

Drunk with Blood: The Role of Platonic Baccheia in Lucan and Statius

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This paper argues that Lucan and Statius employed the motif of getting drunk with blood influenced by Plato's use of inebriation as a means of transcending reason and transforming one's consciousness. In his *Dialogues* Plato notably presents Socrates' philosophic frenzy as Dionysian inebriation (*Symp.* 218b; cf. *Phdr.* 249e). In their epics, lamenting the disastrous Roman civil wars, Lucan and Statius employ drunkenness as a metaphor for political ambition, describing their protagonists as fighting in a Bacchic arena, like wild animals getting drunk with blood. The paper starts with the popularity of Plato and Platonist authors, such as Plutarch, under the Roman Empire when withstanding tyranny and dying virtuously became anew a topic of philosophical debate (Roskam 2002; Desmond 2011: 61-8). Lucan and Statius' familiarity with the Platonic corpus (Tracy 2011: 10) further implies that both authors appreciated the similarities between Plato's politically volatile period and the reign of Nero who led to Lucan's premature death.

Yet, death offers according to Plato, an ideal situation where, devoid of our bodily substance, we are urged to think about virtue (*Resp.* 3.386b-10.610a-b; 611d-c). Statius explores this idea when relating the adventures of Amphiaraus, Apollo's priest, in *Thebaid*, bk8: lured by a false ideal of manhood Amphiaraus, now a devotee of Bacchus, kills many before being transported to the Underworld alive. Despite having followed an erroneous spiritual path (cf. *Resp.* 2.363a-365a3; *Prt.* 316D), Amphiaraus is nevertheless given a unique opportunity for philosophical reflection on civic responsibility, divine justice, and the value of poetry.

Caesarius of Arles and the Jews: Symbolic and Real Relationships in Late Antique Gaul

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Scholars have long recognised the powerful anti-Jewish rhetoric found in the preaching and writing of some late antique Church Fathers, and fit it into the so-called 'lachrymose' view of Jewish history. Some recent work on this rhetoric, however, has emphasised the degree to which it was aimed at Christians, either as an attack on Judaising practices (Maxwell, 2006), or as an attempt to discredit overly-literal interpretation of the Old Testament (Cohen, 1999; Fredrikson, 2010). This work has rightly reframed the harsh language of figures such as John Chrysostom and Augustine as part of internal Christian debates, but has consequently diverted attention from the impact of this rhetoric on Jewish-Christian relations.

This paper examines the anti-Jewish arguments and imagery which suffuse the scriptural exegesis of Caesarius, bishop of Arles (502-542) in terms of both their symbolic role and real implications. It argues that since Caesarius was encouraging direct lay engagement with the scriptures, he needed the image of the Jews to label and denigrate certain exegetical approaches as beyond the pale, and to keep lay interpretations within 'safe' boundaries. His primary goal was influencing Christian audiences. However, the paper also examines the possible impact of Caesarius' violent rhetoric and imagery on the relationships between Christians and Jews in Arles. It argues that his preaching needs to be seen as both potentially responding to tensions within the local community and also playing a role in the history of those tensions.

The Experience of Pain in Classical Antiquity: Evolving Narratives

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This paper will focus on the language of pain (and its companion concept pleasure) in the Greco-Roman world. This topic has received only limited attention, with a primary focus on philosophy (Plato: Frede 1992, Peponi 2002; Aristotle: Agonito 1976). I propose to frame the topic more widely building on recent approaches, in which texts from Homer to Galen are used to assist a novel understanding of pain experiences and their analysis (Rey 1995, ch. 1; cf. Modrak 2011), some of which can be aligned with observations in modern research (Bourke 2012). I here assume that the language of pain reflects the conceptual changes for terms such as *πόνος* (~ *dolor*) and *λύπη* (~ *aegritudo*) as a result of conceptual and empirical advances.

This presentation develops these new insights by emphasising how the notion of pain was at first mainly linked to the physical, but evolved to include a mental aspect, thereby undergoing a semantic shift found especially in philosophical and medical texts. Using four brief sample passages (Homer, Plato, Cicero, Galen) I will argue that the articulation of pain shows progression and new sophistication, based on a growing awareness of the cognitive and emotional entanglements of pain.

Myth and History Entangled: Female Influence and Male Usurpation in Herodotus

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Our surviving historical texts are eloquent witnesses to the recurrent interaction of Greek mythological and historical traditions, and some Greek thinkers—Herodotus at their forefront—wrestled with the historicity of conspicuously mythic material (Baragwanath/ de Bakker 2012, Chiasson 2012). With the aim of both examining the nature of this interaction and shedding light on the first historian's approach to depicting women, this paper takes as a case study Herodotus' presentation of the mythic themes of women's value within the household and men's presumptuous exercise of power to which they are not entitled.

A fresh look at Herodotus' narratives of the demise of certain audacious individuals—King Candaules (1.7-13) and the Persian Noblemen in Macedonia (5.17-22)—will reveal the historian developing and spotlighting a contrast between mythic and historical narrative modes (here I shall build on Griffiths' work on Herodotus' deployment of heterogeneous modes of discourse (1999)), as he explains the transmission of power through stories involving women and presumptuous men. Each tale comments implicitly on the implausibility of probing so vividly inaccessible locales like private rooms in foreign courts, by inviting reflection on problems of evidence and truth and by clearly transitioning into the mythical discourse and out again. At the same time, the mythic mode contributes to the historian's objective of preserving historical events in memory, and the mythical narratives turn out also to be part of history: women are shown to exert a profound influence on the direction and outcome of historical events.

Panaetius' Scipio Aemilianus

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The Stoic philosopher Panaetius of Rhodes spent time in Rome in the second half of the second century B.C. and he was a house-guest of P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (cos. 147; 134 B.C.). His writings were mostly lost

but his treatise on ethics, *Peri tou kathēkontos*, survived in *De Officiis* 1 and 2, which drew on the structure and content of the original, although with editing and embellishment by Cicero. Panaetius had cited examples of appropriate actions performed by prominent statesmen, and he included Scipio Aemilianus among his examples of praiseworthiness. This paper assesses the references to Scipio in the *De Officiis* and the nature of Panaetius' approval of Scipio. It will argue that Scipio was explicable within the psychological impulses and refined moral values of Panaetian Stoicism, and that Greek philosopher and Roman aristocrat shared ideological assumptions about the moral life and political philosophy. Understanding of the *De Officiis* has been assisted by the commentaries of M. Pohlenz (1934) and A.R. Dyck (1996).

Syracuse, Morgantina and the Terminus ante quem for Introduction of the Denarius System: A Reappraisal of Chronology

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This paper proposes possible new dates for the second Punic war capture of Syracuse and Morgantina and terminus *ante quem* for the denarius coinage.

A 211 BC terminus for the introduction of the denarius system was established by Buttrey based on coin finds in sealed layers at a Sicilian site identified as Morgantina. This evidence ended the dispute between two schools dating the introduction in 269 and 187 and supported a mid-second Punic war date proposed by Thomsen. Citing Livy 24.36.10, Buttrey did not observe a chronological problem in Livy's account of Sicily for 214-13, placing Morgantina's revolt in 214 and, misquoting the passage saying it was recovered by Rome shortly after. These errors continue in the literature.

The final capture of Syracuse was probably in the spring of 211 as proposed by *De Sanctis*, not autumn 212. Walbank disagreed, noting synchronicity between the circumvallation of Capua and capture of Syracuse in Livy 25.22-23. Livy's full account on Capua leaves this narrow interpretation questionable. Morgantina surrendered after Syracuse. Morgantina revolted again in late 211 and was retaken by Cethegus, Livy 26.21.14-17. This passage has been uncritically cited without regard to Livy's use of time and narrative linking. It refers to activity that is past, present and future to the passage's placement but has been interpreted as only contemporary. Cethegus probably did not retake Morgantina before late winter - spring 210. The terminus *ante quem* for the denarius is 210.

iam satis est philosophatum: Pseudolus the Anti-Philosopher

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The earliest four explicit Roman references to philosophy occur in Plautus, two in the *Pseudolus* (687, 974), where, in addition, the slave hero is compared to Socrates (465; cf. Stehle 1984, esp. pp.246-9). *Pseud.* 687 uniquely follows a passage of moral-epistemological generalisation on the overwhelming influence of luck on life and the limits of human practical wisdom (678-86). This occurs in Pseudolus' monologue celebrating his chance encounter with Harpax, the Macedonian soldier's servant, which will enable him subsequently to trick the leno Ballio out of the slave girl Phoenicium his master Calidorus loves. Although Fraenkel (trans. 2007), ch. 6 makes no significant reference to it, this speech is replete with features he regards as distinctive of Plautine innovation (see esp. pp.96-108). The Greek original is unknown but reconstructed by Lefèvre (1997), pp.101-5, who shows that the theme of good luck must come from the original. I shall discuss and reject the possibility that Plautus has innovated in 679b-86 on what he takes from the Greek (678-9a), and review the non-philosophical origins of the ideas here in earlier Greek poetry. Thus while the passage gives us some of our

earliest evidence for Roman recognition of philosophy as an activity, it identifies this somewhat misleadingly with a traditional poetic *topos*.

Trojan Culture: The Portrayal of the Trojans in Euripides' Tragedies

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While the Trojans are best known for their appearance in the *Iliad*, they also form an integral part of many of Euripides' tragedies. Ever since the landmark study of Edith Hall (1989), scholars have demonstrated a strong interest in the role of the barbarian in Greek tragedy, one recent example being Papadodima (2010). However, few studies have focussed exclusively on the Trojans, comparing the Trojans of tragedy to those in the *Iliad*. The principal study of the Trojans in antiquity, Erskine (2001), discusses this comparison only briefly.

This paper will examine how the Trojans are depicted in Euripides' tragedies, particularly the *Andromache*, *Hecuba*, and *Troades*. It will assess the cultural and ethnic traits which Euripides assigns to the Trojans, comparing these qualities to those he attributes to the Greek characters. In particular, it will discuss whether Euripides' Trojans are decadent eastern barbarians or noble and sympathetic figures, outlining the similarities and differences to their representation in the *Iliad*. Ultimately, it will comment on the significance of this analysis for understanding the attitude of 5th century Greeks towards the Trojans and even raise the question as to whether there was in fact a developed eastern barbarian stereotype in 5th century Athens.

Mediterraneanization and Early Rome

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Recent studies of Greek, Phoenician and Etruscan cities have emphasised the role of Mediterranean networks and exchange. Whilst late Republican and imperial Rome has also been seen in these terms, this has only recently started to happen with early Rome. This is perhaps because of the peculiar perspective of the literary tradition, which emphasises Rome's isolationism and takes a largely monoethnic viewpoint. This paper will propound the importance of a fresh approach for early Rome, asking whether engagement with the Mediterranean is a continuum in Roman history or characteristic merely of a short period in the archaic era, and how such a perspective would change our view of archaic Roman history.

My working model emphasises three aspects: Rome and the sea; the range of foreign links, diplomatic, private elite, economic and military; and Rome as a frontier city in central Italy, at the interface of central Italian and western Mediterranean ethnic groups. These networks operate on many levels so a variety of evidence can be brought to bear. Case studies to support this will therefore come from archaeological evidence such as architectural terracottas and temple structures, epigraphic evidence such as the tessera hospitalis from the Forum Boarium, and literary attestations of overseas links. I will argue that 6th and 5th c Rome should be seen as a Mediterranean as much as a central Italian city. Echoing the critique in recent debates about 'monopolar' approaches to imperialism, the broader environment is key to understanding early Rome.

Saving Athenian Mariners: The Dioscuri and the cult of the Anakes in Attica

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The religious cults of the Dioscuri were a fixture in the ancient Mediterranean. These cults primarily connected to their status and position both as maritime saviour deities and legendary heroes. Both are highlighted in the ancient texts, from mortal appearances among the Argonauts to post-ascension use in Euripides' *Helen* and other works, with their maritime cult still present well into the Roman period. In Attica their divine aspect was associated with the Anakes, twin maritime deities tied to the city from at least the Archaic period, where the Homeric Hymns describe their role: 'speeding through the air on tawny wings, at once they make the fierce storms cease and calm the waves into a clear sea' (HH. 33). Plutarch described them as heavenly entities and ship-saviours, and that the Dioscuri-as-Anakes are the twin stars of the heavens that shield a ship as it leaves the harbour.

Despite this pedigree, specific details of their cult as Athenian Anakes and the Anakeia festival are remarkably obscure. While there exist discussions of their cult throughout the fifth century, with primary focus directed to the west (such as Sicily and Syracuse), their eastern cult - despite its age - receives scattered attention. This paper will outline the Attic cult of the Dioscuri as maritime protectors, with reference to their Hymn and in acknowledgement of the esteemed role attributed to them by Herodotus (*Hist.* 2.43.2-3).

Time and Timelessness in Greek Afterlives

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In this paper, I seek to employ the notions of time and especially timelessness in the Greek construction of the afterlife. Although recent scholarship has concentrated on the wide-ranging topic of time (of nearest relevance, Darbo-Peschanski 2000; Kennedy 2013), the treatment of time in the Greek underworld remains overlooked. Here I will make the claim that, in the afterlife, it is by the absence or perversion of the conventional markers of time that the isolation of the dead is emphasised. Whereas the living measure time by the passing of the days and seasons and by the changes in themselves and their world, the dead in Hades, like the gods, are marked by their immunity to change. In the dreary underworld of the *Odyssey*, for example, eternity is defined by cyclical, repetitive and unfinished tasks (for transgressors such as Sisyphos) or (for everyone else) simply by monotony, since there is not even day or night. Even in the case of the Isles of the Blest, where day and night exist, the condition of the dead is marked by a deficiency: an absence of seasons renders even this element of time a part of a landscape of timelessness and therefore oblivion. Although different afterlives embody opposing viewpoints (most recently, Speyer 2012), they are united by their construction of timelessness, the effect of which is to emphasise the isolation of the dead and their lack of awareness of the passing of living time.

Claudia Eugenetoriane and the Revival of the Mint at Colossae

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Currency arrangements in the early Empire were markedly different in the Eastern provinces compared with Italy and the West. Constantina Katsari has demonstrated just how important local mints were to the imperial

and civic economies (Katsari 2011). At one stage over 200 formal mints were recognised by the Empire in the province of Asia (Harl 1987). It is clear that local civic mints were prized, even as they fulfilled a key role in imperial monetary policy. One city (Sestos) indicated that its identity as a polis was flawed by a lack of a mint. Colossae appears to have suffered a hiatus of over a century in the production of its own coins, in the cross-over from Hellenistic to imperial coinage, an impairment that did not affect its neighbours, Laodicea and Hierapolis. This paper explores the collapse and revival of the Colossian mint, and investigates the role of a particular woman benefactor, Claudia Eugenetoriane in enabling the city of Colossae to regain the prestige of a mint. It suggests that the impact of the restoration was subtly reflected in the imagery struck on the coins as, in part, a display of the city's imperial credentials, designed to ensure that the city never again suffer the ignominy of the loss of its mint.

The Body in Parts: Protheses in Antiquity

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This paper considers the evidence for ancient prosthetics to explore how the ancient impaired body was perceived differently in different contexts. The limited contemporary literature for the aesthetics, functionality, and significance of ancient prosthetics indicates that the subject is still in its infancy. For example, scholars such as Lawrence Bliquez in 1996, have so far only concentrated on collecting quantitative data. This paper advocates a new focus on the consequences of the effect of prostheses on the transformation of the body and its identity. It will assess these ancient physical experiences through a social model of disability in which prostheses and the individuals who wore them were not stigmatised. Examining how ancient writers represent prostheses, it is argued their nuanced accounts reveal that perspectives of impairment were not necessarily always negative. Indeed, comparative analysis of the evidence indicates that prostheses played a powerful figurative role, from badges of valour in the writings of Herodotus and Pliny the Elder, to markers for personal ineptitude in the works of Martial and Lucian. In this way, it can be demonstrated that more varied conceptualisations of the prostheses and the body are possible.

Concepts of Justice in Procopius' Wars

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This paper aims to investigate how Procopius of Caesarea employs concepts of justice in selected speeches in his account of the wars waged during the reign of the emperor Justinian in the sixth century. Without focusing on justice, Anthony Kaldellis has argued that Procopius' speeches and wider narrative are shaped by 'Platonic mimesis' and suggested that he is a 'fully developed' political theorist (Kaldellis 2004; cf. Cameron 1985). Focusing on justice in the speeches can test such claims and helps to situate Procopius' narrative in wider classical and Christian narratives. It is uncontroversial that the speeches Procopius constructs in his histories are indebted to Thucydides, but I will also argue that wider classical discourses of justice and equity in making decisions about going to war inform the orations in the *Wars*. These traditions interact with Christian narratives of divine providence and are reframed in the process. On my account, Procopius is no crypto-pagan Platonist and does not offer a political theorist's systematic account of justice, but the concepts of justice explored through the speeches suggest active engagement with sixth-century ideas of providence, virtue and political legitimacy.

Imperialism as a Rhetorical Strategy: Roman Imperialism in Cicero's *Pro Scauro*

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The much-neglected *Pro Scauro*, Cicero's defence of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus on a charge of *repetundae*, is an important text for the study of Roman imperialism. As suggested by scholars such as Catherine Steel, *repetundae* orations, among others, are important documents for considerations of imperialism (Steel 2001, 3). While much has been written on this phenomenon in the Roman Republic, the *Pro Scauro* is often excluded from, or only marginally used in, such discussions.

Using David Mattingly's definition of the term imperialism, which "...refers to both the process and attitudes by which an empire is established and maintained" (Mattingly 2011, 6), the *Pro Scauro* can be read as a document of Roman imperialism. Drawing on works such as John Richardson's 2008, *The Language of Empire*, where he discusses the evolution of the terms *imperium* and *provincia*, allows the 'language of empire' contained within the *Pro Scauro* to be elucidated. In this paper, it will be demonstrated that while the *Pro Scauro* is not an overt laudatory imperial document, underlying the speech there is a consistent engagement with ideas of Roman imperialism. This can be seen, for example, through Cicero's use of the phrase *nomen nostrum* and the idea of *libertas*. It will be further demonstrated that this engagement in imperial ideology was a strategic, rhetorical technique used by Cicero to enhance his defence case.

The Pope's shoes: Cultural Glosses by Guy Jouenneaux in Badius' 1493 Edition of Terence

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Terence's plays contain many references to ancient customs and to figures from classical mythology, some quite direct, others oblique. For readers unfamiliar with all aspects of antiquity, the significance of an invocation to Juno Lucina or the mention of a *psaltria* in a character's speech can be lost. This paper examines how the commentary of Guy Jouenneaux (a.k.a. Guido Juvenalis), which was printed in Badius' 1493 edition of Terence, explains the background of ancient cultural references in the plays. Examples in the *Eunuchus* alone include military terms like *centurio* and *cornu*, the etymology of *peniculon* (a long sponge), and the myth of Hercules and Omphale. Most notably, Jouenneaux describes Omphale's sandals as similar to the pope's shoes worn at the celebration of mass, which is itself a reminder to us that late 15th Europeans no longer wore sandals. By examining such cultural glosses, and in particular his erudite quoting of ancient writers (Cicero, Ovid, Sallust, Varro, and Festus being frequent), we can understand more precisely what Jouenneaux means in his first epistle (printed in Badius' edition) when he proclaims his intention to explain every small detail (*minima quaeque*) of the Latin for students whose desire for learning (*discendi cupiditatem*) is hampered for lack of a teacher or lack of money.

Down on the Farm: Exploring the Economic Network of the Temple of Soknopaios in Roman Egypt

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The native temples of Roman Egypt possessed extensive systems of financial support, drawing not only on payments from the state but on vast estates and industries. While it has long been assumed (Evans 1961, e.g.) that all temple property had been confiscated by the Romans, recent work (Monson 2012 and Connor 2014,

e.g.) has shown that the relationship between temple and Roman administration was more complicated. In this paper, I consider the role of the *epoikion* of Pisais in the larger economic network of the temple of Soknopaios in Soknopaiou Nesos. I argue that, despite their position on the barren north shore of the Birket Qarun, that is, on the other side of a lake from the rest of Egypt, the priests were able to manage their far-flung property through sites like Pisais, which could serve as regional processing centres for temple land without requiring costly transportation of raw materials across the lake to Soknopaiou Nesos itself. References in both Greek and Demotic sources complete the picture of a site prepared with convenient transportation links and processing capability for a range of agricultural products.

A Brutal Hack: Ovid's Pyreneus and the Barbarism of Bad Poetry

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Poet-figures in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* have been the object of much study, especially those silenced by the powerful, but little attention has been given to Pyreneus (5.273-93). Immediately before the famous contest of the Muses and Pierides, the former briefly narrate their attempted rape by the usurping Thracian tyrant Pyreneus and his precipitous death while trying to fly after them. A few critics have touched on this episode, which is attested only here, focusing exclusively on one aspect, be it the poetic (Leach 1974, 111-13), sexual, political (Schmitzer 1990, 187-201), or religious (Spahlinger 1996, 191-7). None has provided a holistic interpretation, which does justice to the complex interplay of these four dimensions, or of Ovid's witty and characteristic reification of figurative language. This paper will attempt such an interpretation.

Pyreneus is simultaneously an invading usurper, an attempted rapist, an impious *theomachos*, and, on the poetic plane, a talentless plagiarist or at best derivative imitator, who tries to appropriate the works of others but bathetically and disastrously fails. The interrelation of these four roles, each troping the others, throws light on all, and Pyreneus needs to be contextualized among the *Met.*'s other tyrants, rapists and *theomachoi*, as well as its poet-figures. The paper will also draw connections to other relevant figures outside the poem, such as Sophocles' Thamyras and Catullus' Mentula (c. 105), and the wider discourse of plagiarism, bad poetry and literary overreaching.

Challenging Orthodoxy: Sophocles' Ajax 646ff.

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This paper aims to show that, contrary to the current *communis opinio*, the hero of Sophocles' *Ajax* in his so-called 'Deception Speech' (646ff.) actually means what he says. In the past, scholars as eminent as Webster and Bowra believed this, but the alternative view, namely that Ajax never deviates from his intention to kill himself, has in the intervening years with few exceptions (e.g. Leinieks 1974/1982), at least in English-language scholarship, become 'gospel truth'. From Knox and Winnington-Ingram to Garvie and Finglass, more recent commentators agree on this, while each bringing his/her nuances of interpretation to bear. Well, why rake over these supposedly dead coals? For a start, the very fact that so many scholars go to such extraordinary pains to explain why Ajax says what he does is enough to arouse suspicion in the first place. Moreover, it is never healthy for a cherished orthodoxy to remain unchallenged. Consideration will be given to the words of the speech themselves, with the suggestion that the undoubted ironies and ambiguities are Sophocles' and not Ajax's. Other arguments will focus on such elements as the reactions of Tecmessa and the chorus, the possible model in the Iliadic Achilles, and the information in the messenger's report which follows Ajax's speech. The overarching argument will be that the interpretation advocated here makes more sense of the play as a whole as Sophocles has structured it.

Miltiades II in the Chersonesos: The Case from the Coins

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Ten known specimens of staters from the Thracian Chersonese have been identified as the coinage of Miltiades the younger, 'strategos and tyrant of the Chersonese' (Hdt.4.137.1). The long-standing attribution is seductive, but how secure is it?

The coins have a distinctive obverse lion type also found on fourth century hemi-sigloi in Bulgarian hoards (IGCH 735-41, 743-6, 748-51). This type was claimed to be a reference to the coinage of Miletos which founded the city of Cardia (Six 1895: 186). The reverse bearing the unwreathed helmeted head of Athena, was taken as a reference to the late archaic owl coinage of Athens, and the coins to "the rule of Miltiades" (Holm 1895: 15, n.11) sent by the Peisistratids (Hdt. 6.39ff). The ethnic XEP sometimes found on the reverse was taken to stand for **Χερρονησίων**, **Χερσονησίων**, or **Χερσονησιτέων** identified without proof as Cardia (Six 1895: 186). More recent theories have focussed on the inscription, with Loukopoulou (2004) presenting evidence for the existence of a polis known as Cherronesos or Agora which she dated c.515-490 BC. The attribution of a late archaic coinage to Miltiades might also suggest access to Thracian silver, a supposed basis of Peisistratus' revenues (Hdt.1.64; Ath. Pol.15.2).

Here we revisit the evidence on which claims for the coinage of Miltiades are based, reconsider the series and its iconography, and suggest a new attribution and chronology.

Asserting Catullan (In)vulnerability

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This paper examines the portrayal and personification of vulnerability within Catullus' Lesbia poems. It argues that the self-imposed immobility of his poetic persona, through his delineation of his love for Lesbia, both frustrates and restricts him. Catullus' character expresses his love for Lesbia in poems 5 and 7, quite literally defining it as indefinable. This innumerable and unquantifiable characterisation leads him to an impasse: he cannot love Lesbia more, nor can he love her less (72). Thus, the Catullan lover is not only at the mercy of his love for Lesbia, but at the mercy of his own definition of that love, which manifests in the mounting frustration evident within the Lesbia poems (Richlin, 1992, p. 145; Adler, 1981, p. 149). This frustration is amplified through his conception of Lesbia as the *dura femina*: a woman who is not consumed nor controlled by love, and thus is not susceptible to its effects.

This paper will explore the Lesbia poems through examining the vulnerability of the Catullan lover, and his perception of Lesbia's invulnerability. It will analyse Catullus' assertion of vulnerability through his lover's inability to believe Lesbia (70); and his unwillingness to believe there is a possibility of parity between them when Lesbia tries to assure him of the mutuality of their love (109) (Fitzgerald, 1995, p. 117). Finally, this paper will consider the consequence of this vulnerability, as Catullus is able simultaneously to see himself as both the victim of Lesbia, and superior to Lesbia.

Flavius Constantius' Letter to Volusianus

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In the *Collectio Quesnelliana*, a late fifth- or early sixth-century collection of conciliar canons and papal letters, is a letter from Flavius Constantius (who would become Constantius III in 421) to Volusianus, *praefectus urbi* (*Quae cum* – Ep. 19) in 418 and the prefect's reply (*Hactenus Caelestium* – Ep. 20) relating to the Pelagian controversy. These letters are not found in other dossiers of material on the controversy, such as the *Collectio Avellana*. The letters in the *Collectio Quesnelliana* mark imperial intervention in the controversy. The letter from Constantius directs the prefect to banish Pelagians from the city. In a 2013 publication Mar Marcos considers this little studied letter to be an example of Constantius' interest in ecclesiastical matters and his religious zeal, similar to that expressed in Constantius' letter to Symmachus, Volusianus' successor, on the Roman episcopal electoral dispute between Boniface and Eulalius. In this paper, however, I shall argue that, as with the letter to Symmachus and with his involvement in Gaul, Constantius' interest was more with preventing civil unrest in Rome than it was with theological niceties. Indeed, this paper will argue that the law issued from Ravenna on 30 April 418 in Honorius' name (*Ad contrubandam* – Ep. 14), should be regarded as having been written by Constantius (and a comparison between the law and letter will illustrate this) and that he wrote the subsequent letter in his own name to let its recipient know that he, who was the power behind the throne, was serious about its implementation.

Individual and Group Identities in Julius Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*

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This paper examines the persona(e) which Julius Caesar creates in his own text, and considers the degree to which he seeks to subsume himself within the group identity of the military and other possible roles. Caesar's texts have often been read as propaganda, mythologizing and self-aggrandisement (e.g. Goldsworthy, 1998) pitching the general as the figure who makes the crucial difference between success and failure in the field, and praising many of his sub-commanders, while distancing himself from major catastrophes (Welch, 1998). Caesar seems here to be fixed as *imperator*, although he is conveniently both a part of a military collective, yet consistently situated at its apex. What is seemingly hidden is that Caesar's identity was multiple by the 50s BCE: patrician, '*popularis*', *triumvir*, *pontifex maximus*, *proconsul*. Some of these roles put Caesar at the centre of groups of various sizes, others singled him out as unique. Comparison with contemporary and later texts, which have helped to construct the image we have of Caesar, indicates both overlap and divergence with Caesar's own self-depiction. This paper will examine the vexed question of authorial distance in a text of this nature. This topic has been briefly, but astutely, addressed by Riggsby (2006: 150-55), who claims that Caesar shifts roles strategically within the text. My paper will consider how Caesar might claim individual authority or group identity within this text, and how this might highlight or deny connections to the variety of identities open to Caesar in this period.

Ancient Papyri, Modern Editors, and the Interpretation of Koine Greek

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Early editors of Greek documentary papyri performed brilliant deeds grappling with poorly preserved physical remains and barely decipherable scripts to interpret the texts that have revolutionised our knowledge of the ancient world. They faced another problem that has proved in many respects more intractable, that of understanding the linguistic character of the Greek texts painstakingly revealed. This paper will address editors' command of and attitudes to the language of the papyri and will explore their still unresolved consequences.

Editors of papyri have quite often manifested limited control over and sympathy for the nature of the Koine Greek encountered in their texts. Understandable in the case of the pioneering contributors, the phenomenon has persisted. Despite the sensitivity to the importance of linguistic analysis displayed by H. C. Youtie in his classic treatment of the textual criticism of documentary papyri (Youtie 1974) and the gradual engagement of linguists with the material, many errors of a linguistic nature still lurk in both older and more recent editions to ensnare us. General levels of awareness of this problem appear low. Some recent introductions to the editing of papyri ignore the issue completely (e.g. Schubert 2009).

My paper will explore the problem through specific examples of editorial practice. I will present a case study that shows just how far ignorance of post-classical linguistic features can lead an editor from appreciating the character of a text and the competence of its ancient author.

Celeberrimae: Reframing Notions of Female Desire in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6 to 10

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This paper challenges the view that the women-centric myths of *Metamorphoses* 6 to 10 are linked by the theme of sexual desire. Scholars such as Newlands (1997) and Fantham (2004) have argued that romantic relationships are the chief concern of these books, yet I suggest that a number of the narratives – Arachne, Niobe, Procne, Medea and Scylla – can instead be read as reflecting the heroines' desire for recognition of their talents, for notoriety or for control.

In my reading, Arachne's myth highlights the heroine's determination to maintain her reputation for excellence at any cost; likewise Niobe, whose love of notoriety outlives even her beloved children. Procne's narrative, meanwhile, problematizes the notion of revenge: Procne wants to *choose* Tereus' punishment, indicating a desire for control of the situation as much as for the revenge itself. In Scylla's story, too, desire operates on more than one level. Scylla is governed by sexual desire for her father's enemy, but she also longs for the power to precipitate the end of the conflict between Nisus and Minos. Finally, Medea offers the most unambiguous illustration of desire for control, the brutal murder of Pelias demonstrating the heroine's preoccupation with achieving notoriety.

The analyses of Fantham, Newlands and others depend on the assumption that the hero is the most important character in the women's myths. Conversely, I contend that – if we refocus our concept of female desire – we observe heroines whose passions are much wider-ranging and much less hero-centric than often thought.

Sabina Augusta: A Respected or Neglected Wife?

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Sabina, wife of the emperor Hadrian, has not been treated kindly by the ancient sources who described her as irritable, bad tempered and determined not to bear Hadrian any children (SHA *Hadr.* 11.3). The empress still suffers from a widespread negative opinion, which the limited modern scholarship on Sabina has not been able to change. Two monographs on the empress are Andrea Carandini's comprehensive biography *Vibia Sabina* (1969) and *Vibia Sabina da Augusta a Diva* (eds. Benedetta Adembri and Rosa Maria Nicolai) a collection of essays published in 2007 after the exhibition celebrating the return of Sabina Velata from Boston. These publications, one article by Dieter Salmann, 'Sabina in Palmyra' (1989) and a few other brief accounts in various general works have not altered the popular belief that Sabina and Hadrian had an unhappy and unsatisfactory marriage. Yet Hadrian famously declared that he would not divorce her and he dismissed two secretaries for their too familiar behaviour towards his wife.

This paper therefore seeks to supplement the ancient texts and modern scholarship by examining all the available contemporary iconographical evidence of statues, miniature portraits, gems and Sabina's coins, minted both at Rome and by the Eastern cities. It also includes an examination of her travels to present a new assessment of this much maligned empress and Augusta.

At Empire's Edge: Spatial Analysis of Romano-Egyptian Domestic Architecture

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This investigation identifies the manifestation of Roman domestic traditions within the remote Egyptian towns of Dakhleh Oasis. It examines the relationship between housing design and the social use of space, thereby contributing to the complex and growing corpus of information about everyday life in Egypt under Roman rule. In particular, this investigation discusses the way in which visual and architectural symbols were used, in tandem with their location within a domestic structure.

The methodology employed is Hillier and Hanson's theory of Space Syntax. First published in 1984, its adaption into domestic archaeology, drawing strongly upon Mark Grahame's studies incorporating Pompeian housing (Grahame, 2000, pp 3-36), has been successful in adding a new layer of understanding to the study of domestic space. Whilst this has been applied to Mediterranean sites, it has not been used to examine Egyptian housing. Since examples of private structures from Ptolemaic and Roman period Egypt show significant levels of variation in layout, a closer look at their spatial patterning produces interesting and useful results.

The present study extends the method by combining an examination of the artistic evidence in chosen spaces with the statistical data produced by the application of Space Syntax analysis (Hillier & Hanson, 1984, pp 143-175). This intends to identify the focal points of the residences under investigation, which then can be compared with earlier Egyptian examples in order to map changes in the social use of domestic space over time.

'Send to me Showers of Tears': Performing Repentance in the Kontakia of Romanos the Melodist

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For the sixth-century hymnographer Romanos the Melodist, repentance is central to Christian life. Christians, he believes, are called to live penitent lives in anticipation of the second coming of Christ. Through his *kontakia*, Romanos educates his listeners in the mode of repentance most pleasing to God and leads them into performance of that repentance. This paper will focus on one aspect of repentance in the *kontakia*: weeping. It draws on recent work on penitential tears (Hunt 2004) and late antique ideas of repentance (Torrance 2013). Grief, expressed by tears and shouting, is the response to sin which Romanos thinks God most desires and such weeping is able to bring joy (cf. Hunt 2004) as it helps to bridge the separation between humans and God. But this grief must be appropriate and expressed in a Christian community: Peter howls and weeps at his sin, and calls for others to lament with him (OXF 18). By contrast, the character of Judas (OXF 17) is completely mute, his repentance too late and his actions self-excluding. At times, grief is inappropriate: as he hangs on the cross Jesus repeatedly tells his mother to stop weeping (OXF 19). The paper will explore how Romanos guides his congregation through these models and anti-models, encourages them to participate in his own repentance (e.g. OXF 56), and leads them into a deeper expression of their own penitence.

Transitional statements in Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum*

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In most of Suetonius' *Lives*, the author makes an abrupt change in direction, from good to bad, or from public to private, marking the transition with a *diuisio* such as the famous sentence at *Caligula* 22.1: *Hactenus quasi de principe, reliqua ut de monstro narranda sunt*. The statement marks a clear division between what has gone before, the good or neutral, and what will follow, Caligula's vices. The *Life* would read quite differently without this statement. The transition in the narrative probably does not represent a chronological break in Caligula's career; in the *Nero* a similar statement (19.3) is much more clearly a break in the structure of the *Life* and not a change in Nero's character. As C.S. Kraus (2010) 44 observed about Caesar's commentaries, 'structure imports meaning.' *Diuisiones* in *Divus Augustus* and *Divus Iulius* separate public and private life; in *Divus Iulius* there is also a line between his good deeds and the ones that led to his assassination. Other *Lives* appear to be divided differently (Hurley (2015) 26). There are patterns: these statements are strongest in *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*, and least strong in *Otho* and *Claudius*. This paper identifies the statements that mark abrupt changes in the direction of the *Life*, looks for patterns across the series, and seeks to account for the different choices Suetonius has made (including, sometimes, the choice not to include a *diuisio*) and, most importantly, how these structural arrangements convey meaning otherwise unstated.

Religion and Power in Monarchical and Early Republican Rome

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This paper examines the relationship between religion and political power at Rome in the transition from monarchy to Republic. It looks at the *rex sacrorum* and other priests, and at cults and temples. It considers changes in religious structures as a factor in or result of regime change, and the nature and role of religion in the development of the state during the first century or so after the fall of the monarchy. The paper will show how in the early Republic, in a different way from the monarchical period, sacred space is contested space.

Who the hell is Hades? Hades' Reception within Modern Film

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Hades has recently risen to stardom on the silver screen. This offers a unique opportunity for analysing modern receptions of this character, a task not previously undertaken by scholarship. Hades' filmic presentation, however, is not without issue.

Firstly, examining the portrayal of an individual god is a complicated endeavour, not least due to abstract nature of divinity (Paul 2013:109-10). Only Martin Winkler's analysis of Apollo and the Muses offers a comparable paradigm (2009:70-121; previously 2005). Yet Winkler's approach, while apt for Apollo's characterisation, is not appropriate for Hades' rather more visual portrayal. I will begin, therefore, by offering a brief corrective commentary on Winkler's approach as required by Hades' specific representation.

Once this has occurred, it becomes clear that mass culture has freely refashioned Hades' mythic persona in order to better fit a particular cinematic presentation, one associated with the Judeo-Christian Devil. I will

argue, however, that the figure which has resulted does not have to be viewed as marking a rupture with classical thought but should be seen rather as a continuation of Greek mythological concerns. While this suggestion, following Martin Winkler's theory of neo-mythologism (2009:15-16, 71), is not particularly original, this paper seeks to explore it in an entirely new manner by highlighting the iconographical and narrative tropes which define Hades' filmic persona. To this end, I will utilize Disney's *Hercules* (1997) as a case study, a film with which all subsequent receptions interact.

Reconstructing Ceramic Production and Defining "Local" Ceramics through Ceramic Petrography: A Case Study of Hellenistic Argive Ceramic Production

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All too often, ceramic specialists encounter unknown plain, coarse and cooking ware sherds in their assemblages. Without any previous study or identification of these fabrics to help identify them, it is common to refer to these wares as "local" without evidence of local ceramic production in the area. As a result, "local" has become a ubiquitous definition for undefined wares that don't fit into known categories, rather than an accurate descriptor of ceramic provenance supported by evidence. Thus, it must be asked—without a known ceramic production centre in the area, is it possible to recreate any information relating to the chaîne opératoire from the pottery alone?

This paper will explore how questions of ceramic technology and production can be answered through an integrated program of ceramic analysis, including typological, chronological, and comparative studies and ceramic petrography, focusing on Hellenistic (late 4th to mid-2nd centuries B.C.E.) ceramics from Lerna and Nemea, which may have been produced in the Argolid. This study is the first of its kind in the region and time period (Whitbread 1995). These sites were part of a larger study which focused on local and regional ceramic production and distribution (Graybehl 2015; forthcoming). Nemea has evidence of local production, while Lerna has none. By comparing the results of the ceramic analysis of these two sites, this study demonstrates the types of information relating to local production and regional distribution which can be reconstructed and revealed.

No Easy Identity – Becoming a Roman Citizen in the First and Second Century AD

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The spread of Roman citizenship in the Roman Empire – either through office, service in auxiliary troops or manumission of slaves – produced not only new Roman citizens, but also caused problems. Besides emotional and social identification-processes, the legal frames of the Roman law were put to a test by finding solutions for new constellations, e.g. in inheritance law. Vice versa, the slow and sometimes unsatisfactory modifications of rules could frustrate new citizens and prevent a building up of 'Roman identity'.

The legal frames and their modification for these new Romans are clearly reflected in the Spanish municipal laws (foremost the *lex Irnitana*). Although there has been a dense discussion on the status of municipes, Latins, and Romans (see Gonzales / Crawford 1986: 202f.; challenged by Gardner 2001), a consensus or model how such communities were structured has not been achieved, yet. This paper connects for the first time the regulations of these municipal laws regarding the upkeep of legal ties (e.g. *Lex Municipii Salpensani* = *Lex Irnitana* §§ 21-22) with later edicts of Nerva and Trajan – reflected in Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus* (Ch. 37-42) – concerning the exemptions from the inheritance tax (see Guenther 2008: 40-54) as well as the changes in succession law by the *SC Tertullianum* and *Orfitianum*. These modifications to re-connect blood-tied families

legally in one core point of ancient societies – inheritance – show the conservative way in which Roman law dealt with the integration of new citizens; merely slight modifications to the legal frames were applied unless a break and rebuilding of such frames was the only possible answer to the dynamic changes of social reality during the first two centuries of the Roman Empire.

Greetings under Pressure: Χαίρειν λέγει in Four Roman Letters Inscribed in Greek

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Letters in Greek, including Roman official letters, use the standard greeting formula: ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν, “A to B, greetings!” (Gerhard 1905: 27; Sherk 1969: 189). In four Roman letters inscribed in Greek, however, there is one particularly interesting greeting which has been misinterpreted. The greeting: ὁ δεῖνα χαίρειν λέγει τῷ δεῖνι, “A says ‘greetings!’ to B” has been labelled as the “expanded” form of the standard greeting (Sherk 1969: 190) and this has been accepted widely (e.g. Lanham 2004: 14–5). There is, however, one important reason to doubt this interpretation: χαίρειν λέγει is not attested in any other Greek letter.

What, then, is χαίρειν λέγει? The standard greeting in Latin letters provides a clue: *Gaius salutem dicit Gaius*, “A says ‘greetings!’ to B” (Lanham 2004: 17–8). Although the Latin convention is remarkably similar to the χαίρειν λέγει greeting—itself only found in *Roman* letters in Greek—we should not conclude hastily that the letters are simply translations and χαίρειν λέγει is a mechanical rendering of *salutem dicit* (especially since χαίρειν, a verbal noun, does not translate the abstract noun *salus* literally). Close analysis of the use of particles, formulaic expressions, and word order reveals that these four Roman letters were produced with the conventions of Roman official document writing in mind and that, in this bilingual context, Latin conventions have interfered with natural Greek idiom. The χαίρειν λέγει greetings, therefore, are most likely the products of this pressure, rather than the result of mechanical translation.

Writing Letters at Dinner-time: Cicero’s Epistolary Etiquette

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Cicero notes on several occasions that he has written a letter over dinner at a friend’s house (*Att.* 14.12.3; 14.21.4; *Fam.* 9.26.1). Miller (1914) noted long ago the apparent rudeness of this habit, but did not explore the topic in any detail. The present paper attempts to explain how Cicero’s practice fitted into the framework of Roman social life and manners.

In two cases, Cicero notes explicitly that the letter was composed over dessert (*secunda mensa*). This detail may suggest that, although the dinner party could be a closely scrutinized venue of social performance (cf. the satires of Horace, Petronius and Lucian; D’Arms 1990), other paradigms of convivial behaviour existed among the elite. Amongst close friends, it was perhaps mutually understood that more relaxed protocols prevailed following the main course (when there might also be some form of entertainment).

In another instance, however, Cicero appears to have started writing a letter soon after taking his place for dinner (*Fam.* 9.26.1). One letter to his brother (*Q. Fr.* 3.1) was started at a dinner party and then continued at several other venues. Cicero also wrote letters at his morning *salutatio* (*Ad Brut.* 2.4.1), in the senate (*Fam.* 12.20), and over dinner at home (*Att.* 15.27.3; *Att.* 14.6.2). Caesar followed similar practices (Plut. *Caes.* 17; 63; Paterson 2009). This evidence may in fact suggest that a Roman grandee’s perceived pressure of work gave him a certain license to flout usual social etiquette.

The Trill of a Mockingbird: Talking Birds in Lucian

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In the Greek Golden Age, humans and animals were able to speak with each other. Beasts were articulate and eloquent (Babr. 1.6), so much so that the race of man, according to Plato, was “immeasurably happier” as they were able to learn much from speaking with animals (Pl. *Plt.* 272Bff.). However ancient philosophical thought, especially Stoicism, often denied to the animal kingdom this capacity of speech, (Sorabji, 1993, 81) establishing *logos* as the most important feature distinguishing humans from animals (Sorabji, 1993, 78ff; Heath, 2005). Nevertheless, birds in particular in a considerable number of narratives and philosophical discourses are an exception to this broad denial: Philostratus’ *Apollonius* tells of a young man who taught birds to speak like humans (VA. 6.36), Porphyry highlights human understanding of bird-speech as evidence of their *logos* (Porph. *Abst.* 3.3), and the parrot, according to Apuleius, imitates human speech with such precision that if one were to hear it, it would be considered human (Apul. *Fl.* 12).

It is in this literary and philosophical tradition that the following discussion is framed. The motif of avian speech, evident in Lucian’s *Gallus*, acts as an instance of the trope of speaking animals in comic genres, but also encourages a reflection upon the philosophical and rhetorical symbolism of the bird (See: Pollard, 1977) throughout the Lucianic corpus and in the broader culture.

Conceptualizing the Child in Rome

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Valerius Maximus and Plutarch retail the story of the infant Cato *minor* being dangled from an upper-floor window in the expectation that he would abandon an intractable moral stance. He refused. A lack of mature perspective rather than fearsome temerity perhaps, but the *exemplum* is interesting, rehearsed as it was as proof of the man within the boy. The extent to which the Romans viewed character as static as opposed to developmental has been argued by others; this paper concerns itself with the question of agency in Roman childhood (particularly in the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods), taking as a starting point the work of James (2009), *inter alios*. A Pessimist school of thought has dominated in studies of pre-modern children; a growing Optimist counterpoint argues that children in classical antiquity should not be regarded as “passive entities ... conditioned, over time, to replicate their parents.” Examples can be found in Evans Grubbs & Parkin (2013). Bradley (in the same work) gently demurs—and I agree with his caution.

Focussing especially upon the slippage between the language applied to childhood and that of servitude—and paralleling the work of Elisabeth Herrmann-Otto, Andrea Binsfeld and Stephan Busch, in Heinen (2012), this paper will add pertinent items that confirm the abiding age-based hierarchies within the Roman family and run counter to Optimist thinking.

Approaches to the Study of Gender in Greek Prehistory

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This paper focuses the study of gender in Late Bronze Age Greece: the Minoans of Crete (ca. 1900-1450 BCE)

and the Mycenaeans of Mainland Greece and later Crete (ca. 1500-1300 BCE). It draws from the author's previous ground-breaking research on the interpretation of sculptural (figurines) and iconographic (seals, sealings, and wall paintings) representations of gender in Aegean art and archaeology (Hitchcock 1997; 2000; 2009). The purpose of this talk will be to illustrate how one uses anthropology, historical analogy, social theory, post-structuralist approaches (including gender theory), typology, contextual archaeology and statistics to interpret gender in the absence of historical texts. It is proposed that there is a recursive relationship between theory and data, and that the best interpretations are both data and theory driven, and combines several approaches to arrive at heuristically powerful interpretations. Rather than detailing the already published results, it will discuss how researchers can develop research pathways and questions for the study of gender representations when written texts are absent, tailoring the methods to the quality and quantity of the data. One case study will illustrate the importance of using statistical analysis (e.g. quantifying representations of gender) and contextual analysis through the examination of archaeological find spots and through an analysis of sealing representations as an alternative source of context. The other case study will show how anthropological and social theory and contemporary historical sources from the Near East can be used to construct new narratives employing the concept of third gender to constructions of gender identity.

Roman Emperors and Religious Unity in the Mid-Third Century A.D.

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Several emperors of the mid-third century A.D. attempted to stabilise and unify the Roman Empire in a period of crisis through religious policies and reforms. Following periods of instability at Rome and within the provinces, these emperors turned to religious unity as a vehicle for consolidating not only their position of power, but also the empire at large. The emperors examined in this case study are Decius (249-251), Valerian (253-260), and Aurelian (270-275). It will be argued that the policies promulgated by each of these emperors were heavily influenced by changes, or returns, to traditional religious practices and sought to bring unity to the empire (Rives 1999: 140-2; Selinger 2004: 44-6; Watson 1999: 188-98). Decius became infamous for insisting on a universal sacrifice to the established Roman gods in a bid to emulate the actions of his predecessors, and for the legitimisation of his regime. In contrast, Valerian introduced legislation aimed at destabilising the Christian hierarchy, ordering them to worship the traditional Roman gods, or face harsh penalties, including death. Finally, Aurelian sought to enhance traditional state institutions for religious worship through a new cult of Sol, including the foundation of a temple at Rome, and the introduction of a new senatorial priesthood. The motivation behind these policies was that in a period of military crisis, the Roman state needed to secure the support of the gods in order to preserve the empire.

A Posthumous Honorific Inscription from Crete Mentioning an *archisynagogos*

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An unpublished Greek inscription, one among three which turned up after WWII in Perth and was returned with the others to their Museum at Iraklion on Crete in 1994, proves intriguing for its links with inscriptions from Rome (*IGUR* 2.2.732) and from Thessalonike (*IG* X, 2.1.588). The unpublished item and the two from Rome and Thessalonike mention the same woman, and from them it is possible to reconstruct something of her life. Although fragmentary, the unpublished item mentions an *arkhisynagogos*; the natural first inference is that it is therefore reflective of a Jewish context on the island. It will be shown that this is not the case, and that on the basis of another inscription from Thessalonike (*IG* X, 2.1.288) we have a private association whose patron was Herakles. Since *IG* X, 2.1.588 is dated internally to AD 154, the other two texts mentioning this same woman can

be dated relative to that inscription. Edson's mid-III AD dating of IG X, 2.1.288 should now be redated to a century earlier.

This scattered dossier of inscriptions not previously linked together offers a small light on mobility of people in the Empire, the potential for independence by a woman, and the existence of 'branches' in other locations of a private association established in a city.

Research on this material is being undertaken jointly by Greg Horsley and Norman Ashton.

Cultural Translation in *Res Gestae* 11

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Res Gestae 11 mentions that the senate consecrated for Augustus a temple of Fortuna Redux near the temple of Honos and Virtus at the Capena gate. The Greek text, however, removes the references to Honos and Virtus. Previous scholars (eg. Cooley 2009) have explained this by stating that the reference to this gate is irrelevant information for a Greek audience that is ignorant of Rome's topography. Yet, within the rest of the Greek translation, many seemingly irrelevant pieces of topographical information are still present and as such this is not a valid reason. This paper will put forward one explanation by applying cultural translation studies to understand how each text works within its discourse. Scholars have thus far failed to understand the important conceptual connection between these temples and their location (Richardson Jr. 1978). The nexus of thought that exists between *virtus*, *fortuna*, and this location will be examined and this will furnish one explanation for why the temple is mentioned at all. It will be seen that in the Latin text, Augustus is claiming that his *virtus* is one of the reasons for his deserving *fortuna*. This will then be compared to the equivalent Greek concepts of *arete* and *tyche*, and it will be seen that no such connection exists between these words, providing an explanation for why it was removed. It will be seen that, instead, the Greek translation seeks to situate Augustus in a discourse of Hellenistic kingship.

Ways of Seeing: A visual snapshot of the Roman Forum across Six Centuries

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This paper presents a selection of images from the recently compiled collection of engravings and photographs of the Roman Forum, now housed in the Museum of Ancient Cultures, Macquarie University, Sydney, and it discusses some of the information the pictures provide about the ways the Forum has been viewed from the beginning of printing in Europe to the 20th Century.

By bringing together a group of original images, all produced for differing reasons (as architectural drawings, souvenirs for Grand Tourists, newspaper illustrations and so on), the collection provides a different and engaging context for thinking not only about the Roman Forum and our attitude to the preservation and use of ancient buildings, but also about how we read visual images, the role they can play in our understanding, and the new perspectives they can provide.

The collection begins with a leaf from *The Nuremberg Chronicle* (1496), showing Romans portrayed like Medieval Germans, and concludes with a press photograph of a student political demonstration in the Roman Forum in 1974. While the images provide a powerful story of human activity, behaviour and our changing and ebbing attitudes to ancient buildings, the collection also provides an overview of the development of the technology of printing and how that has informed the modern dissemination of information and learning.

Juvenile Delinquents: Narratives of Cruelty of the Young Roman Emperors

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Narratives of cruelty are ubiquitous in the records of imperial history over the course of the Roman Empire. As Dunkle and Roller's works illustrate (but note the contrasting picture presented by Wallace-Hadrill), each emperor's reputation in posterity depended significantly on the extent to which they were perceived as being cruel, whether this cruelty was due to war, rebellion, paranoia, or their inherent nature. The young emperors of the first three centuries AD traditionally fall into the category of 'bad' emperors, and thus 'cruel' rulers, with the exception of Severus Alexander and Gordian III, who both embody the traits of the *Civilis Princeps*. However, when we approach the perceptions of emperors from the viewpoint of age, rather than reputation, the lines between the distinctions of cruelty become somewhat blurred.

This paper will discuss one principal difference in perceptions of the young Roman emperors' nature in comparison to their older counterparts – the extreme nature of the narratives of cruelty. It will be argued that the narratives associated with older emperors generally lack the random and chaotic qualities which characterise the actions of the young emperors: capriciousness, sadism, and insolence. Furthermore, the tales of cruelty in connection with older emperors lack the elaborate detail and inventiveness which often appears in accounts of young emperors such as Caligula, Nero, Commodus, Caracalla, and Elagabalus. Thus, the nature of the acts of cruelty associated with the young emperors differ in scope from those of their older counterparts and represent an escalation in their depravity.

Feminine Fun and Freedom in Classical Greece: A Counter-Feminist Reading (?)

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As a scholar raised on the goodly works of Classicist matriarchs, this paper is somewhat of an intellectual betrayal of the groundbreaking works on ancient women of, in particular, the era of Second Wave Feminism through to the late 1990s. While not disputing the rigour and, at times, brilliance of many of these works, this enquiry challenges their general legacy; namely, the decidedly pessimistic collective 'portrait' of the lives of women in Classical Greece. As Feminist Studies is now more than ever an intensely contested and fraught area of scholarship, having reached its Fourth 'Wave', the fissures inherent in its current manifestations may actually cater for active and excitingly fractured revisionism. This paper is an attempt at some revisionism by 'answering back' to some of our most revered scholarly matriarchs, challenging some of their more extreme positions, countering with some positive examples and questioning the ubiquity of the legacy of Classics and Feminism and the refusal of feminine fun and freedom in Classical Greece.

Divine Epiphanies in Homer and Euripides

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The similarities between Euripides' *deus ex machina* scenes and the appearances of gods to mortals in Homer have not been adequately explored. Analysis of the divine visit motif in Homer has tended to focus on the framing of the epiphany through the god's journey and the relationship of these scenes to messenger and mortal visit type-scenes (Edwards 1992, 309-10), rather than the actual speech made by the god once they have

appeared. In fact, these speeches are constructed according to a clear formulaic pattern, one which corresponds fairly closely with the typical content of a *deus ex machina* speech in Euripides. The way the divine visit is conducted is also remarkably similar: in both cases a god makes a brief appearance in physically manifest form to a mortal character and delivers a speech. I will argue therefore that Euripides' (and other tragedians') principal models when first introducing *deus ex machina* scenes into tragedy were more likely epic than tragic. The Homeric formality of the Euripidean *deus ex machina* seems to react to the more direct and informal relations between gods and mortals presented in the earlier tragedies of Sophocles and Aeschylus (Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 459-511), while simultaneously presenting the gods in a way which reflects much more closely the way Athenians expected gods to interact with mortals in the real world (as in the epiphany of Pan to the Athenian messenger Philippides famously reported at Herodotus 6.105; cf. Garland 1992, 47-54).

Florentine Papyrus 113 – An Ancient Commentary including Two Fragments of Antisthenic Dialogue

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This paper will make a case that two texts in Florentine Papyrus 113, previously thought to be unrelated anecdotes, are actually part of an ancient commentary on dialogues of Antisthenes. This commentary includes two fragments of Antisthenic dialogue, one of which is a new fragment. Antisthenes himself was the closest companion of Socrates and a prolific and far-famed author in antiquity, but the collection of his fragments have never been translated into any language, never been the subject of a commentary, nor even been edited with due care. The two passages examined here occur consecutively in P.Flor. 113 (*editio princeps* Comparetti and Vitelli 1908). They have only been examined critically on a handful of occasions. The papyrus contains punctuation and critical marks, typical of ancient commentaries. In particular it contains *paragraphoi* and large dots marking divisions in the text. Both the passages contain direct speech – Socrates and interlocutor in one, Antisthenes and interlocutors in the other. In the first text Socrates is being queried about Alcibiades. Antisthenes wrote Socratic dialogues and also wrote a dialogue titled *Alcibiades*. There is also ample evidence that Antisthenes wrote dialogues between himself and various young lads – as in the second fragment here. A convincing case can therefore be made that P.Flor. 113 is an ancient commentary, that it contains fragments of dialogue, and that these dialogues were written by Antisthenes.

Ath. Pol. 42.1-2, Wasps 578, and Athenian Citizenship Procedures

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Section 42 of the *Ath. Pol.* provides us with a clear account of how candidates for Athenian citizenship were scrutinized. This account, however, has been rejected by Rhodes (1981) and by others influenced by him (e.g. Moore 1983, Manville 1990). Most of these scholars rely heavily on line 578 of Aristophanes' *Wasps*, among other considerations. In this paper, I show that their doubts about the account presented by the *Ath. Pol.* are ill-founded.

Once we have removed the obstacles to accepting the account of the *Ath. Pol.*, we can look at Athenian citizenship procedures in a new way. Contrary to what Rhodes and his followers would have us believe, the central *dikastēria* and *Boulē* were not vested with decisive authority to grant citizenship. Instead, a candidate's fitness for citizenship was decided in the deme assemblies; possible appeals to the central institutions of the *polis* were of secondary importance.

Who were the Huns of Late Antiquity?

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This paper seeks to explore the identity and 'ethnicity' of the famous or infamous Huns of the 4th and 5th centuries AD. The paper argues that the Huns cannot be identified with a specific ethnic group, but should rather be seen as those who shared a common political identity. Like the words Rome and Roman, the Hunnic Empire and the Huns were not a specific ethnic or tribal group, but rather an overarching political entity consisting of a great conglomeration of ethnic groups and tribal entities. The name Hun was synonymous with the Inner Asian tradition of empire and the Hun nation was either a state or a proto-state entity, which possessed a highly stratified and sophisticated political and military organization.

The political organization of these Huns derived from Inner Asia, their place of origin, and that organization was in essence very similar to the political organization of earlier steppe empires such as the Xiongnu and contemporary powers such as the formidable Rouran Khaganate in the east. The Huns effectively utilized the Inner Asian system of political organization to create the first unified empire of all 'barbarians' in Europe beyond the Roman frontiers. The experience of Hunnic conquest and rule then enabled the various Germanic peoples to consolidate their own internal political organization, leading to the creation of new state level entities all across western, central and eastern Europe during the so-called 'Middle Ages'.

Augustus and the Rebuilding of the History of Rome (RG 19-21)

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In this paper I address the idea of rebuilding and its relationship to the landscape of Rome. Modern discussions about the Romans' understanding of the history of their buildings are based on information obtained from inscriptions and the ancient historical texts which used them as sources. Some have argued that we should not take the inscriptions themselves at their word since they did not always match archaeological reality (Thomas and Witschell, 1992). Others maintain that blatant lies on an inscription would not have been accepted by an ancient audience any more than they would be accepted by us (Fagan, 1996). By using passages 19-21 of Augustus' *Res Gestae* as a case study, I examine how the idea of rebuilding could be used in text to affect the way people understood the history of the material landscape of the city. Although not a rebuilding inscription itself, the *Res Gestae* text refers to the process and mentions the inscriptions that would normally have been expected to have arisen from it. In it, Augustus claims to have omitted his name from the buildings he rebuilt and this has been seen as a claim to modesty by both ancient and modern readers in the past. I argue that, in addition to this, this assertion is a demonstration of the power he wielded to actively manipulate the historic record. By not following tradition and backdating constructions from his own period he was able to control not only the Rome of his own time but also the Rome of the past.

Euripides' Portrayal of Herakles: Conforming to Athenian Ideals

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The aims of this paper are twofold. Firstly: to demonstrate that the Athenian poet Euripides formed a dualistic

characterisation of the hero Herakles in his tragedy of the same name, one side consisting of traits commonly seen in Athenian depictions of the hero, the other consisting of more generalised mythic traits seen in multiple sources. Secondly: to show that Euripides intended his audience to see Herakles' madness as a result of this duality, and that the action of the play forces the hero to embrace his Athenian side. G.J. Fitzgerald (1991) and T. Papadopoulou (2004) have both written concerning the dual nature of Euripides' characterisation of Herakles. Fitzgerald believes that Herakles is forced to question his barbaric qualities (1991:92), while Papadopoulou believes that the struggle is essentially between good and evil (2004: 259). Neither of these works properly address the nature of Herakles' duality, nor do they properly estimate the important role that Athens plays in the tragedy. In order to remedy this I intend to highlight the traits of Herakles in this play and compare them to other depictions of the hero in Athens. I will then show that Herakles' eventual decision sees him embrace these Athenian ideals, represented by his departure to Athens with Theseus.

How to Shame Cicero: Persuasion and Argument in Seneca the Elder, *Suasoria*, 6

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In his account of *suasoria* six 'Cicero ponders whether he should beg mercy from Antony', Seneca the Elder tells us that very few speakers dared to speak for the affirmative (*Suas.* 6.12). Despite the intrinsic quality of a *suasoria* as a question that could be argued for either side, the vast majority of speakers urged Cicero to die in the strongest possible terms (e.g. *Suas.* 6.2). This paper examines the *colores* and *sententiae* collected by Seneca to explore the foundations of declamatory persuasion within a *suasoria*. Roller, building on Quintilian, argues that morality is the spine of declamation with the question of what is *honestas* at the core (1997, 113), yet Anderson draws attention to the "amorality" often associated with the declamatory tradition (1995, 77). Thus the existence of a reference point of a shared set of values between speaker and subject is not necessarily clear, despite Bloomer's assertion that Seneca is primarily concerned with articulating (and claiming) just such a shared social framework (1997, 199-215). Further complications arise from the extent to which speakers engage with the historical context of the relationship between Cicero and Antony. Quintilian states that a successful declaimer must present advice that is suited to the audience's character and circumstances (3.8.37-39) and yet, declamation, in Seneca's view, exists at some considerable remove from history (*Suas.* 6.14-6). This paper will delve into historiography, exemplarity and ethics to test these ideas and ascertain how declaimers believed that Cicero might most effectively be persuaded to die.

A Feminist Reception of Catullus: Anna Jackson's *I, Clodia*

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In a new volume, *I, Clodia and other portraits* (2014), Anna Jackson writes a series of poems from the perspective of Clodia Metelli. The poems respond to individual texts from antiquity as well as the broader narrative of Clodia's life that has been passed down in the historical tradition. To produce her Clodia, Jackson drew on Cicero's *Pro Caelio* and Catullus' portrait of Lesbia in his poems. Ultimately, however, Jackson has created a very different voice and character for the Roman noblewoman, reflecting modern treatments of Clodia by Classicists such as Skinner (2011). Jackson's Clodia is not just a witty, sexually liberated woman, but a keen reader of poetry and a poet herself.

I, Clodia has not yet received scrutiny from Classicists in print; in this paper I argue that *I, Clodia* deserves attention both for its aesthetic merits and because it offers a new way for readers to respond to Catullus. I argue that Jackson's depiction of Clodia as a woman who reads and writes texts is inherently feminist in the

context of the Classics. Moreover, Jackson portrays Clodia as Catullus' ideal reader, especially in her complex reading of poem 64 which mirrors that of Latin scholars such as Gaisser (1995). This study of a hitherto unexamined work fits within the ambit of recent scholarship in the field of women's writing and the Classical tradition, as discussed in Theodorakopoulos (2012).

World Citizen vs. God's Chosen People: Josephus between Judaism and the Roman Empire

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The concept and the usage of *ethnos* among Hellenistic Jewish writers undergo continuous development, and reflect their varied understanding of the ancient Mediterranean world as well as the national identity of Jewish people living in it. An appreciation of these changes is crucial for us to understand the historical context of these texts (Eckhardt 2013). The corpus of Josephus represents an important and transitional stage of this historical development. As a contemporary witness and participant in the Jewish revolt in Palestine and the Jewish diaspora afterwards, Flavius Josephus is universally recognized as the most important historian who records the history of Jewish people in a Graeco-Latin cultural context (Edmondson, Mason and Rives 2005). Nevertheless, his unique and sometimes ambiguous idea on the identity of Jews living in the Roman Empire has not been satisfactorily clarified by modern scholars yet. In Josephus' works, on the one hand, Jewish people are described as peaceful world citizens and submissive subjects of the Roman Empire (Feldman 1998); on the other hand, sometimes they are represented, according to the doctrine of Judaism, as God's chosen people who are destined to surpass and dominate all nations. This paper aims to analyse the contradictions in Josephus' extant works in this respect, and goes on to explore this historian's motive for historical composition and the complexity of the Jewish problem in the Flavian Rome.

Flattery and Fides: The Ethical Discourse of Plutarch's Octavia and Cleopatra

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This paper examines how Plutarch conceptualises in Platonic terms, Marc Antony's psychological struggle between reason (*logos*), passion (*eros*), knowledge and illusion through the contrasting qualities of Cleopatra and Octavia in the *Life of Antony*. In particular, it considers Plutarch's assertion that Cleopatra distributed her flattery, "not into the four forms of which Plato speaks, but into many" (Plut. *Ant.* 29.1). These four forms of flattery as explained in the *Gorgias* are the 'knacks' (*empeiriai*) of pastry-cookery, cosmetics, sophistry and rhetoric, in themselves the diametric opposite of the true arts (*technai*) of medicine, gymnastics, justice and legislation, which serve to benefit the body and state (Plato *Gorg.* 463a-465e). At first it may be unclear how Plato's conception of *technai* applies to Octavia. However, in the proem to the *Demetrius* (the parallel *Life* to the *Antony*), Plutarch makes it clear that the most consummate arts in his view are the virtues of temperance, justice and wisdom (*sophrosyne*, *dikaiosune* and *phronesis*); virtues that an untrained woman like Octavia can theoretically embody (Plut. *Dem.* 1.1-3). In both a subjective and objective sense, Plutarch positions Octavia's *fides* for Antony and Rome as a potential antidote to Cleopatra's irrational flattery and destructive tutelage. The construction of such opposing moral positions therefore reinforces the complexity and subtlety of Plutarch's ethical analysis and the philosopher's strong Platonic outlook.

The Seated Figure in the Attic Black-figure Tradition

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Attic black-figure vase-painting is a pictorial tradition in which meaning is generated largely by combinations of signs; these can include figural poses, relationship between figures, and figures' position in a scene. Because the reception process of such depictions is less straightforward than for later artworks, the need for a specialised hermeneutics for archaic art has long been recognised: half a century ago, for instance, Himmelmann sought to refine an interpretative approach initiated by Carl Robert already in the late 19th century, recognising that archaic images are 'conceived not so much in terms of the situation as, rather, the narrative meaning of the individual figure' (1967: 85). This conceptual response to the archaic mode of depiction was further explored by McNiven in 1982, in an attempt to define the signification of gestures of arms, hands, legs, and heads. Susan Woodford (2003: chs. 5-6) pursued a broader approach in her analysis of the transferability of certain well-known compositions and figure-combinations from one context to another in classical antiquity. The present paper is based on examining individual figure-types in Attic black-figure scenes, and in particular the seated figure, which, it will be argued, encodes a special kind of intrinsic meaning with additional laminations or nuances deriving from the position of the seated figure in the picture-field and its relation to the other figures in the scene. As often, the Homeric narrative tradition, in so many ways parallel in how it generates meaning within its own tradition, provides some confirmation of the propositions.

Do Sweatier Romans Run Better Provinces?

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This paper is an examination of the Roman rhetoric and use of *sudor* (sweat) as a marker of identity, with particular focus on its use by the late imperial administration. *Sudor* often appears in tropes concerning the labour of Roman soldiers, marking out traditional military masculinity as distinct from its tidier civilian forms (see eg. Phang 2008). In the fifth century AD, however, the rhetoric of sweaty effort is redeployed in order to describe career bureaucrats and administrators; it appears in official and legal sources as well as more literary texts. While the appearance of *sudor* in administrative language has been remarked upon (eg. very briefly in Brown 1971), it has not been examined in detail. Its development, I argue, must be related to the adoption of a militaristic model for Roman administration (as *militia*) in the early fourth century, but why it took the civil service an extra hundred years to work up a sweat needs further investigation. Therefore, in this paper I chart the use of sweat as an element in Roman identity and ideology over time, and suggest some reasons for the adoption of *sudor* as part of administrative rhetoric by the increasingly shaky government of the fifth century.

Heraldic Badges on Roman Republican Denarii

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Following the introduction of the *denarius*, around the time of the Second Punic War, designs on coins at first conservatively continued the styles of previous coins. Moneyers "shared [with Greek coins] the tendency to keep types the same over long periods of time . . ." (Howgego, 1995, 67). Typical would be a head of Roma on the obverse, and a deity in a chariot or the Dioscuri on the reverse.

Early on moneyers remained anonymous, but symbols appeared (e.g. an anchor, a dolphin, a fly) and sometimes also from one to four initials; about 190 fuller initialising appeared, allowing more speculation about a moneyer's name (e.g. Crawford, *RRC* 1.73-75). Moneyers then came to realise the potential for self-advertisement, and images began to focus on ancestry, co-inciding with increased attention to genealogies in the 2nd century (Wiseman, 1974; Thomas, *OCD*³, 629).

A desire to recall deeds of ancestors led some moneyers to incorporate a symbol bringing that recollection to mind visually. This paper examines some examples where the symbol – be it an object, or an animal, or whatever – is repeated over time whereby it becomes a badge for a particular aristocratic family. Some examples: the Cassii Longini frequently incorporated a *pileus* (cap of freedom) on their coins, such that it became a symbol of the family (Alföldi, 1956, 72), and coins of the Caecilii Metelli regularly depicted an elephant “as a kind of heraldic badge” (Flower, 1996, 138).

"Bloom for Me": The Letters of Nikephoros Ouranos and the Greek Anthology

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It is an accepted fact that there was a regeneration of learning in the Byzantine empire of the 800s into the 1000s and beyond. As part of this regeneration, the epigrams of the Greek Anthology were collected around 900 and subsequently were influential (Cameron 1993). This paper considers some letters (25 and 26) of an important Byzantine political figure, Nikephoros Ouranos, in relation to selected epigrams from the collection: 12.195 and 12.256. Seeing a selection of epigrams from the anthology as intertexts (rather than evidence of topoi [discussed by, e.g., Karlsson 1962 or Mullett 1990]) to Nikephoros' letters does two things. First, it underscores Nikephoros' investment in pederastic models of the past already discernible in these letters. In letter 44, for example, he begs for a letter from a friend who has been a poor correspondent, saying that a letter is longed for, just as insult and blows are "by lovers from their beloveds" (τοῖς ἐρῶσι παρὰ τῶν ἐρωμένων). Second, reading the letters with the anthology in mind also renders evident a carnal immediacy to the warm declarations of friendship Nikephoros makes. Attention to reception embodied in intertextuality deepens understanding of elite homosociality in the Byzantine empire at the end of the first millennium.

Sculptural assemblage and Homeric poetry: Charlayn von Solms' A Catalogue of Shapes

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Charlayn von Solms' recent PhD (Fine Art), entitled *A Catalogue of Shapes*, is an 'aesthetic translation' of Homeric poetics: a fascinating example of Classical reception in South African contemporary art. The art historian/fine artist von Solms presents a conscious and creative intersection between the physical artistic process of sculptural assemblage and the oral compositional techniques of Homer, which ultimately amounts to and results in a composite portrait of the bard himself. While the 12 artworks produced are highly original, the idea of the crossover between art and poetry, or the connectedness between the processes used by artist and poet, is certainly not new. In 1998, for example, Mackay, et al. compared oral compositional techniques with the methods of Attic vase-painters, and Hedreen's forthcoming book sets out to examine afresh the relationships between poetry and art in classical antiquity. This paper will consider not only how Homeric poetics have informed von Solms' artistic process and product, but how the Homeric 'portrait' can contribute to our understanding of ancient oral forms and techniques. It will also be asked whether this carefully thought out process that results in a fixed 'product' can convey other important qualities of the Homeric artform, such as spontaneity, flexibility and the lack of a fixed form.

Diet, Regimen and Therapy of the Soul: The reception of Greek Medicine in Late Antiquity

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As is increasingly being recognised (e.g. van der Eijk 2005, Gill et al. 2009), in the ancient world the lines between the domains of philosophy and medicine were frequently blurred. This is particularly evident in the intersection between mental health and the health of the soul (Harris 2013). More recently, Hynek Bartoš has made a compelling case for the direct influence of Hippocratic thought in the area of diet/regimen on classical Greek philosophy (Bartoš 2015). This paper continues recent work that argues that these ideas continued to play a significant role into the late-antique period within Greek *paideia* (Mayer 2015, Marx-Wolf and Upson-Saia 2015); in particular, that Christian authors, regardless of their rhetorical arguments against philosophy, viewed the health of the soul in medico-philosophical terms and exploited these ideas in their preaching. In this paper we explore just one account of the relationship between diet, regimen and the soul in a homily composed at the turn of the fourth century CE in the late-antique East by the author Asterius of Amasea (*hom.* 14) and show how it draws directly on and assumes knowledge of this intimate connection between Greek philosophy and medicine.

Lucretius on Parental Love

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In Book 2 of his *De rerum natura* Lucretius admits that animals display natural parental love for their offspring: he observes that in the case of animals mothers can recognise their own offspring and vice versa since there is a special affinity between them no different to that between human beings (2.342-351); he notes that nature both demands and provides for the care of one's offspring, most obviously in the form of mother's milk (2.367-370); and the famous image of the forlorn heifer seeking her lost calf captures the power of parental love in moving terms (2.352-366). But Epicurus himself explicitly rejected any analogy with animals and declared that human parental love is not natural (Plut. *De amore prolis* 495a-b; Roskam 2011; Brennan 1996). I argue that Lucretius does find the analogy with animals compelling, and in the poem he suggests that human parental love is also natural and indeed necessary for the survival of the human race (5.222-234, 5.1011-1027). This puts him in conflict with Epicurus. I argue that in Book 5 Lucretius develops a clever way to stay consistent with Epicurus' claim that human parental love is not natural: (*pace* Campbell 2003: 217-283) Lucretius maintains that parental love is not natural in the Epicurean 'state of nature' because there human beings are unattached individuals and categories such as 'parent' and 'child' do not apply, but parental love is natural now that human beings live in domestic units and civilised societies.

Am I My Brother's Keeper? Propaganda, Fratricide, and Caracalla's Citizenship Grant

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In 212 CE, Caracalla granted citizenship to the whole of the Roman empire (Giessen Papyrus 40 col. 1.1-12; Williams, 1979, 67-89). A sceptical Cassius Dio suggests that this was done to extend the tax base (Cassius Dio 78.9) and scholars have tended to focus on the economic and military aspects of this grant (for example, Southern, 2007, 142). In this paper, I examine Caracalla's stated reason behind this grant in the edict itself. It makes reference to a conspiracy and that, because the gods preserved Caracalla, he will, in response, give

citizenship as a thank offering. Although the nature of the conspiracy itself is not described in detail, other evidence from this period suggests that this “conspiracy” was Caracalla’s way of justifying his actions in killing his brother Geta.

This paper argues that this “reason” for the citizenship grant should be understood within the context of imperial familial relationships and constructions of imperial power. Caracalla ‘saves’ Rome by killing his brother, following some of the familiar themes represented in the various versions of the Romulus and Remus myths. Contrasting the coin and literary evidence from 211-212 CE with that of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (where imperial brothers working together can ensure the continued peace and prosperity of the empire), I demonstrate the ways in which myth and imagery can help support imperial ideology and centrally controlled narratives in order to secure and legitimize the power and actions of the emperor.

Re-evaluating the Thesmophoria: Piglets and Processions?

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It has long been noted that the reconstructions of ancient festivals were solidified into their current forms early in modern scholarship and that revision is now essential (e.g. Robertson 1996, 319; Goff 2007, 80-81). I contend, using the Thesmophoria as a case-study, that such festival reconstructions should be re-examined with close attention to the geographic and chronological provenance of the evidence. Past reconstructions of the Thesmophoria contain many elements that are mentioned in single items of evidence, widely spread in time and space. A focus on the specific provenance of the evidence allows for a less complete and more fractured reconstruction, but also allows for scope to investigate the impact that variations to suit local communities played in the celebration of this festival. In this paper, I intend to focus on two aspects of the generally accepted reconstruction of the Thesmophoria festival: the procession and the piglet sacrifice. Through an examination of the primary evidence, I will argue that the inclusion of a procession in the festival proceedings is less clear-cut than it appears in most modern reconstructions. In the case of the piglet sacrifice, I will explore how the inclusion of non-literary sources of evidence, especially archaeological, may shed light on the difficult issue of whether a piglet sacrifice was the main rite of the Thesmophoria festival. Through the re-evaluation of these two aspects of the Thesmophoria festival, I will show some of the flaws in the current reconstruction and demonstrate how a different approach can reveal new insights.

Order and Disorder in Defeat and Victory: Livy’s Accounts of the Reception of Battle Reports at Rome

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Caesar notes in two places in the *B.G.* (2.34.4 and 4.38.5) of honours voted to him *ex litteris Caesaris*. Indeed many modern scholars regard his written work on the conquest of Gaul as forming an essential component of the Roman subjugation of the territory (e.g. see Osgood 2009). This paper examines the reception of such letters and other forms of battle-reports at Rome as represented by Livy in his history. Using modern scholarship that shows Livy’s history is a carefully composed set of narratives that can possess a multi-book ‘single-minded coherence’ (Levene 2010 : v), it compares the different roles that Livy gives *fama*, *rumor*, *nuntius*, and *littera*, and how Livy represented the connections of these terms with political and social institutions. This paper will show that in Livy, the written word can be seen both as a stabilising and destabilising force, just as verbal reports can be understood as conducive to social and political harmony. In Livy, not only does each individual account of a report reaching Rome serve to strengthen his themes in that particular section, but they also serve as a shorthand for the functioning of Roman power in general, and in turn as Feldherr 1998 has

shown, the representation of them serves to impart authority to the historical text.

"A Possession Forever": Writing Homer and Thucydides into *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*

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This paper argues that C.E.W. Bean, the Australian Great War Correspondent and Official War Historian, consciously wrote *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918* using the historical methodology employed by Thucydides in the *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Building on the work of Peter Londey, it contends that Bean drew on Thucydides to emphasise his belief that Australia could learn from the horrors of the Great War and emerge from the conflict as the next great democratic civilisation in the image of ancient Athens. The paper further argues that Bean's conferral of the Homeric epithet "great-hearted" on all Anzac soldiers indicates that he was trying not to simply write, but to craft, the history of Australia's participation in the Great War as a commemorative legacy to which future generations of Australians could look back when they wished to revisit the deeds of exemplary citizens. The paper demonstrates that Bean deliberately combined the mythical and the historical with the great and ordinary deeds of men. Bean, like Thucydides, enriched his factual narrative with epic allusions without being overtly Homeric. This ensured that Anzac deaths were appropriately preserved in the historical record. Just as Thucydides was unable to completely ignore Homer's literary legacy, Bean did not completely ignore the commemorative legacies left to him by Homer and Thucydides. By looking to the past, Bean sought to construct a legacy that would remain the possession of the Australian people forevermore, a legacy of duty, honour and courage but also a vivid reminder of war's inherent horror and tragedy.

Mythic paradigms and the Platonic life: Isis and Osiris, Dionysus, and the Age of Cronus in Damascius' *Philosophical History*

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The fragments of Damascius' *Philosophical History / Life of Isidore* contain some important uses of mythic paradigms. Though such evocations of myth to describe contemporary people and events have long rhetorical as well as philosophical precedents, these paradigms take on a particular importance within the philosophical and religious mindset of late-antique Platonism, and of Damascius in particular. The reconstruction of this fragmentary text presents numerous difficulties (Athassiadi (1999), building on the earlier work of Asmus (1909) and (1910), and Zintzen (1967)). Nonetheless, much can be inferred from what remains. Damascius evokes the myths of Osiris and Isis, and of the death and dismemberment of Dionysus, to speak about the fragmentation involved in descent into the material world. Equally important was the possibility of escaping this fragmentation, becoming a Bacchus. The much quoted line in Plato's *Phaedo*, ('Many are the narthex-bearers, but few are the Bacchoi' (69c8-d1), also discussed at Damasc. *In Phaedonem* 1.172), is interpreted by Damascius to mean that becoming a Bacchus is the state of being liberated from the world of becoming, though only Heraescus is given this honour in the surviving fragments of the *Philosophic History* (frag. 76A). This paper argues that these mythic paradigms played programmatic roles in the *Philosophical History*, and that their full significance is apparent only in light of Damascius' opinions concerning the nature of the world and of humanity's relationship to intelligible reality and to the gods.

Story, Landscape, Memory: The Enduring Power of the Notion 'Troy'

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Achilles' heel, the Trojan horse, Cassandra: these motifs, which have their origin in the story of the Trojan War, live on as useful metaphors in our everyday lives today. The story of the Trojan War--its origins and its outcome--continues to be a significant element of the cultural heritage of the Western world.

My task in this paper is to begin an analysis of why this might be so. What are the factors that have imprinted the Troy-story so firmly on collective memory? My argument is that it is not only the power of the Troy-story itself but the collection of other Troy-related stories that have attached themselves to this landscape that keeps the Trojan War alive in our minds.

My discussion will consider Homer's *Iliad* and the reception of the wider Troy-story in the literature of the ancient world, the landscape around Troy and its visual prompts, ancient and modern visitors to the site of Troy, archaeological excavation, and the Gallipoli campaign. I shall discuss the accretion of memories that are associated with Troy, including some discussion of collective memory, linking visual and spatial memory and our memory for narrative. The campaigns of World War I, when British soldiers turned to Homer to help them understand their experience, have played an important role in maintaining the relevance of the Troy-story even into our own times.

Ending Liminality: A Reflection on the Autobiographical Accounts of Dion of Prousa and Aelius Aristeides

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In influential studies of rites of passage in a spectrum of pre-modern societies, van Gennep (1960²) and Turner (1967, 1969) posited extended, socially-prescribed liminal periods as the structures that effect psychological and social transitions in individuals' lives. Psychologically- and sociologically-transformative liminal periods have since been identified in many, broader contexts. In this paper, I test the applicability of the van Gennep/Turner model to the self-reported life-transforming experiences of the Second Sophistic orators Dion of Prousa and Aelius Aristeides. Certainly, the experience of each conforms to the model in that an extended period of separation from his accustomed social setting was involved. In Dion's case, this was a period of exile imposed upon him by Domitian; in Aristeides', it was a period spent living as an incubant at the Asklepieion at Pergamon. Nevertheless, there is a fundamental difference between Dion's and Aristeides' experiences and a ritual candidate's. In traditional rites of passage, the liminal period has a socially-dictated goal and a predetermined duration. Differently, Dion and Aristeides had to determine their own goals and to remain true to those goals, whatever the liminal period threw up; moreover, each had to determine the criteria whose fulfilment would signal the achievement of his goal. Evidence from their works suggests that neither Dion nor Aristeides changed his core beliefs as a result his experience, and that each ended the liminal period deliberately, at a time he saw fit.

The *lex Pompeia de provinciis* and the senate's control over provincial appointments

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In 52 BC the *lex Pompeia de provinciis* transformed the system of provincial assignments by requiring a five-year interval between civic magistracy and provincial command. Its purpose continues to be debated. This paper reaffirms the law's direct concern with improving provincial governance, in light of Steel's recent argument (2012) that it was designed rather to ensure an adequate supply of promagistrates.

As scholars have recognised (e.g. Gruen 1974, 459; Brennan 2000, 402), the *lex Pompeia* combatted corruption in Rome and the provinces by making it harder to fund a political career through provincial extortion and introducing periods of private status in which prosecution could take place. In addition, I argue, the law actively promoted good governance by giving the senate greater control over provincial appointments. Most significantly, the senate seems to have had some latitude to 'select and approve' (Caes. *BC* 1.85.9) the ex-magistrates who would enter the ballot for provinces, with a view to selecting those who would govern well. Thus, in 51, the senate's policy was to appoint men who had previously refused provinces and, for that reason, were thought to be of good moral character. In addition, while the practice of proroguing some governors was intended to continue, the fixed duration of commands under the law provided a basis for 'annual review': good governors might be kept on, while a bad (or dangerous) governor could be replaced swiftly. These changes might have brought lasting reform, but for the advent of civil war.

The Little Town that History Forgot: Reconsidering the Literary and Archaeological Evidence of Italice's Early History and Evolution

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Appian's description of Italice's foundation in 206 BC has provided the basis for a modern misconception – Italice's emergence as the first permanent presence of Rome in the western Mediterranean. We cannot appreciate the complexity of Italice's early history without placing the textual evidence within an archaeological framework. Fortunately, a wealth of archaeological data exists; when combined with the textual narrative, the flawed current image of Italice becomes clear. Italice, from its inception, was Italice's emergence as the first permanent presence of Rome in the western Mediterranean. We cannot appreciate the complexity of Italice's early history without placing the textual evidence within an archaeological framework. Fortunately, a wealth of archaeological data exists; when combined with the textual narrative, the flawed current image of Italice becomes clear. Italice, from its inception, was not a 'permanent presence' for Rome; its initial purpose as a garrison during the Second Punic War evolved into an Iberian town in shadow of *Ispal*. The permanence of presence does not necessarily represent the permanence of function.

In order to demonstrate the complexity of Italice's identity, this paper will examine several factors: Appian's *Iberike*, the '*capitolia*', and the material culture of Italice. Through Appian's account, we see the context for a permanent Roman presence; however, following the conclusion of the Second Punic War, Italice exhibits elements of hybridization. The proximity of *Ispal* and the lack of strong Roman influences set the stage for an Iberian interpretation of urban Rome. Further illustrated through numismatics, Italice portrays a resumptive heritage.

The aim of this paper is to reassess current theories regarding Italice's early history; the connections between the archaeological and literary evidence reveal a complex Iberic-Italic identity. Italice assumes a new identity of

its own, borrowing from Rome while heralding an Ilipian legacy. This new identity compels a more exacting study of our understanding of Italica.

Chance, Coincidence and *Fortuna* in the *Bellum Gallicum*

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Chance, coincidence and unpredictable changes of fortune are aspects of war that appear often throughout the *Bellum Gallicum*, but this paper will illustrate that there is a pattern to the use of these incidents that is part of a broad interpretive scheme, particularly from Book Five onwards. Ramage (2003, pp. 357-359) has noted that Caesar includes references to *fortuna* as a self-aggrandizing aspect of his own *felicitas*, and this is certainly true in cases where unexpected events work in the commander's favour. However the more persuasive role of *fortuna* in mitigating Caesar's responsibility for campaign setbacks has not been examined by scholars of the *commentarius*. The pattern of references and anecdotes describing coincidental events, particularly in the more problematic campaigns of the later part of the work, show that Caesar mitigates potential criticism of his command by contextualising events as part of the uncertain nature of war. The escape of Ambiorix (BG 6.30) and other reports of mixed fortune establish a framework in which Caesar takes on a didactic role regarding *fortuna* in order to make the account favourable to himself. This use of *fortuna* and the anecdotes that reference chance are important for Caesar's view of command and the unpredictable elements of warfare. More importantly they show how *fortuna* is woven into problematic campaign narratives in order to generate a positive reception for the events described.

Diomedes as Speaker and Audience in the *Iliad*

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Diomedes' role in the *Iliad* is, like that of Telemachos in the *Odyssey*, inextricably tied to his function as an audience to stories about the deeds of his father Tydeus. Tydeus' heroic feats are used by Agamemnon in Book 4 and Athene in Book 5 in order to spur Diomedes into emulating his father by fighting bravely and excelling in competitive endeavour. What's more, they are successful: Diomedes proves himself adept throughout the poem in the same spheres of paternal excellence that Agamemnon and Athene's narratives emphasise, namely open warfare, ambush, and athletic contests. But there are also noteworthy portrayals of the two characters as speakers themselves. Diomedes' speechmaking has often been portrayed as somehow lacking, but more recently attention has been paid to his development as a speaker throughout the poem (cf. e.g. Christensen 2009: 151-2). Tydeus, meanwhile, is an equally prominent speaker (cf. e.g. Elmer 2013: 112-3), but a far less successful one: he participates in two embassies, both of which end in failure and ineffective attempts at persuasion (Sammons 2014: 301-4). This paper will argue that Diomedes' development as a speaker in the poem is a successful response to his father's portrayal by Athene and Agamemnon as an ineffective speaker but formidable actor. Diomedes shows himself to be as good as his father in action, and much better in speech, and by doing so he also proves an attentive and astute audience to other characters' narratives.

Locating the Roman Matron: Examining Representations of Cleopatra VII and Octavia Minor

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This paper will examine representations of Cleopatra VII and Octavia Minor preserved in the works of ancient historians, poets and commentators, most notably Plutarch's *Life of Antony* and Cassius Dio's *Roman History*. Extant scholarship provides largely biographical and rehabilitative works, predominantly focused on Cleopatra (Roller 2010). Publications focusing on the political context of the late Roman republic do not generally analyse the relationship between the two women in considerable depth (Bauman 1992). The purpose of this paper is to discuss comparisons and contrasts in the characterisations of both women, focusing specifically on the function of motherhood.

In both instances, motherhood is used as a moral and narrative device, serving as a trope for the exploration of acceptable female conduct. Discussions of the ideal mother in Augustan literature formed part of a discourse central to the emerging principate and the imperial family (Milnor 2005). Acceptable domestic behaviour, familial piety and traditional, motherly qualities aligned with the developing Augustan regime. As Octavian's adversary, Cleopatra was representative of those qualities which directly opposed these ideals. She was immortalised by inventive propaganda as a subversive 'other,' the antithesis of a Roman matron. Conversely, the character of Octavia was thrown into stark relief as a virtuous and ideological rival. By contrasting their respective behaviour as mothers, this paper will demonstrate that the representations of Cleopatra and Octavia were constructions employed for public consumption, highlighting ideals specific to the late Republican socio-political context.

Subdividing the Roman Peristyle House: New Evidence from Fifth-Century Augusta

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In this paper, I present archaeological evidence for a sudden and comprehensive change in the residential pattern of late antique Mérida, Spain (Augusta Emerita) in the second half of the fifth century AD. By the fourth century AD, the peristyle house had become the fundamental unit of high status housing throughout the Mediterranean world, offering the ideal setting for negotiations of status, aristocratic ceremony, and even public business (Lavin 1962). Yet this basic expression of aristocratic identity was gradually abandoned and replaced with subdivision housing in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries (Ellis 1988). The transition was not simply a side-effect of economic stagnation; it grew out of the broader economic, socio-cultural, and religious trends of the fourth and fifth centuries (Lewit 2005). As a result, change in the domestic setting was typically quite gradual, with subdivisions created as individual circumstances required and as specific features of the peristyle house became obsolete. However, the archaeological record from Mérida shows that the transition could also be rather sudden. Here, the destruction by fire of many of the city's residential neighbourhoods in the middle of the fifth century paved the way for the wholesale introduction of subdivision housing in the span of just a few decades. The evidence from Mérida confirms the unusually rapid introduction of subdivision housing and, at the same time, illustrates the central role that local events, often unattested in the written sources, might play in the adoption of new cultural forms in Late Antiquity.

Fire, Water, Earth: Stories of Guardian Dragons in Classical Literature

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The goal of this paper is to investigate the representation of dragons in Greco-Roman tradition. The dragon is an image that is common to many different mythological and cultural traditions. This cross-cultural *topos* is presented in many different faces, from fierce guardians to peaceful healing gods. These creatures are usually presented as serpents of extraordinary size and shape; sometimes they have limbs and other features from different creatures just as dragons are commonly represented today (Blust 2000, 521). In the extant evidence, Greco-Roman dragons are usually attributed the function of protector and guardian, which will be the core theme of this paper. Through analysis of this evidence, my paper will challenge the traditional image of dragons as monstrous and evil creatures. This paper will complexify the image of dragons as symbols of chaos and evil by showing how they are merely peaceful guardians protecting their treasure (Fontenrose 1959, 19). My paper will also consider how the Greco-Roman dragon influenced the development of the Medieval and Christian dragon, drawing from Daniel Ogden's book *Drakon* (Ogden, 2013).

Orpheus and Māui in Robert Sullivan's Captain Cook in the Underworld

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This paper addresses *Captain Cook in the Underworld* (henceforth *CCU*), a dramatic poem by New Zealand poet Robert Sullivan (2002). In short, I argue that Sullivan uses a syncretistic Orpheus to dramatize a triangular encounter between Greek, European, and Māori myths and cultures.

Orpheus does appear elsewhere in New Zealand literature, from J. K. Baxter (Miles et al. 2011 324–5) to Witi Ihimaera (Perris 2013) to Karen Healey's 2010 young-adult novel, *Guardian of the Dead*. He is often associated with Māori katabasis figures, especially the trickster hero Māui.

Nowhere is this clearer than in *CCU*. In Sullivan's earlier sequence *Star Waka*, which is concerned with voyages of all kinds, Odysseus is subsumed into the persona of Māui. *CCU* extends this practise, depicting an actual intercultural encounter (namely, Cook's travels in the Pacific) by way of an imaginary *katabasis*. Orpheus features prominently as both guide and epic poet. After Cook's death he becomes Orpheus-Māui, choosing to 'sing in my Māui throat' (Sullivan 2002 35) and guiding Cook's soul on a penitent *katabasis*.

Ultimately, Sullivan makes Orpheus-Māui the last and best in a long line of prophet-poets, international and local, who combine 'Maui and Orphic blood' (Sullivan 2002 50). Both in background and in poetic practice, O'Sullivan straddles the Māori and non-Māori worlds. Like Sullivan, then, Orpheus-Māui is a composite modern *vates* who speaks to, and for, both Māori and non-Māori, and whose prophetic songs can charm the soul towards reconciliation.

The Lectio Senatus of 18 BC: A Problem

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In 18 BC the ancient procedure for reorganising the senate, *lectio senatus*, was exposed to radical change. A senate of perhaps 850 was to be reduced to a senate of 300: 30 specially chosen senators were to nominate five individuals, who would in turn draw lots, with one of the five declared a senator. The 30 successful nominees would in-turn nominate five individuals. The process would continue until the number of senators was 300. But a senate of 300 never emerged, with 600 eventually chosen amid acrimony and threats. Augustus, moreover, was not able to stop his isolated rival Lepidus from taking his place among the *patres*. Scholars have nevertheless largely ignored this moment in history, choosing instead to focus on that which surrounds it: sweeping powers renewed, bold legislation passed, and, with the taking of Agrippa's children, the beginning of monarchic intentions (for instance it plays no part in the now fundamental Rich, J 2012 whilst it is dismissed by other as a joke). But a series of questions suggests that a momentous occasion had been planned and lost. Who wanted a senate of 300? Why were the censors not used? Did Augustus get the senate he wanted? Did Augustus have a choice? This paper, then, introduces a new set of questions, and argues that their solution may require a reconsideration of how we think about the politics of the period in general.

Polyperchon and the Peloponnese

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In the summer of 318 BCE, Polyperchon, the regent of Macedon launched a military campaign into the Peloponnese as part of his struggle against his rival Cassander for domination within Greece and Macedon (Diod. 18.68.3). Little is known about what took place during this venture other than that he was able to secure the region, save for the city of Megalopolis (Diod. 18.69.4), which held out against the regent, resulting in a siege of the city. The siege of Megalopolis was a disaster for Polyperchon (Diod. 18.69-70) and the action itself has dominated the perception of the campaign by both Diodorus, and modern scholarly thought (see for example: Heckel, 1992. pp. 197-198; Pachidis, 2008. p. 240; Roisman, J. & Worthington, I, 2010. p. 213.). While Polyperchon's position in the Peloponnese has been acknowledged (Heckel, 1992. p. 200), little attention has been paid to the impact that it had on the conflict against Cassander. The region would prove a vital stronghold for Polyperchon for the remainder of his life. Because of this powerbase, the military superiority of Cassander's position in Greece after 318 requires further discussion.

This paper evaluates the nature and strength of Polyperchon's position in the Peloponnese, engages with the impact it had on his struggle for supremacy in the European sphere of the Macedonian Empire against Cassander and discusses the notions of Polyperchon's ineptitude as a military and political figure during the Wars of the Diadochoi.

Franco Rossi and Social Renewal

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Franco Rossi's three television adaptations of the *Odyssey* (*Odissea* 1968), *Aeneid* (1971), and *Quo Vadis* (1985) have drawn substantial praise for the stylish recreation of their literary sources. Although assisted by

substantial talents in scriptwriting, cinematography, and directing, the considerable continuity through these productions suggests that Rossi had particular aims in recreating the past. One striking feature is the portrayal of a new generation replacing their elders who have struggled to survive misfortune and adversity in their lives. So Telemachus is seen as the successor to Odysseus and Iulus as the hope of the merged Trojan and Latin tribes. In *Quo Vadis*, the emergence of Christianity will replace the power of the imperial system. Rossi emphasises the need for renewal and rebirth by, for instance, having Aeneas returning from the site of Rome, stop at a village where a child has been born and pray for a new Golden Age, referencing *Eclogues* 4. This semi-anthropological, semi-religious treatment of the theme of change can be explained by contemporary Italian history. Beginning his career with the false rebirth of the nation through Fascism, Rossi also saw the rebuilding of the aftermath years create what he saw a spiritually barren society, a view shared by his friends Pasolini and Fellini. The study of the reception of classic texts thus helps to highlight the ideology within national literature and also ways of combatting the inherent violence of the nationalism being promoted.

Provincial Allocation and 'Routine Politics' in the Ciceronian Era

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This paper aims to demonstrate how the requirements of provincial allocation in the 60s and 50s BC threw up structural political contests which recurred each year. Christian Meier was the first to differentiate major political issues from 'routine politics' (regelmäßige Politik) in the late Republic, and Peter Brunt applied this idea to reconstructing how politics actually worked (Meier 1980: 162-200; Brunt 1988: 443-502). Cicero gives us several concrete examples of this 'routine politics' in action, and here we will examine two: the way in which tribunes could make life difficult for consuls departing for their provinces, and the way in which making strategic prorogations could control which candidates actually contested the consular elections. Tribunes could block a consul's (or praetor's) *lex curiata*, or could veto the decree of funds for their provinces. This created a structural political dependence of the consuls on the tribunes (which the tribunes jealously preserved), and individual consuls tried different methods of dealing with it. For instance, Cicero (*cos.* 63) resigned his province to preserve his political independence, while Ap. Claudius (*cos.* 54) tried to forge the relevant decrees. Similarly, the yearly election cycle meant that candidates precisely calculated the relative strength of (for instance) this year's field against next year's in order to maximise their chances. Yet, since many candidates held provinces as praetorian governors, a well-timed prorogation could delay a strong candidate until the following year, and it was a test of strength to give one's friends the best run at the elections possible.

The Puzzles of Porsenna

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Everyone knows the stories of the siege of Rome by Porsenna of Clusium in the first years of the Republic, and his withdrawal, in the face of by the bravery of Horatius, Mucius and Cloelia. Only the second of these 'tableaux' will be examined here, for reasons of time. All previous studies have concentrated on the historicity of the war. To choose three classic cases: Gaetano De Sanctis (1907: 446-452) was distracted by his identification of Porsenna with Macstarna. Even Friedrich Münzer declared the divergences in the sources to be few (1935: 416-423). Andreas Alföldi concentrated on the value of the Kymaian Chronicle (1965: 56-72). It is incredible that the first step in historical method was not undertaken, given that we have some *forty* sources, from Polybios to John Tzetzes. How agreed is the account of any of these three figures? It will become clear that, as with the other two, virtually not a single element in the story of Mucius is agreed—not even his name!

A River Runs through It: Geographical Catalogues in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

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This paper discusses Ovid's recurrent use of catalogues of rivers in the *Metamorphoses*, with particular attention to the catalogue of rivers at *Met.* 1.570-80. At the close of the Daphne episode, Ovid catalogues the rivers which attend Daphne's father in order to offer either congratulations or condolences on his daughter's transformation. This catalogue recalls Virgil's catalogue of rivers at *Georgics* 4.365-373, as well as another Ovidian catalogue of rivers in *Amores* 3.6; its entries also recur in later river-catalogues during the Phaethon and Medea episodes (*Met.* 2.241-259 and 7.228-231). This nexus of inter- and intratextual relationships is the focus of the present paper.

Ovid's catalogues have been examined with reference to their Virgilian and Homeric models (Reitz 1996), but their function in the overall narrative structure of the *Metamorphoses* has not yet been discussed. Sammons (2010) argues that the catalogue form in the Homeric poems can be viewed as a means for the poet to discourse on the nature of poetry and on poetic structure. Rivers are also a venerable source of metapoetic imagery in both Hellenistic and Roman poetry (Farmer 2013). Catalogues of rivers are thus a potential site of reflection on the poetics and narrative structure of the *Metamorphoses*. I argue that the *Met.* 1 catalogue sheds light on Ovid's engagement with his sources; furthermore, I argue that Ovid's use and reuse of river-catalogues can be read as a model for elements of his narrative technique in the *Metamorphoses*.

Rhetorical Questioning: Oracles in Classical Greek Oratory

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This paper will examine Aeschines' use of an oracular consultation in the speech *Against Ctesiphon* (Aeschines 3.108-9) in order to explore the role of oracles in the genre of oratory. While there is an increasing appreciation of the multifaceted function of oracles and oracle stories in other literary genres such as historiography and tragedy, there has yet to be productive research into the role of divine consultation in political speechmaking. The religious discourses in the speeches of the Athenian orators have rarely been examined in detail due to their lack of explicit comment on the relationship between humans and gods (Parker 1997; Martin 2009). The use of oracular records and the tales around them is, however, common to Athenian orators, historians, tragedians and comedians. This paper seeks to show that quotation of oracles and the use of oracle stories was a crucial means of developing narrative authority for orators as it was to historians or tragedians (Kindt 2006, Bowden 2005).

I will give a brief overview of the types of oracle consultations and narratives that occur in other extant speeches before focusing on Aeschines' speech from 330 B.C., *Against Ctesiphon*. Rather than continuing the work on the historicity of this oracle story, I will seek to unpack the function of the oracle consultation within the argumentative context of the speech. I then explore how the composition of Aeschines' narrative of a legendary consultation shows not only the place that oracles held within the ancient imagination but also how this common understanding could be employed in a particular persuasive context.

Celestial Symbols on a Terracotta Plaque from Ancient Messene

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Among the many terracotta relief plaques discovered at ancient Messene, one, dated to the late fourth/early third century BC, is exceptional for typological and iconographic reasons. The fragmentary plaque was briefly mentioned in Themelis 1998, 173, fig. 35, but is essentially unpublished, as are several other fragments from the the same mould series.

This unique depiction shows a man and a woman seated on elaborate stools inside a *naiskos*. They face each other and appear equal in importance and status. Of the three objects “hanging” in the background, two are clearly discernible: an eight-rayed star and an inverted crescent that strangely resembles an oversized pendant because of its peculiar knobs at the points and centre.

The form of the plaque indicates that the mould may have been made for, or taken from, a metal relief. The object could have been either a local creation inspired by foreign prototypes or an import.

The identification of the figures is problematic because of the lack of parallels. In this paper I will pursue various lines of interpretation by comparing different iconographic sources. I will focus on the inverted crescent moon which appears only in daytime around the new moon of the summer solstice. Although a definite interpretation of the motif on the Messene plaque is impossible, I will explore the associations of this motif with amulets and divinities, such as Aphrodite, Artemis and Isis. The evidence I use comes from coins (Andreou 2014) and other art-works from Greece and the Near East.

eLearning and ACANS: Improving Student Engagement via Numismatics

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In 2015 the Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies (ACANS) received funding from Macquarie University’s Learning and Teaching Centre to expand its role in the curriculum. This paper will discuss the project’s aims, methods, and preliminary results. In addition, it will respond to the broader need for Classics to advertise the technology available to improve learning (Reinhard, 2012).

Coins are an underutilised resource in tertiary and secondary education. Now that many collections are online, however, researchers and students have a global resource on which to draw (e.g. the British Museum; the American Numismatic Society; soon, ACANS). Therefore, when the Learning and Teaching Centre sought ways to address the changing patterns of student engagement and attendance, ACANS took the opportunity to utilise numismatics’ growing digital presence for the benefit of students. The central theme of this paper will be how coins may reduce the “transactional distance” felt when distance/online learners engage with archaeological evidence. This refers to the fact that, when it comes to physical objects, distance students still experience disadvantages by not being on campus (Ally, 2008). Students struggle to use material they cannot examine. Coins mitigate this disadvantage. Coins are readily transferable to online learning environments, and it is well known that attainment of learning outcomes increases when material is visualised (Allen, Bourhis, Burrell, & Mabry, 2002). Overall, the project has been designed to exploit the collection of ACANS, promote the study of numismatics, and improve student access to physical evidence.

Cosmic Forces and the Environmental Eros in Hesiodic, and Aratean Poetry

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Drawing on the contemporary framework of ecocriticism, this paper expands the concept of Eros in (poetic) space explored by Segal (1969), followed by Heirman (2012), and more recently Ziogas & Skempis (2014). This paper examines the figure of Eros as a pervasive natural force, one who holds dominion over all aspects of the inhabited human sphere – from the cultivated *polis* to the wild plains. More specifically, it offers preliminary thoughts as to the Hellenistic relationship of humans to their environment, and reasons for the manifestation of environmental imagery within Classical erotic poetry.

Beginning with Pre-Socratic philosophers of the Milesian, and Orphic traditions, the link between Eros and the environment, as well as the contest of Eros and Eris is made clear; offering a smooth transition into an ecocritically oriented study of Eros within the *Works and Days*, as well as the fragmentary *Astronomia* of Hesiod. Both of these texts show distinct influence of the early Greek philosophical schools, and also are the first to describe aspects of the environment in erotic terms.

The *Phainomena* and *Diosemeia* of Aratus are heavily influenced by the Hesiodic writings. And subsequently discussing select erotic instances from the Aratean corpus, here, further assists in distilling the essence of attraction to cosmic/erotic phenomena for later writers. Due to the sheer popularity of Aratus in the Ancient World, but also due to the thematic nature of Aratean poetry, a study of Aratus offers some insight into the Hellenistic relationship to the environment.

The Wappenmünzen of the Peisistratids

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This paper presents an overview of results from a new study of the earliest coinage of Athens, the Wappenmünzen.

The 1924 study by Charles Seltman study was based on 23 tetradrachms and 105 didrachms alone. It is now out of date, with serious errors in chronology. We have recorded some 871 Wappenmünzen coins of which 528 are obols (plus a few hemiobols). We discuss a new typology and the role of die linking. The Wappenmünzen is typically placed between the third tyranny of Peisistratos and the mid-career of Hippias, or c.545 BC – 517 BC. We examine a recent article by M. Aperghis in which it is argued that the introduction of the owl coinage occurred under Cleisthenes in 508 BC. We briefly outline the very complex evidence from the XRF analysis of some 385 Wappenmunzen coins. To highlight the detail of our research there is a special focus on two groups. Firstly, the controversial electrum fractions of Athens. Colin Kraay did not include them in his 1975 handbook on archaic and classical Greek coinage, and seems to have followed the opinion of E. Babelon that the coins were not in fact Attic. Secondly, the gorgoneion Wappenmünzen issues (c.520-518 BC). These include the first tetradrachms of Athens and we argue that their importance has been concealed by an emphasis on the appearance of the first owl coins.

The Sicilians of Cicero's age: Homogeneity and Local Identity

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This paper will consider the way in which Cicero depicts Sicilians in his prosecution of Verres. It will pay particular attention to the tension that exists between the local identities of Sicilian towns and individuals, and the broader stereotypes required to generalise about the island's population. There has been a flourishing of recent scholarship on the *In Verrem* and the speech's far reaching implications for Roman provincial management and imperialism. Particularly significant are the conference proceedings *Sicilia Nutrix Plebis Romanae* and *La Sicile de Cicéron*, which emphasise how important it is to not accept Cicero's presentation at face value as he played it fast and loose with the facts to mould them to suit his case. Cicero was comfortable fudging the numbers and bamboozling his audience with complex mathematical evidence to mislead or confuse the jurors and took every opportunity to inject emotive arguments into the case: the speech is far from a straightforward account of the legal facts. Recently, attention has also been paid to how Roman provincial administration shaped Sicilian culture, such as the rise of *euergetism* and *gymnasia* as a result of locally drafted garrisons (Prag, J., 2007b: 68-100). Undoubtedly Roman rule influenced Sicilian culture but what has not been thoroughly considered is how Rome viewed Sicilians as a people. This paper will contribute to our understanding of the ways in which Cicero presented the island's inhabitants providing us with valuable perspectives on how the centre of the Empire viewed its first province.

Majestic Monsters: Griffins in the Late Bronze Age Aegean

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Rampant, heraldic, and majestic: these are terms used to describe the griffin in scholarship. But the griffin is also a hybrid animal, monstrous and powerful. In the Bronze Age Aegean the griffin exists in a variety of contexts and on various media. It is most common, however, on seals and sealings, leading to the perception that they were indicative of royalty, divinity, and the administrative elite (Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999, 72, 115). The small size and portability of the seals make their archaeological contexts difficult to determine, thus inhibiting interpretations of their use and meaning. Further complicating the study of griffin iconography is the oft-repeated argument that the Aegean griffin harkens from the Near East (Barclay 2001; Cosmopoulos 1991, 160-163). Yet their imagery differs significantly. This paper will introduce you to the difficulty in relying on previous interpretations and attempt to address the constant regional issues in the depiction of griffins. Finally, I will discuss their role within a wider mythical and socio-political system.

Tarquinius Superbus and the Late Sixth Century

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Tarquinius Superbus is arguably the most well drawn out character of the seven kings of Rome, and the number of sources and details makes it tempting to see truth in the picture. He is traceable in the earliest surviving fragmentary sources, and much more controversially his family appears in the even earlier Tomba François paintings. In the wake of a major international conference in Rome on Tarquinius Superbus, this paper will revisit the methodological issues surrounding the last king of Rome and will seek to give some insights into how we may best understand the phenomenon of kingship at the end of the sixth century, drawing on recent

archaeological evidence from outside Rome, and also from Rome itself. Recent work at S. Omobono and Gabii have opened up questions related to the traditional stories, whilst work on the later sixth century across central Italy has deepened our understanding of an apparently widespread phenomenon of kingship and elite behaviour. The 'age of Tarquinius Superbus' is now an important focus of multidisciplinary debate.

Accommodation for Paul's Entourage

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The team of workers led by Paul could number at least nine, as it did in Troas. We would expect such a large team to be accompanied by slaves, and the evidence of Paul's letters to the Colossians (chap. 4) and to Philemon, written about the same time, strongly suggests that Paul had at least two slaves available to him even when under house arrest in Rome. Like other people of high status Paul relied on having his team accommodated by people who had sizable houses. Those who hosted Paul's entourage included wealthy women like Lydia in Philippi, men such as Mnason of Cyprus who owned a house between Caesarea and Jerusalem, Philip 'the evangelist' who had at least six members of his own family in the house, and the leading man of the island of Melite.

There does not seem to have been any need for strict reciprocity. Rather, well-off people accepted the obligation of hospitality and accommodated Paul's team. Paul may have hosted visitors in Rome, where he paid personally for his accommodation, and elsewhere. The conditions for hosting and being hosted fit the pattern of *xenia* ('guest-friendship' or 'ritualised friendship') in the Greek (and Roman) world.

Julius Caesar in Film

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Films set in the ancient world have sometimes been dismissed as frivolous entertainment, amateur enthusiasm or harmless storytelling by academic historians, unsure how to criticise a genre which on one hand has strong persuasive power and lasting impact, but on the other hand draws heavily on fiction and often admits to dramatic licence. A major aim of this paper is to argue that film portrayals should be taken seriously by academic historians because they frequently support controversial claims to power in the present. Ancient History, then, becomes not a way to establish in pedantic vein how things really happened but a means to moderate unfair or unjust claims for redistributions of power in the present based on poor or distorted renderings of ancient traditions. Receptions of Julius Caesar have been studied in growing breadth and depth in recent years, but there has been no systematic attempt to study portrayals of Caesar in film. Maria Wyke has studied two or three relevant films in her *Julius Caesar in Western Culture* (2006) and *Caesar: A Life in Western Culture* (2008), but there is no chapter on film in (e.g.) Miriam Griffin's *Companion to Julius Caesar* (2009). My aim is to employ a sample of Caesar films, from Enrico Guazzoni's *Caius Julius Caesar* (1914) through sword-and-sandal epics of the 50s and 60s to Asterix films and recent television movies, in order to demonstrate how their depictions of Caesar promote controversial political, social and other agendas.

Citizenship as a Reward or Punishment? Factoring Language into the Latin Settlement

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The Latin Settlement of 338 BCE produced a complex system of governance between Latins, *cives sine suffragio* and full Roman citizens. This paper expands upon the assertion that the degree of a communities' incorporation was based on their knowledge of Latin (Crawford 1992: 37), by questioning the validity of Livy's account of the incorporation of communities, which is presented as the main reason for the rejection of this approach (Howarth 2006: 173). An argument is put forward that the portrayal of imbalance between the forms of status, particularly concerning *civitas* and *civitas sine suffragio*, is a product of Livy's representation of citizenship grants as either a reward or punishment for communities based on the circumstances of their incorporation (Livy 8.14). The inconsistency of Livy's view of citizenship makes it likely that this system of incorporation is heavily influenced by both the Augustan Age and Livy's immediate sources. Given this issue, an attempt is made to reconstruct the inception of Livy's system through an analysis of his sources as well as the motives for its inclusion in his work.

Helen and τὸ κάλλος: The Path to Homeric κλέος

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Τὸ κάλλος is an objective quality that is approbated depending on the context of the person viewed and by the viewers. Konstan (OUP 2015) has argued that the term bridges the gap between beauty and desire. Both Helen and Achilles in Homer are acknowledged for their extraordinary beauty. Helen demonstrates its effect, notably conveyed in (Il.III.156-158) by the comments from the Trojan elders. Achilles is similarly acknowledged for his superlative beauty – (κάλλιστος Il.II.673-4). While τὸ κλέος is a fundamental concept which drives the characters in Homeric epic, the focus in the study of Greek values has largely been on the actions of male individuals and how their actions are viewed by others. Adkins (OUP 1960) focuses on specific qualities culminating in τὸ κλέος, and divides them into two groups, competitive and co-operative. Cairns (OUP 1993) examines ἡ αἰδώς, its cognates and literary and cultural application in Homer. Building upon the concept of how individuals are viewed and thus valued in Homer, this paper seeks to address the fact that τὸ κάλλος, a quality appreciated in and by both men and women, is also a contributing factor in achieving τὸ κλέος. In this, an individual is not involved in any action; he or she is appreciated for physical attractiveness and its contextual effect upon the viewer. Both Helen and Achilles are remembered amongst other attributes for their beauty. Τὸ κάλλος forms a part of how they are remembered, and it is in remembrance that τὸ κλέος is ultimately achieved.

New Heracles or New Moses? George of Pisidia's Classicising Apocalypticism

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This paper examines the trimeter panegyric poetry of George of Pisida, written during the reign of the Emperor Heraclius (r. 610-641 C.E.), as an example of classicizing apocalyptic discourse, a possibility traditionally neglected by modern scholars. George's technically skilled yet decadent style has earned him the reputation as both one of the last great classicising poets and a mere imperial publicist (Whitby 2002, 157). He is noted for his

demonstration of classical and biblical learning, comparing Heraclius's deliverance of the Empire both to Heracles's rescue of Alcestis, and to Daniel's companions in the Babylonian furnace.

George's poetry is a witness to a period of crisis within the Byzantine Empire in which the Sassanid Persians made significant inroads into Byzantine territory. Contemporary literature saw the rise of an apocalyptic discourse which considered events of the period as a shift of divine favour away from the Empire or as a punishment for sin. While many scholars have written on this phenomenon, the notion that apocalyptic literature is, by definition, *Volksliteratur* and excludes so called "elite" literature like court poetry has prevented George from being analysed from this perspective (see Martinez 1985, p. iii). This paper argues that such judgements are anachronistic, and that George's portrayal of Heraclius is best understood as that of an apocalyptic deliverer. This paper limits analysis to two poems, *On Heraclius's Return from Africa* and the *Heracliad*, and in particular his application of classical tropes, such as Heraclius as a new Heracles, to form a unique apocalyptic discourse.

Why is Valerius Flaccus a Quindecimvir?

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At *Argonautica* 1.5-7, it is nearly universally recognised, the poet identifies himself as a *XVvir sacris faciundis* (only F. Spaltenstein, *Commentaire des Argonautica de Valerius Flaccus (livres 1 et 2)* (2002), 26-8 demurs) – an abrupt and unique autobiographical moment in this epic (Barchiesi 2001, 327; cf. Zissos 2008, 81). Valerius goes on to fashion his priestly status as an essential condition for the existence and integrity of the poem that follows. Critics have tended to view Valerius' move exclusively and not unreasonably as an adaptation of the familiar *vates* figure in Latin poetry. But this perhaps too generic interpretation ignores Valerius' specificity as well as the characteristic function of the *XVviri* in Roman civic religion, which lay in the appropriation and management of foreign practices in such a way that they became authentically Roman and yet remained always markedly alien (e.g. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich 1912), 534-49). In this paper I argue that, in his epic, Valerius puts the institution of the *XVviri* to work in order to figure his unique contribution to the *Argonautica* tradition: he is not the first Roman to take up the tale or give it Latin form, but his version, as he signals in the conceit of the quindecimvirate, possesses distinctive authority because he is a poet who understands best how to acculturate Greek epic into the public world of imperial Roman literature. This is a new and yet thoroughly Roman take on the long established *vates* posture.

Polybius and the Ethics of Mass-Violence

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In his *Histories*, Polybius at times passes judgment on the exercise of mass-violence – including declaring acts 'right and fair in accordance with the laws of war' (5.9), or alternatively 'contrary to principle' (1.88.7). This paper explores Polybius' ethics of mass-violence, which appear *prima facie* difficult to delimit (Walbank 1957, 264). Thus, when critiquing Philip's destruction of Thermum, Polybius states that 'good men' ought to make war: not to destroy wrong-doers, but to correct them (5.11.5). Yet, in the same book, Polybius praises an exterminatory war by Prusias against some marauding Gauls (5.111). It is possible to outline key aspects of Polybius' ethics of mass-violence despite these apparent contradictions. First, Polybius considers the nature of the violence important with respect to its nature and whether betrayal is involved. For example, he regards the torture conducted during the Mercenary War (e.g., 1.81) as *παράνομια*. Similarly, Polybius judges harshly the use of treachery, such as that involved in the massacre and expulsion of the citizens of Messene (1.71-4). Second, two

key factors appear when Polybius condones mass-violence: an appropriate motive and the victims' ethnicity. With regard to motive, Polybius insinuates that 'extreme retribution was normally motivated, or at least extenuated by some particular act of deceit or betrayal' (Konstan 2007, 176). With respect to ethnicity, Polybius' ascription to 'barbarians' of **παρὰνομία** traits like excessive violence and treachery (e.g., 3.3.5, 5.111.2: Eckstein 1995, 122) establishes a paradigm for judging violence (is it like that of 'barbarians?') and a potential justification for violence towards 'barbarians'.

A Game of Coins? Economic Implications of the Carausian Mintages

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There are some relatively unexplored economic implications resulting from the prolific mintages of the so-called 'First British Empire' in the late 3rd Century; a topic usually left to political history and numismatics. It is well-established that studies of Carausius are highly dependent on numismatic analyses due to the nature of extant evidence, hence the quintessential summation that he 'exploited coinage as a means to present himself, his regime, and his ideology' (de la Bedoyere 1998:7). Even Casey's (1994) ambitious political history on the 'usurper emperors' is frequently restricted to cautious extrapolations based on mintages, leaving their economic impact somewhat short-changed.

This paper will therefore examine whether the localised circulation of new issues with high precious metal content, an act reminiscent of a past age, may have influenced a boost in regional economic confidence, growth, and trading activity, even if they were initially aimed at meeting military or bureaucratic pay needs. The path to economic analysis of concepts such as inflation and bullion circulation in the Roman economy has been recently boosted by Temin's (2013:82-4) economic thesis on the Roman economy, but his overarching comparative approach is not the objective here. Rather, it will be argued that reconstructions of economic patterns in Britannia will be best served by a combination of extant sources with pertinent principles of economic theory that are situationally transcendent.

Numismatic Evidence in Greek Lexicography: An Unreaped Meadow

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One of the early modern scholarly endeavors to grapple with, and incorporate, critical numismatic material into the emerging discipline of Greek lexicography, was Passow (1831). A century later the pioneering linguistic work by Preisigke and Kießling (1925-1931) also drew on numismatic material, as did the work's revisions and supplements. The serious, scientific, and academic incorporation of numismatic material into historical analysis was significantly impeded by the disparaging comments by A.H.M. Jones who likened their significance to a postage stamp. Although later studies have occasionally drawn on the material evidence of the numismatic record (with some notable exceptions), characteristically this material is neglected in technical discussions of Greek lexicography. Numismatic material has regularly been drawn upon for contributing to our understanding of the iconographic and symbolic world of the ancient Mediterranean, however it is regularly overlooked in terms of its linguistic contribution. The trajectory of this paper explores the implications of the numismatic material for contributions to lexicography, particularly as it pertains to linguistic features of post-classical Greek within the Roman world in the first century CE. This paper will employ dated and geographically legitimate comparative numismatic data to refine, illuminate, and clarify relevant semantic domains.

The Feminine Touch: Aspects of the Role of Women in Ancient Egyptian Society

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Prompted by a person's need to communicate in writing to a recipient at a distance, private letters have been an important source of social and historical information. The personal letters from ancient Egypt can be seen to exemplify the extra insight such correspondence can provide, and are especially valuable in providing knowledge regarding the role and status of women in ancient Egyptian society. This paper will look at a selection of letters covering such aspects as a woman's authority and active participation within both the familial and religious sphere, the responsibilities of a married woman with regard to matrimonial property, the appearance of women in the letters as the reason, or part of the reason, for writing. Also discussed will be the societal status of women that is indicated in the correspondence, the question of literacy and their title and occupation as writer or recipient. Other studies of ancient Egyptian letters have identified and discussed references to women and their role, but within the context of broader topics within specific periods (for example Lesko 1999, 244-254, Sweeney 2001, Janssen 1992, 81-94). This paper, through its research and analysis of letters across a timeframe from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-first Dynasty, will provide a wider ranging study primarily focused on the role of women and show the importance of personal correspondence as a primary source of information regarding women in ancient Egyptian society.

Cave canem: The Use of Watchdogs in Ancient Greece

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This paper will explore the use of watchdogs as part of the defence of the territory of ancient Greek *poleis*. The theme of dogs as guardians frequently appears in Greek mythology, the most famous being the dog Cerberus who watched over the entrance to the underworld. Another example presents itself in the *Odyssey* (Hom. Od. 7.90) when Odysseus, upon arriving at the palace of Alcinous, encountered a pair of deathless watchdogs, one silver, the other gold, forged by the god Hephaestus for the king. The prevalence of dogs as guardians in mythology reflects their importance and widespread use in the Greek world. In this paper, I will provide a comprehensive survey of the surviving literary, epigraphic and material culture, with a specific focus on the inscriptions from the fortifications of Kyrbissos and Rhamnous, to build a picture of how these animals were financed and employed in the defence of the *poleis*. This topic has only received passing treatment in the scholarship, the chief work being E. S Forster's short article which collects many of the sources that describe the use of dogs in ancient warfare. Chaniotis (2005 p. 35; 121; 140) and Ma (2009 p. 344) both make reference to the provision of watchdogs and their food in the context of the public responsibilities and/or the beneficence of private citizens, some who also served as officers. I will argue that watchdogs were frequently used as part of an integrated system of surveillance in fortifications and military encampments.

The Theatricality of Badius' Edition of Terence

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This paper challenges a highly influential view that brands the woodblock illustrations of the 1493 Terence edition by Jodocus Badius Ascensius as completely divorced from Renaissance theatre practice (Lawrenson and Purkis 1964). The question is a fundamental one since Badius' first complete edition of Terence is a turning point

in the history of modern theatre. The woodblock illustrations that enrich the edition are repository of an unbroken tradition of codified gestures that dates back to the Carolingian period and beyond (Dodwell 2000; Dutsch 2007). The Badius Terence also appeared at a time when the revival of Terence in Northern and Central Italy was in full swing. More importantly, Badius' edition had a profound influence in the transmission of Terence; both the detailed commentary and the illustrations were invariably replicated in the multiple editions published in Venice in the following one hundred years. This study engages in a close examination of the woodblock illustrations in combination with Badius' detailed commentary to demonstrate the intrinsic theatricality of this edition. A case in point are the gestures illustrated in the woodblocks, which combine those codified by the manuscript tradition of Terence with novel ones. Such gestures are consistent with the artistic conventions of the early Renaissance and are validated by the prescriptions of Leon Battista Alberti's *On painting*, a treatise that circulated widely in Italy and overseas. The woodblock illustrations and commentary of the Badius Terence intimate a learned synthesis of the scholastic tradition and of Renaissance artistic conventions and cultural norms.

Spartan Responses to Defeat from a Mythical Hysiae to a Very Real Sellasia

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The Spartans had a reputation for winning battles. Yet Thermopylae, the pass where a king and three hundred of the most elite Spartans died, defines Spartan identity. Plenty of Greek precedents allowed for the glorification of defeat, like the destruction of Troy, funeral laments for fallen warriors and a hoplite ideal of standing together shield to shield. Thermopylae became a paradigm of victory in death and created the core Spartan value of no retreat. Some argued that the earliest Spartan defeat, the Battle of Hysiae (Pausanias 2.24.7) usually dated to 669 BCE, created the rigid Spartan *mentalité*. Herodotus (6.65-68) records how defeat at the battle of the Fetters led the Spartans to conquer all Arcadia and (Hdt. 1.82) that of the Champions saw Argos defeated in like fashion. The legacy of these defeats, real or imagined, helped to transform the Spartan state into a military society (Hodkinson 1999).

This paper contends that defeats created an ideology of not retreating (holding onto one's shield at all cost). Despite infamous moments of surrender, at Sphacteria in 425 BCE (Thuc. 4.40), fourth century Spartans died in lost causes. At the Hellespont Anaxibius chose to die with his harmosts (389 BCE), at Leuctra Cleombrotus fell surrounded by his men (371 BCE) and Agis died at Megalopolis (331 BCE). Cleomenes proved the rule. His men died in great numbers at Sellasia (222 BCE), but he escaped and fled to live as a pensioner with Ptolemy, a lesson to us all.

Ovid and Livia: A Close Study of the Portrayal of Livia in Ovid's Exile Poetry

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This paper sets out to examine the roles given to Livia by Ovid, of wife, mother, goddess, priestess and Vestal Virgin, in his exile poetry, *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*, as a reflection of Ovid's view of ideal woman and the Augustan promotion of the imperial family. It will argue that Ovid used the idea of Livia to demonstrate his willingness to work with the imperial family. Flory has demonstrated a connection between these roles of Livia, as a reflection of her role as the promoter of marriage and family (1984, 312-14).

This understanding of Livia's place in the Augustan imperial model allows us to re-examine Ovid's portrayal, which reinforces this image of Livia. Johnson has begun the process of examining the Livia of Ovid's exile,

focusing on Livia's role as model wife (1997, 404) and the tone of Ovid's writing.

While the literary sources on Livia in the ancient world have been mined for historical data, limited work has focused on her appearance as a constructed figure, reflecting the values of the male authors. Pryzwansky (2008) has begun to make progress in this area, examining Suetonius' use of women as a reflection of the character of the emperor with whom they are associated, so that Livia is presented as a good wife, in association with Augustus, and a bad mother, in association with Tiberius (Pryzwansky, 2008, 50). The examination of Ovid's exile poetry will synthesise the arguments and methods of these seminal works in order to present a developed understanding of Ovid's perception of Livia and of her role in the Augustan promotion of the imperial family. In doing so, this paper will argue that Ovid's portrayal of Livia was created to demonstrate his ability to support the imperial ideology.

Donatus' Terence commentary in Renaissance Italy and the edition of Badius

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This paper will discuss the influence and reception of Aelius Donatus' commentary on Terence during the Renaissance, focussing on the edition of Terence's plays by Jodocus Badius of 1493, as well as its revision of 1502. Donatus' works, overlooked for much of the Mediaeval period, were first popularized in Italy in the 1440s, from where nearly all of our manuscripts and editions prior to 1529 derive, but they were only one of a range of competing commentaries, some of which continued to be copied and even printed despite containing egregious errors about the Ancient World. Badius' 1493 edition is most famous for its cycle of illustrations, but also contains in his additional notes on the text many references to Donatus' commentary, frequently suggesting alternatives to Donatus' interpretations. The second (unillustrated) edition begins with a complete rewriting of the introduction to the works and the first scene of *Andria* which draws on a wide range of classical sources, including Donatus, although it then largely reproduces his earlier commentary text (White 2013). Of particular interest for this paper is the question of the manuscript or printed sources for Donatus used by Badius, since we know that Badius at one stage may have possessed an old manuscript of his works (Reeve 1983). More precise definition of this question will allow us to understand better how Badius responded to contemporary developments in Italian scholarship.

The Value of *philorhomaïos* on Royal Coinage of the Late Republic: A Case-Study of Ariobarzanes I of Cappadocia and Tiridates I of Parthia

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It is now generally accepted that interstate *amicitia* as applied by Rome to its relations with various political entities (e.g. kings, city-states) throughout the Mediterranean was an extra-legal relationship (Kaizer/Facella 2010). In recent years, therefore, scholarship has gradually abandoned institutional approaches in favour of research on the manifestation of interstate friendship in various media (overview in Coskun 2008), such as the employment of the title *philorhomaïos* ("friend of the Romans") by dynasts in public documents. Thus far, the focus of such studies has mainly been on individual rulers, e.g. the Commegenian king Antiochus I (Facella 2005). Approaches looking at these dynasts collectively are still missing. Intending to redress this imbalance, my paper will concentrate on the use of the title *philorhomaïos* by the Cappadocian king, Ariobarzanes I, and the Parthian pretender to the throne, Tiridates I, on their royal coinage. I shall demonstrate that these two rulers deviated from the practice of other dynasts in the Eastern Mediterranean who under the influence of Hellenistic examples used epithets such as *philopatris*, *philadelphos*, *eusebes* and *epiphanes*, because unlike

other kings they did not have any strong dynastic links or major (military) successes by which they could legitimize their power. By drawing upon examples of epigraphically attested kings who are identified as *philorhomaïos*, I argue that the use of this epithet by kings on coinage was very much a 'last resort': the friendship with Rome – the only foundation of their power – was converted to stabilize and value their own precarious ruler-identity.

'Isis is a Greek Name': The Hellenization of Isis and Osiris' Cultural Origins in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean

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This paper will investigate the religious assimilation of the Egyptian gods Isis and Osiris into Greco-Roman culture and society. Its objective is to examine how this process affected the perception of their cultural origin and divine status. Although Isis and Osiris continued to be represented as brother-sister spouses, their origin, ancestry and divinity was redefined as a product of Greco-Roman religion (Witt 1971). Scholars have traditionally presented these adaptations as deliberate manipulations motivated by anti-Egyptian sentiment, Greco-Roman ideals, and a disregard for the religious antiquity of 'barbaric' Egypt (Richter 2001; Solmsen 1979). The aim of this paper is to present a more balanced discussion of the Hellenization of Isis and Osiris' origin mythology. It will demonstrate that although the etymology and parentage of Isis and Osiris became ascribed to the Greeks, these changes positively endorsed the Egyptian gods as ancient, regal and wise divinities. As similar epithets were also found in the Egyptian tradition, the re-imagination of Isis and Osiris' origins appears not as a result of anti-Egyptian thought, but their gradual assimilation with Greco-Roman deities such as Zeus and Hera. This paper will also evaluate the demotion of Isis and Osiris to the status of demi-gods, contrasting this denigration with their eventual acceptance into the Greek Pantheon as the rulers and saviours of the barbaric Egyptian people. Through this discussion, this paper aims to rehabilitate Greco-Roman representations of Isis and Osiris' origin and status as important depictions of the god's position and identity in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean.

The Extraordinary Commands of the Roman Republic (217 to 48 BCE): The Rise of the Proconsuls

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That the constitutional positions of Caesar the Dictator, the Triumvirs for Constituting the Republic and, especially, Caesar Augustus were vested in republican precedent is relatively well known but poorly understood. This comparative survey aims to demonstrate that these were largely modelled on historical developments from the last two centuries of the *Res Publica libera*. After producing a concise and evidence-based definition of the concept of *imperium extraordinarium*, we will scrutinize the emergence and evolution of the so-called extraordinary commands of the Roman Republic. This will take us from the outbreak of the Second Punic War all the way to the battle of Pharsalia, covering some two centuries of incremental political turbulence and (often ignored) historic precedents. This reconstruction will map out consequential developments in the administration of the sprawling republican empire and highlight how the rise of the proconsul would eventually eclipse the traditional consulship as the cornerstone of power in the Roman polity, resulting in the replacement of democratic oligarchy by statutory monarchy.

The Invisible Empresses of Diocletian: The Exclusion of Imperial Women in the Late Third and Early Fourth Centuries

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The Tetrarchy established by Diocletian is much discussed with regard to collegiality, abdication and the rejection of hereditary succession. Much less discussed is the fact that none of the imperial women were celebrated in coinage, official epigraphy or surviving panegyrics from the beginning of Diocletian's reign in 284 until 307, following his abdication.

I argue that the exclusion of imperial women had its roots prior to the Tetrarchy, when anxieties over women in power and the military ethos of the 'barracks emperors' contributed to a decline in the official honouring of empresses. I then propose that Diocletian continued the exclusion of women into the Tetrarchic years to help establish the ideological groundwork for the exclusion of sons from the succession.

Using coins, inscriptions and literary sources, I produce a survey of the honouring of imperial women that takes into account the third century as a whole. In doing so, I establish that there were regimes that served as forerunners for the exclusion of women. I then analyse and compare the historical contexts for these regimes and for the Tetrarchy, demonstrating that the reasons for exclusion changed over time. My conclusions are in contrast to Seston (1946, p. 218), Kolb (1987, pp. 93-94) and Hekster (2015, pp. 282-283), who do not take account of possible forerunners, and who, in the case of Seston and Kolb, view the exclusion in terms of Tetrarchic theology. In dealing with this topic, I present a neglected aspect of how emperorship changed during this period.

The Curious Conventionality of Catullus

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This paper argues that Catullus' rebellious self-characterisation does not so much reject as reinvent links with existing elite identities. The dissident persona of the Catullan lover is born of profound socio-political disintegration in the early first century BCE. For young, elite Roman men, traditional means for gaining status were increasingly failing; conventional social groupings were beginning to see shifts in allegiances (Johnson 2009). Catullus reflects these changes by presenting a character obsessed with his betrayal by those from whom he expected utmost loyalty – a character that, in response, outwardly eschews group identification for an obsessive focus on the self. In his willing abjection and emotional dependence, Catullus seemingly inverts the value of Roman *virtus*; his relentless self-focus places him at odds with the duties of service expected of Romans to family and state.

Catullus' fractured persona has recently been viewed through a frame of Roman gender identity, where 'Catullus' seems to seek dissociation from – or to parody – masculine norms (Wray 2001, *multa inter alia*). This paper argues instead that the inverted posturing of the Catullan lover in fact reimagines the traditional identities from which 'Catullus' notionally seeks to exclude himself. Uden 2011 has already shown how Catullan language serves to signal inclusion within certain elite social groups. By exploring lesser-known corners of the Catullan corpus, this paper will present Catullus certainly as a radical product of his time – but equally, as a figure whose disaffection masks a curiously conventional manner.

Revisiting ὄρνιθειον in the Columns I-VI of the Derveni Papyrus

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The Study of the Derveni Papyrus (Henceforth *P.Derv.*) is a vital, ongoing process that we wish to foster. (Papadopoulou and Muellner 2014) In this paper, I intend to discuss within 20 minutes the ritual practices in the Columns I-VI (three are severely damaged by fire) of *P.Derv.*, and to propose a few suggestions regarding ὄρνιθειον issue in column II 7 and in column VI 11.

If Papadopoulou and Muellner 2014 are correct that, we read ὄρνιθειον in column II 7 and in column VI 11 ὄρνιθειον, I will suggest that, ὄρνιθειον/ὄρνιθειον in the Columns I-VI would probably denote a certain kind of libation facility rather than votive offerings, which has shown by Betegh 2004 ('birdlike', or sacrificial cakes shaped like birds) and Kourenmeos, Th. Parássoglou, G. M. and Tsantsanoglou, K. eds. 2006. (bird), or as Alberto Bernabé argues, releasing a little bird from a cage (updated in Papadopoulou and Muellner 2014).

Using two archaeological evidence from The Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, MD, USA), Swan-shaped wine strainer and ladle, dated late 4th-3rd century B.C. from Kavalla, (Thessaly?), I will suggest that, the ritual practices in the Columns I-VI of *P.Derv.* focusing mainly on libation.

I hope that the above-mentioned hypothesis will be of some value to the contemporary debates of the ὄρνιθειον/ὄρνιθειον problem and better understanding of the Columns I-VI of *P.Derv.*

The Brutalities of Ancient Amatory Magic: Real or Illusory?

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Ever since the publication J. J. Winkler's *The Constraints of Desire* (1990) it has become standard doctrine among specialists on Greco-Roman magic that the often startlingly violent physical and psychic sufferings invoked in the so-called *Greek Magical Papyri* upon the targets of love spells betray the emotional agonies experienced by individuals who are in the grip of a passion against which they are helpless, and which compromises their sense of personal autonomy: feelings which, the latter, in an act of therapeutic transference, project back onto the love-object responsible for inspiring these intense pangs of unreciprocated *eros*. In other words, the authors of such spells are essentially focussed on their own emotional catharsis and have no intention of inflicting actual bodily harm upon the authors of their passion. This paper will argue that such an approach, which has gone largely unchallenged, is both ahistorical and unsustainable in the face of documentary evidence. It will advance a number of arguments, invoking both the *PMG* and recently discovered *defixiones*, to show why this is so.

Julius Martialis and the Nature of True Friendship

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The poet Martial offers an unusually large amount of biographical information, both about himself and the many named friends and patrons whose existence there is no cause to question (as opposed to clearly fictitious individuals). In the past, such information tended to be accepted at face value, a tendency called into question in recent years - at least in relation to Martial's own self-portrayal - when scholarly discussion has focused on

Martial's poetic *persona* and the extent to which, if any, this corresponds to factual reality. Less attention has been paid, however, to his friends and patrons, though Sven Lorenz (2002), in an important work on Martial and his most illustrious patron, Domitian, demonstrated that the emperor of the epigrams is as much a literary construct as is Martial himself. In this paper, I will use a similar approach in discussing the case of Julius Martialis, Martial's dearest friend, discussion of whom has been centred on the question of whether he provided the poet with financial support (Kleijwegt 273-6, Nauta 72-3). My focus will be not so much on the relationship between the real Martialis and his depiction in Martial - something that is ultimately unknowable - but rather on how his character is developed by Martial over the course of the twelve books, and in particular how Martial exploits the interaction of the two 'personae' - his own, and that of Julius Martialis - as a means of exploring the nature of true friendship.

Power Landscapes: The Ara Pacis Augustae in First Century CE Rome

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The Ara Pacis Augustae epitomized the beneficence of Augustan rule. This paper will demonstrate that its importance did not, however, come to an end with the death of the *princeps*. This erroneous interpretation, most recently promulgated by Joseph Geiger (Geiger, 2008, 69), has only recently begun to be countered by Duncan Fishwick (Fishwick, 2010, 252) and others. Applying theories of reception and social context called for by Peter Stewart (Stewart, 2008, 108-131) in revisions of Roman visual culture reveals that the Ara Pacis possessed a unique capacity for parallel structure of meaning. Understood within an acceptable framework of *pietas*, this secured for the post-Augustan altar a new status. At a crucial time for the newly formed principate system, the altar was a transferrable ideological device of justified *potestas*. A series of imperial *arae* and *templa*, typologically and ideologically aligned with the Ara Pacis, created a landscape of power. This paper will focus on the unification of key Julio-Claudian and Flavian examples - the Arae Providentia, Pietatis, and Gentis Augustae and the Templum Pacis - to illustrate the political function of the conceptual Ara Pacis. At the close of the first century CE, the Ara Pacis was at the nexus of a cult network that conveyed divinely legitimized imperium throughout the Empire.

The Virtuous Marcus Antonius

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Of all his biographies, Plutarch's *Life of Antonius* perhaps highlights best his intention to illustrate the Platonic maxim that 'great natures produce great vices as well as virtues' (Pelling 1988). Indeed, all extant sources are given to dwelling on Antonius' failings and how they undermined 'a noble and brilliant nature' (*ibid*).

Can we recover anything of what Antonius himself said about his virtues and the role they played in his public persona? In 2008, Stone demonstrated the extent to which Cicero shaped the moral framework of the *Philippics* around the four cardinal virtues not only because he was engaged in writing *De Officiis* at much the same time but because Antonius had begun to claim them for himself. In other words, Antonius created the agenda and Cicero responded.

My paper applies this approach to what was said about Antonius by other authors, Plutarch and Dio in particular. I argue that his connection to the cardinal virtues, along with others, extends well into the long decade after Cicero's death, suggesting not only that Stone was right but that Antonius continued to develop the theme. Rather than the noble but flawed character from antiquity or the naïve and beset soldier-statesman

created by Syme, I propose that Antonius more often than not set the terms by which his enemies attempted their character assassination and that ethical qualities were part of the mix. If that is the case then Antonius' enemies can tell us much more about Antonius than they wanted us to know.

Reading Exempla: The Purpose of Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia*

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Written during the reign of Tiberius, Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia* is the only extant Latin collection of *exempla*, thematically arranged anecdotes representing virtues and vices central to Roman ethical thought. However, despite the work's obvious ethical focus, Valerius' actual literary intentions remain open for debate. Since almost all of his anecdotes and episodes are taken from earlier Greek and Roman sources, it would be easy to dismiss the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* as a type of morally charged 'Reader's Digest' for upper-class Romans or as a mere sourcebook for orators and declaimers, both ideas which have repeatedly been suggested. At the same time, however, the work appears to follow its own literary agenda, as the external material has been reworked, categorised, and commented on by Valerius. The aim of this paper is, therefore, to explore the literary intentions that underlie the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* and to examine for what purpose(s) such an extensive collection of *exempla* would have been compiled. In order to narrow this undertaking down to a manageable scope, the paper will focus predominantly on Valerius' few direct statements of intent, whose meaning and relevance will be analysed and evaluated within the larger literary, ethical, and political context of the early Principate. As a result, not only will the literary agenda of the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* become more palpable, but also the socio-political value of the *exempla* 'genre' in general will be highlighted.

Epizelos Interrupted: Herodotos and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

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Herodotos 6.117, which describes the spontaneous blindness of a Greek soldier (Epizelos) at the battle of Marathon, has commonly been used as a definitive example of PTSD in antiquity by academics and the general public alike (c.f. Tritle [2000, 63-65]). I aim to disprove this commonly accepted hypothesis, which has increasingly become dogma and overshadows far more convincing accounts of PTSD in antiquity (see Melchior, 2011).

Typically, Epizelos has been retrospectively diagnosed with PTSD-induced hysterical blindness. This terminology is now dated: the symptoms of 'hysterical blindness' would now be described as a conversion disorder or hysterical conversion. An example of this line of argument is King (2001), who argues that this provides an explanation for the continuing nature of Epizelos' condition, primarily based on a supposed intersection between conversion disorder and gender-specific anxieties that socially obliged Epizelos to remain blind. However, the long-term nature of Epizelos' blindness makes this a rather implausible explanation for Herodotos' account—conversion disorders do not last for more than a year in the most of extreme modern cases.

Instead of retrospectively diagnosing Epizelos with PTSD-induced hysterical blindness or a conversion disorder, both highly debateable conditions, I argue that we should be looking to physiological explanations for this story (such as a stroke, brain tumour or severe vitreous haemorrhage). I also offer explanations for the divine element of Herodotos' account, which is most likely a retroactive religious explanation. In this way, I will arrive at more probable explanations for Herodotos' account of Epizelos' blindness.

Seneca's Prefaces to *De Beneficiis* Books 5, 6 & 7

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Somewhat bizarrely for so self-conscious and rhetorically astute an author, Seneca prefaces each of these Books with a discouragement to the reader. The content of Books 5 to 7, according to their prefaces, is of little value and barely worth the time it will take to read them.

The *De Beneficiis* is the longest and least accessible of Seneca's extant 'Dialogues', containing passages of highly technical argumentation, especially in the last three of the seven Books. Recent publications, above all by Inwood (2008) and Griffin (2013), have revived interest in the work and contributed greatly to a new appreciation of its philosophical qualities. Modern scholarship, though, has been obliged to sideline and minimise the prefaces to Books 5-7, removing them from playing any role in the meaning of the works they introduce, for the obvious reason that they disparage and reject the very type of philosophical discourse the scholarship sets out to rehabilitate and commend. This paper will attempt to show that the prefaces are essential to both the structure of the *De Beneficiis* and Seneca's social and philosophical message. Some issues that will be addressed will include the changing role across the whole work of the addressee, Aebutius Liberalis; the two speeches Seneca puts into the mouth of the Cynic Demetrius in Book 7; and foreshadowings in Books 1 to 4 of the theme of the later prefaces to Books 5, 6 & 7.

The Struggle for Subjectivity: Cicero, *novitas*, the Senatorial Elite and Saving the Republic

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With particular focus on the *Pro Caelio* and the *In Pisonem*, this paper examines the paradoxical relationship between collective and individual identity in the works of Cicero. It argues that the tension between these two spheres of identification is indicative of a broader tension between his philosophical view that individuals can positively impact the republic through the maintenance of the *mos maiorum* and his representation of contemporary aristocrats such as the Clodii and Piso as immoral. In contrast, Cicero, the *novus homo*, uses his collective identity as a *novitas* to construct himself as the saviour of the *maiores* and thus as the saviour of the collective ethical ideal created by Rome's aristocratic ancestors. In this way, Cicero's subjectivity is paradoxically underpinned by the senatorial ideals that he seeks to redefine.

The impact of Cicero's status as a *novus homo* on his self-representation has been examined by van der Blom (2010), who has shown that Cicero overcame his *novitas* by using historical and personal exempla. Dugan (2005, 7) has suggested that his *novus homo* status impacted on 'his theoretical elaboration of the process of self-fashioning in the *De officiis*'. Other studies have focused on Cicero's view of an ethical individual in *De officiis*, with Hill (2004, 71) suggesting that his four-*persona* theory constructs individuals only in terms of their social position. This paper builds on these previous studies to more clearly understand the relationship between Cicero's self-representation in his rhetorical texts and his theoretical discussion of identity in *De officiis*.

Augustine on the Platonists and Creation

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Many twentieth century Catholic scholars have claimed that the idea of creation is the unique contribution of Christianity to philosophy and stands in sharp opposition to the pagan understanding of the relationship between God and the world (Gilson, 1936). The polemical attacks of some Church Fathers against various tenets of Platonic cosmology, such as preexistent matter and the eternity of the world, would seem to vindicate this claim. However, some Augustine scholars (Drecoll, 2012; House, 1983) have noted that Augustine of Hippo understands Platonism and Christianity to be in essential harmony in their conception of God as the creator, the Truth, and the last end of man. While the sources of Augustine's Platonism (Regan, 1983) and Augustine's understanding of Christianity as the fulfilment of pagan philosophy (Madec, 1981) have been extensively studied, there has been, to my knowledge, no detailed study of the understanding of creation that Augustine attributes to the Platonists.

This paper will argue that Augustine judged Plato to have been essentially correct about the nature of God as Being itself and the creator of all things visible and invisible. Through a sympathetic reading of the *Timaeus*, Augustine presents Plato as holding that God freely created the world in time, but erred in the doctrine of instrumental creation, that some creatures were used to make others. The *City of God* will be the main text studied, but some comparisons to Augustine's evaluations of the Platonists in other works will also be made.