, the monk John Xiphilinus produced his *Epitome* of Cassius Dio’s 80-book, thousand-year *Roman History*. His abbreviated narrative – estimated at roughly one-fifth the length of Dio’s original – is our main source of the final quarter of the *Roman History*, including the books relating Dio’s own lifetime (c. 155-230 CE). Throughout these final contemporary books Xiphilinus maintains their original first-person perspective, presenting an eyewitness account from the well-placed, twice consul Dio. The process of epitomisation means that Dio’s view has inevitably been reshaped by Xiphilinus through his decisions to keep or discard material. Building on scholarship looking at late-antique Rome and early Byzantium, this paper proposes to examine Xiphilinus' reappropriation of this eyewitness narrative. The *Epitome* will be treated as a text in its own right, informed by recent work on condensed texts and the organisation of knowledge. By using Dio’s first person, Xiphilinus is able to shape a history of the third-century empire with the authority of someone who lived through it. Moreover, he is then able to interject his own voice, establishing his position among the Byzantine literary elite as an expert on the contemporary relevance of Greco-Roman antiquity.

*‘Keep on citing the fathers’: Where do the texts of Galatians go next?*  
Rosalind MacLachlan (Birmingham)

Quotations and lemmata of the biblical text in the works of early Christian authors can be important evidence for early forms of the biblical text distinct from the Vulgate version of the text, which later became dominant. These works also often present evidence for the biblical text predating that offered by surviving biblical manuscripts. But where do the biblical texts from early quotations go next? The COMPAUL project has been investigating the earliest Latin patristic commentaries on the Pauline Epistles as sources for the biblical text. Its data about the texts of *Galatians* found in early commentaries and in manuscripts can be used with the Brepolis databases of Latin texts to trace the continued occurrence of these early Latin texts of *Galatians* in later works, particularly from the 5th-9th centuries and the 12th-13th centuries. This offers insights into how works by early Christian authors were
redeployed in later centuries and provides the opportunity to explore the influence that their biblical texts may have had in later centuries. Comparing the biblical texts found in patristic and subsequent works and the readings found in manuscripts also raises questions about how patristic texts may indeed be influencing the readings found in manuscripts.

**Jerome of Stridon, the Classical legacy, and the Alexandrography of late antiquity**  
Christian Thrue Djurslev (Edinburgh)

This paper explores the use of Alexander the Great in the writings of Jerome (c. 347-419 CE). It argues that his adaptations of the Alexander-related material he inherited from Greek and Latin traditions offer a window onto the evolving discourse of late antique ‘Alexandrography’. Jerome and other early Christians wrote Alexander into the intellectual landscapes of Rome and Constantinople. They attempted to re-calibrate the classical Alexander tradition in such a way as to accommodate contemporary arguments. The topics included disputes over the remote past, internal politics in the church, Christian versus non-Christian religions, but also everyday life. For example, Jerome deployed Alexander to advise a Christian noblewoman on how to conduct herself virtuously. Enshrined in the literary canon of the church, Jerome made the most significant contributions to Alexandrography. His historical, exegetical, and rhetorical works not only contain passing remarks on the king, but also full-scale narratives, which mark an important chapter in the reception of the figure. The ways in which he artfully bridges the classical and Christian Alexander traditions provide an insight into his conception of late antiquity as part of a continuing ancient world and classical legacy to which he himself contributed.

**How to advertise a poet: Aldus Manutius’ edition of Musaeus**  
Silvia Montiglio (John Hopkins)

Aldus Manutius chose the late-fifth century poet Musaeus, the author of the short epic *Hero and Leander*, to inaugurate his Greek series in c. 1495. The reasons for his choice are clear: the publication of a short poem was not a risky venture financially, and its believed antiquity (Musaeus was considered a mythic figure, more ancient than Homer) was a strong selling point. In addition, the poem was a good teaching tool (as is Homer today). In this presentation, I will consider the efforts Aldus and his associates used to market their release: they further entrenched the false belief of the poet’s mythic status; they added freshly composed poems to celebrate his prestige as well as to court the readers’ knowledge of Greek literature by subtle allusions to texts that had just been published (Hellenistic poetry and the *Palatine Anthology*); they flattered these same readers’ competence in Greek by leaving a Greek introduction even when Aldus added an interleaved Latin translation; they included better-known versions of the legend (Martial’s and Antipater’s of Thessalonika) to spark literary recognition; and they decorated the book with images whose details would appeal to the anticipated readers/buyers.

**Joint Society for Classical Studies/Classical Association Panel:**  
**Gleanings from *Scholia* and Commentary: Readers, Writers, Rhetoric and Education**  
Convener and Chair: Donald Mastronarde (Berkley, SCS and CA)

The surviving traces of ancient commentary and scholarship present fascinating problems of recuperation and editing because of their complicated textual traditions and the inherent instability of subliterary texts. Equally important, however, is the investigation of how ancient scholarship was used, by whom, and in what setting. Some areas of inquiry have been well covered in recent decades. For instance, reflections of literary and rhetorical theory have been traced especially in the Homeric scholia, with their rich survival of ancient erudition plausibly associated with particular scholars of the Hellenistic and Roman period, and to a lesser extent in the tragic scholia. Likewise, the influence of scholarly interpretation of Homer on Hellenistic poets and on Virgil has been well illuminated. More remains to be done, however, especially as the corpus of scholia is improved through modern, more
complete editions and through new surveys and collections of the scholarship and annotations surviving on papyri. The aim of this panel is to offer particular case studies, from less studied areas of both the Greek and Latin traditions of annotation that illustrate other gleanings from scholia and commentary, namely, aspects of reception and use from Hellenistic to medieval times. The four papers consider the viewpoint (that of witnesses of a performance or that of readers) assumed in commentaries on choral performance; the way rhetorical education may have inflected the reading of character in Euripides’ Orestes; the precarious survival of some ancient lore about Opis revealed by the fuller collection of testimonia in a new edition of the Servian commentaries on the Aeneid; and the influence of the teachings of grammatici upon the way late antique Latin poets received and responded to the poetry of Virgil.

**Ancient commentators on choral performance: Readers as recipients of lyric poetry**
Francesca Schironi (Michigan; SCS)

Modern scholars (e.g., Irigoin 1952: 1-75; Harvey 1955; Negri 2004; Rutherford 2001: 107) agree that the Alexandrians did not take into account the totality of choral performances when discussing lyric poetry. Starting from these premises, my paper will analyze how the scholia to Pindar deal with the chorus and choral performance. The evidence shows that ancient scholars did take the chorus into account but their perspective was quite different from ours, as they saw the chorus mostly as a ‘character’ interacting in a dialogue with the poet and the laudandus. Thus, while the scholia might not satisfy our own modern understanding of lyric genres from a performative point of view, they show some interesting exegetical patterns, which receive new light when compared with marginalia in Homeric papyri and Homeric scholia. Independently from the literary genres, scholia and marginalia mostly consist of text-driven and text-derived notes, aimed at ‘readers’ of a written text, who need textual clarifications about what they saw on the page — not in performance. Yet, these notes do not simply betray a naïve (mis)understanding of lyric poetry; they respond to readers who conceived of literary genres mostly in terms of ‘speaking persona’, according to a rather specific view of poetic genres.

**Rhetorical analysis and reading character in the scholia on Euripides’ Orestes**
Donald Mastronarde (Berkeley; SCS)

The view that reading Euripides is of particular value to those being trained in rhetoric and oratory is found in Quintilian and Dio Chrysostomus and was probably commonplace by the Roman period, if not earlier. Traces of rhetorical analysis are found in the annotations in manuscripts, especially in those that carry what may be termed scholia minora, and in witnesses of the annotations created in the circles of the Palaeologan scholars Manuel Moschopulus and Thomas Magister. Similar terminology is found occasionally in the older scholia, and in the scholia on the first third of Orestes there is an unusual accumulation of notes providing a close reading of subtle rhetorical strategies, along with claims about the unstated intentions and êthos of the speakers. The conversations between Electra and Helen and between Orestes and Menelaus prompt many references to pretended stances (hypokrisis, en êthei), wheedling appeals (kolakeia), unstated implications (aintithesthai, (par)emphainein), and cleverly malicious arguments (panougia, kakoêtheia). This presentation will analyze particular cases and explore how far the ancient rhetorical analyses match modern interpretations of the speeches and characters, and whether certain criticisms are based on literary principles or on the needs of teachers of rhetoric, abstracted from a sense of the dramatic form.

**The richness of Opis**
Robert Kaster (Princeton; SCS)

In his famous demolition of the Harvard Servius’ first volume, Eduard Fraenkel devoted the review’s second half to the edition’s deficient collection of testimonia, the citations of sources and parallels that ‘especially in a commentary so rich in information as Servius, may become Ariadne’s thread and guide us through a maze of ancient lore’ (JRS 39 (1949): 145). Though Fraenkel’s remarks have had negligible influence on editions of Servius published since 1949, it is clear that Charles Murgia responded to
Fraenkel’s call in his edition of Servius on Aeneid 9-12, which I am bringing to publication. In this paper I demonstrate the force of Fraenkel’s remarks from the learning gathered under a single one-word lemma, ‘OPIM’, at Aeneid 11. 532 in Servius Auctus, the ‘enlarged’ Servius compiled in the 7th century CE by a reader who still had access to the variorum commentary of Aelius Donatus. Using the testimonia to that scholium’s 110 words I trace no fewer than nine threads of Ariadne ‘through a maze of ancient lore’, lore that is attested in no earlier Latin source and that—because Servius omitted it in his own influential work—has no echo in later Latin sources.

**Latin poetry and Latin scholarship in late antiquity: The bucolic tradition**

Justin Stover (Oxford; CA)

The influence of the Latin poets of the classical period—Virgil, above all—on the Latin poetry of late antiquity has been extensively demonstrated. What has received less attention is the fact that the authors of these works generally studied the older poets under the tutelage of a *grammaticus*. For such authors Virgil and others would have been seen through the lens of a commentary tradition, and carefully reading many later Latin works allows us to see how Virgil was mediated through scholia and scholarship, cognate to the traditions we have surviving today, just as Virgil read his Homer with critical and exegetical scholia. In this paper, I trace the influence of the Latin commentary traditions on two sets of poems: the Einsiedeln Eclogues, two bucolics of probably late-antique origin (s. IV?); and the bucolics of Martius Valerius, a collection of four poems of uncertain date (s. VI?). I will show how reading these poems and their relationship to their poetic forebears through the lens of the commentary tradition leads us to a much greater appreciation of their literary qualities, and can often help us work out difficulties in their dating and interpretation.

**Resurrectio: Revisiting Classical and Religious Themes on the Modern Screen**

Theme: Classics in the Contemporary World
Convener: Monica Cyrino (New Mexico)
Chair: Emma Stafford (Leeds)

In homage to the rich history of Canterbury as a major site of religious pilgrimage, this panel investigates the veritable flood emerging from Hollywood in the current trend for ancient world religious-themed narratives on screen entertainment. In just the last few years, several television series have boasted overt biblical themes, including the miniseries *The Bible* (History Channel, 2013), and its follow-up *AD: The Bible Continues* (NBC, 2015), both made by the husband-and-wife Christian production team, Mark Burnett and Roma Downey. As for feature films, 2014 saw the release of three major movies drawn from the Bible, with plots from both Old and New Testaments. *Son of God* (2014), also produced by Burnet and Downey, was the first Jesus biopic since Mel Gibson’s 2004 blockbuster *The Passion of the Christ*. Soon after, Paramount Pictures released *Noah* (2014), a controversial retelling of the well-known biblical story of Noah and the ark braving the divine flood. Timed for a Christmas release, 20th Century Fox premiered *Exodus: Gods and Kings* (2014), which also covers familiar biblical – and cinematic – territory with the tale of Moses’ fight against Pharaoh to free the Hebrew slaves. Earlier this year, Columbia Pictures released *Risen* (2016), the story of a Roman centurion tasked by Pontius Pilate with finding the crucified body of Jesus amidst a fervent Zealot uprising. And as a summer tentpole movie, MGM’s new reinvention of *Ben-Hur* (2016), produced by Burnett and Downey, aimed to combine the thrilling action sequences of the famous chariot race and sea battle with an intensified faith-based message of forgiveness.

This panel traces the development and impact of the recent resurgence of biblical-themed narratives, themes, and characters made manifest in contemporary film and television series. Its experts analyse the influence of 1950s and 1960s religious epics on these recent productions, as well as the drive towards a more modern screening of antiquity in the post-*Gladiator* era of CGI-enhanced action and special effects. The panel investigates the relationship between the filmmakers and audiences, both religious and secular, and the reactions generated both when the stories on screen are familiar and also
when the text is strained or even subverted. The linked papers seek to interrogate why these religious narratives are being resurrected now and why they seem to wield such a powerful hold on the current screening of antiquity in modern popular culture.

**Paradise lost: Producing the biblical epic in the post-9/11 world**  
Alex McAuley (Cardiff)

The slate of new biblical epics that have revived the old genre over the past decade have had to tread a difficult line. One the one hand they maintain the appeal of old classics to a largely Western audience familiar with their religious subject matter, but they do so against the backdrop of contemporary religious extremism and the violence it has fomented. This paper explores how recent biblical epics have shifted in response to the political realities of the post-9/11 world and the so-called War on Terror. Recurrent references to the Exodus narrative as an ‘insurgency’ in *Exodus: Gods and Kings* (2014) or Roman fears of religious extremism and social unrest in *Risen* (2016), lead the viewer to reconsider familiar biblical narratives through a twenty-first century lens. By considering the politics of production behind such films, I examine how the form of these biblical films may remain constant, but their content and resonance are deeply impacted by post-9/11 sensibilities. These ‘mainstream’ Hollywood films in turn are also considered in the context of the many series and made-for-television films rehashing biblical narratives that are skewed towards a more overtly Christian American audience. Viewing the two in relation to one another permits a better understanding of how popular sensibilities have changed in the over half-century spanning the Cold-War Moses of Charlton Heston and the brooding offering of Christian Bale.

‘And a little child will lead them’: Depicting the Old Testament God in *Exodus: Gods and Kings* (2014)  
Monica Cyrino (New Mexico)

Portraying God in Hollywood films has always been tricky, but not since the mid-century glory days of DeMille’s *The Ten Commandments* (1956) has the Almighty been in such demand on screen. This presentation examines the depiction of the Old Testament God in a recent epic film that retells an early narrative from the Bible: Ridley Scott’s *Exodus: Gods and Kings* (2014). While the film was pitched more as a *Gladiator*-style action adventure than a religious movie per se, *Exodus* proved to be quite controversial for its representation of the Hebrew God. In *Exodus*, Moses is visited by God in the form of a somber young boy with a British accent (eleven-year-old English actor Isaac Andrews), a casting choice viewers found by turns compelling, problematic, scripturally legitimate, or even blasphemous. This child-God unleashes the plagues with a terrifying scowl, and when Moses questions the strategy, he replies, ‘I want to see them on their knees begging for it to stop.’ The diversity of reactions among both secular and religious moviegoers to this depiction of God as violent and vengeful illustrates how contemporary media as well as modern faith-based communities focus almost exclusively on the New Testament and a more merciful God.

‘In Pilates voys’: The Roman prefect’s English accent  
Christopher McDonough (Sewanee)

‘But in Pilates voys he gan to cri,’ writes Chaucer in the *Miller’s Tale*, referring to the way the medieval Pontius Pilate spoke in the English Passion plays. As with the dramatic tradition, so too has there arisen a particular manner in which the Roman prefect speaks in film. While some have traced the tendency to cast Americans-as-Jews and Brits-as-Romans to DeMille or Wyler, this presentation explores how the casting of Pilate may be central to the development of what Maria Wyke has called the ‘aural paradigm.’ The earliest English-language film to feature Pilate was *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1935) with the very British Basil Rathbone as Pilate interviewing a very American Preston Foster as Marcus. Scorsese knowingly built on this in *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988), with David Bowie’s Pilate archly interrogating an American Willem Dafoe as Jesus. It is not universally the case that Pilate is British – e.g., Richard Boone in *The Robe* (1953) – yet recent Pilates in *A.D. The Bible Continues* (2015), *Risen* (2016) and Fox’s live *The Passion* (2016) reaffirm the tradition. This presentation also
considers Michael Palin’s speech impediment in Life of Brian (1979), and the Pilate of Pasolini’s Il Vangelo secondo Matteo (1964), the film’s only English speaker.

**A new Ben-Hur (2016) in a changing world**

Antony Augoustakis (Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

The new and highly anticipated Ben-Hur had a mixed reception at its opening in August 2016. Reviewers criticized this reimagined version, more reliant on the 1880 novel than the iconic 1959 film, as attempting to target faith-based audiences. This presentation considers the new film’s greater emphasis on issues such as slavery and freedom, forgiveness and redemption, and the clash of civilizations, as well as its simultaneous deflation of the homoerotic tensions so prevalent in the 1959 precursor. The story’s focus on Judah Ben Hur’s resistance to Roman rule has frequently been construed for its implications of a clash between East and West, with broad ramifications for a contemporary audience grappling with continuing violence in that part of the world. While Gore Vidal, one of the screenwriters of the 1959 film, famously wanted to ‘out’ Judah and Messala, screenwriter Keith Clarke expressed early on his desire to emphasize the theme of forgiveness in the 2016 version, to the point of ‘closeting’ any feelings between the two heroes. Finally, the message of redemption is not conveyed strongly enough by Jesus – who now has a prominent role – but by other characters, such as Sheik Ilderim. Moviegoers are bound to relate this heavily Christianized film about a changing ancient Roman world to their own rapidly shifting modern globe.
Session 6

CUCD Education Teaching and Technology
Panel 1: Digital Pedagogy
Theme: Pedagogy
Convener: Helen Lovatt (Nottingham; CUCD)
Chair: Joanna Paul (Open)

Technology is increasingly important in the lives of university educators. It changes fast and offers both challenges and opportunities. These two co-ordinated panels explore different aspects of technology in the work of higher education Classics departments. The first focuses on pedagogy and the changing role of technology in our teaching, the second on public engagement and the interface between schools, universities and the general enthusiast. The panels will stimulate discussion of the best ways to use technology, the problems and challenges of adapting to changing environments and expectations, and will share best practice and new ideas. Contributors from the US and the UK and from a range of institutions and career levels offer a variety of perspectives on new ways of communicating.

See further below for abstracts for Panel 2 of this session

Classics on the move: Audio and video content in teaching at the Open University and beyond
Joanna Paul (Open)

University study is no longer confined to the lecture theatre or library. In a world of MOOCs and VLEs, online TED talks and apps, the smartphone or tablet gives students a wealth of options for accessing study material and even gaining accredited qualifications. So how can Classics and Ancient History programmes in conventional HE contexts keep up with, and make positive use of, these developments? This paper provides an overview of how the Open University has shaped – and been challenged by – advances in mobile learning in recent years, drawing especially on our experience in creating audio and video content. Since its foundation in 1969, the OU has been synonymous with the televised lecture, and innovative video content and audio podcasts continue to play a key role in our teaching. Through platforms such as OpenLearn, and OU-generated projects such as Classics Confidential, opportunities abound for all teachers and students to access – and add to – this material themselves. At the same time, face-to-face contact between student and teacher is fiercely, and rightly, cherished. How, then, should the provision of remote or mobile access to study materials be developed, such that it enhances – rather than replaces – the traditional, ‘real life’ study experience?

Classroom voting technology: Yes or no?
Helen Lovatt (Nottingham; CUCD)

In a large lecture session it can be hard to get students involved: lecturers do not have many effective ways of figuring out what large numbers of people understand, or don’t understand, and students feel passive and reluctant to contribute in front of such a large audience. Could classroom voting technology help to overcome these problems? This paper investigates Turning Point as a way of creating engagement in first-year lectures. Students use keypads to vote on multiple choice questions and can see the responses come in, in real time, on PowerPoint. The main challenge is to do this efficiently but not reductively. How can students vote meaningfully on material about which they do not yet know much? How can lecturers formulate questions to stimulate open and complex responses rather than cut and dried ‘yes’ and ‘no’ answers? Can such technologies help to overturn misconceptions or do they rather serve to reinforce prejudices? The speaker has been using Turning Point for two years with mixed results and this paper reflects on student and lecturer experiences of the technology.
To boldly go, or mostly harmless? Blended and online delivery at the University of Glasgow
Ian Ruffell (Glasgow)

This paper discusses a project that has been running at the University of Glasgow to deliver its full set of pre-Honours Classical Civilisation courses (years one and two) entirely online. It will cover the rationale for developing an online pathway to Honours in terms of accessibility, flexibility, capacity-building and constructivist pedagogy, how the methodologies used built on our experiences of blended learning and of increasing emphasis on reflective learning, and the institutional and technical challenges we have faced in implementing our courses. Topics to be covered include: the vagaries of video, the popularity of portfolios, what’s wrong with a wiki, banging the big blue button and the mysterious limitations of Moodle. With the courses now in their second year, the paper concludes by taking an early look at student and staff feedback and outcomes and argues that we have at least achieved parity of outcome between online and face-to-face variants of our courses, while achieving the specific goals set for the project.

Self-training app for Reading Latin second edition
Alison Sharrock (Manchester)

This paper discusses Manchester’s use of online Blackboard drills closely associated with the first edition of Reading Latin, and the development of an independent app for the second edition. Questions include what works from a pedagogic point of view, as well as what is practical from a technical perspective. In particular, how can we help students away from a testing mentality and into one of training and growth? Not only is this essential for the best outcomes, but it also decreases the problems caused in any automated system. For instance, in the case of u-v, direct entry tests can only accept exact answers as correct. Since Reading Latin uses u-consonant, we took an early decision not to replicate all words containing u-consonant with v. If a user who already knows some Latin writes vita rather than uita, they are ‘marked wrong’. Some students become distressed and annoyed by the feeling that the machine has cheated them of marks. This is a symptom of the testing mentality. The more we can stress the learning process, rather than the testing process, not only the better will students learn, but also the less problem there is with the rigidity of machine-marking.

Emotional Bodies
Theme: Experiencing the Body
Chair: Patty Baker (Kent)

Theology in and of the body: The poetics of divine anger in the Homeric epics
Paul McMullen (Cambridge)

How is it possible to offend a god? How does divine retribution work? And what is offensive about those human actions which appear to offend the gods? Scholarship on Greek religion has presented the symbolic system of pollution and purification as the dominant method by which the Greeks responded to these questions. The Iliad and the Odyssey, however, present a world in which there is a direct relationship between mortal action and its effect on the gods, unmediated by purification and pollution. In these epics divine retribution begins as a feeling of anger in the god’s body – a reaction to mortal behaviour – which physically emanates from that god’s bodily organs (Il. 1.44; 15.208, 20.301; Od. 1.68-69, 13.147, 24.541-44). The poems invite their audiences to visualise the bodies of the gods, giving familiar physical dimensions to abstract questions of what constitutes (im)moral and (im)pious conduct. This paper argues that the Homeric illustration of mortals causing physical sensations to arise within gods marks a theological assertion about the nature of the divine and the implications of human behaviour. Beyond being a consistent feature of Homeric poetics, ideas about the body play a polemical role in Homeric theology and behavioural morality.
Torturing the body: Ancient Greek mutilation and execution
Matthew Dillon (UNE, Australia)

Three satyrs torture a naked woman bound at a stake: whipping, tongue torture (glossokoptein), and genital mutilation or perhaps penetration with a torch are occurring. Another satyr charges in with a large club to beat her, or he is perhaps a demokoinos, executioner. Unusually, the satyrs are not ithyphallic, so this is not erotic, brutal torture: so the vase-scene on Athens NM 1129. Scholarship identifies this woman: child-devouring Lamia. Interpreting this scene within the context of Greek torture of the human body, and practices of physical humiliation, degradation, and execution, reveals attitudes towards the mutilation of the living body. There is perhaps in this scene a reflection of actual judicial punishment, of a creature which would be seen to deserve this. Were Greek criminals routinely tortured or physically mutilated prior to their execution? Occurrences of torture and punishment reveal key aspects of the ancient Greek conception of the body. Physical abuse of a battle-field corpse was despised by mortals and god alike: but what of the living body? Last studied in detail in 1989 (Kernos 2:67-82), this scene is reconsidered within the context of Greek torture, humiliation, and the deliberate infliction of pain, especially as part of the judicial process.

Experience and memory: The phenomenology of memorial space
Brandon Braun (UCLA)

This project explores victory monuments in their contexts, approaching landscapes as repositories of memories. In these landscapes, monuments create and contest meanings, as they frame a memory of the past for the contemporary present. Through analysis of bodily experience and phenomenology, using literary sources, archaeological remains, and inscriptions as evidence, I will analyze the diachronic development of these charged spaces, beginning with the battlefield locales themselves. As the landscapes transform, the experience of them also changes. I next turn to dedications at sanctuaries, looking at their placement next to pre-existing structures, and their impact on the space with regard to subsequent dedication. I will then look at the monumentalization and representation of these battles at individual cities following the same methodology. Comparison between spaces may reveal patterns in commemorative frameworks and ancient usages of the past. The battles fought at Marathon, Salamis, Leuktra, and Chaeroneia are presented as case studies. These battles were recorded in both literature and the material record, particularly with commemorative monuments. The landscape approach to memory is useful in these cases, as the messages and meanings of the original monuments were mediated and transformed by their surroundings.

Body, cognition, and anger in Aeschylus
Manuela Irarrázabal (UCL)

This paper explores how the body, considered both as a lived, experiential structure and as the context for cognitive mechanisms is present in the literary representation of ancient anger. Departing from embodied cognitive theories, the main argument that I pursue is that bodily experience underlies the representation of anger in the Agamemnon of Aeschylus. I will be paying special attention to the kommos and the interaction between Clytemnestra and the chorus following Agamemnon’s murder (Ag 1372-1576), where the lexicon of anger and explicit desire for punishment provide certain criteria to discern that the emotion is at stake. In addition to these criteria, through metaphors and symbolic representations of anger present in these passages, we can identify models that point to the idea that anger is capable of multiple conceptualizations simultaneously – such as ‘inner’, ‘involuntary’ or ‘environmental’. This idea enriches our understanding of how anger might have been lived and experienced in Greece. In this sense, this paper brings together some of the premises of cognitive theories and phenomenology to show that Aeschylean anger is related to a certain experience of the body in its environment.
Textiles and Fashion in Antiquity
Theme: Everyday Life
Convener and Chair: Mary Harlow (Leicester)

This panel will bring together a range of scholars and material which stress the points that, in the ancient world, textiles and dress form key factors of cultural identity, and that textile production was one of the major consumers of raw materials and labour time. The various papers discuss the functionality of textiles, whether as dress or soft furnishings, or highly utilitarian items such as sails, and the various messages embedded in or projected by them. Textile and dress studies engage with a wide range of primary material and a broad scope of methodologies. They tend to be about much more than the immediate subject, dealing with aspects of identity, of economics, of cultural interactions and indeed, of understanding of the cosmos. The papers offered here elucidate ways in which the study of textiles and dress can enhance both our understanding and engagement with the ancient world.

Spinning: A hidden profession
Mary Harlow (Leicester)

The Roman wardrobe required miles and miles and miles of spun thread (perhaps up to 40 kilometres to make an imperial toga) but spinning is a craft that is rarely commemorated in Roman inscriptions or literature. When spinners are commemorated they are almost invariably lower class/slave women, a factor which only adds to its invisibility in terms of profession. This paper will argue that studies of archaeological textiles suggest that the production of miles of standardised thread in a particular diameter suggest highly skilled craftswomen who, if not defined as a profession, were required to work in a professional manner in terms of rates of production and quality control.

Where are the sails? An interdisciplinary search for the textiles of the Athenian fleet
Stella Spantidaki (Athens) and Marie-Louise Nosch (Copenhagen)

The Athenian fleet is one of the most iconic endeavours of the Greek city state, a symbol of democracy, naval supremacy, organizational and technological skills. Thanks to its navy, Athens gained power over the seas and founded an empire, but where are the sails? Although the sails were not the main source of energy for the propulsion of a warship, they remained a vital part of the equipment. They are recorded in detail in naval inscriptions starting around 400 BCE. Following a decree in 358 BCE, these inventories and annual accounts become very precise, detailed and extensive. Archaeology of the harbour installations from 480 to 322 BCE is expanding, thanks to the ZEA Harbour project, and data from experimental archaeology and ship reconstructions provides new information, enabling quantification of resources and the use of sail cloth. Ship archaeologists have mainly explored the hulls, masts and oars, and textile archaeologists focus on textiles for clothing and domestic use. This presentation will thus bridge a gap in scholarship on the textiles of warships. Results from experimental sailing and weaving enable understanding of the extent of sail production and use. Sail technology, the organization of sail making and maintenance of sails in the Athenian fleet will be considered, as well as the administration and storage facilities in place for the war ships’ sails and rigging.

Textiles in Roman daily life
Lena Larsson Lovén (Gothenburg)

Textiles were multifunctional in Roman society and various types of textiles were used by everyone on a daily basis. In Roman culture, the clothed body was the social norm and clothes were used in everyday life by people of all ages: men, women and children. Clothes played an important role as identity markers of an individual that would visually communicate aspects of the age, gender and social status of the wearer. In addition to clothes, a variety of other textiles were used in daily life. Items such as bedcovers, blankets, cushions and curtains were common in Roman private houses where they were used for both practical and decorative purposes. Like clothes, textiles in interior decoration could work as markers of status. Despite the attention on historical textiles we have witnessed during the last almost
twenty years, textiles in Roman interior decoration have drawn only scant scholarly attention. This contribution will focus on the use of textiles in private milieus: how they were used in daily life and how they could function as markers of status.

**Sartorial expressions: North African mosaics**
Amy Wale (Leicester)

As a combination of art and architectural decoration the rich corpus of North African mosaics provide colourful and striking representations of the Late Antique world through various artistic, iconographic and figurative repertoire. These mosaics, however, have not yet been comprehensively investigated for their sartorial value. Artistic renderings of dress offer nuanced insight into Roman dress systems and attitudes to dress. Clothing was an important form of identity communication through processes of identity construction, negotiation and expression. While this was manifested in the practice of dressing, visual depictions of clothing also evidence aspects of dress rhetoric: acceptable forms of attire for particular contexts, changing attitudes towards certain items of apparel, or purposeful representations of sartorial deviation. Mosaicists were bounded by the conventions of their medium and the conventions of ‘visual’ clothing. Both dictated how clothing and dress systems were represented. Mosaics were an important arena for sartorial expression. Understanding and interrogating mosaics as such can provide significant insights into the daily practice of dressing and ways in which clothing, and the clothed body, could be imagined and portrayed.

**Postgraduate and Early Career Late Antiquity network**

**Innovation, Tradition and Reform in Late Antique Religions**
Theme: Late Antiquity and Byzantium
Convener: Maroula Perisanidi (Leeds)
Chair: Shaun Tougher (Cardiff)

The Postgraduate and Early Career Late Antiquity network was founded in 2012 to provide a platform for young academics focusing on this still often marginalised period in classical history. Members of our network have previously presented at the Classical Association Conference (2014) on the topic of transformations in imperial authority. The panel proposed here will discuss a different type of transformation – innovation through and within religion – and will contrast it with the often paradoxically symbiotic concept of traditionalism. More specifically, the four papers utilise the wide combination of ancient evidence which characterises studies in late antiquity: literature, law, archaeology, numismatics, and epigraphy, covering the period from the late third to the seventh centuries CE. The first three papers will focus on political aspects of religious innovation, while the fourth will explore the concept of innovation within the Church. FitzGerald and Usherwood will look at coins and inscriptions respectively to examine how the negotiation of novelty and tradition shaped the way that emperors were perceived. Videbech will examine how churches as buildings were used to shift the political centre and to transform Rome into a Christian society. Perisanidi will explore the idea of innovation in the context of ecclesiastical councils, examining its impact on the politics of sexual morality.

**Jupiter and the Iovii: Political innovation in late antique coinage (284-324 CE)**
Taylor FitzGerald (Exeter)

This paper will explore the function of Jupiter in numismatic expressions of imperial legitimacy and collegiality. It will examine how the traditional god was used by emperors to proclaim and renegotiate their political and religious positions within the complexities of early-fourth century imperial relationships. Perennially popular on Roman imperial coinage, Jupiter was particularly celebrated in Tetrarchic iconography. This incorporated the god into a system with multifaceted political and religious significance. His presence in the numismatic record can be linked to the innovation of the imperial signa, one of which was the appellation of Iovius assumed by Diocletian and his eastern
successors that became an expression of the imperial cult. Each of Diocletian’s eastern successors adapted the use of Jupiter on their coinage to further their own imperial claims. Far from being a static symbol of Roman identity, Jupiter could signify investment in Diocletian’s political system, the promotion of emerging dynasties, and the support of traditional Roman religious practice. I will argue that innovations in the use of the god over this short period illustrates the adaptability of both Roman religio-political iconography and of the imperial college.

**Innovative traditionalism? Or: How to become a god in the early fourth century CE**

Rebecca Usherwood (Durham)

The identification of ‘good’ deceased emperors as divi – state divinities – was a practice as old as the imperial system itself. Yet these religious customs, like many other traditions, were irrevocably changed by the political breakdown which came after the end of the Severan dynasty in the early third century CE. The majority of work on the imperial cult has focused on either the first two centuries of the empire up to this point of crisis, or alternatively how these practices were re-evaluated in the light of the emperor Constantine’s adoption of Christianity in the second decade of the fourth century CE. Focusing on the intervening period – the early fourth century, when political stability of the Tetrarchy was beginning to crumble – this paper will argue that this time of intense competition and religious turmoil was key in the evolution of how deceased emperors were commemorated as divine. Scrutinising in particular a handful of enigmatic inscriptions which commemorate emperors as divi, it will consider how tradition and innovation were held in tension in this new political climate.

**Innovating traditions: Social and political functions of the Basilica of St. Peter, 4th-6th century CE**

Christina Videbech (Bergen)

In late antiquity, churches appeared as alternatives to earlier public places in Rome. They became the new civic and political focal points, and dedications, self-representation and the like could now be performed here. Such was the case of the Basilica of St. Peter, which took over political and ideological functions, occasionally even becoming part of the imperial adventus and triumphal representation, hereby rivaling the fora. Based on archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence this paper will examine the basilica, focusing on the transition of political and social functions from the fora of Rome to the church. Furthermore, the basilica will be examined as a place of collective memory and Roman identity, a place for continuing the traditions previously upheld in the fora, but also a place of innovations. The basilica will also be examined as part of a new Christian narrative: by manipulating the Roman collective memory, cleverly using the churches, the bishop, emperor, and Christian aristocracy were moving the political centre of the city from the fora to the churches and rewriting the story of Roma Aeterna as Roma Cristiana.

**Late antique councils and reforms on clerical sexuality**

Maroula Perisanidi (Leeds)

‘Stand firm as champions of religion, and be ready with unsparing hand to cut away all innovations and newfangled inventions1st’ (Imperial Sacra, Council of Nicaea II (787)). Ecclesiastical councils formed an essential part of the decision-making process of the Late Antique and Byzantine Church. They were held at each organisational level: within a single diocese, a province, a patriarchate, or across different patriarchates, bringing together representatives of the clergy in order to regulate questions of church doctrine and discipline. Councils provided the main mechanism of keeping orthodoxy up to date, and as such represented the place from where innovation and reform could begin. Nonetheless, the laws promulgated at councils (canons) often decried any novelty and harked back to tradition and ancient custom. In this paper, I will focus on reforms affecting the sexual behaviour of clergy, examining the evidence of the councils between 325 and 787 CE. I shall examine how Judaic and Hellenic traditions were negotiated, and how canon law interacted with civil law.
Ancients in modern memoir
Peter Stothard

Those who study the classics when young carry the classics with them for the rest of their lives, sometimes lightly, sometimes as a burden, some with a growing grasp of scholarship, more of us in memories that are increasingly our own. In three books of memoir in the past seven years I have sliced my life as a newspaper editor and political writer into parts associated with a particular classical subject and its related texts. The first, *On the Spartacus Road*, became a story of reading Horace and Statius, an examination of Epicurean responses to a serious illness. The second, *Alexandria*, described writing about Cleopatra through Sophocles, the Greek Anthology and the shared memories of a dying friend. The third, *The Senecans*, is a recollection of how some of Margaret Thatcher’s advisors used and abused the Stoics. This paper will answer the question of whether, and if so why, classical study can exercise its grip when looking back at one’s own past. A common strand is that as a student I read well many classical texts whose subjects I didn’t understand; and in later years understood better what I could now read so very much less well.

Deconstructing mythologies: Ancient and contemporary rumor campaigns
Flaminia Beneventano della Corte and Marco Vespa (Siena)

In the 1950s Barthes (*Mythologies*, 1957) intended to grasp the complex mechanism of pop culture by appealing to the classical notion of *myth*. With this term, only seemingly conceived as an ancient Greek category, he aimed at explaining how commercial products and social performances could be conceived as ‘natural’ realities and not simply ideologically constructed artefacts. Among such modern *mythologies*, many are focused on the character of the *leader* and on those elements which contribute to its (self-)*construction* (Duranti 2006; Charaudeau 2005; 2013). Few studies, however, especially in Classics, have concentrated on the unexpected breakdown of this allegedly everlasting machinery of approval and success. What happens when a myth starts to crumble? By analyzing the cases of Claudius (Sen. *Apoc.*; Suet. *Cl.*) and Bill Clinton (Riley 2016), we will focus on the notion of *rumor* – recurrent in both ancient and modern culture – and, on the basis of textual evidence, demonstrate how it can be used as a rhetorical technique aimed at dismantling authority. Moreover, we will argue that *rumores* (and rumors), along with anecdotes and tales, also intend to construct parallel mythologies themselves, that is mythologies which replace charisma with ridiculousness, authority with shame, propaganda with gossip and parody.

Francis Fukuyama and ‘the end of history’: Greek thought and contemporary international relations theory
John Bloxham (Open)

Fukuyama’s seminal essay, ‘The End of History?’ (1989), remains one of the most influential analyses of the post-Cold War international system. It has been read as a celebration of the West and a manifesto for the neoconservatives who went on to play important roles in the George W. Bush administration. Fukuyama argued that, with the dissolution of the USSR, the global spread of liberal democracy would be inevitable. However, whereas the original essay’s title referred only to Hegel’s ‘end of history’ idea, the full-length book’s title struck a more negative note: *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992). For Fukuyama, unchallenged liberalism risked creating the soulless, craven creatures feared by Nietzsche. However, while the book’s title focuses attention on Hegel and Nietzsche, it still leaves out the crucial role of classical Greek philosophy in Fukuyama’s thesis. Throughout the work, he turned to Aristotle and Plato for potential solutions to the apparent impasse. Nevertheless, Fukuyama’s engagement with Greece relied upon an idiosyncratic interpretation of Greek philosophy derived from
Leo Strauss. By working through Fukuyama’s appropriations of Greek thought – what aspects he used, ignored or adapted – we can enhance our understanding of this important political text.

**Cicero’s royal rhetoric**

Jaclyn Neel (Temple)

Cicero’s rhetoric in the *Catilinarians* has come under increasing scrutiny in recent years (e.g. Galassi, *The Monster of Rome*, and Levick, *Catiline*). In this paper, I propose a new reading of the first three *Catilinarians* alongside the speeches of modern leaders’ responses to terrorist attacks, with the aim of demonstrating that both these leaders and Cicero use the same rhetorical figures to approach the question of public safety: the stark polarization of complex political questions, the assurance of divine support, the request that citizens not become involved in the response to the threat, and a call for public memory. Scholars of modern rhetoric have suggested that these rhetorical strategies establish leaders as sovereign figures in their state (following Schmitt, *Political Theology*, and Agamben, *Homo Sacer*). Following that guide, I argue that the *Catilinarians* themselves led to later characterizations (by, e.g., Clodius) of Cicero as rex.
Session 7

CUCD Education Teaching and Technology
Panel 2: Online Communication, Public Engagement and Teaching
Theme: Pedagogy
Convener and Chair: Helen Lovatt (Nottingham; CUCD)

Technology is increasingly important in the lives of university educators. It changes fast and offers both challenges and opportunities. These two co-ordinated panels explore different aspects of technology in the work of higher education Classics departments. The first focuses on pedagogy and the changing role of technology in our teaching, the second on public engagement and the interface between schools, universities and the general enthusiast. The panels will stimulate discussion of the best ways to use technology, the problems and challenges of adapting to changing environments and expectations, and will share best practice and new ideas. Contributors from the US and the UK and from a range of institutions and career levels offer a variety of perspectives on new ways of communicating.

After virtual engagement, what then?
Ray Laurence (Kent)

In the last 12 months, over 1 million people have watched the film *A Glimpse of Teenage Life in Ancient Rome* (2012) on YouTube and the same numbers have watched another film: *Four Sisters in Ancient Rome* (2013). The question for academics and their various learned societies and other organisations (such as the Classical Association, the Council of University Classics Departments or the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies) is how do we engage with this audience? This paper looks at some recent experiments in engagement with this audience undertaken by staff and PhD students at the University of Kent, and also some of the reactions to these initiatives that have been unexpected – including a rap by Bregans from the Cambridge Latin Course.

‘Online companion to the worlds of Roman women’: Resources, forum and teaching
Ann Raia (New Rochelle, New York)

*Online Companion to the Worlds of Roman Women* began life as a complement to the intermediate Latin anthology *The Worlds of Roman Women* (Focus 2005), to make available to readers a variety of unadapted Latin texts, images and essays about Roman women of all classes from the Republic to the Empire. Further, it contains instructional resources, including classroom and independent learning activities, to facilitate comprehension of passages, material evidence and contexts. It has become a forum where editors, teachers and students collaborate to engage in activities, and where their strategies and projects can be shared and even published. In addition to demonstrating the site, this paper will show examples of faculty-mentored student work, especially text commentary and funerary inscription analysis.

Mint imperials: A student-led digital outreach project
Will Leveritt (Nottingham)

Social media offer many opportunities for outreach and student communication. This paper discusses a student-led digital outreach project called *Mint Imperials*, which involves at any one time approximately 20 student volunteers, ranging from first-year undergraduates to late-stage PhD candidates. The project produces short pieces of student writing about historical events (such as births, battles, accessions), which are timed to appear on their anniversaries, supported by a student-run Twitter feed. Each piece of historical writing is verified and edited by postgraduate volunteers and supported by an image of an ancient coin, generated by undergraduate volunteers using the university’s Digital Humanities Centre; the coin is then attributed by further volunteers. Each task in the project’s output is therefore compartmentalised and distributed, allowing volunteers to self-select manageable volumes of work of interest to them and gain experience in different sectors, while also fostering student learning in areas
they may not explore in their regular course. The model of distributed tasks with student-led verification of output steps is an effective one, but as a process it brings its own challenges. This paper seeks to share my experience of directing and managing this project alongside strategies for motivating the volunteers and quality control.

**Phenomenal Expression**

**Theme: Experiencing the Body**

Convener and Chair: Eleanor Betts (Open)

The presenters in this panel show that the modern human body is a touchstone to the past. Taking a variety of embodied approaches focused on dress, religious ritual and dance they demonstrate the validity of making a phenomenological approach a pedagogical tool through which to engage students with aspects of ancient Roman culture. The speakers present novel approaches, which are grounded in practice, to illustrate how utilising the body as a research tool can elucidate aspects of past experience for students, and draw them closer to understanding what it was like to live in the ancient Roman world. Their approaches are not about reconstructing the past, but about gaining better access to it through physical experience.

**Dressing up the facts: Roman costumes in schools**

Ursula Rothe (Open)

The Romans were obsessed with appearance: dress was used by them to express and delineate a range of group identities, from gender roles through the various and complex ranks of social order to legal status, age and ethnicity. As a result, a great deal can be learnt about Roman society simply by looking at the different types of dress. For a year now, the presenter has been travelling to schools with her collection of Roman garments and using dressing up as a way to teach school pupils about how Roman society worked. The same garments have been able to be used for both very young and senior school students, simply by changing the complexity of the information taught about them. It is hoped that by having this hands-on and visual experience, students are able both to better retain the information imparted, but also, and more importantly, to feel more connected and engaged with Roman history. This presentation will describe the schools dress project and discuss its potential application in an undergraduate university setting.

**Animal sacrifice in the classroom**

Stuart McKie (Manchester)

Over the last few decades, scholarship on Roman religion has begun to appreciate the importance of bodily engagement for the performance of the various rituals that were performed by people across the empire. In particular, a number of historians and archaeologists have explored the sensory experience of animal sacrifice, which was one of the central rituals of Roman religion and one which would have involved a wide range of experiences that are completely alien to many in the modern world – scholars and students alike. Getting past these cultural barriers presents a challenge when attempting to teach ancient religion and this paper will demonstrate one approach which the speaker has found particularly effective. By recreating an animal sacrifice in the classroom (using a toy sheep rather than a live victim!) and engaging them in the various roles of priests, slave attendants, haruspices and audience members, the students can begin to appreciate not only the structured natural or Roman religious rituals, but also the discrepant experiences based on factors such as class and gender. This activity is grounded in close readings of ancient sources, but brings them alive through reading aloud and active movement.
**Reactivation: Investigating ancient dance through Dance**  
Sophie Bocksberger (Oxford) and Helen Slaney (Roehampton)

Bodies are, as Sheets-Johnstone and others have shown experienced as constantly fluctuating agents, recipients, and fields of movement. For one human body to encounter the kinetic properties of another across time does not involve the static contemplation of a static object, but rather a dynamic relationship in which motion becomes both matter and medium of classical reception. With this in mind, the collaborative project *Ancient Dance in Modern Dancers* has been developing strategies for translating some of the essential features of Roman tragic pantomime (*orchēsis*) into twenty-first-century activity, investigating in the process the ancient dancer’s relationship to their text, music, space, costume, character, and emotion. We will demonstrate some of the exercises we have used in the workshop, enabling participants to gain a kinaesthetic understanding of this dance genre. We will also demonstrate the pilot version of an online resource designed to make these interactive strategies available to users beyond the workshop setting. We anticipate this will generate discussion about the application of virtual interactive tools within sensory history. Dance could be regarded as quintessentially live, the most ephemeral of art-forms, but we will show how moving in digital space produces alternative ways of conceptualising the dancer’s act of reception.

**Between Texts and Material Culture:**  
**The Status of Civic Elites Within the Ancient Community**  
Theme: Everyday Life  
Convener: Dominika Grzesik (Wroclaw)  
Chair: Tom Harrison (St. Andrews)

This panel discusses the life and role of civic elites. Despite the fact that the question of the role of civic elites in ancient communities has long attracted scholarly attention, there are still numerous issues regarding trade, economy and social relationships which deserve a closer look. Literary sources have already been studied, but they do not always allow for the creation of a comprehensive picture of the role of elites within ancient societies. Therefore, a number of epigraphic sources offering interesting fresh interpretations will be examined. The three key studies presented in the panel focus on Campania in the Antonine-Severan period, and the Greek cities of the Black Sea region. The examination of the epigraphic material and literary evidence from these regions elucidates numerous members of a city’s prominent families, the majority of which belonged to the political elite of the city. The aim of the panel is to improve our understanding of the development of local elites in Campania and the Black Sea region, during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, by outlining their social and economic position within their communities.

*Homines novi in Campanian ordines decurionum in the Antonine-Severan period*  
Wojciech Pietruszka (Wroclaw)

According to many scholars, in the 2nd century CE Roman Italy experienced an economic crisis that resulted in the impoverishment of cities. It has been suggested that this process limited social mobility and strengthened oligarchic tendencies in Italian *ordines decurionum*. Real power was now in the hands of a few of the most important *gentes* and families. This presentation analyses one aspect of social mobility, the presence of *homines novi* in Campanian *ordines decurionum*. The region of Campania is well documented in epigraphic sources and I will use several criteria to establish the social background of municipal noblemen. These criteria will allow the number of *homines novi* (e.g. close descendants of *liberti*, veterans) to be estimated. I will then compare my results with those from the previous period (especially with the number of *homines novi* from well-studied Pompeii) to should shed some light on changes in social mobility between the 1st century CE and the 2nd/beginning of the 3rd century CE, as well as, in some degree, to answer the question concerning the real scale of the Italian crisis.
The phenomenon of public munificence in the Greek cities on the western/northern Black Sea coast between the fifth c. BCE and third c. CE.
Michał Halamus (Wroclaw)

This paper will discuss the phenomenon of public munificence, as seen in the Greek cities on the western/northern Black Sea coast between the fifth century BCE and third century CE. The analysis of over three hundred local honorific inscriptions demonstrates that certain trends, such as the growing popularity of euergetism in the second century CE, closely resembled the trends seen in other communities of the Eastern Mediterranean. Nonetheless, the occurrence of particular deeds in the analysed material deviates from the contemporaneous Eastern Mediterranean standards. More expensive contributions, such as building funds or large direct donations, were relatively rare in western and northern Pontic Greek cities, possibly due to the precarious political and financial position of these cities. The analysed material showcases that the Greek poleis from the northwest Pontic region initially experienced constant pressure from the hinterland tribes. Records of envoys to natives decline in number between the Hellenistic and Roman periods, proving that, thanks to pax romana, the barbarian threat was substantially reduced.

Two models concerning the development of the elite in the North Pontic region during the Roman period: Olbia Pontike and Chersonesos Taurike
Joanna Porucznik (Wroclaw)

This paper will discuss two test cases of how the North Pontic elite developed as a result of the political, economic and social situation during the Roman period. After Olbia was destroyed by the Getae in the middle of the 1st century BCE, the city allowed non-Greek people to settle. A great amount of non-Greek, mostly Scytho-Sarmatian, names appear at that time on dedications to Achilles Pontarches and Apollo Prostates, which demonstrates that a certain group of these new citizens most probably belonged to the city’s elite. In the case of Chersonesos, during the 1st and 2nd centuries CE the main magistracies in the city were performed by members of the most influential families who often had both Roman and Chersonesean citizenship and bore Roman imperial names. The status of the ‘free city’ that was granted by Rome (eleutheria) most probably did not bestow full sovereignty, but rather granted certain privileges to the city and its ruling elite. The comparison of these two cases will demonstrate that despite different political circumstances, a different way of expressing elite power, and a different system of cooperation, both poleis aimed to maintain the Greek self-image of the city that was based on such aspects as Greek tradition, language, cult and religion.

Beyond Rome and Constantinople: Emperors and Cities in Late Antiquity
Theme: Late Antiquity and Byzantium
Convener: Shaun Tougher (Cardiff)
Chair: Mary Harlow (Leicester)

The last twenty years have seen a great deal of work on the development of Rome and Constantinople as ‘capitals’ in late antiquity. For much of the period from the third to the early-fifth centuries, however, the imperial court was a mobile institution, meaning that emperors visited a variety of urban centres besides those two ‘capitals’; and they interacted with others by means of letters and rescripts. Studies such as Noel Lenski’s recent Constantine and the Cities (2016) have underscored the importance of these interactions, and of factors such as the presence or absence of emperors from cities, for understanding the dynamics of the late empire. This panel, arising from the Cardiff-St Andrews-Sussex-Swansea network on ‘The Other Capitals’, explores a sample of these imperial dealings with urban centres to highlight the character of interactions between court and city in the late Roman Empire.
Beyond Julian: Emperors and Athens
Shaun Tougher (Cardiff).

When thinking about emperors and Athens in late antiquity, the relationship of Julian with the city probably springs automatically to mind. It is well known that this enthusiastic Hellenophile, author and pagan spent time as a student in the city in the summer of 355 CE, and that in 361 CE, during his progress east against his cousin Constantius II, he wrote a letter to the Athenians justifying his opposition to the emperor. However, this paper will explore the relationships of other Constantinian emperors with the city, such as Constantine the Great himself and his youngest son Constans. The paper will analyse the nature of the relationships between these emperors and the city, considering what motivated them to acknowledge and to develop links with the city, and what the status of the city in imperial thinking was. The paper will also place these relationships in a longer chronological context, exploring to what extent they simply marked continuity with the past (e.g. Hadrian’s relationship with the city) or whether they have a distinctive late-antine character of their own.

Distant memories: Civic pride and imperial memory in the Reign of Constantius II (337-361 CE)
Nic Baker-Brian (Cardiff).

There were many cities across the later Roman Empire which emperors never visited, and the role of imperial letters addressed to those cities is important for understanding their governance at this time. Alexandria, Egypt’s principal city, is one such example. During Constantine and his sons’ reigns, Alexandria experienced episodes of fierce religious and political factionalism, which required a range of complex responses from the imperial centre. Although Constantius II never visited Alexandria, he attempted to intervene on numerous occasions in the problems affecting this city, characterised by complex issues arising from its pluralistic ethnic and religious populace. This paper analyses Constantius’ letter to Alexandria, sent at the height of a period of civic unrest towards the end of the 350s CE. It focuses on the letter’s portrayal of Alexandria, which is characterised by nostalgia for the city’s cultural heritage in order to create a contrast with the ‘anti-intellectualism’ of the theological controversy to which the letter was responding. The paper argues that Constantius’ letter to this particular ‘problem city’ blended legal concerns (e.g. treason, infamy) with cultural and theological judgements by the imperial centre in order to present the city’s imagined past as a solution for current social and cultural issues.

Summer in the city: Valentinian III at Aquileia
Mark Humphries (Swansea).

In 425 CE, the newly established court of the boy-emperor Valentinian III spent much of the summer at the north-Italian city of Aquileia. The city was used as a base for issuing laws to imperial officials across the West, as well as serving as the venue for the spectacular execution of the usurper Johannes, whose regime had just been overthrown. This paper explores the rationale for choosing Aquileia as the venue for these activities, as opposed to any other Italian city, such as Ravenna or Rome, which had become the main residences of western emperors by the early fifth century. The discussion will shed light on the geopolitics of the Roman Empire in late antiquity, and the function of ‘hub cities’ within it. It will examine the extent to which the choice of Aquileia as the venue for advertising the restoration of legitimate government in Italy follows a pattern stretching back into the fourth century.
Classics and the Liberal Arts
Theme: Classics in the Contemporary World
Convener and Chair: Rosa Andújar (KCL)

‘Classics and the Liberal Arts’ presents an exciting opportunity to explore the prominent role of both the Classics and Classicists in various new ‘Liberal Arts’ undergraduate degree programmes across the UK. The participants in this coordinated panel represent a range of early-career and established scholars, who are involved in the teaching, management, and leadership of these new programmes at Birmingham, Bristol, KCL, and UCL. The three proposed papers provide insights into the manner in which Classics and its many subfields have been incorporated into the fabric of these multidisciplinary BA degree programmes, which allow students of varying educational backgrounds to study across a range of areas. In their papers, speakers also address both the possibilities and limitations of Classics as an interdisciplinary field. The goal of this panel is to provide an open platform for all attendees to discuss the role and potential of the Classics in the 21st century British university.

What does ‘Liberal’ mean anyway? Classics and Liberal Arts education
Diana Spencer (Birmingham)

Liberating the curriculum. What does that mean, in principle and in practice? And how much more ‘free’ are students that cross boundaries against a backdrop of disciplinary authority and hegemonies of expertise? There is a personal voice aspect to this paper. It charts my shift from Classics to Liberal Arts and Natural Sciences at the University of Birmingham where we have a programme so new that we haven’t yet had a graduating cohort. It also explores how and why Classics offers an interesting convergence point for thinking about the pitfalls as well as the bonuses of blurring disciplinary boundaries. Simmering questions are: (a) the extent to which universities articulate meaningful parameters for interdisciplinary curricula (especially at UG level); and (b) our ability to communicate interdisciplinarity meaningfully to students in a manner that empowers rather than disables them. Universities are eager to talk up interdisciplinarity, but is multidisciplinarity where most curriculum-development projects stop? Classics departments have faced up to the consequences of diminishing opportunities for advanced school level Greek and Latin, and (more recently) a perception of universities as primarily in the business of triaging ‘excellent’ students into ‘graduate’ jobs. Classics has gained strength from practitioners who can self-identify with multiple areas of competence (philology, cultural studies, archaeology, art history et al.) but what happens if we scale up the Classics model? This paper makes some preliminary suggestions.

A new home for classical reception?
Emma Cole (Bristol)

Liberal Arts degrees offer an ideal home for classical reception pedagogy. Indeed, the programmes’ interdisciplinary focus, aim of combining a breadth and depth of study, and inbuilt links to wider culture and society call out for an examination of the role of antiquity in modernity. But what is the difference between teaching classical reception in a liberal arts environment, compared to a single honours one? Are there implications for reception studies research should reception studies pedagogy be pushed towards the liberal arts? And how does this new home for classical reception affect early-career academics who specialise in interdisciplinary areas and do not hold a traditional single-honours degree in Classics? In this paper I investigate these questions, drawing upon my experiences participating in the European Liberal Arts Network (ELAN) and teaching on the liberal arts programmes at UCL and Bristol University. I suggest that whilst liberal arts models offer an ideal student experience, the implications on staff research and career progression are less clear, and that it is essential for us to keep these questions at the forefront of our minds as the ties between the Classics and Liberal Arts solidify.
A Classicist teaching ‘Interdisciplinary Game Theory’ in the UCL BASc programme

Manuela Dal Borgo (UCL)

The UCL BASc Programme is a rare Liberal Arts programme in the UK. I began teaching in the Department of Arts and Sciences as a PGTA for the ‘Quantitative Methods’ course. It may seem odd that as a classicist I taught maths; however, my doctorate investigated the use of the mathematical theory of interaction called game theory to better understand Thucydides’ historical narrative. Soon after, I was asked to propose a course for the BASc: it is now in its second year. ‘Interdisciplinary Game Theory’ is a maths course that introduces students to game theory through a host of disciplines from Philosophy to Economics using historical examples from antiquity to the today. In the week on Philosophy, for example, the model known as ‘The Tragedy of the Commons’ is discussed first by Plato and Aristotle, secondly by David Hume and thirdly by Garrett Hardin who then mathematizes the philosophical concept. In the week on Politics, the model known as the ‘Condorcet Paradox’ is discussed first by Pliny the Younger, secondly by the Marquis de Condorcet and thirdly by Robin Farquharson who then mathematizes the idea into a voting model. This approach to Ancient History makes the classics applicable and accessible to both Arts and Science majors.
While the major contributions of women in the sciences are beginning to gain more prominent recognition, the impact of female scholars and writers in the Arts and Humanities has made only moderate progress. Nevertheless, 2016 saw not only the publication of a collection of essays titled *Women Classical Scholars: Unsealing the Fountain* exploring female Classicists of the past, but also a movement to create/update an online presence for female Classicists, as illustrated by the expanded Wikipedia entry for the pioneering and humane R. Elaine Fantham. Building on these encouraging moves, this panel discusses four important female Classicists of the twentieth century. The ways in which female Classicists conducted their work, often without access to (but unconstrained by) the same professional arenas as their male colleagues, demonstrate the value of these scholars’ contributions. Bringing the study of Classics to bear on radical politics, class, racism, and prejudice, these foremothers demonstrate how women in Classics were on the frontline of scholarly achievement during the last century. The final paper uses this historical background to note that the statistics on equality in the Classics academy in the current century, particularly at a professorial level, mark an unacceptable sluggishness for change that should no longer be accepted.

**Iris Murdoch’s untimely encounter with Agamemnon**
Mathura Umachandran (Princeton)

Iris Murdoch was both an ancient philosopher and a prominent twentieth-century British literary voice. At the outbreak of the Second World War, Murdoch was an undergraduate studying Classics at Oxford. There she had a formative intellectual encounter with Eduard Fraenkel, whose exile from National Socialist Germany did little to dampen that scholar’s style of doing Altertumswissenschaft. Through close reading of her poem *Agamemnon* Class 1939 [written in 1977] this paper will explore Murdoch’s reflections on how the experience of war fundamentally altered her conception of her temporal relationship to antiquity. This paper will demonstrate how Murdoch constructs nostalgia for a moment prior to the loss of youthful innocence. Furthermore, it will show that Murdoch expresses a sense of temporal disjunction that is more complex than nostalgia. This paper argues that under the tutelage of the culturally dislocated Fraenkel, Murdoch explores the disconcerting experience of studying the *Agamemnon*, that dramatizes the consequences of war, whilst living in 1939, a contemporary moment shaped by the imminent threat of warfare. Therefore I suggest that this historical dissonance prompts Murdoch to describe a wider loss of naïvete: that of unmediated intimacy with antiquity.

**Margaret Nevison**
Barbara Goff (Reading)

Margaret Nevinson was the daughter of a classical scholar and herself a Classics teacher, mother of the First World War painter Christopher Nevinson. She married (unhappily) to the radical campaigning journalist Henry Wooll Nevinson, who like most Edwardian men of letters (although perhaps not like most other members of the Labour Party), drew on his own classical education in his many essays. Margaret Nevinson was a strong supporter of women’s suffrage, who wrote and organised extensively for the campaign. My paper will consider her use of classical material in her contributions to various suffrage publications, with the aim of establishing her as a significant voice in the intersection between classical culture and the radical movements of the early twentieth century. Her magazine articles include notes on ancient elections in Pompeii, on Egypt, and on Juvenal. She also published the pamphlet *Ancient Suffragettes*, which continues to intrigue both for its cheerfully ironic stance and for its interesting model of history, which can still challenge some of our own conceptions.
#SeeItBelIt: Female professors in UK Higher Education  
Victoria Leonard (Cardiff)

This paper examines the status of women in senior academic positions in UK universities, principally through the lives of three of the earliest female professors. Edith Morley was appointed Professor of English in 1908 at what was then University College, Reading. Millicent Mackenzie was appointed Professor of Education in 1910 at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, now Cardiff University. Dorothy Garrod was the first female professor at the University of Cambridge, having been appointed Professor of Archaeology in 1938, almost a decade before women were granted full membership rights. This paper examines how these exceptional women, whose interest and influence often extended beyond academia, navigated challenges and forged their careers. Using data generated by the Higher Education Statistics Agency, this paper asks how much (or how little) has changed since the early twentieth century for women in positions of senior authority. Women constitute only 23% of professors in UK Higher Education Institutions, and the gender pay gap is largely unaddressed; female professors are paid a staggering 14% less (£11,257 on average) than their male counterparts at one UK institution. This paper will build a picture of women in professorial roles throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, with an especial focus on Classics, and will ask where the future lies for successful and senior female academics in UK Higher Education.

Between Polis and Federation:  
The Development of Local Identities Within a Wider (Federal) Framework  
Theme: Everyday Life  
Convener and Chair: Elke Close (Edinburgh)

Ancient Federal States have long been of interest to the modern scholar, serving in many cases as a basis for the formation of a modern federal state in both theory and practice (e.g. the United States basing their constitution on the structure of the Lycian Koinon), and more recently they have been subject of an instrumental work dealing with each individual state in detail (H. Beck and P. Funke (2016) Federalism in Greek Antiquity). This amount of attention is hardly surprising as the appearance of federal structures in the Greek world during the classical and Hellenistic times is an interesting development. Changing political realities meant that smaller entities such as the Greek poleis had to band together to deal with the new foreign powers that were the Hellenistic kings and Rome. For the poleis, joining a federation had a plethora of advantages (isopoliteia, federal membership, etc.), yet it also meant they were linked to a much bigger network of cities which were often ethnically diverse. The goal of this panel is to explore via case studies how individual poleis could develop their regional and civic identity within this wider federal framework. If a city was a member of a koinon, how and through what means could it express and develop its own personal identity?

Megalopolis: An Arcadian city in the Achaean Koinon?  
Elke Close (Edinburgh)

The polis of Megalopolis was founded in 368 BCE by several members of the Arcadian Koinon in the hopes of creating a strong opponent for Sparta. It became a prominent member of both Arcadia and the Arcadian Koinon (during its short existence) before joining the Achaean Koinon in 235 BCE. The Achaean federation itself was enjoying an unprecedented period of expansion under its leader Aratus of Sicyon and it had spread far beyond the traditional Achaean heartland in the north of the Peloponnese. This meant that Megalopolis had now become part of a federal state with a very complex mixture of identities. So how did Megalopolis see itself: as Arcadian, Achaean or something completely different? And how did it express that identity? In this paper I will analyse the sources (i.e. compare the literature with the material record) which seem to project a contradicting image, and argue what exactly this Megalopolitan identity meant for the Achaean Koinon and its federal politics.
Border towns: Plataia, Thespiai and Oropos in the Boiotian koinon
Roy van Wijk (Fribourg)

The Boiotian koinon had its roots in the final quarter of the sixth century and was presumably founded under the auspices of the Thebans in collaboration with several neighbouring poleis, such as Tanagra, a steadfast ally. Yet other Boiotian poleis, such as Plataia, Eleutherai Thespiai and Oropos, had a more challenging relationship with the koinon. Part of this trouble lay with their strategic geographical position alongside the Attic border. Throughout the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, these frontier poleis switched allegiances between the Athenians and the koinon. How did this ambivalence influence their standing with other Boiotian towns? And how did they perceive themselves within the larger scheme of all things Boiotian? Were these poleis truly ‘Boiotian’ in the strictest sense of the word? By combining the oft-visited sources and recent epigraphic findings from Thebes, I will attempt to answer these questions and hopefully illuminate some of the darker parts of Boiotian-Attic history.

Sanctuary and Koinon: Epidaurian inscriptions in context
David Weidgenannt (Goethe)

After joining the Achaean League in 243 BCE, the history of Epidauros was inevitably linked with the development of the koinon. The Epidaurian sanctuary has brought to light several inscriptions that yielded new insights into how the koinon and its institutions worked. So far, these inscriptions have mostly been separately interpreted as sources for the organizational structure of the Achaean League. The sanctuary has even been entitled ‘the federal sanctuary of the Achaean League’. In my paper I want to put these inscriptions in the larger context of the sanctuary’s history and its epigraphical habit: How did the koinon influence the sanctuary’s history? How was the day-to-day business of the sanctuary affected by the Achaean League? How was the epigraphic landscape of the sanctuary altered? Where were the inscriptions set up? How do they relate to other, contemporaneous inscriptions in the sanctuary? These questions will help to understand not only the effect of being part of the Achaean League, but also in which way the identity of a sacred space has been affected by the integration into a larger federal structure.

Gytheion and the koinon of the Eleutherolakones: The making of a Roman koinon
Eliza Gettel (Harvard)

This paper traces the emergence of the koinon of the Eleutherolakones in the 1st century CE and how the polis of Gytheion situated itself as the preeminent member of this federation. Augustus seems to have actively fostered the (re)foundation of the league, which may have been an adapted version of a late Hellenistic koinon of the Lacedaemonians. The new name, as well as literary and epigraphic evidence, suggests that Sparta, a member of the Hellenistic iteration, was not a member of the Roman koinon. Gytheion, Sparta’s former port, seems to have capitalized on this power vacuum. Inscriptions from Gytheion and Athens suggest that the polis cultivated the impression of a privileged status within the league and that the city promoted its membership, as well as its citizens who served as its magistrates, on a civic and more broadly regional scale. Ultimately, examining Gytheion’s role within the Eleutherolakonian koinon elucidates what was involved and what was at stake to be a member of a koinon in the Roman period. Scholars often overlook koina within the political and social landscape of Roman Greece, but Gytheion’s activities suggest that cities still considered the institutions viable and significant within regional and even imperial politics.
Narratology and Late Latin Literature
Theme: Late Antiquity and Byzantium
Convener and Chair: Michael Hanaghan (Cork)

*Kunstprosa* (artful prose) flourished in late antiquity across a wide range of genres from epistolography to hagiography, and from history to rhetoric. Such texts contained rich and exciting stories about the barbarian invasions, the rise of Christianity, the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West, and the daily interaction of an eclectic mix of people. The study of narratology offers an array of hermeneutic tools to unpick the complex literary dynamics of these narratives, revealing how Late Antique Latin prose authors manipulate the telling of their narratives to create anticipation, build contrast, and manufacture climaxes. This panel brings together experts in different Late Antique Latin prose genres to examine the benefits of applying a narratological perspective to these texts. Questions to be explored include: what role does temporality play in the telling of these narratives? How does the author manipulate the narrative speed? Do changes in focalisation reflect artistic changes in perspective? How does the narrator insert their *persona* into the narrative? Do Late Antique literary aesthetics, including an increased appreciation of fragmentation, colour and light impact these narratives? Can narratology help us to define what is particularly Late Antique about these texts?

**Focalisation and evaluation in Jerome’s *Lives of Holy Men***
Christa Gray (Reading)

What are the distinctive literary challenges in presenting another person’s life as ‘holy’? Among the most pressing, surely, is defining the narrator’s stance with regard to the subject’s character and actions. A pioneer of literary hagiography, Jerome experiments with a range of approaches in his *Lives* of Paul, Malchus, and Hilarion. In this paper I take a detailed look at the narratorial attitudes of these texts by analysing evaluative elements within the *Lives* – that is to say, any words or phrases which express an attitude concerning the events narrated, whether it belongs to the characters or to the narrator. I argue that in many cases an evaluation is suggestively imputed to the reader. For example, Hilarion’s move into the desert is expressed in the phrase *uasta et terribili solitudine fruebatur* (*Life of Hilarion*, 3.1). Here the adjectives *uasta* and *terribili* appear to belong to the narrator’s perspective; they create an oxymoronic contrast with the verb *fruebatur* (‘enjoyed’), which reflects Hilarion’s own evaluation. The evaluative oxymoron encourages the reader to admire the saint. This and related patterns suggest that Jerome’s hagiographical narrative constructs a complex framework of perceptions, which invite the reader to assume a limited choice of empathetic positions.

**Spatial polemics in Ammiannus Marcellinus***
Alan Ross (Southampton)

The city of Constantinople posed a problem for Ammiannus Marcellinus, the last great writer of historiography in Latin. By the later fourth century, the new capital in the East was an upstart rival to Rome, the traditional focal point for the narratives of Ammiannus’ predecessors Sallust, Livy and Tacitus. Furthermore, Ammiannus likely wrote in Rome and probably for a western audience, for whom Constantinople was an anathema. Ammiannus could not ignore Constantinople entirely, however. It was the place where the emperor Julian, the hero of Ammiannus’ work, became sole emperor upon the death of Constantius II (Book 22); and a target for a horde of Gothic troops after they had decimated the eastern field army in Thrace in 378 (Book 31). How did Ammiannus incorporate Constantinople within his narrative? Using classical narratological theory, particularly in its application to the representation of space, I will illustrate how Ammiannus subtly denigrates the new capital, while maintaining a pro-Julianic stance and without celebrating Roman defeat in 378: Constantinople is polemically denied spatial description at Julian’s *adventus*; whereas its dazzling appearance focalized by the Goths deter their attack, whilst simultaneously depicting it as a stereotypically luxurious eastern prize.
**Time and narrative in the Panegyrici Latini**
Diederik Burgersdijk (Amsterdam)

The *Panegyrici latini XII* constitute a unique collection of imperial praise-prose that as a text type belongs to the field of rhetoric. Narratological analysis, originating in the study of fictive prose, has been increasingly applied to other fields of literature, such as (narrative) poetry, drama and historiography, but not really rhetoric, although narratological concepts like characterization, perspective, voice and speed are perfectly applicable to such texts. This paper examines the effects the orator achieves by inserting certain narratological elements into his plea, particularly in the *pars orationis* called the *narratio* which is, by definition, the most narrative element of rhetoric. It will investigate which techniques the orator uses in order to convince the audience or reader of his stance, and how he uses rhetorical principles of exaggeration (*amplificatio*), leaving out (*ellipsis*) and the figure of pseudo-ellipsis (*praeteritio*) to create changes in narrative speed, and, by so doing, enhance the rhetorical impact. Nazarius’ speech to Constantine the Great from 321 CE will be the point of departure for a narratological approach to panegyric.

**Writing and the writer in the epigrams of Luxorius**
Clare Coombe (St Albans Cathedral)

The sixth-century Roman poet Luxorius’s collection of ninety epigrams opens with four poems on the subject of his own writing, which serve, in part, programmatically, and, in part, as comment on the nature and purpose of poetry more generally. This paper will examine what they tell us about the nature of writing in late-antique Vandal Africa and Luxorius’s poetic agenda in particular. It will then examine the role of the poet as he appears in the rest of the corpus, as well as such metapoetics as appear in other poems. It will consider in particular how he focalizes his various unusual characters: the dwarf who wants to play a heroine, the hermaphrodite, the aged virgin, or the lover of ugly girls, many of whom he depicts as existing at the borders or inverting the standards of acceptability; in doing so, he sets the poet up as the arbiter of norms and setter of boundaries. In examining this, the paper will attempt to conclude whether Luxorius’s purpose is simply observational comedy, or a genuine critique of his society.

**Modern Amazons on Page, Stage and Screen**
Theme: Classics in the Contemporary World
Convener: Amanda Potter (Open)
Chair: Paula James (Open)

The barbaric other in Greek mythology, the Amazons have been embraced by 20th and 21st Century readers and viewers as strong female heroines and role models. On a recent Channel 4 documentary the modern Amazon Wonder Woman was voted as Britain’s fifth favourite superhero (the only female hero in the top 5). *Xena: Warrior Princess* is set to return to our television screens in the hands of screen writer and producer Javier Grillo-Marxuach, who most recently worked on *The 100*, a post-apocalyptic series featuring a number of Amazon-like characters. The first ever *Wonder Woman* film will hit our cinemas in June 2017. And the new play by Paula B. Stanic, ICONS, the story of four Amazon women, is due to open next year. In this panel we will explore modern representations of the Amazons in comics, film, television, theatre, fan fiction and fan art, and discuss what the Amazon means to us today.

**Casting the Amazons centre stage for modern theatre**
Laura Martin-Simpson (Blazon Theatre)

Blazon’s inaugural project ICONS is a unique new play about the Amazon warrior women from Greek myth. The inspiration to create a play about these ‘wild’ women came not only from their sparse place on stage but also from the belief that women today are facing the same dilemmas and decisions for
survival and identity. Who is an Amazon and how does she live? ICONS is a play which explores the living breathing real world of the Amazons, giving them centre stage and a unique voice for the first time in the modern era. But how do you take your inspiration and guide from classical mythology and sources whilst also making the Amazons accessible and relatable to as wide a modern theatre-going audience as possible – especially young women? This paper will explore the means by which Blazon Theatre has acculturated the Amazons via the modern female gaze and will detail ICONS’ epic journey since the play’s creation in 2013: how Penthesilea became ‘Lea’, how Achilles became ‘Him’, and how doing an Amazon workshop with a group of teenage girls who knew nothing of the Amazons beforehand, left them all wanting to be in the play, read mythology and be their own modern Amazons.

**Wonder Woman: An Amazon for the twenty-first century**
Amanda Potter (Open)

Wonder Woman’s 1940s roots were in Greek mythology. An Amazon princess, she is described as ‘lovely as Aphrodite, as wise as Athena, with the speed of Mercury and the strength of Hercules’. This ancient Greek heritage has been played up or down over the years, depending on popular tastes, from the 1970s Wonder Woman television series, starring Lynda Carter, to scene-stealing Gat Gadot in Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice. Wonder Woman’s Amazonian background is also prominent in 2016 comics and graphic novels. Grant Morrison’s Wonder Woman: Earth One begins with the story of Hercules and Hippolyta, featuring images based on Greek vase paintings. Previous Wonder Woman comics featuring the superheroine in ancient Greek contexts, for example The Hiketeia, where she meets the Furies, written by Greg Rucka, have also been repackaged in 2016 to meet the demand for Wonder Woman material. In this paper I will discuss how and why there is currently a resurgence of interest in Wonder Woman and her ancient Greek heritage, drawing on viewer data gathered at a screening of episodes of the 1970s Wonder Woman series at the Petrie Museum in Bloomsbury.

**Amazons on the small screen: Televisual ‘Girl Power’ then and now**
Jo Wynell-Mayow (The Red Maids’ School, Bristol)

*Wonder Woman*, one of the most explicitly feminist-influenced television programmes of the 1970s, inspired a whole generation of young female viewers. Wonder Woman/Diana Prince’s background as an Amazon was heavily drawn upon in the initial episodes and was also frequently used to explain her life philosophies. In the 1990s era of ‘girl power’, Wonder Woman’s clearest descendant appeared in the form of Xena: Warrior Princess, another Amazon-like female hero, fighting criminals and villains in a quasi-Greek mythological world. But these shows are no longer on air, and for those of us who are concerned with classical reception in our research and teaching, a crucial aspect is whether our reception texts hold ‘common currency’ with our students. Can these two ‘old’ shows be used to demonstrate how figures from Greek culture are used and adapted in popular culture? If not, where to now for the Amazons of old, and where might their place be in current media? This paper will investigate the impact of these two shows and seek to demonstrate how they can function as successful ‘inspirational’ reception texts – serving to plant seeds of interest in young viewers which we hope can lead to a wider passion for the classics.

**‘That time Wonder Woman went on a killing spree’: Fan works and the management of pleasure and authenticity in Internet culture**
Linnea Åshede (Gothenburg)

In 1967, Roland Barthes proposed ‘the death of the author’ – the separation of content and authorial intention. This paper initiates a methodological discussion about how Internet-based audiences today take a Stephen Hawking-esque approach to authors and creations – where the question of ‘authenticity’ is supplanted by infinite alternative versions. Because of her origins as a utopian figurehead carrying a universally compelling ‘lasso of truth’, Wonder Woman is frequently used by fans to critique cultural double standards. Through fan-art and re-blogs, Internet-based communities negotiate the authenticity of Wonder Woman’s existence, from ‘the ancient Amazon myth’ through her historical origins, and onwards through all subsequent incarnations. This paper argues that in this demographically diverse yet
globally connected Internet-culture, ‘authenticity’ is being negotiated through measures of personal enjoyment. Via self-reflexive practices such as ‘disclaimers’ and ‘head canons’, Wonder Woman can be drafted to champion hugely diverse opinions, where her worth is measured exclusively through personal pleasure. The hunt for ‘the real Wonder Woman’ is now less relevant than the exploration of ‘my own Wonder Woman’, making her one of the most relevant female/feminist icons today.

Performing Bodies
Theme: Experiencing the Body
Chair: Patty Baker (Kent)

Experiencing the body of the actor: The case of Aeschylus’ Niobe
Leyla Ozbek (Pisa)

This paper analyses how the spectators perceive one of the most difficult features of theatrical performance, a character’s bodily experience, in Aeschylus’ Niobe. Aristoph. Frogs 911ff. describes Niobe as seated, veiled, and silent for half of the play. She is in the third day of uninterrupted and unrestrained mourning on the tomb of her children (F 154a, 158-9, 161 R). The crucial point is to convey the psychological entrapment of Niobe through the physical entrapment of her body. This is obtained through two material props: the tomb and Niobe’s veil. The tomb locks Niobe into her grief, preventing her from moving forward (and away from it). Niobe is an appendix of the tomb, until she becomes de facto a weeping rock (F 163). Artistic evidence develops the same experience: in some vases (LIMC Niobe 13*, 20*), Niobe is ‘encaged’ inside a sepulchral naiskos, sometimes even showing her ongoing petrification. Niobe’s entrapment is represented also by her veil, a barrier which ‘seals’ her in a silent and exclusive relationship with her children: through this prop the audience can feel this experience and her liminality between the living and the dead.

The Propertian Corpus
Robert Matera (Southern California)

Only rarely do Propertius’ Elegies play directly on the double meaning of corpus as both the body of a person and an author’s body of work, and yet the idea pervades them. By Propertius’ time, Greek and Latin literary traditions had long drawn metaphoric relationships between texts and human bodies, especially the bodies of the authors. The speaker of Propertius’ Elegies exploits this metaphor and also associates his text and his body through metonymies and double meanings. I discuss representative passages that associate the speaker’s text and body through motifs such as the garland intertwined with the body, the wax tablet’s relationship with the hand that writes on it, and the speaker dancing around Helicon. I then suggest that, in performance, the text of Propertius’ Elegies became part of not only the speaker’s body but also the author’s. The varied and shifting relationships that the Elegies draw between the speaker’s body and text pose questions—how can words be part of a body, and what does that mean?—and try out possible answers to them.

You are who you (b)eat: The heroic body made consumable
Helen Dalton (Manchester)

It is well-attested that the bodies of epic heroes are subjected to a panoply of gazes. A commonly overlooked mode of spectatorship, however, is that of the appetitive. Exegeses incorporating epic and the comestible have historically been characterised by their lacunosity, a consequence of a generic positioning that prioritises expectations of monumentality over the potential messiness and relative mundanity of food. This paper aims to reintroduce a gastronomic flavour to the study of epic by identifying an alimentary sub-set of the heroic body on display, namely that of the heroic body made consumable. Through frequent deployments of gustatory imagery in reference to weaponry and warrior, the corporeal forms of heroic combatants are rendered edible. Simultaneously, the terminological strata of literal consumption are metaphorically mapped onto consumptive acts of violence in a nuanced
vocabulary of martial devotion whereby you are who you (b)eat. Just as heroes ‘consume’ the bodies of other heroes on the battlefield, so too does a range of internal and external audiences ‘consume’ the deathly spectacle itself, ‘eating’ the poet’s anatomised words in accordance with the metapoetic system which aligns poetic corpus with the corpus of the poet.