ASCS 42: Abstracts

Panel 1: Unpleasantness in Cicero's Moral Philosophy

The first-century-BCE Roman politician and philosopher Marcus Tullius Cicero drew philosophical lessons not only from earlier writers but from his own experience of Roman politics and aristocratic social life. This panel of three papers explores Cicero's letters and philosophical works, examining the Roman orator's ideas of how people should conduct themselves. Each paper considers a different aspect of interpersonal relations and social custom, and what they teach Cicero (and us) about philosophy.

1. Jon Hall: Curio's Unpleasant Conversation with Cicero (*Att.* 10.4)

In April 49 BCE, Scribonius Curio paid Cicero a visit at his villa in Cumae (*Att.* 10.4.7-10). Cicero expresses to Atticus his repugnance at the encounter (*o rem foedam!*). In this paper, I examine Cicero's account in order to identify the aspects of appropriate conversation that Curio contravened. This kind of analysis, I suggest, can provide useful insights into the norms of Roman elite interaction.

Cicero identifies explicitly one of Curio's flaws: the man held nothing back (*nihil occultabat*). The observation implies that speakers should exercise a degree of restraint in subject matter. Curio, however, bluntly itemized a number of Caesar's aggressive political goals, including seizure of the Spanish provinces and destruction on a massive scale. These were topics likely to cause emotional distress to many contemporaries. But Cicero's irritation also seems to have extended to Curio's phrasing. His summary suggests that Curio used a number of extreme expressions and spoke with an annoyingly assertive self-confidence. And when challenged by Cicero regarding his unconventional use of six *fasces*, Curio responded with blustering bravado ("I could have had twelve").

These flaws match some of the conversational vices that Cicero identifies more generally at *De Oratore* 2.17, where he criticizes speakers who talk too much (*plura loquitur*); or boast about their accomplishments (*se ostentat*); or are generally "too much" (*multus*). Overall, Curio provides a valuable example of a well educated aristocrat who – in Cicero's eyes – fell short of the social manners expected of truly sophisticated individuals.

2. Sean McConnell: Cicero against the Cynics

In his discussion of *decorum* in *De officiis* Cicero supposes that most people would agree to the general principle that in our speech, bodily deportment, and actions we should avoid giving offense to others and should avoid generating feelings of disgust or revulsion. This is because we possess a sense of shame or *verecundia*. The particular details that Cicero provides appear to be very culture-specific: social customs and conventions largely set the parameters of *verecundia*, and we do well to follow them. Cicero also admits that philosophical figures often flout established social customs and conventions, noting in particular the Cynics (1.148). He then sets out a bold thesis: 'The reasoning of the Cynics must be rejected absolutely; for it is inimical to a sense of shame (*verecundia*), without which nothing can be upright (*rectum*), nothing honourable (*honestum*)'. For the Cynics, *verecundia* is not natural but a result of social conditioning; hence we are justified in flouting social customs

and conventions. Cicero develops a counter-argument: the source of shame or *verecundia* is indeed natural, and on that basis established social customs and conventions gain their moral value and significance (the *rectum* and *honestum* bit). In this paper I explore his argument for this thesis (which appears at 1.126ff.).

3. Han Baltussen: Cicero on unpleasant emotions and social interaction: a look at *Tusculans* and the *Letters*

In this paper I want to suggest that we can exploit Cicero's analysis of emotions for a better understanding of how he himself viewed 'unpleasant emotions', in particular with regard to social interactions. Books 3–4 of his *Tusculans* have been described as "a self-contained treatise on the nature and management of human emotion" (Graver 2002, vii). The work has been used not only to assess his ideas on the topic but also to reconstruct the ideas of earlier schools (esp. Stoics), which he either criticises or draws on. But when we ask whether his theoretical approach to the emotions based on historical sources reveals anything about his own emotional states, an answer is not easily forthcoming. In the case of grief, scholars have shown that the philosophical discussion hides personal suffering, which can in part be supported by his correspondence (Graver; Hutchinson ch.3). Extending this line of research, I will argue that other unpleasant emotions (such as fear, embarrasment, distress) can be viewed in the light of personal experience if we combine the *Tusculans* with the evidence from the letters, since the two types of writing often reinforce each other. As a result, we will be in a position to judge his own ideas through a 'personalised reading' of both private and public documents.

Panel 2: Kings and Queen (Bees): Current Research in Egyptology

This panel presents research on Egyptian history, culture, and archaeology from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period. A range of areas and approaches is highlighted, from the biographies and shabtis of kings to hives of activity, whether military or apiary. Papers present literary, historical, and archaeological approaches to Egypt in a range of periods, and illustrate the breadth of work in Australasia on ancient Egypt. Kings and queens are the focus, whether human or apid—from storytelling in instruction literature and the interplay between royal titles and apiculture, to the waxing and waning of Egyptian power in the Levant, and the role of shabtis in Napatan royal burials.

1. Susan Thorpe: The incident of the king who died in the night: an instructional story

In Egypt, during the period of the Middle Kingdom (c.2040-1991BC), a genre of writing emerged known as Instruction literature. In this example – the *Instruction of King Amenemhat* – an assassinated king, seemingly from beyond the grave – is advising and instructing his successor son. This story of his assassination provides the framework for revealing not only the concepts inherent in the Egyptian code for right behaviour – Ma'at – but also the responsibility of the king to exemplify this and maintain societal order out of the world's natural tendency to chaos. Additionally, an underlying element of political propaganda can be detected. This paper looks at discussion points that have arisen owing to ambiguities in language and translation. It discusses the way in which the writing conveys its messages by utilizing this scenario

of a king's fallibility in being unable to maintain order at a personal level and allowing himself to be assassinated. It shows how the template of "storytelling" has been used to create a text designed to fulfil a more serious purpose – the story as instruction.

2. Michael Hitches: To Bee or not to Bee: An Investigation into the *nsw.bity* Title and the Egyptian Understanding of Apiculture.

Through an analysis of Egypt's earliest periods of history to the waning years of the Middle Kingdom, the hieroglyphic representation of the honey bee went through remarkable anatomical transformation. Recent examination into the evolution of the hieroglyphs has shed new light into not only the symbolic attributes of the bee in relation to titles, but also into the scope of ancient bee-keeping practices and associated hive knowledge. Contrasting a recent academic hypothesis which dismisses the insect as an amalgamation of bee, wasp and hornet, this paper examines the anatomical discrepancies of the hieroglyph that lead to its identification as the queen bee. By identifying the hieroglyph as a clear anatomically correct depiction of a queen bee, our understanding of Egyptian kingship and the ancient world's connectivity with apiculture is forever changed. Using not only personal examinations of hive structure and bee anatomy, the paper also draws upon the works of leading entomologists in combination with archaeological data that allows for significant research in this area. By gaining a greater insight into the ancient Egyptians' association with the honey bee and their subsequent agricultural use, this research lays the groundwork for further developing research in relation to issues of honey bee decline within the modern world.

3. Stuart Ibrahim: Iron Age I-II Raphia and Egypt's Response to the Changed Political Spectrum in the Levant

I analyse the fate of the northern Sinai / southern Levant Egyptian fortresses ending at Gaza (the Ways of Horus) between the BA collapse and the Levantine campaign of Shoshenq I (c. 924 BC), primarily using the TIP Bubastis Portal temple relief at Karnak, contemporaneous archaeological and textual evidence in the region, and an in-depth timeline to provide an alternative perspective.

The limited textual and archaeological evidence, the Medinet Habu Battle relief and Papyrus Harris, dated to the 20th Dynasty reigns of Ramesses III and IV, show that this fortress chain lasted until after Ramesses VI. The 21st Dynasty Papyrus Golenischeff and the archaeological evidence confirm that two to four sites survived in the eastern Nile Delta, while other cultural groups resettled the remaining sites in the southern Levant. Which cultural groups are present here, though, is not yet established. The archaeological evidence confirms that the Philistines, Canaanites, and Israelites had varying degrees of influence in this region, with part of my analysis partially ascertaining how best to interpret the limited evidence available.

After consolidating his power, the first Libyan king of Egypt, Shoshenq I (22nd Dynasty), captured the remaining "Ways of Horus" sites (including Rafa). Based on my analysis of the Bubastis Portal, I argue that he then launched a three-pronged attack against Israel, Judah, the Transjordan and the Negev and imposed vassal status on these regions. Thus, he briefly revived the Egyptian Empire but also paved the way for Neo-Assyria once the region fell back into infighting.

4. Elizabeth Eltze: Worker, Warden, or Whatnot? Amannote-erike's shabti in consideration

Within ancient Egyptian burials, evidence of shabti figurines exists from at least the Fifth Dynasty (*circa* 2494-2345 B.C.E.). By the later stages of ancient Egyptian history, shabtis were a practically ubiquitous part of the burial of any individual who could afford them. This burial tradition eventually made its way south, to Egypt's neighbour and rival, Nubia. Traditionally, Egyptologists have considered shabtis to represent "worker" figures; figurines decorated with a spell that would magically bring them to life to enact duties on behalf of their owner in the afterlife. However, current research indicates that evidence in the Nubian burial context shows that shabtis may have been considered to embody a different function to their role in the ancient Egyptian context. Balanda in particular has made great strides in reassessing the role of the shabti in royal Napatan-period burials. The Napatan king Amannote-erike ruled Kush/Nubia for 25 years in the late fifth century B.C.E. (*circa* 431-405 B.C.E.). Textual evidence and physical evidence of his reign is rare. In this paper, one of the most significant items of Amannote-erike's scanty, extant burial assemblage – namely his only currently existing shabti – is presented and assessed in light of traditional Egyptological considerations, and in light of Balanda's arguments and of other recent research.

Panel 3: Politics, poetry and insults in late antiquity

This panel brings together four papers, all of which deal with aspects of late antique politics and/or cultural history. The explore a range of different courses, including panegyrics, poetry, historical texts and coins, looking at how these convey ideals of behaviour, through both positive modelling and negative stereotyping.

1. Byron Waldron: 'A tale of two princes: Constantine and Maxentius before 306'

It is often argued that, during the First Tetrarchy (AD 293-305), the imperial princes Constantine and Maxentius were being groomed for the succession. Diocletian apparently considered their co-option a given, but he was then manipulated by his Caesar Galerius into rejecting them as candidates. The Christian rhetorician Lactantius offered this image as early as 314/5 in the polemical pamphlet *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, and it has since influenced numerous scholars (e.g. Barnes 2011). However, if we carefully consider what is reported about the early lives of Constantine and Maxentius, the picture is far from tidy.

This paper considers how histories, panegyrics and inscriptions present this period of their lives, and pays close attention to how the lives of Constantine and Maxentius differed, expanding on the work of Leadbetter (2009) and Potter (2013). It argues that Maxentius received more privileged treatment than Constantine, but that neither clearly appear to have been heirs apparent. Rather, one can detect in the treatment of both princes concerns for collegial harmony, a desire to foster loyalty to the regime, and perhaps even tensions over competing succession plans.

2. Nova Wood: Nicknames, name-calling, quips and quirks: the forgotten side of late antiquity

Late Antiquity is rarely associated with humour and Late antiquarians tend to focus on well-documented endemic warfare, the rise of religious violence, and disease after

the collapse of the Severan dynasty. Less studied are the brief allusions to 'soft' topics like nicknames and name-calling, emperors talking about other emperors, or to the personal quirks that would make our understanding of late antique figures more complete. Recent publications on popular culture and nicknames and naming habits focus primarily on Classical Greece and the Imperial Period, not on Late Antiquity.

This paper represents a current project on compiling these brief references that have so far escaped notice. 'Soft' topics can give us vital clues into personality, social constructs, and relationships that are largely absent in traditional narratives. Ammianus' odd aside about the Emperor Constantius II's complete aversion to fruit gives modern historians a more mundane view found nowhere else of the otherwise infamously paranoid emperor. Constantine I's quip about Trajan's propensity for monuments tells us about ways in which late antique emperors engaged with history as well as Constantine I's humour. While there is much scholarship about the use of invective in the rise of religious violence, there is far less discussion about invective, name-calling, or nicknames outside of discussions of rhetoric or imperial naming conventions. Byzantine official Theodotus' inexplicable nickname, "Pumpkin", can give us potential insight into nicknames outside of imperially-sanctioned nomenclature. Far from being 'soft' topics', this kind of unofficial information brings greater dimensionality to an often under-documented period.

3. Helen Wyeth: Diverse enemies: re-examining the vices in Prudentius' *Psychomachia*

Prudentius' treatment of identity in the Psychomachia relied on the idea that there were different degrees of Otherness. The Vices were not a homogenous group and the degree of difference between the Virtues (the Self) and the Vices (the Others) varied. The narrative of the Psychomachia developed the Vices as a series of Others, spanning from distant to proximate, as the poem progressed, where proximate Others shared more similarities with the Self than distant Others.

Kahlos employed the proximate/distant Other framework in her discussion of the different levels of Otherness and the model provides a new understanding for the Vices' identities. Nugent previously established the complexities of the Vices' identities in response to the simple binary between Vice and Virtue of traditional readings. These traditional readings of the Psychomachia over-simplified the poem's narrative and the Vices' identities. These readings were based on rigid dualism, which saw good pitched against bad. To date, readings of the Psychomachia have focussed on either the variety or the binary. However, I argue that the individual and disparate identities of the Vices and their relationship to their Virtues indeed combined the two concepts through the idea of the distant and proximate Other. The spectrum of Otherness adheres to the idea of a dichotomy and the diversity in the Psychomachia. This new reading of the Psychomachia allows us to better understand how Prudentius explored Christian-Roman identity through opposition as a means of self-expression and how the epic poem functioned as an interiorisation the contemporary barbarian conflicts.

4. Christian Cuello: Minting Victory: symbols of authority, legitimacy and power in the barbarian coinage of Late Antiquity

The deposition of the Western Emperor in the 5th century gave rise to the 'post-Roman' kingdoms of the Goths, Franks and others: in short, the barbarians. But how 'barbaric' were these kingdoms? Contemporary sources attest to the survival and

adaptability of Imperial Roman institutions, titles and values. The ubiquity of the image of the Eastern Emperor on coinage suggests ongoing and mutually beneficial relationships between the Western kingdoms and the Imperial (Byzantine) court in Constantinople.

This paper explores of how authority, legitimacy and power were maintained by barbarian kings on a local level as well as a pan-Mediterranean one: specifically, the production of coinage by these kings which seemingly 'imitates' Roman currency. Specifically of interest are the issues on which a subtle, yet distinctive, monogram appears: a •T•. Who does it belong to, and why is it there?

While these coins represent a relatively small portion of the known coinage of the period, it is potentially more significant than previously thought. Contemporary evidence, such as coin hoards, provides insights into the moments of interaction where such symbols conveyed their intended meaning. By considering the broader experience and fluency of Imperial symbols of the barbarian kings, and how they were deployed to maintain (or subvert) Imperial authority, barbarian coinage signals a departure from 'imitation' (and its negative connotations) towards agency and intention in leadership during a period of significant transition.

Panel 4: Professional Women of the Ancient World (AWAWS Panel)

'A woman's work is never done,' whether in a Postmodern Pandemic, 1950s Australia or Classical Antiquity. What was that work, however, and when was it considered a 'profession' or even 'work' in Antiquity (by the worker, her family, and/or her society)? Recent research is casting new light on paid and unpaid work that ancient women undertook outside of the household *oikos*, *domus* or villa context in the ancient Mediterranean world. The 10th muse Sappho continues to attract attention (and somehow publish new work!), as do her lesser-known sisters of the lyre and pen like Erinna, Anyte or Sulpicia (1). The 'working women' of the oldest profession gain renewed notoriety, whether Aspasia as the 'secret' muse of Socrates and originator of western philosophy in Classical Athens (2), or the mostly-anonymous sex workers of Pompeii (2). Even in arts and crafts, we are slowly recognizing the 'mass production' of garland weavers, wool-workers (4), or female potters like the potential creator of the Dipylon Amphora (5). Major challenges to this sort of scholarship remain, however, not only in the extant literary and archaeological evidence, but also in the unpacking of historic and contemporary gender (and other) biases and stereotypes, value-judgments and judgments of value. Ancient and modern definitions of 'working women' were, and are, neither static nor uniform, but worthy of study and questioning, whether of their professionalisation and the earning of wages, their public and private spheres, or across all the disparate categories of paid, unpaid and servile labor, *labor*, *douleia, scholê* or *neg(otium)* of ancient Greece and Rome.

1. Marnie Feneley: Women, Work and Power in Early Cambodia

Michael Vickery, in his 1998 book *Society, economics and politics in pre-Angkor Cambodia: 7th - 8th centuries*, pointed out the strong matrilineal nature of the elite of Angkor. We do know that in pre-Angkorian times societies based around the Mekong Delta worshipped the fierce and violent goddess Durga, and that some remnant of goddess worship, perhaps linked to ancestral cults and animist beliefs, has remained prevalent throughout history. However, how do we trace the non-elite women of early

Cambodia and identify their daily work, and spiritual beliefs? Recent studies on the old Khmer language corpus found verso on many of the stone slabs of Sanskrit epigraphy, tell the stories of slaves and workers. These lists and legal documents may help to identify the role of women and work in pre-Angkorean times. The bas-reliefs of Angkor tell us something of that role moving forwards, as does the first hand record of the 13th century Chinese traveller Zhou Daguan.

2. Caitlin McMenamin: Professional Poisoners of Ancient Rome

This paper explores women's work involving poison in ancient Rome. It investigates the extent to which the work of these practitioners influenced the stereotype of the female poisoner in Latin literature. The gendered prejudices at the heart of the stereotype have been well noted: Sarah Currie (1998) has illustrated the misogynist basis of the female poisoner link by demonstrating the way poisoning was viewed as a crime of unchastity in Rome. The hostile representation of female medical professionals using poisons in their work has also been observed; Ripat (2016) has recognised that the hostile depiction of female physicians in ancient Rome was related to stigmas surrounding the use of homeopathic methods. Similarly, Felton (2016) has underscored the association between the use of abortifacients by female physicians and the characterisation of witches in Roman literature. However, the influence of work performed by women on the prominent tradition of the female poisoner deserves further consideration. I shall argue that the woman-poison link was partly related to the special knowledge of poisonous substances held by women who used them in their work. This includes women who had domestic knowledge of poisons, women who administered abortions, cosmeticians, and paid poisoners, as revealed by a close analysis of key literature including the poetry of Horace and Ovid, the *Natural History* of Pliny, and the *Annals* of Tacitus. The result is the further illumination of how attitudes towards women and their expected roles within society influenced the representations of their work in Latin literature.

3. Jacqueline Webber: 'No Man's Land': Working Women in Roman Spain

The role of the everyday working Roman in his or her community has attracted an increasing amount of interest in the last fifty years. Although literary accounts tend to satirise, marginalise, or ignore these individuals, it has become clear through archaeological and material evidence that working men and women made up a significant proportion, if not the majority, of urban populations (1). Working women, generally speaking, have been identified most often with domestic services and textile production in Rome. In addition, their role in occupational contexts has been considered as less active than that of working men (2). Although working women may not appear as frequently, their decreased visibility does not necessarily mean that the working roles of women were any lesser in extent than those of men. Furthermore, there is limited research on occupations of women in the Roman provinces, as the evidence is typically minimal (3).

Some inscriptions, however, can provide some clues about working women in their communities. This paper will explore the ways in which working women, free or servile, were represented on a small number of inscriptions from Roman Spain in the first three centuries CE. By focussing on inscriptions which represent *sarcinatrices* ('hairdressers'), *linterariae* ('weavers'), and *nutrices* ('wet-nurses') in Spanish communities, this paper aims to provide a small insight into how working women

could be represented in a peripheral region, and how such women could play an important part in private and public contexts.

4. Marguerite Johnson: Used Goods: The Ageing Sexual Labourers of Greece

While there has been some excellent research over recent years (cf. Glazebrook and Henry; Kapparis) on the subject of Greek sexual labourers (and on the importance of reconsidering terminology, cf. Witzke), little has been done on the lives of these women as they age. The sources, however, provide several compelling portraits of the ageing *hetaira*, most of which speak to a life of humiliation, social disdain and both physical and emotional abuse. Of course, this is not to suggest that young *hetairai* experienced lives that were substantially better (scholarship must move on from the romanticised image of the glamorous courtesan!), but to suggest that the hardships of commercial sex in Greece were exacerbated for women as they matured. Drawing on written and visual evidence, this paper provides a preliminary research survey of a larger project to unearth the lives of ageing sexual labourers in Greece, and aims to excavate a series of lived experiences with a view to capturing a more authentic historical survey.

Panel 5: Late Antique Christianities

The papers in this panel each engage with forms of Christianity and Christian culture in late antiquity. Spanning the Mediterrean world, from Gaul to Syria, the panel explores issues connected to gendered religious expression, memorialisation of dead heroes, and the position of slaves within church structures.

1. Lisa Kaaren Bailey: Sanctity and sex avoidance in the *Lives* of Merovingian female saints

Early Christian canon law took seriously the injunction from 1 Corinthians 7.2-4: 'Let the husband render unto the wife due benevolence; and likewise also the wife unto the husband.' Church councils forbade any married Christian from joining a religious community without the consent of their spouse. Rape within marriage, meanwhile, was legally 'unthinkable', because there was no right of refusal.

On the other hand, Christian thinkers had long regarded the rejection of sexual activity as a religious ideal, even within marriage. By late antiquity, rejection of marriage, or of sex within marriage, had become an expected signal of saintly virtue for both men and women. For married ascetic women, however, it could be a difficult situation – it was a more dramatic and subversive gesture for a woman to leave her husband for religious reasons than for a man to leave his wife.

This paper explores how Merovingian writers handled the issue of sex avoidance in the *Lives* of their married female subjects. It argues that authors took inconsistent approaches to the 'problem' of marital sex for saintly women, struggling to balance an ascetic ideal of control over one's body against the social and cultural expectations of bodily subservience on the part of a wife. How did religion both eliminate any concept of marital rape and yet also enable authors to celebrate sex avoidance within marriage? This issue enables us to explore the complex issue of what female 'agency' can mean in a situation of constrained opportunity and worldview.

2. Rebecca Lloyd-Hagemann: Living the principle, while bending the rules: examining the lives of fourth-century women

The fourth century AD was a time of significant change and development in the Christian Church. Though the Christians only occupied an estimated ten percent of the population at the beginning of the fourth century, the Great Persecution under Diocletian generated a universality in the Church across the empire. United against a common enemy, Christian identity was strengthened by the Persecution and Martyrdom. Christians in the fourth century, following the persecution, needed to articulate their identity and the principles of the Christian faith without the outward demonstration of their faith through Martyrdom.

Christian authors described the characteristics of the female martyrs and other prominent Christian women, such as Mary the Mother of Jesus, in their writing. As with the legendary women of classical Rome, such as Lucretia and Cornelia, these Christian women were to become the ideological role models for all Christian women. This paper explores some of the ideal principles, such as *pudicitia* and *univira*, which characterised Roman legendary women. It examines the way that authors such as Ambrose of Milan appropriated these principles into the characterisation of female Christian figures and used biblical characters such as Mary and Eve. It also argues that there were women, such as Egeria, who lived according to these principles of propriety but used their own agency to determine what that meant, even as that differed from Ambrose's prescription.

3. Katherin Papadopoulos: Patterning the past: early Syriac martyrologies as sites of memory

In this paper I analyse and compare three early Syriac martyrologies – that is, calendars of saints' commemorations – as sites of memory. By exposing the social organisation of memory using conceptual tools such as Eviatar Zerubavel's mnemonic cardiograms and Andrea Cossu's commemorative networks, I highlight some of the master narratives, symbols and transhistorical ideas which were important to the groups that compiled these calendars and the socio-cultural currents that may have shaped them.

I first define martyrologies and give a brief overview of their development and then introduce the two conceptual tools which allow us to compare martyrologies from different sources and across time. I use these tools to highlight key features in the famous martyrology on British Library, Add MS 12150 (411 AD) focusing on Antioch and Edessa to use as a baseline. I compare these with selected features on two West Syriac (non-Chalcedonian) martyrologies from the influential Qenneshre monastery found on London, British Library Add MS 17134 (late VII century) and Add MS 14505 (IX) in order to trace commemorative changes over time. I argue that these changes in commemorative patterns are both determinative of and constituted by their responses to various socio-cultural currents and events such as their increasing isolation from Antioch, the plague and the advent of Islam.

4. Justin Pigott: Turning slaves of men into servants of God: the use of slaves in episcopal conflict in fourth-century Cappadocia

Writing to his colleague Eusebius of Samosata in 376 C.E., Basil of Caesarea would bemoan the fact that lowly household slaves had claimed the title of bishop in neighbouring Nyssa and Doara. He complained that the reason why such wretched men were able to obtain episcopal office was because no one of the "servants of God"

had been willing to oppose them. With this statement, Basil presents us with a clear juxtaposition between the ubiquitous early Christian metaphor of service to God and those who were servants in a literal sense – domestic slaves. Taking into account the many church canons and laws that sought to prohibit the ordination of slaves, Basil's distaste for slaves taking up positions of leadership in the church is unsurprising. Indeed, previous scholarship on the topic has presented slave ordination as a minor nuisance that the upper echelons of the episcopal hierarchy routinely sought to stamp out. However, by examining several instances in which slaves were drafted into episcopal service in fourth-century Cappadocia, this paper demonstrates that slave ordination was not only more widely practised than has been assumed but that it was a strategy employed by several Cappadocian leaders, including Basil himself. By examining the highly fractious religious environment of late fourth-century Cappadocia as well as the influence of the ascetic teachings of Eustathius of Sebaste, it will be argued that canon law is an unreliable guide to ecclesiastical opinions on slave ordination and that Basil's opposition to the practice was highly circumstantial.

Panel 6: Post-Classical Greek Language

The post-Classical phase of the history of the Greek language lasts from around 300 BCE through to 600 CE. It has high relevance for much of what we do in ancient world studies, but we know far less about it than we might like to think. When interpreting the language of texts from this period scholars normally rely on grammatical and lexical tools that describe the language of the Classical period or that of the New Testament. In combination these can lead to many misconcpetions about the later language as a whole. Meanwhile, only limited (and often rough pioneering) work has been done to date on the challenging but crucial resource of documentary texts (papyri, inscriptions, etc.), which richly supplement and enhance the evidence of our literary sources for post-Classical Greek.

The papers in this panel explore aspects of the development of the language in this period, giving a taste of its vast potential to transform our understanding of the Greek language as a whole on many levels. The panel is a first for ASCS, in offering four papers focused on post-Classical Greek material. It features both established scholars and emerging talent, all connected one way or another with the research activity focused on this broad topic at Macquarie University.

1. John Lee: The 'Hanging Verb' Construction across Two Millennia of Greek

The syntactic flexibility of Greek allows a construction in which a relative clause contains both a participle governing the relative pronoun and also a finite verb that is not connected to the relative pronoun except through its relationship to the participle. An example: ...τὸν ὅρκον ὃν εἰσελήλυθεν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ὀμωμοκώς. A similar construction can occur with an interrogative pronoun instead of a relative. The construction is attested in Classical and post-Classical Greek and even as late as the 16th century, but it appears to be rare. In this paper I collect instances in various sources over that period and consider where it occurs, its stylistic or rhetorical value, and what evidence it provides of proficiency in Greek.

2. Samuel Wessels: The Role of the Greek Pentateuch in Study of the Extra-Pentateuchal Septuagint Books as Evidence for the History of the Greek Language

The Septuagint, the Greek version of the Old Testament, came into existence gradually. Most of its books are translations of Semitic, usually Hebrew, originals and the Pentateuch, Genesis through Deuteronomy, is commonly seen as the first portion to have been translated into Greek (iii BCE). Greek translations of the other Old Testament books (extra-Pentateuchal translations) appeared piecemeal over the following centuries. Given this history, scholars often suppose that the Greek Pentateuch served as a lexicon or translational manual for the extra-Pentateuchal translations. The significance of this process has not been fully explored. Although it represents one of the largest corpora of Koine period Greek (iii BCE - vi CE), the historical-linguistic evidence of the Septuagint is often overlooked. Instead, scholarly interest has primarily focused on the linguistic influence of the source text (the original Hebrew and Aramaic) on the resulting Greek, which has often been seen as 'unnatural' and 'Hebraistic'. However, the work of scholars such as Lee, Evans and Aitken has demonstrated the essentially natural character of the language of the Greek Pentateuch. Considerably less historical-linguistic study has been dedicated to the extra-Pentateuchal translations. This paper argues that the potential linguistic influence of the Greek Pentateuch on the extra-Pentateuchal translations must inform historical-linguistic study of the latter, if they are to be used effectively as evidence for the history of the Greek language. Methods for assessing Pentateuchal influence are also discussed.

3. Emmanuel Roumanis: The Power of Judgement: Evaluative Strategies in the Atticist Manuals of Phrynichus and Moeris

The manuals of Phrynichus and Moeris have come down to us as important witnesses to the burgeoning linguistic Atticism of the late Second Sophistic, from which we often attempt to infer changes, synchronically and diachronically, within Middle Postclassical Greek (I–IV CE). However, aside from the (historical-)linguistic value offered by their pre- and proscriptions, which has been well noted previously (e.g. Lee 2013), we have yet to exploit the sociolinguistic potential of the language of the manuals themselves. To this end, there are various theoretical frameworks and models that are useful for analysing the ancient textual material, each with its own set of strengths and weaknesses, apropos of the corpus, or corpora, to which they are being applied (Bentein 2017).

Through statistical analyses of the linguistic domains of Phrynichus' Ecloga and Moeris' Attic Words, I argue that the different recommendation and rejection strategies employed in each manual are conditioned primarily by the dissimilar positionality (or stancetaking; Jaffe 2009) of their authors. While it is not unremarkable that both manuals devote roughly the same percentage of entries to the same domains (lexis; morphology; orthography; syntax), it is particularly noteworthy that Phrynichus' famously aggressive dicta conceal a diverse range of subjective and objective stance-taking strategies, while Moeris' concise, outwardly objective style may potentially be indicative of a strategy that is at most only mildly prescriptive.

4. Trevor Evans: The Future Optative in Late Koine Greek: Motivation and Justification

The history of the optative mood in Greek is reasonably well understood. It is a form inherited from Indo-European, persists into the post-Classical period, but then becomes desystematised and essentially disappears in the Medieval period. In modern Greek it survives only in a couple of lexical fossils, of which θεός φυλάξοι is the more dynamic (Evans 2001).

This θεὸς φυλάξοι is a curious form and has been interpreted, among other possibilities, as a hybrid, attaching a present ending to an aorist stem. Neil O'Sullivan (2013), however, has demonstrated that the form is in fact what it looks like, a future optative. This identification raises interesting questions, since the future optative was an extremely limited development of the Classical period and was subsequently lost. O'Sullivan collects a handful of late Koine examples formed from different verbs in documentary texts. Almost all of these are used in formulaic expressions over a short period and in a limited area. Most interesting of all is the fact that the uses in which these future optatives are employed are typical of the present and aorist optatives in earlier Greek.

So what is going on here? To what degree can we determine the nature of this very late and very unusual use of the future optative? Is it possible to establish the motivation and justification for the revival and redeployment of the form (cf. Lee 2018: 164 n. 99, citing a dictum of G.P. Shipp)?

Panel 7: You can't be serious: irony, humour and satire in Suetonius' *Caesars*

The many unserious parts of Suetonius attract readers, and also tend to impugn him as a proper historian. The apparently dry delivery has convinced some readers that Suetonius is 'neutral.' Parts of the Lives that seem to be just unspeakably horrific or shameful might actually be more appropriately seen as ridiculous—exaggerated ad absurdum—while remaining 'plausible'. Previous commentators (Bob Cowan 2010 and Donna Hurley 2014) have identified individual passages that seem to be, respectively, in the 'satiric mode' and 'ironic', and have given us a salutary reminder that Suetonius was (maybe) not all business. From passages that appear to be truly ironic or satirical, or at least in the 'satiric mode', to jokes that just don't seem that funny, to the sense that the whole Life or the whole series might in fact be poking fun at something, there are certainly some interesting aspects that appear when we read them with one eye on the ironic and humorous. Not all our speakers will agree on Suetonius' capacity for the ironic. In this panel we take some specific passages to do with sex and gluttony as a way of investigating whether Suetonius is, well, serious.

1. Phoebe Garrett: Satire in Suetonius' *Vitellius* 13

There are many passages in Suetonius' Caesars that might be adduced to show Suetonius in the 'satiric mode.' In this study I propose to demonstrate that with Vitellius' extravagant gluttony, Suetonius is not only exaggerating the monstrousness of his subject but engaging in satire akin to poems of Martial and Juvenal. Readers will find it hard to forget the 'shield of Minerva', Vitellius' enormous platter on which were served exotic and unlikely morsels, such as flamingos' tongues, from the far corners of the empire. The ridiculousness of the geographic locations from which Vitellius is said to have obtained his delicacies particularly recalls the poem of

Juvenal (11.122-7) and a similar one of Martial (2.43.9-10) where the over-extravagant banquets there criticised also come from similarly far-flung parts of the empire. The wildly exaggerated figures and over-the-top ingredients in Vitellius' feasts are some of the reasons to doubt Suetonius as a historical source. I show here that they are not meant to be taken as historical reports. This is just one example of Suetonius' tendencies towards the satiric where food, sex, and death are involved.

2. Tamara Bremert: Humour (?) in Suetonius' passage on Tiberius' sexual activities on Capri

Content warning: sexual abuse, paedophilia

This paper will analyse whether Tiberius's sexual activities on the island of Capri (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 43-45) are intended to be humorous. Scholars often shy away from this passage owing to the nature of its content. However, it has received attention in recent years focusing on certain terminology, including *sellaria* and *spintria* (Champlin 2011), historicity (Champlin 2015), and whether Tiberius faced erectile dysfunction (Hallett 2015). Gladhill (2018) is the first to examine this passage through a literary lens, arguing that Suetonius paints a portrait of a highly deviant, almost inhuman, Tiberius who is unfit to rule. As yet, there has been no study asking whether this passage is intended to be funny. Yet the passage is littered with puns, word-play and even includes a line from an Atellan farce. This contrasts strikingly with the unfunny subject matter: Tiberius is accused of receiving oral sex from infants, raping boys and coercing a noblewoman. I will examine what the comedic elements bring to the passage, to determine whether we should read Suetonius's account of Tiberius' sexual habits on Capri primarily as humorous over-exaggeration or as a serious critique of deviant behaviour.

3. David Wardle: 'Caesar Doesn't Suck? OK?'

Suetonius' *Life of Divus Iulius* is (i) rich in material on the sexual activities of Caesar and (ii) rich in material that transmits contemporary perceptions of Caesar by his opponents: chapter 22 provides an under-studied instance in which these two come together. Having secured the provincial command that could finally secure him a triumph Caesar boasted to a packed senate that in the case of his enemies *insultaturum omnium capitibus*. The meaning of these words is the subject of scholarly dispute (e.g. Adams, Corbeill, Hallett), but that they were capable of some sexual interpretation is clear from the interjection of an unnamed senator that this would not be easy *ulli feminae* and from Caesar's response *in Suria quoque regnasse Sameraramin magnam que Asiae partem Amazonas tenuisse quondam*. I shall examine this public exchange in the light of Suetonius' overall presentation of Caesar in the Life, discussing both the intention and the reception of Caesar's boast and its place in the humour of Late Republican Rome.

4. Pauline Duchêne: What's an appropriate joke for an emperor? Imperial sense of humor in Suetonius' XII Caesars

Suetonius regularly mentions puns or jokes made by the first emperors, but not all of them are presented from the same perspective: for instance, Claudius' are condemned as unworthy of the imperial function, whereas Vespasianus' are mentioned as examples of his *ciuilitas*. If not all jokes are appropriate for a Roman emperor, where is the line and how does Suetonius use them to characterize his Caesars?

Panel 8: Greek literature

This panel explores aspects of a wide range of Greek literature, from Athenian tragedy to Christian martyr stories. Different papers explore the extremes of human experience: madness (McKimmie), magic (Kimball), and suicide (Zelli), as well as the intertextual resonances of Greek fable (Pertsinidis).

1. Ruth McKimmie: Pentheus: the most disturbed and disturbing madness?

It has been claimed that "Madness is central to tragedy" (Padel: 163), and that Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides show a particular interest "in the depiction of the mad on stage" (Goldhill: 180). Their depictions of madness are influenced by medical and popular ideas, and perhaps reflect the playwrights' own beliefs while also meeting the narrative and thematic requirements of each play (O'Brien-Moore). Euripides' final work, *The Bacchae* (405 BCE) takes this interest in madness to the extreme. There are several different types of madness, several characters are made mad – most notably Pentheus, the King of Thebes, and his mother Agave—all of which is presided over by Dionysus, the very god of madness himself. Accordingly, this paper focusses on the madness of Pentheus, and asserts it is qualitatively different from previous representations of madness in tragedy. Some of the distortions the god inflicts upon the mind of Pentheus go beyond the merely perceptual to encompass his cognitive and reasoning processes. Pentheus' mind is taken over not only by images, but by ideas from without. Hallucinations are a common symptom of madness in many tragedies, but Pentheus not only 'sees' things that are not real, he has thoughts that are not his own. This makes him not only the most disturbed, but perhaps the most disturbing madman in tragedy.

2. Nicole Kimball: "Love Magic": Performing the Incantation in Theocritus' *Pharmakeutria*

Theocritus' *Idyll* 2 (c. 280-60 BCE), or *Pharmakeutria*, is the finest surviving example of what the Greeks called mime, a short spoken-play for one to four actors which was probably performed without props. It is also one of the most famous descriptions of magic in the Hellenistic period. Scholars have mined the *Pharmakeutria* for examples of Hellenistic magical practices, as well as for evidence of Theocritus' alleged mistakes and mishaps in chronicling them and have yet to agree on the reliability of the text as an accurate depiction of Hellenistic magic.

This paper is based on a research project that set out to investigate how this monologue could be successfully performed on a modern stage, and how it might have been performed in Alexandria over two millennia ago. It examines the impact, whether limitations or otherwise, that the element of performance may have had on the depiction of magic within the *Idyll*, particularly its nonsensical construction.

3. Sonia Pertsinidis: The Owl and the Cricket: Fables in *Daphnis and Chloe*

Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* features a rich tapestry of intertextual allusions. Some of these allusions are readily identifiable, for example, Longus' references to the Theocritean *Idylls*, while others are more nuanced, such as the allusions to tragedy. Longus appears to have expected, or at least hoped, that readers would recognise many of these allusions and enjoy his playful reworking of texts. Given Longus' recurrent tendency to assimilate other genres, it would be surprising if Longus

considered any type of narrative off limits, especially one as ubiquitous as the Greek fable. Furthermore, when one considers the novel's pastoral setting, the prominence of animals and the moral and didactic objectives of Longus' tale, one might be surprised if Longus did *not* draw on the fable tradition. Somewhat surprisingly, however, the fable genre has not featured much in discussions of Longus' intertextuality. The aim of this paper is to reveal and discuss some of Longus' allusions to fables in *Daphnis and Chloe*.

4. Jessica Zelli: The Literary Context of Voluntary Death Scenes

How did ancient individuals read suicide and martyrdom scenes? Did these accounts have deeper meanings and, if so, how were these deeper meanings created, and would an ancient reader have been able to detect them? In order to understand voluntary death and its reception in the ancient world, one must account for not only the motive and method of the individual who voluntarily died (Van Hooff 2002), but also the literary agenda of the author and the social circumstances of the readers to whom the narrative is addressed. I argue that narratives of voluntary death had the capacity to affect various different social practices, and their authors (and readers) conceived of them as performing such a function. This paper explores these themes by a comparative study of the attempted suicide of Chariklea in the fourth century novel *Ethiopian Story* and the attempted martyrdom of Thekla in the *Acts of Paul and Thekla*. The authors of these texts use the voluntary deaths of the heroines to raise and discuss changing ideas about chastity and, in particular, chastity and appearance, and chastity and spirituality. Together, Chariklea and Thekla demonstrate that voluntary death accounts should not be interpreted at face value, because they regularly disguise or preserve deeper cultural discourses relevant to practices and beliefs of a particular time.

Panel 9: New Perspectives on the Amarna Period

While relatively brief when judged against the total millennia of ancient Egyptian history, the reign of Akhenaten and the establishment of his city of Akhetaten (Amarna) had profound effects on Egyptian history, culture, religion, and art. This panel highlights the work being done by early career researchers across Australasia on the Amarna period, in all facets, from art and religion to military power. Papers focus on access to the royal family and thus to the Aten, on the role of the military in establishing and securing Akhenaten's new capital, and on the interplay between revived tradition and innovative elements in the art and culture of the Amarna period. In doing so, this panel brings these elements and scholars into conversation, chaired by Anna Stevens, the Assistant Director of the Amarna Project.

1. Becky Clifton: Tensions between Access and Exclusivity in Amarna Period Art and Religion

An incredible divergence from the religious traditions of then-recent history, Akhenaten's reforms had a unique need for advertisement. To draw a following, Atenism needed to be both accessible and applicable. On the other hand, for Akhenaten to promote himself as sole intermediary to his sole god, the Aten needed to remain distant, with mysteries intact. In the art of this period, tensions between access and exclusivity extend to representations of the royal family. Unprecedented access is granted to the private domain of monarchic domesticity through images of the royal family at work, at rest, at worship, and even in mourning, in postures and scene-types

never to be repeated after the death of Akhenaten himself. However, when we examine the 'social bubble' of the royal family in these scenes, famed for their impressions of intimacy and sincerity, we find that distance and exclusivity characterise the art of the Amarna Period at least as much as access and inclusivity.

2. Genevieve Holt: Crowd Control: Mahu's Fort and the Military Presence at Amarna

The depictions of forts in New Kingdom wall scenes can be roughly divided into two categories: those which form part of a battle scene and those which are associated with the Egyptian border regions of Nubia and Syria. Yet, the small image of a fort in the tomb of Mahu at Amarna falls into neither of these categories and thus its significance is not immediately obvious. Mahu has been identified as Chief of Police at Akehetaten and understanding his role in this position has influenced interpretations of the nature of this fort. Darnell and Manassa (2007) note the prominent presence of the military in wall scenes at Amarna and believe that Mahu's role included training soldiers and maintaining a defence of the outer regions of the city of Akhetaten through roving patrols. In this context, they see the fort as an outpost in which to safely store items for these patrols. O'Connor (1987) also writes of Mahu's role in securing the boundaries, but focusses on his connections to the boundary stelae and identifies the fort as the Northside River Palace. This paper positions Mahu's fort within the larger corpus of wall scenes depicting similar buildings in order to identify its purpose. It presents an assessment of the extent to which the presence of this building is indicative of a militaristic climate in Akhenaten's new city.

3. Michael Hayes: 'A terrible beauty': bringing 'about what was never before' in New Kingdom Egypt and its significance for contemporary Amarna studies

Karl Marx, in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, observed that when individuals bring 'about what was never before', they 'enact a new historical scene' by conjuring up 'the spirits of the past…their names, their battle cries, their costumes' to disguise their deeper, emerging purpose: revolution (Runia, 2014, 144). Marx presents historians with an ideal opportunity to discuss the dynamics of 'revolution' in general, and New Kingdom Egypt's Amarna age, in particular. To many Egyptologists Akhenaten's reforms revived elements of earlier Egyptian epochs. His solarized architecture echoed Old Kingdom stone structures – pyramids, *bnbn*-stones, sun temples and obelisks – as well as his restoration of the supreme political position of that era's rulers. In addition, Amarna courtiers' writings reflected later Middle Kingdom 'loyalist' texts.

However, these characterizations do not completely comprehend and describe Akhenaten's radicalizing tendencies as evidenced by this irruption of the first-recorded 'counter-religion', the advent of a 'mature monotheism', the consequences of its extreme 'de-mythologization' process, the radiant appearance of a new hieroglyph, the possibility of a previously-unrecognised 'Axial Age' and his emergence as the world's 'first fundamentalist.' These extraordinary developments reveal an Egypt arriving at a stark, traumatic brink where, like W.B.Yeats' revolutionary Ireland, '…All changed, changed utterly:/A terrible beauty is born.' (*Easter, 1916*)

Panel 10: Perceptions of Law and Lawlessness at Rome

The 19th century theorist A.V. Dicey said that the rule of law required citizens to have a 'legal turn of mind'. Our panel will explore this question in the context of Roman legal and political culture as seen through the writings of lawyers, jurists, orators, politicians and historians of the Republican and Imperial periods. Given the specific framework of legal, social, and political concepts in which citizens of the Republic and Imperial period lived and thought, our panel will begin to formulate a novel explanation of the nature of the attitudes required for the rule of law to exist in a community – a dimension not yet recognized by rule of law theorists and absent from Roman historical scholarship. The panel is part of a broader project being undertaken by members of the Australasian Roman Law Network (http://www.romanlawnetwork.org) and the Law at Rome research cluster at the University of Sydney.

1. Kimberley Harris: The murder of Cicero and the death of the state: violence and the body politic in *controversia* 7.2

The demise of Rome's most famous orator, murdered and bereft of his head and hands, is debated by no less than 17 declaimers in a *controversia* preserved by Seneca the Elder. Cicero's death in 43 BC is well-attested in the historical record and has fascinated ancient and modern scholars alike. Recent scholarship has also considered the role *controversia* 7.2 had in forming the historiographical tradition of Cicero's death (Roller, 1997). However, little attention has been paid to the wider political and legal implications of the violent acts in this declamation. Drawing upon Mebane's work on the representation of Pompey's decapitation in the *De bello civili* (Mebane, 2016), this paper will examine the political significance of the violence described in *controversia* 7.2, with particular focus on the mutilation of Cicero's head and hands. It will also consider the legality of this crime, ultimately defined as a parricide by many of the declaimers, which Cicero himself described as a monstrous and portentous act that outdid even the savagery of beasts (*Rosc. Am. 63*; Walters, 2020). By placing the *controversia* within the political and legal context of Rome during the final decades of the Republic and the early Principate, I will first demonstrate that the violence inflicted upon Cicero's body is a representation of the dismemberment of the body politic. I will then suggest the declaimers use the crime of parricide to comment on the lawlessness of the period which resulted in the murder of a leading statesman and, indeed, the state itself.

2. Kirsten Parkin: Problems with paternity? Perceptions of adultery law in Calpurnius Flaccus *Declamatio* 2

In the first century CE, the rhetorical exercise of *declamatio* rose to prominence as the summit of a schoolboy's education. One of the components of *declamatio* was the *controversia,* a type of mock legal exercise that tasked its student with arguing as the prosecution or defence in a court case governed by hypothetic laws and scenarios. This exercise was predicated on the concept of lawlessness and encouraged its student to argue to restore lawfulness to the community. Since Lanfranchi (1938) and Bonner's (1949) seminal works, a burgeoning body of scholarship has challenged the view that *controversiae* are legally fictitious, arguing instead that declamation draws on legal reality. But while the intersection between the laws of adultery *controversiae* and Roman law has been noted, very few studies have made *controversiae* their main focus.

This paper purports to explore the way in which the *controversiae* could teach their student 'lawfulness' with respect to adultery. Through a case study of Calpurnius Flaccus *Declamatio* 2, *Natus Aethiops* ("the son who was born Ethiopian"), I examine the similarities between this so-called fictitious exercise and the law that was in place at the time, Augustus' *Lex Iulia de adulteriis* (18 BCE). Not only does this *controversia* frame a scenario that encourages the student to argue in a manner that stands entirely in accordance with the law, but I examine the ways in which this student strips Augustan texts of their subversive comments on the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis* and brings them back into the legal sphere.

3. Tristan Taylor: Bandits and Criminal Peoples: legal discourse and the Roman construction of a universe of obligation

The 'legal turn of mind' of Romans in the late republic and early empire can be explored not only through attitudes to law and lawlessness within society, but also through how the discourse of law, and particularly lawlessness, is utilised to drawn boundaries in Roman society – in particular between those within the boundaries of what sociologist Helen Fein has termed a 'universe of obligation'. This paper will argue that the rhetorical ploy of labelling individuals, or even whole peoples, as criminals (e.g., *scelerati*) or bandits (*latrones*), and their actions as crimes (e.g., *crimina*, etc) is used to place such people outside the boundaries of the Roman universe of obligation, and as a consequence render them liable to justified violence. Perhaps one of the best known of these rhetorical manoeuvres is the use of the term *latrones* to label political enemies and usurpers: as *latrones* were outside society, they had forfeited their right to protection under society's laws – and were liable to extreme penalties. This contrasts even with *hostes*, enemies of the Roman state, who were participants in a *iustum bellum*, and therefore protected (to an extent) by an amorphous *ius belli* (*Digest* 50.16.118). That this *legal* discourse of lawfulness, and lawlessness, is used to help draw the boundaries of society, reflects the potency of a 'legal turn of mind' in Roman constructions of self.

4. Frederik Vervaet: *Non mos, non ius, sed lex*!

The murder of tribune of the *plebs* Tiberius Gracchus in 133 BCE marked a shocking new low in the turbulent history of the Roman Republic, and his tribunate was - and still is - widely considered as the start of the Late Republic, if not the beginning of its end. Indeed, from this point in time, Rome would see spiralling internecine fighting between competing factions and their interest groups, a process culminating in the full-fledged civil wars of the 80s, 40s and 30s BCE. From the ashes of these violent implosions of the republican polity eventually rose the statutory monarchy that was the Augustan New Order. In this paper, we will survey how, seemingly paradoxically, these notorious episodes of *non mos, non ius* ("no custom, no laws": so famously Tacitus in *Ann*. 3.28.1) also saw frenetic legislative activity, since the opposing factions remained ever concerned with issues of legality and legitimacy as they trampled the *leges et iura Populi Romani* ("the laws and rights of the Roman People") as well as the lives of untold numbers of fellow citizens. This paper will thus provide a window into the collective mentality of Roman elites (and their constituencies) and highlight a key feature of the distinctly Roman 'legal turn of mind', viz. the Roman 'legalist turn of mind'.

Panel 11: Reform in the Late Roman Republic

Scholarship on the Roman republic has tended to view legislation as an essentially reactive and often competitive activity: Roman legislators responded to particular conditions—or political circumstances—by passing new laws. The effect was the gradual evolution of laws of particular types (such as the *leges frumentariae* or the laws constituting the various criminal courts), with substantial tralatician content, yet most modern interpretations regard the backers of each law as acting independently and with intent to have the last word on the subject, often disregarding the material and political necessities of passing these laws.

This panel offers a more nuanced view of the process of legislative reform in Rome by examining three cases where laws can be seen to have consciously built on and refined earlier laws or proposals. The judiciary reforms from C. Gracchus to Sulla reflect a dialogue between both "sides" of politics that was concerned with fixing corruption and the split between senators and equestrians that arose from Gracchan legislation. The grain laws of the 70s in particular show cooperation across the decade to improve the availability of food in the city with several laws. The *ambitus* laws of the 60s likewise illustrate the evolution of law collaboratively and incrementally. Together, these cases studies illustrate how reform in Rome could occur through a process to which both more 'conservative' and more 'popular' actors contributed. In doing so, they also provide evidence for the existence of policies and even collaboration extending across political groupings as traditionally recognised.

1. Kathryn Welch: Optimates and Ideology: A Review

Roman historians are habituated to equating "the Optimates" with conservative self-interest. To be fair, there is certainly an overlap between those who called themselves "the Best Men" and the self-serving villains of the drama that is "the Fall of the Roman Republic".

But is there more to the story? Two works offer a way forward. A.M. Stone's magisterial article from 2005 and Clemente's shorter but still powerful treatment from 2018 independently suggest that there is. Both allow us to see that Cicero's *pro Sestio* is the last place where one should seek a real understanding of the term.

This paper will argue that the principle of *optimus quisque* (that senators should be chosen from "the best men" and that membership of this group would be determined by one's place in the ladder of *dignitas* and not birth) was a significant indication of a living Roman tradition of change-for-the-better. By exposing and evaluating the principle, we can understand better both the change and resistance to change that underpinned Roman political culture. And we can reset our focus on how the *populares* modified the ideology even while they attacked those individuals who failed to live up to its standards.

2. Jocelin Chan: Biceps: judiciary laws from C. Gracchus to Sulla

The scholarly tradition tends to perceive the Sullan reforms of 82 as purely reactionary or purely conservative. I contend that this was only true of part of his programme. In various respects, most saliently his judiciary laws, Sulla in fact followed in a tradition of reform since C. Gracchus.

In this paper, I explore the problems that led to Gracchus' judiciary law and the problems that followed. By ejecting senators from the juries for *repetundae* and only populating them with equestrians, Gracchus unintentionally introduced a new set of

corruption issues into the courts. Subsequent reformers—Q. Servilius Caepio, C. Servilius Glaucia, M. Livius Drusus, and L. Cornelius Sulla—realised to different degrees that fully equestrian courts posed a problem to both justice and class unity between senators and equestrians.

These legislators did not all agree on the solution to these issues, but a closer analysis of their legislation in sequence shows that their reforms developed in dialogue with former proposals. The approaches that these legislators took should prompt us to push back on a view that late Republican legislation was necessarily short-sighted and reactionary.

3. Tonya Rushmer: Riot and reform: the senatorial grain laws of the 70s

The narrative of grain legislation in the Roman Republic is traditionally oppositional. Gaius Gracchus' *lex frumentaria* and Saturninus' proposed law were received poorly by many in the senate and their reaction, alongside Cicero's accusations against Clodius, have meant that the history of frumentary legislation is cast as a repeating cycle of a *popularis* law followed by conservative obstruction. This has led to the assumption that various grain laws were repealed despite no supporting extant evidence, and has closed off any interpretation that the system may have improved and evolved through legislative reform.

Therefore, the expectation would be that 70s was a period without new grain laws, as the "conservatives" controlled the senate and the tribunate had lost its powers. This is not the case. There were two *leges frumentariae* in this decade, and other legislation supported and enabled the implementation of these grain laws.

In actual fact, the 70s were a foundational decade for the grain distribution system. A series of reforms supported by the senate instead of hostile tribunes, each working to improve the supply of grain to the city, signify that opposition to the distributions was no longer politically viable. Regular state involvement in Rome's food supply not only ceased to be controversial but, as the violent protests of 75 showed, became necessary to maintaining the position of Rome's political elite. Grain laws, no matter who sponsored them, should not be seen in isolation, but as a means to strengthen the system and ensure its ongoing viability.

4. Kit Morrell: The *leges de ambitu* and the process of legislative reform in the late Roman republic

This paper examines the series of *ambitus* laws passed, proposed, or debated between 67–63 BCE, in order to shed light on the process of legislative reform in the late Roman republic. In 67, for instance, the consular *lex Calpurnia Acilia de ambitu* was passed *ex senatus consulto*, prompted by and in place of a harsher bill proposed by the tribune C. Cornelius. In 64, the senate voted for a new *lex de ambitu* but was obstructed by tribunician veto. In 63, the *lex Tullia Antonia* increased penalties and extended the definition of *ambitus*. The law was passed ex SC, on the initiative of the jurist and consular candidate Ser. Sulpicius Rufus; however, the senate did not adopt all of Sulpicius' suggestions, and Cicero implies that, if Sulpicius had been elected, he would have pursued yet another *lex de ambitu* as consul (Cic. Mur. 47–8). Some of Sulpicius' more radical proposals revived measures proposed earlier by C. Cornelius (tr. pl. 67).

By analysing these and other measures and the connections between them, this paper suggests that the development of the *lex de ambitu*—and legislative reform in Rome more generally—should be seen not as a succession of discrete enactments but rather

as a process, which could involve compromise and collaboration across political lines as conventionally understood, and reform proposals or policies with currency extending beyond the term in office of an individual magistrate.

Panel 12: Pygmalion, Philology, and Pedagogy

This diverse panel explores what lies beneath the surface, from the nature of the love between two mythic characters (Pryke), through the real and supposed usefulness of learning Latin (Edwards), to the deeper meaning of a heavily-loaded Greek word (Brian Bigio).

1. Louise Pryke: A Match Made in Heaven? The Gilgamesh Epic, Pygmalion, and Transformative Love

The love story between Gilgamesh and Enkidu in world's oldest tragic epic has been the focus of a great deal of scholarly work, particularly in terms of whether the relationship should be considered a romantic and sexual love, or the love between two friends.

This paper considers the role of transformation in the relationship of Gilgamesh and Enkidu, through a cross-cultural parallel with the story of Pygmalion from Classical literature.

While the two love stories are culturally and historically distinct, both share the depiction of a transformational love between a man and the object of his affection—a physically perfect creature who has been formed from rock. In both stories, the protagonist's love has been crafted especially for him by a goddess. Both narratives involve the loving caress of inanimate objects, and objects that will become animate for the benefit of the lover, through divine intervention.

This paper traces possible points of contact for the two narratives. While a direct connection between Pygmalion and Gilgamesh may prove elusive, the contrast is useful to emphasise the transformative capacity of the love. We also consider the shared thematic interest in timeless lovers who are, quite literally, "made for each other."

2. Kate Edwards: The Place, Purpose and Potential of Latin in Australian Education

In an increasingly neoliberal educational climate, there is mounting pressure to provide empirical evidence that learning Latin has measurable (and preferably vocational) benefits for contemporary school students. However, notwithstanding some promising investigations into the potential of Latin to improve English literacy, such evidence on the whole has been elusive, and the struggle to retain a place for Latin in Australian secondary schools remains desperate. And yet, as we Latinists know from our own experience and anecdotally, there is so much more to be gained from the study of Latin than just evidence-based, 'useful' skills.

In this paper I will outline my research project on the place, purpose and potential of Latin in Australian education. In addition to ascertaining the current status of Latin in Australian secondary schools, this predominantly qualitative research seeks to interrogate the attitudes, experiences and personal perspectives of Latin students (past and present), teachers, parents, principals and the general public. I will discuss some of the key challenges that must be negotiated in order to justifiably and successfully promote the teaching of Latin in Australian schools into the future, suggesting that

perhaps the greatest of these challenges is how to counter a general and widespread perception of Latin as an irrelevant or useless (or perhaps at best, misunderstood) subject, without necessarily resorting to unsubstantiated claims about Latin's 'utility'.

3. Brian Jorge Bigio: 'Saving the Heart': Toward a New Etymology of Σωφροσύνη

Σωφροσύνη is a word with deep cultural significance. Genres as diverse as epic, tragedy, and philosophy speak about it as an ideal of human behaviour. Yet, the traditional etymology ('soundness of mind') overemphasizes its cognitive or intellectual aspects, at the expense of its behavioural or emotional aspects. In this paper, I offer a new etymology of σωφροσύνη that *also* accounts for its ancient association with emotions and behaviour. I show that σωφροσύνη is best explained not as a normal cognitive state ('sanity'), but as a cognitive-behavioural achievement ('self-control').

I base my argument on the way compounds were understood by Greek speakers. Σώφρων is an example of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, in which the first member is an adjective (σῶς) and the second one a noun (φρήν). Since *bahuvrīhis* are typically construed as possessive compounds, σώφρων is taken to mean '(s)he who *has* a sound mind.' However, not all *bahuvrīhis* were understood in antiquity as possessives. Some were understood as verbal compounds. Such is the case of the *bahuvrīhis* in φιλο-, where the first member was felt as a verbal element. If so, the same process might have affected the *bahuvrīhis* in σω-: e.g. σώφρων 'to whom the heart is safe' > 'saving the heart.' This hypothesis is confirmed by an analysis of personal names in Σω-. Finally, ancient etymologies support the thesis that σωφροσύνη was understood verbally (Pl. *Cra.* 411e-412a; Aristot. *EN* 6.1140b11-12). Rather than mere antiquarianism, etymology becomes a useful tool for the semantic reconstruction of this elusive Greek value.

Panel 13: Women in Platonism

Plato left a mixed legacy regarding women. At times, he presented women as hindrances to philosophizing: Socrates' wife, Xanthippe, is forced out of the prison cell before he gets down to talking philosophy with his male friends in the *Phaedo*, and the flute girls are sent away in the *Symposium* to permit the all-male party to talk about love without distraction. And yet, Plato's Socrates finds it useful, both in the *Symposium* and the *Menexenus*, to relate what women have taught him, and Diogenes Laertius lists two women among the students of Plato (D.L. 3.46 and 4.2). This panel explores this tension at two points in the history of Platonism: in the fourth century BCE within the writings of Plato himself and in their fifth century CE reception within Neoplatonism. The first three papers investigate women in the Platonic dialogues, both as subjects of philosophy in the *Republic* (Paper #1) and as characters in the *Symposium* and the *Menexenus* (Papers #2 and #3). The final two papers turn to the Neoplatonic reception of these ideas, with Paper #4 investigating the female character of Sosipatra in Eunapius' *Lives of Philosophers and Sophists* and Paper #5 investigating Proclus' interpretation of Plato's metaphysics of gender, which echoes the concerns of Paper #1.

1: Emily Hulme Kozey: Craftswomen of Justice: Plato, *Republic* 5.454d1–3

Plato's argument for the inclusion of women in the guardian class in the *Republic* is a celebrated passage in the history of philosophy. All the same, reconstructing the

details of the argument – and especially the prima facie tension between his contentions that (1) women have all the same natural capacities as men and (2) they nevertheless are "weaker" in every respect – has proven challenging.

In this talk, I will focus on a significant debate over the transmitted text. The most recent OCT and Loeb editions of Republic have inserted a dagger into the passage in book five which runs, in the majority of manuscripts, οἷον ἰατρικὸν μὲν καὶ ἰατρικὴν τὴν ψυχὴν ὄντα τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν ἔχειν ἐλέγομεν ("[w]e meant, for example, that a man and a woman who have a physician's mind have the same nature," Shorey trans.). One reason for this, offered by Slings, is a concern that adjectives ending in -ικός cannot be modified by the phrase τὴν ψυχήν, as the transmitted text has it; he also contends that the inclusion of a reference to a female physician at this juncture makes the argument illogical. I argue that this concern is misplaced, offering parallel usages and an alternative construal of the overall argument. On this reading, Socrates is offering an inductive argument that because women work in other specialized crafts, including medicine, they too are capable of taking on the newly invented craft of guardianship.

2: Anthony Hooper: Erotic Androgyny and the Priority of the Feminine in Plato's *Symposium*

Plato's *Symposium* initially seems unpromising grounds for exploring, let alone celebrating the feminine. Symposia are traditionally male-dominated spaces, and in Plato's drinking party women are dismissed from performing even the minor functions for which they were typically employed – as entertainers and courtesans. Furthermore, each of the early speakers of the dialogue offers phallocentric accounts of *erôs*, banishing women from the world of respectable erotics. However, Socrates crashes this 'sausage party', granting the feminine a starring role by offering his own *encomium* of love in the voice of a woman, Diotima.

Much work has been done to establish the *philosophical* significance of this move. In particular, scholars have read Socrates' division of himself into an ignorant half, Young Socrates, and a wise half, as thematizing Diotima's central claims regarding erotic intermediacy. However, scholars have neglected that this division further thematises another key claim in this speech, which I refer to as 'erotic androgyny'. A central lesson of Diotima's pedagogy is that lovers possess both masculine and feminine elements, and in this paper I focus on the passage in which this concept is most operative: the discussion of 'mortal possession'. I argue that the passage represents one of the few places in the dialogues in which the feminine is given priority over the masculine, with male concepts of 'consumption' and 'claiming' being replaced with concepts of 'producing' and 'nurturing'. This move has important implications both for the presentation of immortality in this dialogue, and Plato's understanding of his philosophical project more generally.

3: Dawn LaValle Norman: How to Embed a Woman: Aspasia vs. Diotima

In the *Menexenus*, Plato follows a pattern familiar from his *Symposium* of including a women's voice ventriloquized through a male participant in the conversation. In the *Menexenus*, Socrates recounts a funeral oration that he learned from Aspasia, whom he claims also taught Pericles the same art. Aspasia, in this unexpected version of history, takes over the male activity of writing and delivering the funeral oration, whereas in the *Symposium* the male homosexual lovers took over the female experience of pregnancy and birth. Although in both dialogues, Socrates

ventriloquizes the female voice, I argue that those voices carry difference valences owing to their structural placement. Through a literary reading of these two dialogues, I will argue that the different "centres" of a string of embedded voices in each dialogue shows how the women are being used to promote different ideas and values. Women were most important in Classical Athens at the beginning and end of citizen men's lives, and Plato uses women for both sides of life in his two dialogues. The voice of the dead at the centre of the *Menexenus* implicates the deathliness of rhetoric; while the woman's voice at the centre of the *Symposium* shows the fertility of philosophy.

4: Cristian Furness: Bios as Cosmos: a Neoplatonic interpretation on the life of Sosipatra

The Neoplatonists had a great propensity for interpreting narrative, character interactions, and especially revelatory mythic passages allegorically. How might this hermeneutical practice be applied to a reading of Sosipatra within Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers*? What should be made of the conspicuous remark that 'she had no other teachers' alluding to the presence of an unseen divine character? Eunapius presents her portrait out of compulsion: 'for so far did the fame (κλέος) of this woman travel.' He cites her surpassing wisdom (ὑπεροχὴν σοφίας) in his defence of her inclusion; nevertheless, Sosipatra's *Life* (βίος) is a portrait reckoned in unique terms by the author–particularly as it relates to her level of divinisation and theurgic practice.

Inspired *didaskaloi* like Proclus might seek to discover a hidden truth to the text. Sosipatra is marked by her divine inspiration (ἐνθουσιασμός). Sosipatra's activities could be considered a descent on behalf of the protagonist for the elevation of souls; however, significance should be given to her distinctly theurgic education and divine actions. How might informed readers regard her theurgy, understood as emanating a chain of divine beneficence (εὐεργετεῖν)? Can interpreters 'read' her life within a Neoplatonic cosmological framework in order to reveal the telos in keeping with her 'true nature': 'For the divine is not accessible to mortals who think in bodily terms, but such as have stripped themselves hasten up on high, as the oracle says' (*Or. Chald.* 116 quoted in Proclus, *On Cratylus*, 155.88.4-5).

5: Dirk Baltzy: The metaphysics of gender in late antique Platonism

The relation between biological sex and gender identity has been, and remains, one of the most controversial topics among feminist philosophers. Not too terribly long ago there was some degree of consensus that gender was the social interpretation of imputed biological sex. It was a mere social construction that served to oppress women and should be consigned to the dustbin of history. But things are more complicated now since some philosophers defend the idea that trans individuals discover an innate gender identity, perhaps even one at variance with their imputed biological sex. What metaphysical facts could underwrite such an innate gender identity? This talk will consider one possibility from history. Proclus' fifth-century commentaries on Plato's *Timaeus* and *Republic* seem to embrace all the following claims: 1) gender identity is grounded in a soul's likeness to a specific patron god (i.e. the gods who lead the pre-embodiment tour of the realm of Forms in *Phaedrus* 247a, ff); 2) innate psychic gender identity determines a sex difference in astral and pneumatic bodies that are prior to the skin and bones that we identify with "our" bodies; 3) There can be a mismatch between innate psychic gender and the associated

sex of one's higher bodies, on the one hand, and the sex of the lowest "oyster-like" body on the other.

Panel 14: Artists, Students, Archaeologists and a Geophysicist: Recent AAIA contributions to Classical Archaeology

The Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens (AAIA) has promoted a range of research and educational activities in Greece over its 40 years of operation and it continues to do so. Most have focussed on recovering and analysing aspects of the Greek world's classical, broadly defined, past. The speakers of this panel will present the results of recent and on-going projects that have opened new vistas in the Australian contribution to classical Greek studies. Dr Andrew Hazewinkel, the first awardee of the AAIA Contemporary Creative Residency, will examine the reception of ancient sculptures initially via museum collecting strategies of the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries and thereafter through his own artistic practice and how that relates both to earlier modern curation and collecting and the antiquities themselves. Dr Kristen Mann and Mr Tom Romanis will present the student volunteer program which simultaneously provides students with educational experiences involving archaeological material and its production as well as advancing the study and publication of the legacy archives of the Australian excavations at Zagora from 1971 through to 1974. The paper by Dr Matthias Leopold will examine the work he has conducted at classical-period large-scale bronze sculpture foundries in the very centre of ancient Athens. Finally, Dr Stavros Paspalas will present a paper (co-authored with Professor Timothy Gregory and Dr Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory) on the findings of the Australian Paliochora Kythera Archaeological Survey in which the project's results that pertain to classical antiquity will be placed in their wider diachronic setting.

1. Andrew Hazewinkel: Journeys In The Lifeworld of Stones (displacements I-X)

This paper examines selected examples from a self-authored series of contemporary photographic artworks titled Journeys in the Lifeworld of Stones (displacements I-X) 2010-20 to highlight the ramifying contemporary social legacies of late 19th early 20th century museum focused archaeological collection-building practices and early modes of collection display. The artworks in question trace acquisition journeys made by a group of Greek and Roman sculptures from their archival representation on gelatin dry-plate photographic negatives in the John Marshall Photographic Archive (British School at Rome), to their current location at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met) in New York. Marshall (1862- 1928) was a scholar of classical antiquity and dealer of antique objects who acted as exclusive European agent for antiquities to the Met from 1906 -1928. The contemporary artworks in question pair archival source material with images of the same sculptural subject photographed by Hazewinkel in the galleries at the Met in 2017. Historically interwoven these institutionally focused images are recontextualised within landscapes, seascapes or atmospheric conditions captured at each object's place of origin. Through a process of artwork analysis a poetic human dimension to the political and economic consequences related with the displacement of cultural heritage is revealed.

2. Kristen Mann and Mr Tom Romanis: The Zagora Volunteer Program and the opportunities afforded by legacy field data for enhanced student research and digital skills-training

Transforming primary field records into meaningful data for publication is arduous, and particularly challenging for legacy archives. Meanwhile, opportunities for local student field placements are few and the costs of overseas excavation prohibitive, leaving students struggling to attain critical experience and training for their professional careers. Pairing the digital curation of legacy archives with pedagogical training is a key opportunity to offer students equal access to skills-training vital to their career prospects.

Recognising this, the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens developed a Volunteer Program with two concurrent goals:

1. Facilitate the print and web publication of the 1971 to 1974 excavation seasons conducted at Zagora on Andros by the University of Sydney;
2. Provide students with career-relevant training tailored to their interests and aspirations.

The program is designed to foster teamwork, responsibility, and independent task management while affording opportunities for leadership training and growth. With over sixty student volunteers from archaeology, museums studies, and classics/ancient history departments at four universities, the program has been a resounding success. This model is exceptionally viable owing to its flexibility and suitability to virtual workflows, especially in a global environment where archaeological experiences are hindered by COVID-19.

In this paper, we present the design of the program, and reflect on its success and development over the last three years.

3. Matthias Leopold: Searching for ancient bronze foundries – a summary of results from the Acropolis and the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens, Greece

The sanctuary of the Acropolis of Athens in Greece housed one of the first monumental bronze statues, which represented the goddess Athena, some 2500 years ago. During recent decades archaeological studies have led to important insights into the statue's manufacturing processes. A small site on the southern slope of the Acropolis has been identified as the production area. Two major bronze production pits have been detected; one was excavated in 2001 and 2006 and was found in an unexpected location. Therefore, in 2010 a geophysical survey of the whole production site was carried out for the first time in order to either reveal or to exclude the possibility of any further sites within the bronze foundry complex. A combination of different geophysical methods was applied to survey the subsurface: magnetometry (MAG), two- and three-dimensional electrical resistivity tomography (ERT), as well as two- and three-dimensional ground-penetrating radar (GPR).Two major anomalies were identified in the processed data which provide evidence for additional production sites. However, subsequent test excavations could not corroborate all the results identified by the geophysics which underlines the importance of groundtruthing by archaeologists.

In 2019 permission was granted by the Greek Ministry of Culture to conduct, under the auspices of the Australian Archaeological Institute in Athens, a minimally invasive geophysical survey of the area south of the Olympieion which, based on old

excavation plans, may be the site of another bronze foundry. In October 2019 roughly 60 m2 were studied using ground penetrating radar and multi-electrode resistivity tomography to verify the existence and the location of the old pit as well as to look for further indications of additional pits, ditches or foundations typical of other Greek foundries from the fifth century BC.

4. Stavros Paspalas (presenter), Timothy Gregory, Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory: The Past of Northern Kythera. The Australian Paliochora Kythera Archaeological Survey (APKAS)

The island of Kythera, situated between the Peloponnese and Crete, occupies a position which can only be described as having been pivotal in various periods of the past. The increased archaeological activity in recent years on the island is testament to the appreciation of this fact. The Australian contribution to this new research takes the form of the Australian Paliochora Kythera Archaeological Survey. The Survey focuses on the northern half of the island, and spatially covers an area which was centred on the major settlement in the earlier Mediaeval period, Paliochora. However, the landscape of the survey area has revealed a great deal of new information about the region's ancient past as well as that of the later periods. All such information has been documented, preliminary studies published and work is advancing on the Survey's final publication. This paper will focus on the various periods of antiquity which are represented among the finds and set them in the island's long term development. Important finds have been made that date back to deep prehistory but also to the Bronze Age, Early through to Late, as well as Classical-Hellenistic and into the Roman period. Kythera occupied a particular place in the ancient imagination but it was also a real geographical location and this paper will present the results of the recent Australian work on the island itself.

Panel 15: Roman political history and spatial history

This panel of four papers examines Roman political and spatial history from a number of different points of view. Speakers consider the intersections of geography and politics and the diverse ways in which each contributes to our knowledge of the Roman world.

1. Emily Chambers: Silence Speaks Volumes: *damnatio memoriae* and Roman Wills

In the aftermath of the failed Pisonian Conspiracy, L. Antistius Vetus refused the advice of his friends to name Nero in his will; to do so would be "an ultimate act of servitude", ruining the "life he had lived next to freedom" (Tac. Ann. 16.11). Vetus, like so many Romans, was conscious that the last will and testament was the final chance for a Roman to shape their lasting memory in the social consicousness. Indeed, Pliny the Younger reports the common belief that the will was a reflection of the true character of the testator (Ep. 8.18.1). I will argue that this concern for one's memory after death strongly influenced a testator's choices in their will, especially their decision to speak freely against the emperor in the early imperial period. Champlin (1991, 13) has previously identified three ways in which testators pass negative judgement on the living: omission, disinheritance, and abuse. I will focus specifically on the first – omission – as a form of social *damnatio memoriae*. To refuse commemoration was an insult to the individual, particularly when the emperor was omitted from the will. Here, silence speaks volumes. The omission does the

contrary of forgetting; it is intended to be noticed and remembered as a negative judgement of the individual.

2. Dustin McKenzie: Beyond the Rock and the Hard Place: Rethinking the Augustan Boundaries in the Roman Strait of Messana

Separating Italy from Sicily by only a few kilometres of famously turbulent sea, the Strait of Messana was understood in the Roman period to be either the boundary between Rome and the provinces, the gateway to Empire, or a crossroads of vital trade routes, depending on when and who you asked. Drawing from my ongoing PhD thesis on identity and connectivity in the Roman-period Strait of Messana, this paper revisits the boundary drawn between Italy and Sicily by the Augustan reformations, arguing that the region ought to be understood as a continuous space and superposition of boundary, gateway, and crossroads, independent of the Imperial boundary. This argument is set within a globalising interpretative framework, which prioritises the relationships between identity, connectivity, and space between and beyond Imperial boundaries. This framework, forwarded in recent years by Hingley, Pitts, and Versluys, supports the reading of the Strait as a liminal space between South Italy and Sicily, which allowed individuals and groups living under the Empire to embrace 'glocal' identities and circumvent the political boundary drawn between Italy and its oldest province. Thus, this paper argues the Strait of Messana offers us insight into regions of the Empire that lay somewhere between regionalism and globalism, highlighting the malleability of identity on the boundary between Italy and the provinces.

3. David Rafferty: Consular policy and the coming of civil war

Conventional narratives of the Roman Republic's slide to civil war in 51-49 BCE centre on the principal actors, Pompeius and Caesar. But Caesar was far away and Pompeius, as so often in his career, was largely passive and reactive to the machinations of others. A change in perspective, to take in other political actors, opens up new possibilities of explanation. In this paper I focus on the cousins Marcellus, consuls in 51 and 50, who ran a policy of trying to replace Caesar as governor of Gaul, a policy which resulted in him crossing the Rubicon in January 49.

How did this happen, when most senators saw the danger of civil war and were determined to avoid it? I consider Rome's new constellation of political institutions in the aftermath of Pompeius's laws in 52, and what capacity these institutions had to preserve peace between two overmighty subjects. Scholars normally consider the *lex Pompeia de provinciis* an enlightened reform (e.g. Morrell 2017) but, by depriving consuls of their provinces, it removed a key element in their structural dependence on the Senate and so freed them to pursue an independent policy. The two Marcelli are excellent case studies in the possibilities for and limits to consular action under the new order.

4. Sarah Prince: Scipio Abroad: The Presentation of Scipio Africanus in Spain

The exploits of Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War have captivated ancient and modern scholars. However, analyses of Scipio have traditionally been approached through a military lens that, often, only addresses his public image and identity at face value. As a result, the impact of the Hellenistic world on his presentation is often underestimated (Haywood 1933, Scullard 1930 and 1970, Gabriel 2008). Scipio

presented himself with the ideals and techniques that would best appeal to contemporary audiences. In Rome, he had demonstrated *virtus* in battle, and facilitated associations with the *pietas* of Aeneas. In the Spanish command (211-206), Scipio embraced the tenets of Hellenistic kingship and emulated the precedents of Alexander the Great and his successors. He promoted virtuous leadership and manipulated his physical appearance in order that he resembled a Hellenistic king or benefactor. Like Alexander, Scipio presented himself and was received as having special relationships with the gods, and he routinely emphasised his heroic nature for social and political benefit (Polyb. 10.14.11-12, Livy 26. 45). In response, Scipio received honorific practice akin to that of a Hellenistic king, enhancing his reputation and prominence to greater heights than his Roman predecessors or contemporaries. This paper, then, seeks to demonstrate that Scipio consciously presented himself with Hellenistic techniques and ideals during the Spanish command, and was received in a Hellenistic way.

Panel 16: Atticus meets Prince Harry via Aeneas – *pietas* in the Roman and modern world

The shifting, ambiguous, contested nature of Roman *pietas* is the focus of this panel. Lawrence, building on the work of A.C. Dionisotti, investigates the role of *pietas* in the construction by Cornelius Nepos of a new kind of heroism appropriate to the changed conditions of the late Republic, and finds it to be central to that project. Lienert explores the relationship between *pietas* and *furor* throughout Virgil's *Aeneid*, and wonders to what extent Virgil may have been constructing a version of *pietas* appropriate to the led rather than the leader. Papps considers the construction of the relationship between *pietas* and *amor* as one of conflicting loyalties, both in the telling of the Dido and Aeneas story by Virgil and Ovid, and as it shapes the myriad tellings and retellings of 'Megxit' – the exit of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle from active royalty - in the current day. Throughout, the ambiguity and contestedness of *pietas* are shown to be essential to its effective authorial deployment particularly in times of civil conflict and unrest.

1. Sarah Lawrence: "Billy, don't be a hero": Nepos' *Atticus* as Unheroic Exemplum

As Matthew Roller has demonstrated, the most memorable exemplary figures from Republican Rome are of the ilk of Cloelia, Horatius Cocles and Cato the Younger; characters who actively embody Roman engagement with politics, war and the greater glory of the Roman state. Is it possible, in that case, to recognise an individual as a positive exemplum, who is not at all heroic in this traditional sense? I will examine this question in the context of Cornelius Nepos' *Life of Atticus*. As Rex Stem has argued, Nepos' Lives are clearly exemplary but unlike his subjects drawn from famous generals – Epaminondas or even Hannibal – Nepos' Atticus lives a life deliberately devoid of traditionally heroic exploits.

Building on A.C. Dionisotti's reading of Nepos' engagement with the politics of his era, this paper will suggest that in Nepos' Atticus, we see a tentative attempt to suggest a new kind of Roman heroism for the fractured world of the late Republic. In contrast with views of the text as a model of the dangerous quietude that created monarchy or as representing Atticus' essential self-interest, both of which would lead us to see Atticus as a negative exemplum, it will be argued that Nepos embodies via

Atticus a heroism thoroughly grounded in ethical principles and Roman values, and intimately linked with the *mos maiorum*, yet focused not on conflict, but on *concordia, amicitia* and, perhaps most of all, *pietas*.

2. Geoff Lienert: *Pietas, furor*, and Roman leadership in Virgil's *Aeneid*

In 1980 Egan described Virgilian *pietas* as that 'familiar, but ever controversial, concept' and it has remained a source of scholarly interest since. Nevertheless, although references to *pietas* occur throughout nearly any work on the *Aeneid*, they are in most cases scattered, and remarkably few works have been devoted to *pietas* as such. Egan's own perceptive and careful account of *pietas* in *Aeneid* 9 – 12 is now forty years old; Cairns considered Virgilian *pietas* as it related to kingship in 1986, and in 2007 Noonan considered the implications of *pietas* as a particular quality of leadership.

This paper presents the results of a current project which analyses all direct references to *pietas* in the Aeneid. It aims to document more fully the ambiguity of *pietas* in relation to *furor* and related concepts, to determine whether we can distinguish between a distinctive *pietas* of leaders and that of followers, and if so, whether the one is more ambiguous than the other. This survey builds upon the methodological considerations raised in 2005 Syed, where she argued that the *Aeneid* constructs Roman identity for its readers through the processes of identification with and differentiation from characters within Virgil's poem. By using *pietas* as a test case, this paper will assess whether such an approach is useful in the construction of the position of the reader along the leader/led dimension.

3. Fiona Ann Papps: Following their hearts: blurred boundaries betwen *pietas* and *amor* in constructions of masculinities in Megxit, Virgil's *Aeneid* IV, and Ovid's *Heroides* VII

Popular media described the marriage of Prince Harry to bi-racial American actress, Meghan Markle, as opening a new era for the British royal family. The Sussex's decision, therefore, to 'step back as senior members of the royal family', announced on January 8, 2020, and labelled 'Megxit', was greeted with mixed response. Using thematic analysis of articles in six contemporary Australian tabloid magazines, I show the Sussex's decision described in terms that closely echo Aeneas' struggle in Book IV of the *Aeneid*: Harry attempts to 'honour his duty' to the monarchy, while 'following his heart' and protecting his family. I argue that, in their construction of Megxit, these texts follow the forms used by Virgil to frame Aeneas' conflict as he is forced to choose between his duty, as required by *pietas*, and a relationship with Dido, in which personal commitment, or *amor*, is central. Through a Megxit-inspired reading of Book IV of Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Heroides* VII, I explore the tensions between *pietas* (duty to the will of the gods: McLeish, 1972) and *amor* (love: Britton, 1984), examining whether, for men, *pietas* is (still) necessarily a public virtue directed toward conventionally dictated objects (e.g., gods, royalty) or whether it can be a private virtue directed toward self-chosen objects (e.g., friends), and manifested in *amor* (Carstairs-McCarthy, 2018). Using the media response to Megxit as a stimulus, I ask to what extent is it possible for Roman men to blur the boundaries between publicly prescribed duty and personally chosen commitments.

Panel 17: Classical Reception Studies

This panel on Classical Reception Studies represents the varied approaches to the discipline, including time, place, medium, and genre. Its reach incorporates historical, socio-political approaches to film (*Fellini-Satyricon*); NZ Young Adult literature (*Neo's War*); Australian political rhetoric (Julia Gillard's 2012 Dawn Service Speech at Gallipoli); and popular culture (Eurovision). The appropriation of classical antiquity for political commentary is a strong theme in this panel, with Glass discussing Fellini's filmic response to the changes to Italy's socio-political landscape in the 1950s and 60s, as well as his engagement with Hollywood cinematic politics, and Midford's examination of the Athenian references in Gillard's speech as a means of valorising ancient Greek democratic ideals in an Australian context. Storey's presentation on Eurovision demonstrates the merging of classical antiquity and pop culture as a means of expressing national historic self-expression and pan-European cultural identity. The widespread presence of classical antiquity in children's and adolescent culture, from literature to games – currently a strong area of enquiry in Classical Reception Studies – is also discussed herein in Puetz' study of New Zealand author, Ken Catran. Both Puetz and Midford also fly the flag for the emerging study of Classical Reception Studies 'down under.' As each of the four papers show, Classical Reception Studies is not window-dressing but a far more complicated and messy terrain.

1. Leanne Glass: Fragments of the Sacred and Profane in *Fellini-Satyricon*

The economic and cultural changes of the 1950s and 60s signalled a marked and permanent breakdown in Italy's traditional societal structures and beliefs. Alternative social groups came to the fore of this nation's once seemingly homogenous mindset such as feminism and sexual freedom. The effects of these changes were characterized by Italy's youth, who cut an irreparable swathe through the country's age-old established orders, embracing the newly sown, opportunistic seeds of capitalism: higher-education, wealth, consumerism and a more independent and fluid lifestyle. Yet two filmmakers struggled to accept these emerging trends. Partly inspired by the anti-establishment agenda of Italy's 'youthful protests,' Federico Fellini shared his observations on society's other ways in *Fellini-Satyricon* (1969); alternatively, Pier Paolo Pasolini expressed his Marxist views on the bourgeoisie's encroachment on Italy's proletariat in *Medea* (1969). Yet Fellini adds another element to the mix. This period also saw Rome's Cinecitta Studios become *the place* for large-scale, Hollywood cinematic productions of the ancient past which, alongside the Italian pepla, set the benchmark for how historical epics are portrayed on film. The suggestion is Fellini re-imagined elements from some of these films to underscore *Fellini-Satyricon*'s anti-establishment motifs. Accordingly, the purpose of this paper is to show Fellini's re-consideration of the sacred and profane from Pasolini's *Medea*. A theme that forms the core of this cinematic work, Fellini subverts its meaning into something that is 'other,' to not only acknowledge his film's ode to difference but to bolster his own cinematic rebellion.

2. Sarah Midford: "A deathless monument of valour": Julia Gillard's invocation of ancient Athenian citizen-soldiers at Gallipoli

On Anzac Day 2012, Julia Gillard delivered the Dawn Service Speech at Gallipoli. Throughout this speech, the Prime Minister referenced ancient Greek democratic ideals by quoting a fifth-century Athenian inscription commemorating the sacrifice of

a group of warriors who died fighting in the Dardanelles. She also paraphrased the words of Thucydides, and, by association, Perikles, who established a strong connection between the sacrifice of Athenian soldiers and the beauty and prosperity of Athens.

Gillard's words are not direct references to ancient sources, but are filtered through the works of Australia's First World War Correspondent and Official Historian, CEW Bean. In every major commemorative project with which he was involved, Bean embedded some aspect of classical myth, history, ritual practice or architecture and the result is an Anzac narrative imbued with veiled classical allusions. These allusions are difficult to discern without detailed knowledge of the classics. Nevertheless, their presence remains powerful.

This paper traces the Athenian references evident in Gillard's speech in order to demonstrate the centrality of ancient Greek democratic ideals in Australian war commemoration more broadly. It argues that Bean deliberately and strategically included references to ancient myth and history in Anzac commemoration in order to construct a legacy for Australians based on ancient Greek democratic ideals. It concludes with an assessment of his success, evidenced in Gillard's speech, which, although filtered through Bean's translations of Athenian texts, touts the same ancient Greek ideals Bean hoped would shape the Australian nation as it worked toward a prosperous post-war future.

3. Babette Puetz: Neoptolemus Down-Under: Classical Reception in Ken Catran's *Neo's War*

Neo's War (1995) by NZ children's and YA book author Ken Catran is a time-slip novel which explores the reality of war, both for those fighting at the front and for their families at home. The story juxtaposes scenes of Neo as a modern-day teenager of half-Greek descent and the son of a soldier whose father is about to depart to fight in a conflict between Greece and Turkey, and the same boy finding himself as Neoptolemos from ancient myth trying to prove himself in the Trojan War.

Both contemporary Neo and his ancient *alter ego*, Achilles' son Neoptolemos, are young men personally affected by war, who learn to resist manipulation. At the centre of Catran's novel, as in the *Iliad* (about Achilles) and Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (about Neoptolemos), are the character development of the protagonist and a critical view of the complexities of traditional ideas of heroism.

This paper will discuss how Neo's learning process is depicted by Catran highlighting the interconnectedness of Neo's experiences in contemporary New Zealand and at ancient Troy, as Neo's modern and ancient identities are both tightly intertwined. Comparisons to ancient texts about the Trojan War and about Neoptolemos in particular, such as the *Iliad*, Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and Virgil's *Aeneid* are used to explain how Catran depicts Neo's character development and in how far Neo fits the model of a typical protagonist in children's historical fiction written in New Zealand at the end of the 20th century.

4. Donna Storey: Good evening Europe: exploring ancient imagery and nationalism in the Eurovision Song Contest

Kitsch, camp, and colourful, the Eurovision Song Contest, first broadcast in 1956 (as Grand Prix Eurovision) during the reconstructive post-war spirit of Europe, was intended as a light-hearted, apolitical competition to unite Europe through song. Perhaps not totally unexpectedly, however, Eurovision instead evolved as a vehicle

for expressing national identity in a rapidly changing post-war (and beyond) political and cultural landscape. Unsurprisingly, a substantial component of this expression is history and historical identity, including, of course, themes reflecting the ancient world.

This presentation will examine the use of the ancient world in Eurovision through both song and imagery, and explore to what extent these elements are tied to nationalism of a particular competing country. In a broader political sense, it will also contemplate whether utilisation of ancient world themes on the Eurovision stage associates a competing country with notions of longevity and influence of power, in much the same manner as Mussolini utilised ancient Rome for propaganda during Fascist Italy. In so doing the presentation attempts to examine whether the use of the ancient world in Eurovision is a depiction of national historic self-perception; a manifestation of a "pan-European" cultural identity; a vehicle for other nationalist political purposes; or, deployed purely with an apolitical entertainment rationale, in keeping with the original intentions of the competition.

Panel 18: Greek political and military history

This panel explores aspects of classical Greek political and military history. Three papers tackle episodes from Athens' history in particular, from the beginnings of ostracism (Ahrenberg) to politics and events in the Peloponnesian War (Lysikles the 'sheep-seller' [Brown]; and the Athenian assault on Chios in 412 [McColl]). The final paper reflects more broadly on 'non-hegemonic' sea-power during the Peloponnesian War (Nash).

1. Bryant Ahrenberg: Dating the Origin of Ostracism in Athens

This paper will reconsider the date for the introduction of ostracism by re-examining a key passage of Androtion (BNJ 324 F6) which connected the law's enactment with its first known use against Hipparchus. This re-examination will offer an interpretation of τότε πρῶτον in the passage and discuss several proposed emendations and their impact on the problem under consideration. The paper will further compare the testimony of Androtion's contemporaries. The paper will conclude that the prevailing opinion of the Atthidographers was, correctly, that the law was created by Cleisthenes. This will help to formalize a timeline of the reforms of the late sixth century and to piece together the limited evidence we have on Cleisthenes and his role in the creation of the institution of ostracism.

2. Ben Brown: Lysikles 'the Sheep-Seller' (Abronichou Lamptreus?)

In the autumn of 428 five Athenian *strategoi* set out from Myous on an expedition inland up the plain of the Meander where they were ambushed and destroyed along with their force (Thuc. 3.19.2). The only general named is Lysikles, the so-called 'sheep-seller' (*probatopoles*) who took Perikles' place in at least three of the latter's most prominent relationships after his death in 429—with the *demos*, with the comic poets and, most famously, with Aspasia. While he is represented by Aristophanes in the *Knights* as Athens' most politically successful citizen immediately after Perikles' death, nothing certain about him is known. This paper will reconsider clusters of evidence about Lysikles—from historical, comic and Socratic sources—and offer some suggestions, which, if taken together, can place Lysikles at the nexus of many important relationships around the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

3. Lachlan McColl: Athenians on Chios: a dissection of the Athenian invasion of 412 BC

Spurred on by the arrival of Spartan ships, Chios revolted from Athens in 412 BC and began to incite neighbouring *poleis* to join. In response, just as they had done against Samos three decades earlier, Athens sent a fleet, first recaptured Lesbos and then seized the Oinoussai islands off Chios' north-eastern coast. The Athenian attack on Chios came from four locations, each far from Chios' walled polis-town. In each case, the Chian forces who opposed the Athenians were swiftly defeated. Yet, the Athenians did not make any attempt to capture the *polis*-town, instead preferring to fortify a site to the north, ravage the countryside, and incite a slave revolt. Thucydides' short treatment is the only account of the initial invasion (Xenophon and Diodoros briefly pick up its conclusion), yet elements are archaeologically corroborated. Boardman (1956) excavated the site of Delphinion, and there found an acropolis with several large walls and towers (not found elsewhere on Chios), likely built by the Athenians. This campaign has received minimal scholarly attention, and we know little of the Athenian strategy towards Chios. It is discussed only in the closing remarks of Barron's (1986) history of Chios and, while Sarikakis (1998) does discuss the campaign in some detail, he does not answer these questions. This paper aims to illuminate this otherwise opaque event by examining both the Athenian strategic imperatives at this late stage of the war and Chios' military capacity.

4. John Nash Non-hegemonic Sea Power in the Peloponnesian War: Corinth, Corcyra, and Leucas

It is apparent that smaller *poleis* regularly contributed naval forces to maritime operations across the fifth and fourth centuries. At Salamis in 480 there were ships present from 19 *poleis* other than Athens and Sparta, from as far away as Kroton in southern Italy. In the 370s, long after their defeat at Knidos, the Spartans were still able to gather a fleet with contributions from Corinth, Leukas, Ambrakia, Elis, Zakynthos, Achaia, Epidauros, Troizen, Hermione and Halieis.This paper will examine the sea power of smaller *poleis* during the period of the Peloponnesian War. Many of these small cities invested tremendous time, effort, and money into building up small-medium navies, including ships and infrastructure, as well as using them in warfare, often as part of a coalition. The paper aims to highlight the existence of sea power and strong maritime interests outside of the usual few cities which form the lion's share of scholarship. It will focus on Corinth, Corcyra, and Leukas as examples of how sea power was practised in a 'non-hegemonic' sense. While sources are limited, it is possible to piece together a basic picture of how sea power may have operated in non-hegemonic *poleis* through examining ancient sources and archaeological evidence, most notably the presence of shipsheds in smaller *poleis*. The paper will give an outline of some of the operations conducted by a few maritime poleis, and speculate on how they might have used their sea power across the spectrum of maritime operations.

Panel 19: Greek hegemonies and rulers

The panel explores questions surrounding the formation and history of hegemonies in the Greek world. Topics range from the Archaic period (6th century BCE Thessalian hegemony: Londey), late Classical and early Hellenistic (The 'League of Corinth':

Richardson; and the historiography of the Diadochi: Wheatley), and middle Hellenistic (the ambitions of Philip V: Worthington).

1. Peter Londey: The Thessalian hegemony in central Greece: a historians' fantasy?

Herodotos at 8.27–28 describes battles in the period sometime before the Persian War in which the Phokians fought off a Thessalian invasion of Phokis. By Plutarch, *Mor.* 244a–e, this story had been elaborated to include as a prelude the Phokians' massacring all the Thessalian *archontes* and *tyrannoi* in Phokis. From these and other clues historians have postulated a 6th century Thessalian hegemony in central Greece. For Jeremy McInerney, opposition to the Thessalian overlords was the key to the development of a Phokian consciousness. Even so sober a historian as Jonathan Hall attributes Amphiktyonic interest in Delphoi to Thessalian desire to control the so-called "Great Isthmus Corridor". This paper will argue that much of this is fantasy, based on shreds of evidence which will not support the weight placed on them. Particular attention will be paid to the question of how we should interpret the stories at Hdt. 8.27–28. In conclusion, the paper will suggest that the Thessalian central Greek hegemony is most likely a later fantasy, like the Lelantine and First Sacred Wars.

2. William P Richardson: The Reformation of the League of Corinth: A Cautionary Tale

The temptation to directly compare the respective Leagues of Corinth established by Philip II and Demetrius I has long permeated the scholarship of the late fourth century BCE. This temptation is not without merit – the historical and political proximity of the two institutions overwhelmingly implies that one influenced the other. Unfortunately, the disparity in surviving sources for the structure and constitution of these two bodies limits our ability to directly compare them. While the later incarnation is well revealed by *IG* iv² 1.68, of which we have a number of significant fragments, for Philip's we are left with a relatively dilapidated *IG* ii² 236 and a handful of indirect literary discussions.

While a number of works have commented on the similarities of these institutions (e.g. Rhodes & Osborne, 2003; Anson, 2014), comparatively few have focussed on the differences that can be drawn (notably Harter-Uibopuu, 2003). While it is imprudent to completely dismiss the connection between the Leagues, a degree of caution in assuming similarities is warranted. Through an investigation of the historical contexts and sources for these Leagues, this paper re-examines those differences and draws distinctions between the structures and constitutions of the institutions. It also discusses the implications of these differences on our understanding of the earlier version.

3. Pat Wheatley: "Fly, Mithridates!": Myth, Historiography, and Love in the Creation of a Diadoch Dynasty

In chapter four of his *Life* of Demetrius Poliorcetes, 'The Besieger of Cities', Plutarch records an incident in which the youthful Besieger is forced into an uncharacteristic act of disobedience to his father, Antigonus the One-Eyed. Learning from the latter under oath of silence that his friend, the Persian nobleman Mithridates, is to be executed on account of a paranoid prophetic dream, Demetrius draws him aside one day and inscribes on the ground with the butt of his lance the words "Φεῦγε,

Μιθριδάτα!" ("Fly, Mithridates!"). Mithridates comprehends his peril, and vanishes that night, later to fight against the Antigonids at the crucial battle of Ipsus in 301 BC, and become Mithridates I Ctistes (Founder), the first king of Pontus. This essay examines the timing and context of Plutarch's cameo, as well as the relationship between these two important early Hellenistic dynasts, and some political ramifications of sexual relationships among the Diadochoi, or Successors to Alexander the Great.

4. Ian Worthington: Philip V of Macedonia and World Conquest?

It is often thought that Philip V sought to expand Macedonian influence in the west, hence among other things his alliance with Hannibal in 215. Polybius even spoke of him aiming at world conquest, and arguably Philip's alliance with Antiochus against Egypt might support this. I think this view is wrong. For one thing, Polybius took every chance he could to denigrate Philip, just as he unfairly criticised Athenian neutrality and courtship of Egypt under Eurycleides and Micion. By stepping away from the view of Polybius and considering the manner by which Philip sought to increase his influence beyond the Greek mainland, especially with regard to his naval programme, I put forward a reassessment of his aims, which are more realistic to his times and less 'imperialistic' than commonly thought.

Panel 20: Exhibit and Not Exhibit: That Is The Question

This panel investigates key challenges in the production, interpretation, and exhibition of ancient artefacts including Lucanian vase-painting of the 4th century BC, the twelve sacred shields of Rome, the multi-disciplinary narratives of the University of Sydney's Chau Chak Wing Museum, and multi-cultural narratives of Cape Town's Iziko South African Museum. It will address questions of declining style and taste versus age and infirmity; the tension between original and replica and significance of material replication; the search for cohesion and curatorial rationale across disparate yet kindred collections; and the challenges associated with deconstructing colonial legacies and reforging inclusive contemporary identities.

1. Lauren Murphy: The Decline and Fall of Lucanian Vase-Painting

Towards the end of the fourth century BC, the figured vases being manufactured in South Italy show a marked decline in sophistication, artistic originality and skill. The late vases of artists such as the Primato Painter and the Painter of Naples 1959 reveal a distinct degeneration towards the end of their careers. This degeneration was described by the great connoisseur of South Italian vases, A. D. Trendall, as 'barbarising'. The decline of red-figure painting in South Italy is largely attributed to a change in tastes, but this alone does not account for the shift from fine detail to thick lines and distorted proportions by skilful artists. However, the increasing age of individual vase-painters and the impact that time had on their artistic output has not been sufficiently scrutinised. Yet we know that some of the late Lucanian red-figure painters had long careers. There are few relevant ancient sources, so any comparison to another group of artists must be to artists who were working prior to the advent of modern medicine and its benefits. Many Renaissance sources describe the declining eyesight, creativity, and other infirmities of elderly artists. These accounts, as well as the subsequent artworks of such artists, can be used to help illuminate the artistic progression of ancient vase-painters.

2. Alina Kozlovski: What to do with a perfect copy? Ancient shields and modern museums

In this paper I address the topic of copies of ancient objects and their place in the modern world by creating a thought experiment based on an ancient Roman example. Questions about the role of copies in how we study the ancient world have been asked for hundreds of years. Stretching from the ancient Roman 'copies' of Greek works which continue to be labelled in relation to no longer extant 'originals', to histories of plaster casts and their value as collected objects, and to more recent 3D printed examples and their machine-assisted material form. In contemporary display contexts such as museums, discussions continue about whether (modern) copies deserve floorspace and attention. If we look to our ancient texts, a story of a series of copies brings a different dimension to the debate. Plutarch tells the tale of a sacred shield which fell from the sky and, to preserve it from thieves, Numa ordered eleven more to be made. According to Plutarch, the newly created objects were so identical that even Numa could not tell which was the original (*Num*.13.1-3). This resulted in *twelve* shields being used in ritual, with the copies given equal place to the original which was now impossible to discern. In this paper I examine what this story tells us about ancient Roman ideas about material replication and investigate how the ancient tale of the perfect copy can contribute to modern museum debates.

3. Candace Richards: New ways to tell old stories: multidisciplinary exhibition curation at the Chau Chak Wing Museum, The University of Sydney

The Chau Chak Wing Museum opened at the University of Sydney in November 2020. This new cultural institution was purpose-built to bring together the historic Nicholson, Macleay and Art Collections of the University under one roof. In the lead-up to its opening, the curators for each collection worked furiously behind the scenes to research and write an opening suite of exhibitions; re-imagining the collections for their new environment, and developing new stories or new methods to tell old ones. Part of this opening suite is the multi-disciplinary exhibition *Animal Gods: Classics and Classification* which unites objects from the Nicholson's antiquities collection and the Macleay's natural history collection to simultaneously explore the ancient epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and the history of Taxonomy. This paper will introduce the Chau Chak Wing Museum, the disciplines represented across the collections, and the new exhibitions that now fill the museum's 2000 sqm of display space. We will then look in-depth at the curatorial rationale for the exhibition *Animal Gods: Classics and Classification* and examine the multi-disciplinary approaches embedded within its writing and display. The paper will conclude with a reflection on the (hopefully successful) first two months of the exhibition's public engagement.

4. Jessica Nitschke and Samantha Masters: Neither here nor there: a collection of Greek terracottas in the storerooms of the Iziko Museums of South Africa

Arranged on a shelf behind a glass door in a storeroom of the Iziko Museums of South Africa in Cape Town is a small collection of Greek terracottas. They were removed from public display along with the rest of the Greek and Roman antiquities in the late 1990s in the course of the museum's reimagining of its mission to focus on South Africa's indigenous cultural heritage. Carefully curated, although never formally studied, the figurines are accessible on request to lecturers and students of

Classics and art. Neither fully packed away nor fully on display, these figurines occupy a liminal place in the museum's social history collections.

Like so much of the visual culture of Cape Town, these miniature sculptures are a legacy of the colonial occupation of South Africa and the cultural tastes of its European occupiers. At the same time, the modest material (earthenware) and the belief systems underpinning the form and use of these figurines suggest that they have more in common with traditional African cultural beliefs and practices than with the elite Enlightenment ideology that prompted their collection. Through examination of these figurines and their meaning in both antiquity and today, we ask what place such objects have in the cultural landscape of a decolonized South Africa. Specifically, we consider how we can use Greek terracottas to transcend the perception in South Africa of ancient Greek culture as inextricably tied to a "Western" identity, thereby creating a clearer intellectual place for these objects within the Iziko collection.

Panel 21: Roman Social History

This panel explores Roman society from several angles, both real and imagined. Lewit and Levick focus on the very physical realities of life: the ways city-dwellers tried to preserve or restore their health in the face of prevalent disease, and the roles of children as agricultural labourers and in farm life more generally. Kjorsvik examines the noxal surrender, both private and public, through a theoretical lens, while Sands explores the play of light in Cicero's religious works.

1. Ryleigh Kjorsvik: The *noxae deditio* as a liminal phenomenon

In his Institutes, Gaius describes the practice of *noxae deditio*, the noxal surrender, in which the paterfamilias surrendered an individual — such as a delinquent son — to an injured party in compensation for damages (4.75-81). Far from being limited to the familial sphere, the noxal surrender was employed at public and international levels, evident in the surrender of Hostilius Mancinus to the Celtiberians of Numantia in 137 BCE (Vell. Pat. 2.1; Cic. De or. 181) and in the surrender of the Vestal Virgin Urbinia to the gods after breaking her vow of chastity (Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 9.40.3). The individual offered as a noxal surrender became a liminal object, one trapped on a threshold, simultaneously representing Rome's ruin or salvation. Using extradition type surrenders and the surrender of the Vestal Virgins as case studies, I argue that the complex dual nature of the noxal surrender is elucidated by models and methods drawn from liminal theory. Furthermore, by building upon the work of Kroppenberg (2010), Schultz (2010), and Rüpke (2019), I examine the significance of the noxal surrender as a method of managing the image of Rome as a just and rational state.

2. Tamar Lewit: "*non modo pueri sed etiam puellae pascant*": children in Roman farming

Although there has been a flood of recent work on many aspects of childhood in Roman society, children's roles within farming have been little explored. The few studies which have considered this topic have been framed within the broader study of slavery, rather than within the study of farming. Yet the great majority of the population of the Empire lived in the countryside and male and female children must have participated in work on all types of farms, whether large estates or small households. This paper seeks to elucidate what we can discover about children in farming from Roman textual, visual and archaeological sources, and to better

understand their roles through a comparison with ethnographic data from the more recent Mediterranean.

3. Samantha Levick: *Saeva Urbs*: Health Care and Disease in the Roman Topography

The Imperial poet Juvenal, a man who lived and worked in the heart of the Empire, describes the Roman Subura as (Juv. 3.5): 'for have you seen such misery, such loneliness, that you wouldn't consider it worse to live in fear of fire, of buildings always collapsing, and of a thousand more dangers of the savage city …?' (*nam quid tam miserum, tam solum vidimus, ut non deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus tectorum adsiduos ac mille pericula saevae urbis …?*). The elite *viri* and *matronae* of Rome made up only a small fraction of the population, with the majority falling between the very rich and the very destitute: the plebs of the city (*plebs urbana*). This presentation will explore the medical experience of the *plebs urbana* and describe the complex relationship that existed between health, disease, and the urban topography. I first argue that this class existed in and contributed to a complex network of social ties that was responsible for transmitting and preserving knowledge, which included knowledge about health care. Secondly, the urban environment provided multiple avenues through which one may seek out health care, while at the same time, it may undermine the wellbeing of this class, resulting in a complex social network of health and disease that operated in the urban topography of Rome. Finally, I will finish with an exploration of urban sanitation as a source of disease, and pharmacopeia as a source of health care, and discuss whether this option could mitigate the challenges to health that poor sanitation posed to the *plebs urbana*.

4. Brianna Sands: Colour and Light in Cicero's *On the Nature of the Gods* and *On Divination*

The ancient world was an innately visual culture. Colour and visual imagery, along with other sensory cues, were important in the performance of Roman religion and ritual. Thus, colour and light imagery were often used in literary descriptions of Roman religion and ritual. This is evident in Cicero's philosophical treatises *On the Nature of the Gods* and *On Divination*. These works were produced as part of Cicero's wider philosophical encyclopedia, published between 45 and 44 BCE. Cicero aimed to provide a systematic treatment of Greek and Hellenistic philosophy in the Latin language. However, it is evident that other cultural and political influences were at play. For example, Cicero makes reference to the tumultuous political climate of Caesar's dictatorship and assassination throughout both works. Moreover, the two works are written in dialogue and present the arguments of the Stoics, Academics, and Epicureans, as well as the attitudes of Roman State religion, on the topics of divine form, divine existence, and divination. Cicero includes numerous quotations from prominent Greek and Latin authors, such as Homer, Ennius, Accius, and Cicero's own poetry, as examples for the philosophical arguments. This results in an interesting treatment of colour and religion through multiple viewpoints, genres, authors, and time periods, all in the same work. This paper will explore the use of colour and light terms in Cicero's *On the Nature of the Gods* and *On Divination*, addressing the context of the work's genre, aim, and historical setting.

Panel 22: Mediterranean Archaeology

This panel is dedicated to the archaeology of the Greek eastern Mediterranean, with archaeological reports on recent work at Zagora on Andros and on the Perachora Peninsula near Corinth. Other papers explore the implications of earlier work on the relations between significant sites, from the Saronic Gulf in the Helladic period to Cyprus under the Empire.

1. Craig Barker: *Koinon Kyprion*: reassessing the archaeology of Severan Cyprus

The archaeology of Roman Cyprus has recieved considerable renewed attention in recent years, largely driven by the publication of new archaeological material and papers considering the island's significant role in Roman economic prosperity within the theoretical frameworks of island insularity. The view forwarded by Terence Mitford in 1980 that under Roman control Cyprus entered "more than three centuries of tranquil obscurity, seemingly not unprosperous and apparently well governed" has been shattered as convincing evidence now demonstrates the Pax Romana led to a thoroughly diverse explosion in cultural and civic expression on the island. Excavations by the University of Sydney's Paphos Theatre Archaeological Project have contributed to this understanding with the excavation of considerable second century Roman urban infrastructure near the theatre, including a colonnaded paved road and a complex water system including a nymphaeum.

This paper aims to review archaeological evidence from the island's Roman urban centres, including Paphos, Kourion, Soloi and Salamis. Using architectural, numismatic, sculptural and epigraphic evidence of the late second and early third centuries it can be demonstrated that under the Severan dynasty Cyprus and its Koinon Kyprion (League of Cypriot Cities) was the centre of profound social, artistic, cultural and religious changes. One of the most profound was a linkage of Imperial cult worship to the cult of Aphrodite at Paleapaphos as demonstrated on contemporary Cypriot coinage, and tantalising hints of a Severan temple within the theatre precinct at Nea Paphos.

2. Lesley Beaumont, Paul Donnelly, Stavros Paspalas & Hugh Thomas: The Zagora Archaeological Project: Report on the 2019 Fieldwork Season

The Zagora Archaeological Project is a collaborative venture between the University of Sydney's Dept. of Archaeology, the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens, and the Chau Chak Wing Museum. In July 2019, GML Heritage Pty Ltd also joined the collaboration in resumption of the Project's field research at Zagora on Andros over a three week period. Work focused on excavation, archaeological surface survey and infra-red remote sensing.

Within the settlement three excavation trenches were opened: Trench 11 revealed the whole ground plan of a processing installation and Trench 13 uncovered a built structure inside which metal smithing had been conducted. The excavation of Trench 12 allowed us to ground-truth the results of infra-red remote sensing work undertaken at the site in 2017, with the trench producing a huge quantity of animal bone suggestive of faunal processing at a supra-household level. In sum, the 2019 excavations provided us with an important new perspective on Greek Early Iron Age settlement organisation and economy by identifying at Zagora an area devoted to processing and manufacturing activities.

Archaeological surface survey conducted in the Zagora hinterland highlighted the fiercely nucleated character of the Early Iron Age settlement and infra-red imaging, also undertaken outside the area of the fortified settlement, suggested the possible location of Zagora's necropolis.

3. Susan Lupack: The Perachora Peninsula Archaeological Project 2020: New Fieldwork Around the Sanctuary of Hera and the Settlement in the Upper Plain

The inaugural season of the Perachora Peninsula Archaeological Project, which is co-directed by Panagiota Kasimi (Ephor of the Antiquities of the Corinthia) and Susan Lupack (Macquarie University), under the aegis of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens, was held over January-February 2020.

In our first season we focused on the area above the Heraion called the Upper Plain, whose nature, with its various domestic structures, fountain house, and extensive waterworks, has been disputed: Payne, the site's initial excavator (1930s), saw it as a substantial town, while Tomlinson (1969) referred to it as "a scatter of houses." Thus, one of our main aims is to clarify the nature of the settlement in the Upper Plain during the sanctuary's use: 8th–2nd centuries B.C.

We set out to accomplish our aims through a two-pronged effort: first to verify and document the legacy data found in Tomlinson's plan of the area, and second to conduct intensive surface survey of the region. Our teams were able to locate and document nearly all the structures on Tomlinson's plan, and some that had not been previously recorded. The substantial 18x12 m Building A1 and the Fountain House were cleared and recorded using photogrammetry. The surface survey's finds provide complementary evidence to our legacy data and seems to indicate that habitation was fairly consistent across the historical periods. Significantly, a concentration of miniature votives was found on a hillside, possibly indicating an open-air shrine. In this paper we share some of our preliminary interpretations.

4. Samantha Mills: Kolonna and Mycenae in the Late Bronze Age: tracing changing relations

Kolonna was an important site which flourished for almost a millennium, until the 'Shaft Grave' period. It is thought to be one of the earliest known examples in the Aegean, aside from Crete, of a ranked society, and possibly also a large economic and political centre in early times (Gauss, 2010: 737). In the Middle Helladic III period (1800-1700 BC), Kolonna was the preeminent site, owing to its control of the silver trade in the Saronic Gulf and its connection with Minoan Crete. Its position in the centre of the Saronic Gulf meant that much of its ceramic ware was directed through the region to areas such as Korinthia and Attica.

By the transition of the Middle Helladic III-Late Helladic I period (1800-1600 BC), Mycenae was entering the Aegean scene as one of the emerging dominant centres on the mainland. From this point, there is a marked decline in Kolonna's trajectory.

This paper seeks to understand how Mycenae's growth may have directly (or indirectly) impacted on Kolonna in the Late Helladic period. It is likely that Mycenae began to make use of the existing trade networks to expand its contact to the east, towards Anatolia, which permitted Mycenae's substantial growth in material wealth, while laying the groundwork for its relations with Egypt and the Near East.

Panel 23: Ovid

This panel addresses different interpretative problems in tackling Ovid, particularly problems of gender. Cowan treats the intersection of gender and nature in the *Metamorphoses*; Zindilis, gender and exile in the *Fasti*; and Neall, gender and violence in 20th and 21st century English translations. Gleeson's paper points to the importance of consolation in the exile poetry, arguing that we should reimagine consolation as a genre. Much-studied though he is, Ovid still offers a plenitude of possibilities.

1. Robert Cowan: (You Make Me Feel Like) A Natural Woman: An Ecofeminist Reading of Ovid's Plant Metamorphoses

Ecofeminism, as a branch of literary criticism, of other academic disciplines, and of activism outside the academy, centres on the association of women with nature, and in particular the oppression and exploitation of both. Sometimes the association is positively valorized and used to re-assert the value of 'feminine' and 'natural' values vis-à-vis 'masculine' and 'cultural' values. Sometimes the construct itself is rejected and deconstructed as part of the very patriarchal discourse which employs it to subordinate women and nature.

The approach has made surprisingly little impact in Classical literary criticism, though its ideas have much in common with other feminist approaches to Graeco-Roman texts. A forthcoming study explores the potential for an ecofeminist reading of Virgil's *Georgics*. In that poem, with its vanishingly few women, the emphasis is on 'feminized nature', though its susceptibility to allegorical interpretation means that its fields, plants, and livestock can be read as 'naturalized women'.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, by contrast, abounds with nymphs and women whose transformation into plants, animals, and minerals assimilates them to the natural world. Unlike the equally numerous male metamorphoses, transformation into plants is almost exclusively the preserve of women and feminized ephebes. This paper will explore whether ecofeminism can illuminate these metamorphoses and whether the *Metamorphoses* can in turn contribute to the debates within ecofeminism. The focus will be on Daphne, Dryope, Myrrha, and the Thracian women who murder Orpheus.

2. Tegan Gleeson: 'Do Not Stand at My Grave and Weep': Consolation and Ovid's *Tristia*

A range of genres is recognised as having shaped the themes and tropes of the poems Ovid wrote from Tomis following his relegation in 8 AD. The influence of *consolatio* on Ovid's *Tristia*, however, has been overlooked. Claassen (1999) explicitly rejects the possibility that Ovid drew upon consolation, conceding 'some familiarity' at best with the traditional understanding of consolation as a rigidly delineated and consistent genre whose works are singularly and entirely concerned with offering comfort (Jeden, 2017.) This model is inherently flawed. Instead, Scourfield (2013) has suggested envisaging the genre as a spectrum upon which texts can be mapped according to their engagement with consolation. A number of the poems addressed to Ovid's unnamed wife in the *Tristia* have a place upon this conceptual map of consolation. *Tristia* 1.2 and 1.3 depict Ovid's exile as a type of death, a well-attested trope in exilic discourse, and place his wife in the role of a mourning widow. This establishes a context in which Ovid's subsequent poems can offer consolation and comfort from the metaphorical grave. This paper explores some of the ways in which

Ovid engages with consolatory tropes and ideas when addressing his wife in the *Tristia*. Doing so expands our understanding of the genre of consolation; Seneca's later *Ad Helviam*, in which, paradoxically, the exiled is 'the comforter, the one at Rome the bereaved' (Claassen 1999), may not have been as novel as generally accepted. Rather, the *Tristia*'s engagement with consolatory tropes forms an important milestone in the genre's literary development.

3. Stephanie Zindilis: Ovid's Calendar Girls: Displaced Women of the *Fasti*

Although Ovid's *Fasti* features a number of exile figures, the longest and most detailed narratives centre on three female protagonists – Carmentis, Anna, and Ino. Reading these episodes from a gendered perspective provides valuable insight into the female experience of displacement, revealing how gender and exile intersect to create a dual marginalisation. This shared experience links Carmentis, Anna, and Ino, as they all contend with limited agency, vulnerability, and dependence on male hosts. These woman also share the commonality of ending their wanderings in Italy, their successes and failures serving to support or undermine the historical concept of Rome as refuge. This unique commentary is made more topical by the retroactive influence of Ovid's own banishment to Tomis in 8C.E. While there has been copious research produced on gender and exile in Ovid, there is no study to date on the reccurring appearance of female refugees in the *Fasti,* and how these episodes enhance understanding of Ovid's depiction of his own exile in the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto.* This gap necessitates an intertextual analysis of the theme of displacement in Ovid's *Fasti* and exile poetry with an awareness of how he builds upon his earlier episodes of female displacement to construct the portrait of himself as a displaced figure.

4. Gemma Neall: Daphne nodded? (Mis)translation of Sexual Violence in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

This paper will examine how translations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* treat issues of consent and sexual aggression. The translation of sexually violent episodes in the *Metamorphoses* is fraught, not least because the transmission of the test is being made between two cultures from vastly different times and places, with differing opinions on the nature of consent as it relates to sexual acts. Using the Daphne and Apollo episode as a case study, I will look at how different English translations have represented sexual violence in Ovid. As ideas of consent and sexual violence have evolved rapidly in recent decades, it is important to examine closely how many translators soften sexually aggressive language, creating a misleading impression of the text. Broader familiarity with the Latin language is becoming less common, and it is increasingly vital that a translator—serving as essentially sole authority on the text—renders as faithfully as possible the content (in all the senses of the word) of the original verse. This is even more important with scenes of a sexually violent nature. As a translator is transmitting a culture in addition to a language, their choices should reveal and clarify the societal norms Ovid communicates within his work. My aim is to highlight generational and societal differences in word choice and sensitivity to content, while also attempting to establish how a translator should approach the rendering of sexually violent acts.

Panel 24: Imperial Rome

This panel explores different facets of Rome under the Emperors. Strickler asks what the religious stories surrounding Vespasian can tell us about the intersection of power and religion in a crisis-beset Rome. Finn looks at juristic interpretations of interpersonal violence with a focus on the dishonour of being on the receiving end, while Mann examines the military policies of the emperor Commodus through the medium of his coinage.

1. Ryan Strickler: The Ominous Emperor Vespasian: Religion and Crisis in the Early Roman Empire

In 69 CE Titus Flavius Vespasianus brought an end to the "year of four emperors", restoring order and founding the Flavian dynasty. Although Vespasian may have seemed like an unlikely candidate, numerous literary sources, including Tacitus, Cassius Dio, Suetonius, and Josephus would have us believe that his ascent had been foretold early on through prophecies, portents, and the results of divination. Scholars, including a recent article by Trevor Luke (2010), have closely associated these instances with "Flavian Propaganda", focusing mostly on attempts by later emperors such as Domitian to cultivate a religious following for the Flavian dynasty.

While a reputation for supernatural powers would no doubt have bolstered the reputation of Vespasian and his successors, to refer to these events as mere "propaganda" is a bit simplistic. The second half of the first century CE was a period of instability and religious speculation. The death of Nero resulted in an intolerable power vacuum that threatened to bring down the principate. Jewish messianic movements suggest that this instability reached beyond Rome. The miraculous events surrounding Vespasian's ascent provided divine sanction which in turn secured his legitimacy. Regardless of whether the accounts of these miracles were manufactured by Vespasian's circle or arose from popular support, they provide some insight into the anxieties and signs of affirmation sought by contemporary Romans. This paper considers what the portents surrounding Vespasian's ascent tell us about relationship between religion, power, and legitimacy in early Roman imperial society, especially after a period of crisis and instability.

2. Ash Finn: The Nature of Roman Violence and *iniuria* as an Affront to Honour

If we are subjected to violence at the hands of another person, how do we feel? Angry? Hurt? Ashamed? All three? And how is the law to assess the appropriate damages and provide recompense with this in mind? According to the jurist Claudius Saturninus, in his only entry in Justinian's immense digest of classical Roman law, when assessing the amount of punishment to be meted out to the condemned a judge ought to consider not the blow itself but the dishonour it brings to the victim. For "what is terrible to freemen is not being beaten, although this is terrible, but the insult [of being beaten]" (D.48.19.16.6). Taking its cue from Saturninus, the current paper approaches the question of the valuation of damages through the concept of 'personal honour' by looking at the victim's experience of interpersonal violence. The paper looks at the close connection between personal power, honour, and external physical appearance, arguing that any attack on the physical was by its very nature an attack on the personal and was therefore deeply damaging to a Roman's sense of honour and personal power. By examining the social history of interpersonal violence and honour in Roman society this paper contributes to contemporary research on Roman violence

as well as to our understanding of the role of the Roman legal system in providing appropriate recompense to victims of interpersonal violence.

3. Charlotte Mann: Commodus--the Military Monarch?

Historians of the ancient and modern worlds are united by their condemnation of the emperor Commodus as a 'sinister and scandalous, cruel and obscene, filthy-mouthed and perverted' emperor, whose reign 'ended an age of iron and began one of rust' (SHA. *Comm*. 1.7-8, Cass. Dio. 72.36.4). Scholarship is similarly united in citing Commodus' identification with Hercules as evidence of his perversion, delusion and insanity. After 189 CE, Commodus had the senate declare him the 'Roman Hercules' and used his new public image to embrace an 'autocratic' governing style that transformed imperial authority from a general consensus to the highly centralised model of leadership that produced the soldier-emperors of the third century CE. Commodus' reign transformed emperors and their empire. And yet, there is method in his madness for those who care to see it.

This paper uses the quantitative analysis of imperial coin hoards to suggest that Commodus' identification with Hercules was prompted by his desire to cultivate the loyalty and support of the legions. Throughout Commodus' reign, visual media emphasises his relationship with the armed forces. Despite Commodus' refusal to leave the capital for campaign, the imperial coinage paints a convincing image of a military emperor: one who rode with his legions, guided his legions, enjoyed the loyalty of the legions and won wars. Historians of the third century describe Commodus as an emperor beloved by the army- when Didius Julianus wished to succeed the throne with military support, for example, he first promised to restore to the soldiers the 'freewheeling ways' they had enjoyed under Commodus (Hdn. 2.6.10). Considering Commodus' self-representation a ploy for military support makes sense of his identification with Hercules, which otherwise defies imperial precedent, and his association with military imagery, which is otherwise entirely at odds with the events of his life and reign.

Panel 25 PLENARY: Teach broader, teach better: increasing student access to ancient languages

This panel addresses urgent questions facing our field: how can we increase student enrolments, pass rates, and retention in ancient languages? how can we teach accessibly, so that students from all backgrounds and of varying abilities can succeed in our courses? what can we do, inside the classroom and out of it, to ensure that we are making the languages relevant to as wide a cohort of learners as possible? These questions have an ethical dimension; bringing them to the forefront of our pedagogy could transform the face of a historically conservative discipline. The questions also matter for anyone concerned about the survival of these languages; we have seen time and time again at both high school and tertiary level that subjects with low enrolments and little perceived relevance get cut.

To start to address these questions, we showcase the work of six teachers via a series of short presentations. Each teacher will share a strategy that they have used to increase students' access to and success in learning an ancient language. Our speakers teach the languages across diverse contexts: universities, high schools, and independent tutoring. The strategies that they offer span: the use of technology, gamifying learning, incorporating Comprehensible Input (CI), deploying active Latin,

using indigenous pedagogies, adapting grammar-translation models, and more. Our aim is that anyone who teaches or wants to teach ancient languages will walk out of this panel with concrete options that they can adapt for their own educational environment.

1. Dane Drivas: An online migration of the classroom through OneNote

An online migration of the classroom through OneNote, Microsoft's OneNote, a digital note-taking app, makes all the content and resources of the classroom accessible to students from anywhere, using any device, at any time. The app is structured around three teaching and learning sections: the Collaboration Space, the Content Library and the Student Section. These features can be put to all manner of uses, including to promote student group work overseen remotely by the teacher, to upload and live-annotate resources for students to access immediately, as well as to enable students to upload and organise their work and receive feedback on it with ease. Having implemented OneNote across all classes and year groups, I have observed many positive outcomes, including a surge in students' engagement with the course content as well as, and most crucially, a significant increase in students' productivity and submission of formative work for feedback.

2. Kate Edwards: Teaching Latin in Regional NSW: a broad and inclusive approach assisted by technology

From 2007-2018 I taught in a large co-educational boarding school in a regional town in NSW, where a full year of Latin study was compulsory for the entire Year 7 cohort. In this paper I will share some of the methods that I developed over this time to make the Latin language more accessible and engaging not only for the traditional "four-percenters" who might have been naturally drawn to the study of classical languages, but for the whole of this diverse group of students, which included a significant number with learning difficulties. In particular I will outline how, with the increasing availability of audio-visual technology in classrooms, I was able to make extensive use of Microsoft PowerPoint to maximise visual learning, interaction, clarity of explanation and instruction, scaffolding strategies, and student engagement and participation.

3. Chrysoula Zachariadou: Using minimal pairs as a strategy for teaching features of the Ancient Greek participle

In linguistic studies of spoken languages, the technique of comparing minimal pairs (: words, phrases, sentences, and passages that differ only slightly) is widely used in phonology, but also at other levels of grammatical analysis. In languages no longer spoken which lack native speaker's intuition, such as Ancient Greek, the comparison of minimal pairs is a valuable tool for gaining insight into how different linguistic means are used to express the same or similar function. In this paper, it will be demonstrated how minimal pairs can be an effective learning-teaching tool for clarifying and understanding some difficult points regarding the Greek participle, such as its double nature, its various uses, its aspectual values, and its usage as an alternative to subordinate clauses. By raising language awareness though explorations of equivalence, minimal pairs' activity can promote an in-depth comprehension of this challenging topic, particularly useful to learners lacking confidence in grammatical metalanguage.

4. Maxine Lewis: "Welcome to Latin club!": running an informal spoken Latin club to foster whanaungatanga (belonging)

Since mid-2018, Dr Christina Robertson and I have been co-running an informal Latin spoken group at the University of Auckland. We started the group to build whanaungatanga, or 'belonging', offering active Latin tailored to the participants' interests and learning needs to create an inclusive, informal space for existing Latin students. In 2020, we expanded our reach, offering sessions to students and staff who had never taken Latin. In this presentation, I will outline how we run the group to make Latin accessible, engaging, and relevant to our participants. Our approach reflects a combination of: teacher training from Justin Slocum-Bailey through the Living Latin in New York City conference; applying the *tres leges*, three laws of immersion Latin at SALVI's rusticatio events; and our application of tikanga Māori (Māori cultural protocols), such as including a Latin pepeha (traditional form of Māori introduction) to welcome our indigenous students.

5. Caitlin McMenamin: Greek Club: ancient language accessibility in Australian schools

This paper reviews the success of high school ancient language clubs with voluntary participation, and provides a model for the increased engagement of students in learning classical languages. The Classical Greek Club of Barker College, Hornsby, was set up by Mr. Matthew Ross. It offers biweekly classes to students from years seven to twelve. Participation is voluntary, and yet dozens of students have signed up to learn their alpha-beta-gammas. This paper offers practical advice for teachers about administering an ancient Greek club, arguing that the form of a voluntary club creates an inclusive and welcoming environment where the intimidating reputation of Classical Greek is left behind. The form of a 'club' as opposed to a formal unit of study means that students can enjoy learning Greek without the pressure of marks or the fear of failure. The perspectives of current and previous students who have participated in the club will be discussed to identify the successes of this program and improvements to be implemented by teachers wishing to create an ancient language club of their own.

6. Seumas Macdonald: Tabletop roleplaying as more equitable Comprehensible Input

Two significant problems in approaches to ancient language learning are the fundamentally inequitable nature of traditional grammar instruction, and the problematic content foci of ancient-centered curricula. Adaptation of tabletop roleplaying games in the target language provided an opportunity for sustained immersion in the target language, with heightened learner investment in character identity and story development, as well as the opportunity to explore non-traditional language domains. In this paper I will offer critical reflection on my own pedagogical practice of teaching Latin through tabletop roleplaying, how this enacts CI-principles that undergird more equitable practice in language teaching, and how decentring the classical world itself through alternate settings provides opportunities to explore student-oriented interests.

Panel 26: Greek society

This panel tackles a range of practices from the Classical Greek world in an attempt to reassess their function and significance. Three papers take a close look at aspects of Athenian society and politics, including age classification (Ardill-Walker), allotting magistracies to Attic tribes and demes (Kierstead) and rhetorical strategy in the law courts (Prouting), while a fourth zooms out to reconsider the larger question of function of women's participation in contests (Rankin).

1. Rory Ardill-Walker: The Development of an Age-Class of Youths in Classical Athens

The study of youth is curiously underdeveloped in the field of Ancient History. Indeed, one of the few major studies into young people in the ancient world suggests that there were no formally recognised groups of youths in the Greco-Roman world. This is particularly surprising given that many ancient cultures had firmly regimented hierarchies of age-class. This paper will show that the Classical Athenians did identify a 'youth' phase, demarcated from the spheres of childhood and adulthood. Increasing prosperity in the 6th century gave rise to a leisure class composed of wealthy young men. Their role in the family and state in the early Classical period separated them from the responsibilities of adults aged over 30. Changes to these power dynamics in the late 5th century brought youths to the fore of Athenian rhetoric. A sense of solidarity amongst age-mates was the product of youth groupings which solidified their distinct identity in the *polis*. In establishing young men as a prominent age-class in Classical Athenian society, I hope to foster further research into the field of youth in the ancient world.

2. James Kierstead: Jigsaw Tokens from the Athenian Agora and the Puzzle of Political Equality

Minor magistracies in Athens were for some time apportioned using tokens (*symbola*). Each tribe received 50 tokens with its name written across each one. Each token was then cut in two with an irregular cut and, on the reverse of one half, the names of demes were written on the number of tokens corresponding to each deme's bouleutic quota; on the reverse of the other half, the names of the various offices were written. 'Not until the *symbola* were fitted together again on the allotment-day in the Theseion would it emerge which deme had secured the opportunity to fill which office' (Whitehead 1986, 282). Sometime between 370 and 362, this system was done away with because some demes 'began to sell' (ἐπώλουν: *Ath. Pol.* 62.1) magistracies in their quotas either to individuals (Staveley 1972), or to other demes (Lang 1959). The *symbola* were replaced by *pinakia* (tickets) slotted into an allotment machine, and the tribes were made the basis of the apportionment rather than the demes. Poorer outlying demes may have been open to bribes, either from wealthy individuals looking to secure offices, or from demes nearer to Athens' economic core, who wanted to increase their political representation. The reform, which replaced a system rooted in localities (the demes) with one that cut across geography (using the tribes), may have been intended partly to counteract the influence of an urban wealth elite, and thus to restore and consolidate political equality.

3. Katherine Prouting: Airing Out Dirty Laundry: A Citizen's Private Behaviour Towards the Disadvantaged and its Threat to Athenian Society

Many scholars have examined the ambitious and creative ways speeches were produced in the ancient Athenian law-courts. One such examination is by law scholar Adriaan Lanni, who contends that the speeches often used flexible narrative-based arguments, which she has termed 'extra-legal'. Lanni focuses on "arguments based on the character of the parties", a common rhetorical strategy amongst speakers (Lanni, 2004:289) as just such way a speaker could successfully argue their case. While this is a great descriptor of one type of extra-legal argument, I aim to examine it from a different perspective, focusing on the ex-slave nurse of *Against Evergus and Mnesibulus* (Pseudo-Demosthenes 47.53-72) and Pittalacus, a public slave in *Against Timarchos* (Aischines 1.54-66). While these examples demonstrate the base behaviour of the speakers' opponents, I argue that they are a specific extra-legal rhetorical strategy used, in conjunction with the relative offenses and procedures – Pseudo-Demosthenes 47 being a *dikē pseudomartyriōn* private prosecution for false witness, and Aischines 1 being a *dokimasia rhētorōn*, a scrutiny of the speaker. Using ideas explored by Lene Rubinstein about choice of procedure influencing the choice of rhetoric, and Chris Carey on the public/private hybrid nature of these procedures, I aim to examine a new sub-type of extra-legal argument. The argument is that a proper character assasination of an opponent, in these procedures, must demonstrate their unjust and unpunished behaviour in private towards disadvantaged people, and that this is a threat to the opponent's collegial integration into the *polis*.

4. Dan Rankin: Contest versus Collaboration: Reframing Women in Ancient Greek 'Sport'

It is universally accepted in scholarship that women generally did not participate in high-level competitive sports in ancient Greek culture. To centralise discussion on what we now describe as 'sport' may be applying inappropriate modern ideas to ancient conceptions of physical activity, however. There was no such term as 'sport' in ancient Greek; the games were rather referred to as ἀγῶνες, 'contests/struggles,' and forms of physical activity which were not structured to produce a victor are not included in this definition, which disregards a great deal of the physical activity conducted by women. This paper will argue that gender differences in Greek physical activity should be studied as a dynamic of male individual competitiveness versus female group collaboration, examining group activities such as dancing in religious festivals and ball-throwing games. It will suggest that physical activities undertaken by both genders reinforced their traditional roles in Greek culture, where men were expected to compete and become dominant and women were expected to sacrifice individual distinction to benefit their households and communities. It will then be demonstrated why this broader study of physical activity rather than 'sport' better explains the examples of female competitive sport which are known to have taken place.

Panel 27: Making Sense of Monarchy

The period 44 BCE through to 96 CE saw radical changes to the ways the Romans conceived and experienced political power and authority. At Rome, the Republican system of government was transformed so that it accommodated a ruler who occupied a position in the state far greater than that of any Republican magistrate. In the

provinces, the change was superficially less dramatic, at least in the East but, even there, provincial populations also had to accommodate the political reality of new autocratic or monarchical regimes.

How did writers make sense of this new and evolving political reality? To what extent did historians use their accounts of past monarchies to explore issues of contemporary relevance? Were there differences in the approaches to the representations of monarchies from those writers operating close to the 'imperial centre' as opposed to those writing on the 'periphery'? How did abstract notions of monarchy shape writers' understanding of the natural world? These questions lie at the heart of this panel. Each speaker will address this general theme of 'making sense of monarchy' from the perspective of different first century authors, including Manilius, Pliny the Elder, Curtius Rufus, Valerius Maximus, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Josephus.

1. Eleanor Cowan: Manilius makes sense of Monarchy?

Manilius is unlike other poets writing during Augustus' lifetime in that he is not known to have been acknowledged by the *princeps*. First and foremost, his *Astronomica* was a Stoic response to the Epicurean *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius. However, Manilius' poem has recently been understood to be closely engaged with the ideas and events of his own time. Astrology itself has been taken to be a product of the prominence of a single dominant ruler, and Manilius' decision to teach people to 'do' astrology, at a time when astrologers had been banned and prophecies about the death of the *princeps* prohibited, has been taken as a challenge to Caesar Augustus' power.

In this paper, it is my contention that Manilius firmly believed in the *felicissimus status* established by Caesar Augustus and wanted it to continue. He was, nonetheless, acutely conscious of the threats posed to it in the period when he was writing. In some passages, he despaired of the capacity for any individual, even a great and virtuous man, to achieve the *optimus status* for the *res publica* in the face of a capricious fortune. His work testifies to the hopes and fears of people living at the time that Caesar Augustus' died. Four passages will be examined. They deal with Manilius' view of the history of the *res publica* and with his ideas about the *res publica* of the heavens: 1.757-804; 1.907-26; 4.23-97 and 5.734-745.

2. Kimberley Czajkowski: Herod's reign: between history and historiography

Biographies of Herod in various languages abound: while newer archaeological evidence has added to our evidence, to a large extent these still go back to Josephus' lengthy accounts in the *War* and *Antiquities*. Indeed, saying anything new about Herod and his reign in historical terms poses a challenge. But what should we make of the narrative on which this is based, especially in view of newer understandings of Josephus' source, Nicolaus of Damascus? This paper considers different approaches to writing the history of a Roman client king in antiquity, and the implications of this for our own understanding of Herod's reign.

3. Christopher Mallan: Murder, Treason, and Plot(s) in Valerius Maximus and Curtius Rufus

Crimes and conspiracies against the reigning emperor are a recurring feature in the later historiographical tradition concerning the Julio-Claudian emperors. *Maiestas*-trials are central to the narratives of Tacitus and Cassius Dio, as too they are for many

modern discussions of the political culture of the Principate. Yet if we want contemporary literary reactions to treason and conspiracy, we need to look beyond the well-known narratives of these historians and turn to texts which do not deal directly with the Julio-Claudian period. In this paper, I will be considering two such Julio-Claudian prose texts, the *History of Alexander the Great* by Q. Curtius Rufus (possibly written under Claudius, or a little later) and the *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* by Valerius Maximus (written under Tiberius). Taking my lead from Valerius Maximus' belief that non-Romans or 'barbarians' were good to think with, in so far as they were perhaps safer than Roman examples, or at least could be dealt with greater objectivity (cf. Val. Max. 9.*ext*.1), I will discuss how these two authors frame their conspiracy narratives concerning specifically foreign kings, and what this tells us about their understanding of the motivations of would-be conspirators, what constituted appropriate responses from those individuals or groups who were the targets of conspiracy, and finally the extent to which we can read these narratives as responses to the political culture of the first century.

4. Rhiannon Ash: Chasing Fishes: Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* Book Nine and Reflections of Empire

This paper will look at emperors, imperialism, and power from an oblique, but illuminating angle. By taking a deep dive into one extraordinarily vibrant and alluring book from Pliny's monumental *Natural History* – book nine, about creatures of the sea, rivers, and pools – and considering what sort of world Pliny presents to his readers internally within that book, this text will serve as a prism for looking at the (newly Flavian) empire outside the *Natural History.*

In relation to this text, I will engage with the following questions. Are there distinctive features and patterns in how he presents and make sense of the individual marine creatures and their interaction? Which creatures dominate and succeed, and why? And which are more vulnerable and lose out? What lessons could readers draw from these vignettes? Other issues matter too. What happens to this aquatic world when humans enter the picture, as they inevitably do? How does power play out within this text, and what can its representation reveal about Pliny's conceptions of empire? As this paper will show, the wide variety of aquatic creatures captured by Pliny are surprisingly 'useful to think with'.