

## ASCS 33 (2012) – ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS PRESENTED

Arlene Allan (The University of Otago)

Theramenes' Failed *Dokimasia*: A Suggestion

Lysias' passing comment (13.10) on the reason why Theramenes' election to the *strategia* for 405/4 was not confirmed is suggestive but vague: it intimates that there was some suspicion that he held anti-democratic sentiments, but nothing more. Given his activities before, during and after the oligarchic coup of 411, such suspicion is certainly plausible. However, as I hope to demonstrate in this paper, although there may have been very good grounds on which to suspect Theramenes' commitment to the democracy after the battle of Arginousai and its aftermath, the strongest motivation for Theramenes' rejection may be far less politically grounded than has been previously thought. The evidence suggests that the Athenians did not like to remember painful incidents from their past, nor did they appreciate being reminded of their failure to exercise their democratic power justly, and his failed *dokimasia* may be but another expression of this tendency to avoid *oikêia kaka*.

Pauline Allen (The Australian Catholic University, McAuley Campus / University of Pretoria)

Rationales for Episcopal Letter-Collections in Late Antiquity

The rationale behind letter-collections surviving from pagan and Christian antiquity is complex and varied, if it exists at all. I wish to examine four episcopal letter-collections in an attempt to establish some guidelines for assessing compilation techniques.

(i) From Firmus, bishop of Caesarea (Cappadocia), who died probably in 439, we have forty-six letters, mostly dating from 431/432 and many of them deriving from a period of only a few months. Most of the pieces are short, and letters of friendship predominate. This corpus, which we may assume was but a partial representation of Firmus' epistolary output, owes its survival to being copied in a mediaeval manuscript together with other pearls of Christian Greek literature.

(ii) Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont-Ferrand from 469/472-487, a polished and self-conscious stylist, left an intentional collection of 146 letters, organised into nine books in imitation of the collection of Pliny the Younger. We are quite well informed about how Sidonius' collection came into being and the part he played in shaping it.

(iii) The letters of Severus, patriarch of Antioch from 512-518 (d. 538), spanning a forty-five-year period, survive almost entirely in Syriac translations from Greek and their content is skewed. The fact that we are dealing with a collection in translation is significant in itself; however, equally importantly one translator/compiler gives specific numbers of the letters composed by Severus (many not transmitted) that are a valuable guide to the mortality rate of other late-antique letters.

(iv) From Hormisdas, bishop of Rome from 514-523, we have a "collection" of ninety-three letters, as well as some addressed to him and others that were neither written by nor addressed to him. This corpus must owe its contents and survival to the archiving techniques of the papal *scrinium*, which here are well in evidence even before the episcopate of Gregory the Great.

Eva Anagnostou-Laoutides (Monash University)

East meets West: The Religious Program of the Seleucids

This paper discusses the appropriation of eastern cults by the Seleucids and the Attalids in their struggle to retain their control over the Asiatic conquests of Alexander the Great. In examining the apparatus of the self-representation of these royal houses in lands culturally distinct from their native Macedon, the impact of their new surroundings on their political visions needs to be reassessed given that these regions had witnessed the rise and decline of major empires of the past which had left behind numerous royal inscriptions and prominent monuments as demarcations of their ideologies (Sherwin-White 1987: 9). Furthermore, the longstanding historiographical tradition of the ancient Near East which consisted of chronicles and king lists, pseudo-autobiographies written by scribes probably after the death of a king (*narû* literature), historical texts written in prophetic style a posteriori (Grayson 1975: 3) and even historical epics needs to be explored alongside archaeological

evidence and our Greek sources as they complement our knowledge of this exciting period in eastern Mediterranean history (cf. BHP 1 = BM36304; Arrian, *Anab.* 7.25.2 with Van der Spek 2003: 289-346 and Lendering 2004: 348-351). In evaluating the influences of Zoroastrian religion and Egyptian cultic practice on the Seleucids, I focus particularly on cults of the fertility goddess and argue that the Seleucids had numerous native cultic models – including the Phrygian Cybele whom the Attalids had embraced – to rely upon contrary to mainstream belief that typically points to Egypt.

Jeremy Armstrong (The University of Auckland)

#### *Sodales* and ‘Brothers in Arms’ in Early Rome

Family relationships, and particularly fraternal relationships, play key roles in many of the battle narratives for Rome’s regal period. Indeed, the literary sources for early Rome are full of references to brothers standing side by side, fighting for, and in many ways embodying (sometimes quite literally), the various social and political entities which were struggling for supremacy in archaic Latium. This phenomenon is perhaps best exemplified by the famous battle between the Horatii and Curiati, the story of two sets of triplets who duelled to decide Rome’s war against Alba Longa, but is seen in countless other guises including the stories of the Vibenna brothers and even the early lives of Romulus and Remus.

The present paper endeavours to tease out some of the reasons for the pride of place given to the fraternal bond in accounts of early Roman and Latin warfare in Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch, looking not only at the role which familial relationships may have *actually* played in early Roman and Latin warfare, but also at how the events of the late Republic and various literary conventions likely shaped the use of this relationship in our surviving sources. Further, it will investigate how other bonds of ‘brotherhood’, and specifically early incarnations of *sodalitas* (as seen in the archaic Lapis Satricanus inscription, the works of Plautus, etc.), may offer some insight into the role which this relationship played in connecting various facets of archaic Latin society.

Luca Asmonti (The University of Queensland)

#### Euergetism and Reciprocity in Hellenistic Athens

In classical Athens, the institution of liturgies was based on a principle of reciprocity whereby the wealthiest citizens paid for a range of services of public interest, expecting in return some form of recognition from the community. In this relationship, the people were the stronger pole, as it was in their power to reward the virtue of their benefactors (Demosthenes, *Ag. Leptines* 5).

These practices were harshly criticised by opponents of popular government, from the Old Oligarch to Isocrates, and were progressively discontinued at the end of the 4th century, when the city was under control of the former generals of Alexander the Great.

Moving from an analysis of this crisis of the liturgy system, my paper will engage with the political and cultural debate ignited by the encounter between the traditional forms of the solidarity entrenched in the culture of the democratic *polis* and the new euergetism of the Hellenistic monarchs.

In 307, Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonos Gonatas, landed at the Piraeus, disbanded the pro-Macedonian government and solemnly declared the city free and democracy restored. Demetrius, immensely popular, became the object of worship for the Athenians (Athenaeus, 6.252).

All this brought about a new form of reciprocity, whereby the monarch was the only source of safety, liberty and autonomy to the *polis*, and the community endorsed the monarch’s ascendancy and power by acknowledging him as their protector. The reciprocity between monarch/benefactor and city/benefitted would later play an important role in shaping the face of Roman imperialism in the eastern Mediterranean.

Han Baltussen (The University of Adelaide)

A Bark Worse than his Bite? Diogenes the Cynic and the Politics of Tolerance

[For the panel on Censorship organised by Han Baltussen]

In the post-Socratic world of Athens Diogenes the Cynic, once referred to as “Socrates gone mad” (D.L. 6.54), is an anomaly in that he seems exempt from restrictions on expressing outlandish or subversive ideas. The suppression of non-conformist ideas in public is a phenomenon as old as our records of human society. In this paper I explore the ‘politics of tolerance’ with a particular focus on ancient cynicism. Did the Dog-philosophers arrogate the ‘right’ of free expression? Did they create a free space for such *parrhêsia*, knowingly and deliberately? The clash between authority and a ‘subversive’ perspective can be identified as early as the 5th c. BC (e.g. Socrates), but this issue needs consideration in cultural and intellectual terms as well as political. Diogenes may have seemed mad to some (Plato, apparently, in the instance quoted above), but his ‘madness’ is driven by a deeply moral ambition, which in the (predominantly anecdotal) evidence often becomes hidden from view due to his extreme methods. A review of the evidence with a specific notion of tolerance in mind will help to show how it is the unique product of the interaction between his overstepping of boundaries and the response by his social environment. More simply put: Why did the Athenians execute Socrates, but spare his far more extreme ‘reincarnation’?

Julian Barr (The University of Queensland)

(Supervisor: Janette McWilliam)

Competing Ideas of Spermatogenesis in the Hippocratic Corpus and Aristotle

Classical Greek conceptualisations of embryology and generation exerted powerful influences over both the development of European medicine and our understanding of the functioning of the human body. Spermatogenesis, the production of sperm, was an issue that was fiercely debated amongst writers of the Hippocratic Corpus and Aristotle. Between them, they presented three competing ideas of the generation of sperm. The first was the Encephalogenetic theory, which postulated that sperm is produced in the brain. The second was the Pangenetic theory, which claimed that sperm is the product of all bodily humours combined. Finally, Aristotle’s Haematogenous school of thought supported the theory that seed originates from blood. Yet certain Hippocratic authors gave equal credence to multiple theories of spermatogenesis simultaneously, with no attempt to reconcile them. Conversely, Aristotle fiercely disparaged Hippocratic pangenetic theories. Due to medieval and Renaissance biologists’ reliance on Aristotle and Hippocrates, the conflict between the disparate spermatogenetic theories continued until advancements were made in the field of microbiology during the 19th century. Pangenesis, for example, influenced Charles Darwin’s understanding of genetic inheritance. This paper will examine the theories of spermatogenesis which were put forward by 5th and 4th century authors who entered the debate, particularly those of Aristotle and the Hippocratic School.

Frances Billot (The University of Auckland)

Representing Zama to create an iconic event

Polybius, Livy and Silius Italicus present the battle at Zama in 202 BC between Hannibal and Scipio as an iconic event and a grand finale to the Second Punic War. This paper compares their use of certain literary features to illustrate connections between Polybius’ *Histories* and Silius’ *Punica* in terms of their representations of Zama and the generals involved. In 2004 Wiseman argued that the ‘Scipio myth’ is derived from the presentations in Polybius’ *Histories* and Silius’ *Punica* which recognises one correlation between these two texts; although arguably the ‘Scipio myth’ long predates the *Punica*. Where Polybius’ special treatment of Zama, Hannibal and Scipio, reflects his belief in the pivotal role the outcome of the battle played for changing the balance of power across the ancient Mediterranean world (*Hist.* 15.9.2, 15.10.2), Silius’ treatment may also be read as presenting the outcome of the battle in terms of causing a shift in power balance, in this case leading to the development of the principate and the one-man rule of imperial Rome (*Pun.* 17.653-4; Ahl, Davis and Pomeroy, 1986, ‘Silius Italicus,’ *ANRW* II 32.4, 2518 note the comparison between Zama and Thapsus *Pun.* 3.261-264).

Miriam Bissett (The University of Auckland)

(Supervisor: Anne Mackay)

Abduction or performance? A re-interpretation of scenes depicting satyrs carrying maenads in black-figure vase-painting.

This paper will present the case for interpreting the representation of satyrs and maenads in the black-figure period as a reflection of some form of performance. The painters' penchant for showing satyrs and maenads singing, dancing, and playing musical instruments is one of the clear indicators of this. This emerges from an analysis of the representations of gods, particularly Dionysos, in order to investigate the potential for interpreting the scenes as related to festival practice. Thus far groups of vases which show satyrs and maenads engaged in various activities have indeed supported the hypothesis that more vases than previously thought can be seen as evoking festival or ritual practice. The activity that will be the focus of this paper is that of satyrs lifting maenads and carrying them on their shoulders. Although the connotation of abduction in these scenes seems obvious, the indications of dance and the inclusion of musical instruments in the depictions support an interpretation of the scenes as showing a *performance* of abduction. More importantly, these representations of performing satyrs can also be seen as evoking the festivals of the god for whom they dance and sing.

Michelle Borg (The University of Sydney)

(Supervisor: Lindsay Watson)

In Memoriam: The Generic 'Flavours' of Pliny the Younger's Death Notices

'Self-construction' is a term which is almost ubiquitously associated with Pliny the Younger and whilst there is no denying that there is systemic and earnest self-awareness and zealous posturing in the collection, the sub-texts found buried beneath this veneer are often left unappreciated. Indeed, even the veneer itself is more complex than a mere exercise in crass self-promotion. What at first seems like simple epistolography in reality affords Pliny a freedom and nuance of *topoi* and style not so easily allowed his contemporaries writing history or even biography.

The death notices in the Letters provide a prime example of this flexibility. Each letter typically announces and often narrates the death of a person somehow connected to Pliny, but that is where the similarities end. Generically speaking, Pliny writes a letter, but within that generic framework, he feels at liberty to include elements of biography, death notice, *exitus illustorum virorum* and even poetry. Topically, one finds allusions to loftier subjects such as philosophy, literature, history and rhetoric mixed in with gossip and news. Last, stylistically, Pliny utilises the full gamut of appropriate *consolatio*, praise and, perhaps [somewhat] inappropriately for a memorial, invective.

This paper will examine the rich generic 'flavours' of Pliny's death notices and appreciate them, not just as a positive reflection of his persona, but literary engagement.

Graeme Bourke (The University of New England)

A Strabonic Discord: Homeric Elis Diminished

In the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*, the inhabitants of Elis are called 'Epeians'. Their country is enclosed by four topographical features, the Olenian rock, Aleision, Hyrmine and Myrsinos, the last two being on the 'edge', presumably the coast (*Iliad* 2.165-7). The location of these features, however, is considerably less than certain, as Strabo's attempt to identify them reveals. He appears to understand the Homeric text to indicate that the limits of the territory of the Epeians were a mountain to the northwest of the city of Elis, a hill on the road from Elis to Olympia and two places on the coast between Cape Araxos and the Khelonatas peninsula. There are good reasons to reconsider his interpretation, which suggests a 'little Elis', occupying only a fraction of the region dominated by the Classical *polis*: he seems to have misplaced the Olenian rock; his identifications of Aleision with Alasyaion and Myrsinos with Myrountion are at best tentative; and he places Hyrmine and Myrsinos in virtually the same location, thus making one of them redundant as a boundary marker. Strabo's location of Nestor's Pylos in the region of Eleia, furthermore, appears to contradict the evidence of both the relevant Homeric text and modern archaeology.

Corinna Box (The University of Melbourne)

(Supervisor: Parshia Lee-Stecum and Ian Donaldson)

Many Ovids: Defining an ‘Ovidianism’ in Christopher Marlowe’s *Hero and Leander*

Christopher Marlowe’s minor epic poem *Hero and Leander* is intensely Ovidian, yet he draws his subject matter from an entirely non-Ovidian source, Musaeus’ *Hero and Leander*. Marlowe’s stylistic construction of the poem, however, is steeped in Ovid. His approach to narrative, narration and genre show how he uses aspects of various Ovidian texts to create an overarching sense of what it means to be stylistically ‘Ovidian’. His narrative voice, the poetic persona, bears a close resemblance to that of the narrator of Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria*, while his characterisation draws on conventions found in the *Heroides*. He builds his narrative on techniques found in the *Metamorphoses* and the *Ars Amatoria*, and takes from these a particularly Ovidian flavour. Finally his tone throughout is the witty ironic voice of Ovid’s *Amores*. Marlowe takes these aspects of Ovid’s style and replicates, manipulates and expands on them to enact his own version of an Ovidianism, one which goes on to be extremely influential in the late Elizabethan period in which Marlowe was writing.

Samantha Brancatisano (The University of Sydney)

(Supervisors: Eleanor Cowan and Paul Roche)

Infamous Actors: What the legal status of Roscius can tell us about *infamia* in the late Republic

A.H.J. Greenidge posited in his 1894 monograph on Roman *infamia* that, of all disreputable professions, actors suffered the most severe set of legal restrictions consistently placed upon any class of individuals in Roman society. This position has since gone largely unchallenged, despite the fact that our limited evidence for the legal status of actors prior to the dictatorship of Caesar is almost entirely anecdotal and retrospective. Yet what are we to make of Quintus Roscius Gallus, the most famous actor of the Republic, who was not only defended in court by his friend Cicero, but whose *existimatio* – far from being non-existent as the prevailing modern opinion would have it – Cicero found to be a special cause for concern during the proceedings (*Pro Rosc. Com.* 5.15)? Modern scholarship makes various excuses for the ‘exceptional’ circumstances of the actor, who had been granted equestrian status by Sulla. But the fact is that no study has yet made a serious attempt to reconcile Roscius’ legal status with the norm of his time. This paper will therefore revisit the evidence for the legal consequences of appearing on stage in the late Republic, proposing that special attention to the case of Roscius may cast a new light on our understanding of the nature of legal *infamia* in the first century BC.

Tim Briscoe (Macquarie University)

(Supervisor: Peter Edwell)

Rome and Persia: Rhetoric and Religion

Rome’s complex relationship with its eastern neighbour, the Sasanian Persian empire, has become an increasingly important and popular area of scholarship in recent decades. Most recently, Canepa (2009) has analysed “how Sasanian Persia and Late Roman/Byzantine rulers acted as rivals in securing claims of universal sovereignty while at the same time recognising each other’s right to exist”, which “had profound ramifications for the shaping of images, rituals and discourse of legitimacy at the courts of each power” (Edwell, 2011). However, to date, this and other studies of Romano-Persian relations have downplayed or ignored the role of religion in the formulation of Roman responses to their Sasanian rivals.

In this paper, particular attention will be paid to the way(s) in which the emergence of Christianity as the official and dominant religion within the Roman empire affected the perceptions and representations of the Persian enemy. Specifically, a comparative analysis of the rhetoric of the pagan emperors of the third and fourth centuries (e.g. Galerius, Julian, etc.) with their Christian counterparts (e.g. Constantine, Constantius II, etc.) will be conducted. In addition, this paper will identify differing Roman responses to Sasanian Persia during periods of (a) relative religious tolerance (e.g. under the reign of the Sasanian king, Yazdgerd I), and (b) religious tension or outright conflict between the Christian Roman empire and Zoroastrian Persia (e.g. the hostility between Constantine and Shapur II

over the Christians of Persia; the ‘crusade’ of the emperor Heraclius). The role of the emerging religion of Manichaeism will also be considered.

References:

P. Edwell (2011), Review of Canepa (2009), *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 2011.04.16.

Matthew P. Canepa (2009), *The Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual of Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran*.

Richard Burchfield (Macquarie University)

(Supervisor: Malcolm Choat)

The ‘Ideal’ Monk: Frange and his World

It is now widely recognised that the literary depiction of early monasticism promotes the ideals of the monastic life, rather than faithfully depicting it. In Egypt, a competing picture emerges from the numerous documentary texts which the dry climate has preserved. Numerous studies have examined the image these documents provide; however, much of the focus has been on significant monastic figures and communities. A recent publication of late-antique texts from Egypt has gathered more than 800 texts relating to a single monk, Frange, who lived in the repurposed remains of a Pharaonic tomb: TT 29 in the West Theban necropolis. This unprecedented wealth of monastic material provides a unique opportunity to look at how the monks who populated the Theban tombs interacted with the monastic and secular world around them. This paper will compare the idealised picture of the ‘perfect monk’ with the evidence from the dossier of Frange, placing particular emphasis on his interactions, both religious and secular, with the people around him.

Diana Burton (Victoria University of Wellington)

The Cult of Hades at Elis

Why offer cult to Hades? The cult of Hades at Elis (Pausanias 6.25.2) makes an interesting starting point for an exploration of Hades and his worshippers: how they saw their god, and what he and they expected of each other. Although Pausanias describes the Eleians as the only people to worship Hades, he nevertheless mentions statues and altars to the god elsewhere, hidden behind euphemistic names such as ‘Klymenos’ or ‘Zeus Chthonios’. At Elis, the deadly nature of the god is to the fore, as opposed to the perception elsewhere of Hades-Plouton as a giver of fertility, a god who carries a cornucopia and is connected with Demeter and Kore. Yet these are very much two sides of the same coin: Hades’ wealth lies not only in fertility but also in lament. The restrictive form of worship at Elis is also in contrast to Hades’ vulnerability in the myth associated with this cult, in which he is wounded by Herakles’ arrows. This paper will use Pausanias’ description as a starting point for a discussion of the worshippers’ perception of Hades at Elis and elsewhere, taking into account the nature of our sources, as well as regional variation in the god’s cult, iconography and myth.

Nikola Čašule (The University of Oxford)

‘In Part a Roman Sea’: Roman Participation in Adriatic Networks in the Third Century BCE

This paper examines recently discovered evidence for trans-Adriatic networks of trade and communication in the third century BCE, and analyses the extent to which Romans can be shown to have participated in such networks during this period.

The Roman interest in the Adriatic Sea began with the establishment of colonies on the northern Italian coastline in the 280s, and was subsequently confirmed through the foundation in 244 of Brundisium on the Apulian coast. The appropriation of the pre-existing cult to Diomedes by a number of such colonies allowed the Romans to better engage with regional networks centred around cult sites dedicated to the Greek hero, the most prominent of which were the Palagruža islands in the centre of the Adriatic, and the sanctuary site of Cape Ploča, on the modern Croatian coast. Archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic finds indicate that Romans, Latins and Italians were active at sites across the eastern Adriatic during this period.

The elucidation of this regional context demands a revision of recent views of the first Roman military intervention in Illyria in 229-8 BCE as surprising or unexpected, or of that war as representing the first instance of Roman interaction with the eastern Adriatic more broadly. That conflict instead took place in a region in which Romans had been active for several decades, and about which they are likely to have been well informed. These conclusions have potentially significant implications for our understanding of the outbreak of that war, and of Roman interaction with the 'Greek East' more broadly.

Michael Champion (The University of Western Australia)

#### Constructing Cultures in Aeneas of Gaza's Letters

In this paper, I provide a reading of Aeneas of Gaza's letters intended to cast further light on the culture of the Gazan classical rhetorical schools in the last quarter of the fifth century. The paper provides the first analysis of Aeneas' letters in English and draws on and augments recent interest in late-antique Gazan monasticism, education, rhetoric and material culture. The letters help to clarify the social roles which a sophist of the late fifth century could play. They reveal social conflict, collaboration and creative interaction between the different local cultures which Aeneas inhabited and which together constituted the culture of the Gazan schools. The letters highlight ambiguities surrounding classical *paideia* in late-antique society and paint a picture of a thriving classically-oriented culture in the Gazan schools beginning to come into conflict with, and appropriate, competing discourses from Christianity. The experience of physical and cultural separation between correspondents generates narratives and influences the strategies Aeneas uses to shape his local cultures and construct his identity within them. Aeneas' letters also allow us to investigate and clarify difficulties surrounding classical epistolography as a genre and cultural practice in its late-antique incarnation.

Malcolm Choat (Macquarie University)

#### Forts, Monasteries, and Christians in Late Antique Panopolis

The lease for a linen-weaving workshop in Panopolis, in Upper Egypt, drawn up in 355 CE, records that it is in the 'camp of the Christians', Παρεμβολή τῶν Χριστιανῶν. Neither in his edition of this papyrus, nor the republication as P. Dubl. 31, was the editor able to shed clear light on the nature of this 'camp' and how it was associated with Christians. Elsewhere, a letter from the fifth-century Patriarch of Alexandria, Dioscorus, preserved in Coptic in a manuscript of the works of his contemporary, Shenoute, archimandrite of the White monastery across the river from Panopolis, refers to a 'monastery of the camp' (*parembole*) in the neighbourhood of Panopolis, to which a deposed priest is forbidden entry. Various commentators on this text have likewise been unable to elucidate this reference. This paper will examine these toponyms, and other related terms, asking if and how they may be related, and what this tells us about Christianity and monasticism in the late antique Panopolite.

Ralph Covino (The University of Tennessee at Chattanooga)

#### The *leges Scipionis* of Cic. *Verr.* II.ii.123-4 – whose are they?

The precise dating for the Scipionic laws which regulated the senate at Agrigentum has caused scholars working on the *Verrines* and Roman Sicily more widely a considerable degree of concern. There have been nearly as many theories as to the identity of the Scipio in question as there are available Corneli Scipiones. Unlike the other two civic reorganisations which Cicero examines in nearby passages, i.e. those of Halaesa and Heraclea wherein the names of the consuls in office at the time of reorganisation or of an indisputably datable magistrate are provided, in the case of Agrigentum there are few clues as to the appropriate time frame for context – or anything else for that matter.

This paper seeks to consider the available Scipionic options and show through an analysis of Cicero's use of Cornelian *exempla* elsewhere that there can only be one man who was the author of the Agrigentine laws. In doing so, the paper will reject the two most commonly suggested Scipiones, Scipio Africanus (cos. 205) and Scipio Asiagenes/Asiaticus (cos. 190), as potentials at the outset and

offer new support for Brennan's theory that the responsible agent was Scipio Aemilianus (cos. 147 and 134).

The process by which this conclusion is reached will offer possible solutions to other dating questions that emerge from Cicero's speeches, letters, and treatises.

Bob Cowan (The University of Sydney)

On the weak king according to Virgil: Aeolus, Latinus and political allegoresis in the *Aeneid*

The parallelism between the first and second halves of the *Aeneid* is well established. In particular Juno's two interventions to delay the fulfilment of the Trojans' destiny by unleashing a literal storm in Book 1 and a metaphorical storm of war and passion in Book 7 are both emblematic and programmatic of a tendency for what is allegorical in the first half of the poem to become real in the second (such as the instantiations of impious monstrosity in the fantastical Polyphemus and the all-too-real Mezentius). Although there is an obvious similarity between Aeolus and Allecto as minor-deities and instruments of Juno's mischief-making, this paper will argue for a more significant parallelism between Aeolus and Latinus. Both are kings with responsibility for preserving order by, where necessary, restraining the disorderly tendencies of their subjects. Both renege on this responsibility with disastrous results. Imagery (notably the similes of the riot in Book 1 and of the rock in Book 7), and the evidence of kingship literature (such as Philodemus' *On the good king according to Homer*) and allegorical interpretations of epic further support the parallelism. Finally, the paper will reflect on the wider significance of the connection for allegorical readings of the *Aeneid* and in particular of its politics.

Jennifer Cromwell (Macquarie University)

Education in a Late Antique Egyptian Monastery

The monastery of Apa Thomas, located in Wadi Sarga in central Egypt, was excavated during one season in 1913-14 by the Byzantine Research Fund. Some 2,700 objects were collected and are now held in the collection of the British Museum. Of these, approximately one-third are texts, written in Coptic – mostly letters, administrative documents and vessel notations on ostraca (little literary material survives). 385 of these have to date been published. One category that is missing from the published record is texts connected with education. This paper will present what educational material is part of the unpublished corpus, what this contributes to our knowledge of the monastery of Apa Thomas and how this fits with material from contemporary late antique Egyptian monasteries, and what this adds to the study of education in the late antique world.

Christopher Davey (Australian Institute of Archaeology, La Trobe University)

Walter Beasley and Sydney University: The Beginnings of Near Eastern Archaeology in Australia

Walter Beasley first met Jim Stewart in August 1935 after he had finished his studies at Cambridge University. The friendship grew and Beasley assisted Stewart with funding, especially for his excavations at Vounous, Cyprus. After World War II, Beasley co-operated with Professor Dale Trendall to facilitate Stewart's move to Sydney University. It was Beasley's commitment of finance to Sydney University and to its proposed excavations in Cyprus that influenced Stewart to accept a lectureship at Sydney University. The relationship between Beasley and Stewart ended by June 1953; however, it left Stewart in a position where he succeeded Trendall as Professor of Archaeology at Sydney University. The paper draws on letters and records to show the development of the relationship between Trendall, Stewart and Beasley.



Sarah Davidson (The University of Melbourne)

(Supervisor: Rhiannon Evans)

The Decline of *virtus* in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*

The Late Roman Republic saw a change in the concept of *virtus*, the defining quality of Roman elite identity, to extend beyond the traditional meaning of military excellence to incorporate non-military achievements, particularly rhetoric and oratory. As a military narrative, Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* is naturally concerned with *virtus* in its traditional sense and Caesar distinguishes his Gallic and Germanic opponents through their *virtus* or lack of it: the Germani are equal in *virtus* to the Romans but without self-control; while the Galli, once equal to the Romans in *virtus*, are now weak and subservient since their exposure to other cultural commodities through trade. Therefore, Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* reflects both the possibilities and anxieties over new expressions of power and identity within the Roman male elite. The Galli's decline in *virtus* is expressed through language and metaphors of effeminacy and softness. This softness renders the Galli unable to control themselves, as evident in their lust for battle, physically passive to the actions of others and servile. These characteristics reflect attitudes found in moralistic literature of the Late Roman Republic over the excessive consumption of luxury goods within Roman society, the effect this had upon an elite individual's *virtus* and his authority within Roman society. This paper seeks to explore Caesar's gendered language in his description of the Galli and Germani in order to read the *Bellum Gallicum* as a discourse on Roman identity.

Mark Davies (The University of Auckland)

Exemplary friendship in Seneca's Epistles

Friendship lies at the centre of Seneca's collection of letters addressed to his friend Lucilius. This is so in terms of ancient epistolary theory, where private letters were seen as gifts exchanged between friends. It can also be seen from the place given to the topic of friendship in a number of the *Epistles*. However, there is another way that friendship can be seen to be important in the collection. This is in the way that Seneca describes philosophical progress as occurring in the letters. He argues that *exempla* are effective in educating and in leading to moral change. And an important aspect of their effectiveness is the *auctoritas* or influence of the exemplary figures. He develops the idea that a reader can come to know and befriend such exemplary figures through their writings. Specifically, he describes in the *Epistles* the development of his friendship with Lucilius through their correspondence and suggests by implication that the reader of the correspondence at the next remove can in the same way come to know and befriend Seneca. It seems likely, therefore, that a major way that Seneca envisaged the reader of the published collection to make moral progress would be from his exemplary influence on the reader's conduct once he was internalised as the reader's friend. The concept of coming to know Seneca through his letters can also be seen as an important structuring device to the collection.

Gil Davis (Macquarie University)

(Supervisor: tba)

*Hektēmoroi* and *horoī* – another solution to an ancient enigma

Critical to an understanding of the political and economic development of Athens in the sixth century BCE is the question of land tenure under the hektemorage system. It is all tied up with the reforms of Solon and his *seisachtheia* ('shaking off of burdens'), yet he himself only mentioned freeing the earth of *horoī*, which might be either boundary or mortgage markers. Knowledge of the *Hektēmoroi* is derived from later writers – Aristotle, Plutarch, Hesykhios and Pollux – but their accounts and definitions are unsatisfactory. Modern scholars are not even agreed on whether the *Hektēmoroi* paid or kept the one-sixth share of produce implied by their name. It adds up to a fascinating puzzle – and a lot of theories. Clearly what the world needs is another one, and this I happily provide.

I ground my hypothesis on a close analysis of the meaning of various key words used in the ancient accounts, and how these meanings had changed from archaic times, thus confusing later writers. I use this understanding to demonstrate who the parties were to the hektemorage agreements, why the

system operated as it did, and the function of the *horoi*. I suggest that opposition to the system was caused by the devastating effect on the *Hektēmoroi* of taking a fixed percentage of their gross produce against relatively inelastic expenses in a bad year, based on the statistical probability of crop failure. Finally, I briefly discuss the implications of Solon's abolition of the system.

Peter Davis (The University of Adelaide)

Controlling Female Speech in Terence's *Hecyra*

[For the panel on Censorship organised by Han Baltussen]

That Plautus and Terence inherited from Greek new comedy a rich store of plots, situations and stock characters is well known. This paper will examine the way in which Terence plays against audience expectations shaped by familiarity with the Greeks and Plautus, the ways in which he self-consciously subverts inherited conventions in *Hecyra* (*Mother in Law*), a play which explicitly resists comedy's implied rules (*placet non fieri hoc itidem ut in comoediis*, 'I don't want this to turn out the way it does in comedies', line 866).

Important work has been done on this play by scholars like David Konstan, Niall Slater and John Penwill. This presentation will focus in particular on the ways in which Terence presents female speakers (conventionally viewed as garrulous), female speech (conventionally viewed as no more than gossip) and the means by which the play's men control female speech and its potential for subverting society's masculine norms.

Andrea Di Castro (Monash University)

Symbolical appropriation and appropriation of symbols for fertility goddesses in Hellenistic Asia

This paper will investigate the phenomenon of cultural appropriation from the iconographic and symbolic point of view between the Hellenistic elites in Western and Central Asia and the local elites connected with ancestral traditions. Looking at some of these symbolic attributes I will trace the diffusion of the cornucopia and the mural crown from Anatolian and Syrian regions to the farthest borders of the Hellenistic world. The hegemonic Greek population will make use of these new symbols – together with those emerging from the local background – in order to reiterate the control over resources even in a symbolic fashion in which the gods are legitimising the power of the new rulers who are granting a fortunate wealth rule over a fertile rich-producing land. In considering the material culture, in addition to the official representations of the Greek rulers' coinage of Bactria and Gandhara, this paper will also examine how 'western' symbols will be popular in various later images of Indo-Iranian borderlands. These later adaptations show that it was not only the introduction of Hellenistic elements on these eastern regions to transform religious imagery; in some cases the adaptations of local variations will have a longer life. This can be exemplified by the appropriation of those 'transformed' imagery by new waves of conquerors who ended up in controlling the land formerly under the rule of Seleucus I. It appears that hegemonic groups are not resisting to adopt local elements intermingled with those introduced rather the concern seems to be in displaying a message of divine legitimacy granting a condition of fertility connected to the land as well as to the individual's wellbeing.

William Dominik (The University of Otago)

Metatheatricality, Cultural Hybridity and Political Relevance in African Drama Adapted from Greek Tragedy

Greek tragedy is metamorphosed in African adaptations of Greek tragedy through the use of metatheatricality and cultural hybridity. Both Athol Fugard, John Kani and Winston Ntshona's *The Island* and Sylvain Bemba's *Black Wedding Candles for Blessed Antigone*, for example, feature the performance of Sophocles' *Antigone* with black Africans in leading roles. The metatheatricality of *The Island* is used to expose the tyranny of apartheid and its dehumanizing effects in South Africa, while in *Black Wedding Candles* it serves to highlight the political injustices taking place in any number of African countries. Metatheatricality is also evident in the smaller details of African

adaptations, for instance, in Yael Farber's *Molona* when Elektra, Klytemnestra and Orestes discuss the Greek ending and Orestes appeals to his sister to rewrite the Greek ending and not slay their mother.

African dramas based on Greek tragedy are hybrids of African and European cultural elements that reflect the plays' postcolonial and classical origins. The use of cultural hybridity is most strongly evident in the dramas' African figures, whose Africanized names often suggest a significant political and historical comparison. Some characters in African drama are transformed directly from their Greek equivalents, while other African figures are suggestive of characters in Greek tragedy. Cultural hybridity is also apparent in the actual roles of the characters. In *Black Wedding Candles*, for example, Melissa does not merely play Antigone in a production of *Antigone* but gradually merges her identity with Antigone. Cultural hybridity is also apparent in the various cultural practices, religious syncretism and performance of the plays. Such cultural hybridity needs to be viewed within the social political context of the plays.

Korshi Dosoo (Macquarie University)

(Supervisor: Malcolm Choat)

#### Dream Oracles in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods

This paper aims to contextualise the 'dream oracle' rituals of the Greek Magical Papyri within the history of similar rituals from earlier periods, following the work done by Frankfurter, Dieleman, Ritner etc. in establishing their origin in the Egyptian priestly milieu. In these rituals, the practitioners seek to cause a deity to appear to them in their sleep; although related to the practices of dream-interpretation and incubation the dream-oracle differs from them in that unlike the former the dreams are deliberately provoked and (ideally) direct in meaning, and from the latter in that they are carried out by a single practitioner in a private setting rather than by large groups of pilgrims in a temple.

Despite the diversity of the rituals within the magical papyri, there are several recurrent features – a concern for purity, instructions to perform them at certain times of the year, the wearing of garlands etc. – which serve to flesh out the basic structure and cultural influences. These can be supplemented by looking at older texts discussing similar rituals – brief mentions in Herodotus and Diodorus, and longer ones in the Apis Ostrakon, Dream of Nectanebo, the Famine Stela, the Stela of Taimhotep, Setna II and the Archive of Hor. These texts suggest that the older forms of the rituals were carried out in temples by priests, and served to justify cultic privileges and developments; the writings of Hor in particular attest to the existence of a network of practitioners which may serve as a tentative model for the later users of the magical papyri.

Finally this paper will look at how the oracles were experienced by those practising them, how they used rhetorical strategies to explain unsuccessful rituals, and how an understanding of the dream oracle can provide a deeper understanding of Greco-Egyptian magic more broadly.

Geoffrey Dunn (The Australian Catholic University, McAuley Campus)

#### The Religious Policy of Constantius III in Gaul

Prior to becoming emperor in 421, Honorius' *magister utriusque militiae*, Flavius Constantius (later Constantius III), had been active in Gaul where he had defeated the usurper Constantine III in 411. Constantine had been responsible for installing Heros as bishop of Arles, his capital. With Constantine's execution, Heros was replaced as bishop by Patroclus. Accounts differ as to the events of this changeover. Zosimus, bishop of Rome between 417 and 418, in his letter *Posteaquam a nobis* to Aurelius of Carthage (JK 330, preserved as *Ep. 46* in the *Collectio Avellana*), wrote of Heros' voluntary abdication. Yet, since Zosimus contradicted himself between this letter and another written to Aurelius (*Cum aduersus*, JK 331) about the voluntary nature of the departure of another episcopal supporter of Constantine, Lazarus of Aix's, concerns must be raised about the status of Heros' decision. Prosper of Aquitaine's *Epitoma chronicon* adds to those doubts about Zosimus' account when he writes that the people forced Heros out. He also reports that it was Patroclus who sought Constantius' patronage and that he was unpopular with other Gallic bishops. Zosimus added to that unpopularity during his brief tenure at the head of the Roman church by enlarging the metropolitan authority of Patroclus at the expense of other metropolitans only four days after his election in Rome.

Ralph Mathisen suggests that Zosimus' move was in response to the assistance he received in his own election from Constantius and Patroclus. The question to be asked, which is addressed in this paper, is the extent to which the connection between Patroclus and Constantius was at the initiative of bishop or general. It will be argued here that one needs an appreciation of Constantius' religious policy in Gaul to understand the conflict that appeared in Gaul because of Zosimus.

Nikolai Endres (Department of English, Western Kentucky University)

Plato vs. Petronius: Gore Vidal's *The City and the Pillar* and Modern Gay Love

In his autobiography *Palimpsest*, Gore Vidal recalls that when he first read Petronius, 'an electrical current was switched on.' In Vidal's *The City and the Pillar* (1948, revised 1965), usually considered the first gay American novel, Jim Willard, the protagonist, is in search of 'his other half'; he wants 'an ideal brother, a twin'; he longs for 'a sense of identity, of twins, complementing one another.' While critics (myself included) have traced this quest back to Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*, I now would like to investigate Vidal's appropriation of the *Satyricon*. Just as Aristophanes envisions love as the pursuit of one's other half (or 'twin'), Petronius has Encolpius search for a *frater*. However, Petronius' world of heightened reality, life as theatre, exuberant camp, sexual superlatives . . . seems an altogether more suitable erotic universe than Socratic sobriety (albeit enlivened by Aristophanic hiccups). Throughout his long career, Vidal has been keenly interested in queering Roman antiquity. While his most famous examples are probably the homoerotic bond between Ben-Hur (Charlton Heston) and Messala (Stephen Boyd) in the movie *Ben-Hur* (whose film script Vidal co-wrote) and Tinto Brass' notorious near-pornographic movie *Caligula* (whose script Vidal also contributed), *The City and the Pillar* offers a more sustained engagement with Roman masculinity and same-sex desire. Vidal, I argue, took from Petronius' Encolpius and Ascyltus an erotic model that is more valued in the modern gay world than Greek *paiderastia*. First, it is a sexual paradigm that transcends the categories of *erastes* and *eromenos* (thus offering both equality and reciprocity); second, because it is independent of the lovers' age, it tantalises with the possibility of a long-term relationship; and third, it unabashedly celebrates sex in all its complexities.

Karen Evans (Macquarie University)

(Supervisor: Peter Keegan)

Spatial Distribution of Second Storey Rental Accommodation in Pompeii

Utilising the ARCMAP Geographic Information System and creating a fully georeferenced map of the ancient city of Pompeii, an analysis has been undertaken of the spatial distribution of self-contained second storey rental accommodation in the city. Using this distribution data, assumptions have been made in regards to the interaction of the inhabitants of the city with each other and in particular, within their own socio-economic structure. The results of the analysis show some surprising outcomes, in particular, clusters of particular socio-economic status in certain areas of the city. The analysis shows the not unsurprising concentration of second storey rental accommodation along main thoroughfares in the city but it has also revealed the lack of concentration in areas of high social interaction such as the entertainment quarter.

Trevor Evans (Macquarie University)

Ancient Greek Letters and the Idea of Scribal Improvements

Did ancient scribes penning letters in Greek on papyrus 'improve' the language and style of the authors who employed them? The third-century BC Zenon Archive, from the Fayum in Egypt, includes many hundreds of such letters. Some are written in the autographs of their authors, but very many are in professional scribal hands. The employment of scribes (professional or otherwise) was naturally a necessity for illiterate persons, but authors that we can show were certainly or probably capable of writing their own documents regularly used them as well. To what extent can we determine whether the Greek of such a letter reflects the practice of the scribe or that of the author? Can we gauge whether scribes were introducing linguistic and stylistic changes?

It is tempting to speculate, but not so easy to find secure evidence which can help us answer these questions. We can, however, gain a more precise understanding of the process of composition in some cases from letter-drafts. An important set of preliminary drafts from Zenon has been preserved in his archive. Several are written in his own convincingly identified autograph. This paper will examine the language of these drafts and compare it with that of Zenon's more finished letters written in professional hands. It will focus on two key issues:

- 1) whether, at least in this specific data set, the language and style of preliminary drafts differs from that of 'finished' versions;
- 2) what scope seems to be apparent in Zenon's preliminary drafts for correction or 'improvement' of language by his scribes.

Rowan Fraser (The University of Exeter)

#### Supplication in *Hekabe*: A Response to *Tuche*

Supplication is common in Athenian tragedy because it is a consequence of one of the key elements of this dramatic form: the ever-present threat and danger posed by both mortal and immortal figures to the *dramatis personae*. While scholars have examined the status of supplication in Athenian tragedy and society (whether as ritual, quasi-legal practice or necessary element of reciprocity), identified different types of supplication and their respective elements, considered the staging of supplication and examined the motif of supplication in a particular tragedy, little attention has been paid to how the action of supplication operates within a tragedy. In this paper I will examine how Euripides ingeniously deploys the action of supplication within *Hekabe*. While it is not traditionally recognised as a 'supplication drama', this play contains many examples of enacted and non-enacted supplication, which comment upon the importance of reciprocity in the ancient Greek world.

Trudie Fraser (The University of Melbourne)

#### Visualizing Plotina: the Iconography and the Woman

Pompeia Plotina, wife of the emperor Trajan, has enjoyed a reputation as a modest and virtuous woman (with special thanks to Pliny), which has endured down through the centuries. In order to glean a deeper understanding of this intelligent and confident woman, who became the model of a supportive imperial wife, this paper examines what is known of Plotina and what can be surmised of her early life. This knowledge is used to interpret a new catalogue that has been assembled of her iconography, including all known busts, statues, gems and her coins from the mints of Rome and the Eastern cities.

Sarah Gador-Whyte (The University of Melbourne)

#### Metaphorical Nakedness in the *Kontakia* of Romanos

Romanos the Melodist, a sixth-century deacon and hymnographer who was born in Syria and lived in Constantinople, was conversant in both the Greek and Syriac traditions of literature and biblical exegesis. He drew on classical Greek rhetorical techniques as well as Greek and Syriac homiletics and poetics to create his *kontakia* or sung verse sermons. Romanos uses particular rhetorical techniques creatively to ornament and even perform key concepts. In this paper I will explore one such technique: metaphor. I will show that metaphor is a particularly useful rhetorical device to explain the concept of recapitulation. Briefly, recapitulation is the idea, first formally articulated by Irenaeus of Lyons, that God summed up human existence in himself in the person of Jesus Christ. I argue that metaphor mimics, on a rhetorical level, the way recapitulation operates. To demonstrate this, I will focus on the metaphor of nakedness, and related clothing imagery, in two of Romanos' *kontakia*: *On the Baptism of Christ* and *On the Epiphany*. Romanos' creative engagement with the different traditions – classical and Christian, Greek and Syriac – will become evident through investigation of his conceptualisation of metaphor and the way in which he used metaphorical nakedness to explain and explore the theological theme of recapitulation.

David Garland (Monash University)

(Supervisor: Gillian Bowen)

The Question of Economic Growth in the Ancient World: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches

This paper addresses economic growth in the ancient world in light of the recent inquiries into this area and the use of new theoretical approaches, such as Neo-Institutional Economics, as a means of this inquiry. I critique the emphasis on statistics and quantifiable data, and emphasise the need for a qualitative method that focuses on specific institutions and understands the subjectivity of human valuation. Since these recent approaches make use of modern economic theory, the debate over the applicability of such theory in examining ancient societies, with particular reference to the so-called ‘primitivist’ challenge to this mounted by M.I. Finley, is addressed. I argue that Finley’s approach towards economic rationality can be easily reconciled with the application of economic theory.

As the quantitative method is problematic since (a) data is greatly lacking and presents problems of interpretation and (b) that, even if the data were complete, it would tell us little about growth due to the subjectivity of value and the political allocation of resources in ancient economies, I propose a qualitative method centred on the effects of political means and institutions of command, which also employs the counterfactual constructs used in economic theory. This approach, through focusing on the conditions for growth and an examination of the historical prevalence of such conditions, provides a more complete answer to the question of economic development in the ancient world.

Phoebe Garrett (The University of Newcastle)

(Supervisor: Hugh Lindsay)

The Trouble with Tiberius

Each *Life* of Suetonius’ *De Vita Caesarum* follows a fairly standard formula, beginning in most cases with an account of famous ancestors and gentiles, which is implicitly or explicitly part of the characterisation of the subject proper. The Caesars are either good or bad, the opening paragraphs setting the scene by one or the other of a few strategies of relating the moral qualities of ancestor to descendant. The demonstration of vice in a Caesar is foreshadowed by a virtuous ancestor, a paragon from which our Caesar is shown to have degenerated, or a list of steadily worsening degenerates, each contributing to their descendant’s moral turpitude; a virtuous Caesar, where he appears, is a self-made man, product of a respectable but lowly family. Among these lives, the *Tiberius* is problematic as the life of a man of contradictory virtues and vices, his ‘true’ nature difficult to pinpoint. The biographer addresses the problem of Tiberius’ curious mix of virtue and vice at several points within the *Life*, beginning, I will argue, with the statement that there were two kinds of Claudii, and Tiberius was Claudian on both sides. Tiberius’ mixed characteristics might explain why this is the only *Life* in which the maternal line and ancestors by adoption are prominent in the introduction. This paper considers the relation between the introductory section on the Claudii and Suetonius’ presentation of the character traits of Tiberius, taking in the various ways in which the *Vita Tiberii* is both typical of Suetonius’ *Vitae* and unique amongst them.

Leanne Grech (University of Melbourne)

(Supervisor: Clara Tuite)

Two Loves: Redefining the Beloved in *De Profundis*

In April 1895, the English authorities arrested and prosecuted Oscar Wilde for public indecency. In the context of the courtroom, Wilde consistently described his relationship with Lord Alfred Douglas as an artistically motivated friendship and nothing more. Based on the letters that Wilde wrote to Douglas as the trials were taking place, it appears that he genuinely believed he shared a spiritual and intellectual Platonic bond with his lover. In this paper, I will address Wilde’s tendency to reconfigure Christ as a Platonic beloved in his private letters and his 1897 prison manuscript, *De Profundis*. I argue that there is an overlap in the language Wilde employs when he describes his love for Douglas in the 1895 letters and his aesthetic appraisal of Christ in *De Profundis*. In his letters to Douglas, Wilde redefines Christ as a symbol for Platonic love by blurring the distinction between his own beloved (Douglas), and Jesus Christ. However, after enduring almost two years in prison, Wilde

became painfully aware of Douglas' imperfections. Rather than giving up on the possibilities of Platonic love, Wilde portrays Christ as a lover, a poet, an artistic inspiration and a source of hope; in the past, Douglas was all of these things to Wilde. For all of the ways that Douglas fails Wilde as a Platonic beloved, in *De Profundis*, we see that Christ is there to fill the void.

Alison Griffith (The University of Canterbury)

#### Healing, Bathing and Religious Devotion in Republican Italy

Belief in the healing power of water is well attested in antiquity. Several ancient authors who practiced medicine and wrote on medical topics recommended hydrotherapy in various forms (bathing, drinking, sweating in vapour) for numerous maladies and conditions. Equally well recognized were the curative properties of particular sources of water, many of which are the sites of modern spas. Several ancient authors with interests outside medicine praised Italian springs known for their therapeutic benefits. Indeed, recognition of the medicinal as well as hygienic benefits of water helped stimulate the development of the large bathing establishments that characterized Roman imperial cities.

Then as now ill health was a serious matter. Some sufferers sought medical advice, but many also sought divine intervention; health and healing were pertinent to doctors *and* deities. Moreover, in antiquity natural sources of water were always associated with divine power. At northern European sites the nexus of bathing, healing and religious devotion is usually unequivocal; bathing establishments as well as temples to tutelary deities (eg Sulis-Minerva at Bath) are commonly found at the sites of therapeutic waters. Until recently the state of the evidence has discouraged scholars from investigating whether the same was true for Italy. Building on the work of Ingrid Edlund-Berry (concerning the religious significance of water) and of Ralph Jackson (on water's medicinal benefits), this paper will investigate the coincidence of healing, bathing and religious observance in Italy during the 4th – 1st centuries BCE, long before the development of the largely secular habit of bathing in the imperial period. The argument is based on a review of disparately published archaeological evidence for sanctuaries at therapeutic springs and, more importantly, the prevalence and location of votive objects, especially terracotta miniatures representing parts of the body, which are universally agreed to represent thank-offerings for healing.

Greta Hawes (The University of Bristol)

#### Greek Myth and the Transformations of Allegory

Allegoresis is a style of interpretation which deliberately eschews the literal meaning of a text in favour of hidden, symbolic ones. This hermeneutic tradition provides some of the clearest evidence for how Greek readers in antiquity approached the poetry of Homer and Hesiod, and yet, until very recently, has been all but ignored by classical scholarship. Allegoresis allowed new generations of readers to preserve the status of culturally important myths in the face of radically changed philosophical and religious contexts. In doing so, it fundamentally changed the ways in which these stories were understood, providing a rich and extreme example of the imposition of ideology onto storytelling.

This paper looks at the relationship between allegorical interpretations of Odysseus' encounter with Circe and wider transformations of this myth in Graeco-Latin culture in a bid to understand the interplay between the allegorists' revisionist readings and more conventional approaches to the poetic tradition in antiquity. I argue that allegorical interpretations, despite being presented by their authors as an alternative to conventional readings, are not created arbitrarily but rather grow out of established ways of understanding these stories. Further, these interpretations encourage particular 'habits' of reading which emphasise some elements of the myth while ignoring others. Here, too, allegoresis cannot be isolated from wider Greek culture: its interpretative habits are strikingly echoed in later retellings of these myths, suggesting a close conceptual relationship between traditions of interpretation and traditions of storytelling in antiquity.

Tania Hayes (Victoria University of Wellington)

(Supervisor: Jeff Tatum)

Rome at a Distance: Self-Identity and the City in the Narrative of Exile

Catherine Edwards, describing the narrative of exile as ‘a literary tradition of responses to exile’, emphasizes the sense of alienation and loss of cultural identity expressed by those forced outside the familiar bounds of their homeland. This literary perspective offers a useful means of analysing the complexities of public buildings and civic spaces and their significance for Roman society. The study of public spaces and their role in constructing Roman identities tends to be focalised from a perspective within the city. This view can be enhanced, however, by considering the feelings and meanings expressed by Romans for whom such public space and civic structures were prohibited and yet remained vital to their sense of cultural self-identity. Ovid’s tour of the city (*Trist.* 3.1) by his anthropomorphised book of poems exemplifies the usefulness of such narrative for understanding the significance of the city to these disconnected individuals. This paper will explore the importance of public buildings and civic space in constructing and expressing Roman self-identity through analysis of the narrative of exile in Cicero, Ovid, Livy and Seneca.

Anthony Hooper (The University of Sydney)

(Supervisor: Rick Benitez)

Navigating the Depths: Dynamic Wisdom and the Flux of Thought in Heraclitus

According to a famous, though almost certainly apocryphal story, Socrates is said to have compared the task of reading Heraclitus to that of a Delian Diver (D.L. 2.22). Through this image we can neatly conceptualise the way that Heraclitus scholars understood their project for the majority of the 20th century, that being one of ‘getting to the bottom’ of the fragments so as to recover the pearls of wisdom (some position regarding the doctrines Heraclitus advances) to be found in each. In this paper I identify three interpretative strategies to which these commentators hold in conceiving of the project of reading the fragments in this way, and critique these positions in light of analyses of the semantic structure of frags 124 and 87. With this discussion in place I will argue that the fragments neither communicate doctrines, nor admit solution, but are carefully constructed in order to leave the reader oscillating in thought between various (often opposing) readings of the fragments, recommending no one interpretative path over any other. With this discussion in place I then offer an alternative account of how we might navigate the fragments. I will suggest that we should not read the fragments as texts primarily aimed at imparting insight into various phenomena (knowledge-that); instead, we should understand the fragments as teaching us a skill (a ‘knowledge-how’), which I will call ‘dynamic wisdom’ – an ability to recognise and work one’s way through the multiplicity of significance of any phenomenon.

Bronwyn Hopwood (The University of New England)

What’s in a Name? Appian and the Nomenclature of OKTAOUIOS KAISAR

At *Bella Civilia* 4.8-11 Appian purports to produce a translation of the Triumvirs’ proscription edict of November 43 BC. The authenticity of the edict as it is reproduced in Appian’s account is widely accepted. The most significant obstacle to this interpretation is that the opening title of the edict lists the names of the Triumvirs as ‘Marcus Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, and Octavius Caesar’. Since by this time Octavian had taken the name of his adoptive father, Gaius Julius Caesar, and was eschewing the name Octavianus, it seems unusual to find his name formulated in the edict in this way. Given that Appian exhibits particular care over the nomenclature of Octavian in the *Bella Civilia* in general, and that names have meaning and power, how should the references to Caesar’s heir at *Bella Civilia* 4.2.8 and 4.17.130 be understood?



Greg Horsley (The University of New England)

One hundred years of the Loeb Classical Library

2011 marks the centenary of the LCL. Founded in 1911 by James Loeb, the series has been served by eight editors and two publishers. More than 500 volumes have appeared and remain in print. The paper offers an assessment of the series' achievement, and notes both innovations it introduced as well as shifts in emphasis over time.

Vivien Howan (Massey University)

The Context of an Athenian Inscription of the Late 370s or the 360s BC

Among the records of the Athenian dockyards is an inscription that lists a number of trierarchs and also contains mention of a cleruchy. It is undated, but can be placed within the period of 374-361 BC. In 1969 John Davies proposed moving it from Raphael Sealey's dating of 370/69 to 366/5, for which change he believed he had found the perfect context in the establishment of a cleruchy on Samos after Timotheus' successful siege there. Davies sees the listing as trierarchs of the prominent figures of Timotheus, Callistratus and Chabrias as reflecting the political dominance of Timotheus, who has been able to request the presence of Callistratus and Chabrias to lend their prestige to the delicate business of setting up a cleruchy. In 1973 George Cawkwell reacted against Davies' interpretation, on the basis both of overall feasibility and of the requirement that Timotheus serve as general and trierarch simultaneously. Cawkwell advocated returning to the date of 370/69.

Neither opinion has been accepted unreservedly. While Davies does provide an explanation for the presence of three illustrious trierarchs, Cawkwell's objections need to be taken into account. In fact, an alternative explanation, involving a different political context, may be suggested. A slightly earlier date, after Iphicrates' operations in the west (ending in 372/1) and Timotheus' return from Egypt, perhaps not much later, raises the possibility of a dominant Iphicrates, whose opponents (at any rate, Timotheus and Chabrias) fail to be elected as generals for the coming year and automatically serve as trierarchs, since the exemption from the trierarchy that they would enjoy as generals no longer applies. This removes the need for Timotheus to be both general and trierarch, and takes into account attested personal alignments of the late 370s.

Dylan James (Macquarie University)

(Supervisor: Brian Bosworth)

Diodorus the Bilingual Provincial: Greek Language and Multilingualism in the *Bibliothèque*

Diodorus Siculus has been the subject of a partial rehabilitation in the last twenty years, but is still all too commonly viewed as a 'slavish compiler'. Using Kenneth Sacks' method for demonstrating Diodorus' creativity – "established unity of theme within the *Bibliothèque*" (Sacks 1994, 215) – I will examine Diodorus' attitude to both Greek and foreign tongues. Since language is universally acknowledged as a key component of Greek ethnicity, study of an author's depiction of language offers valuable insight into his *modus operandi*. Recent work on languages in individual authors, such as Homer and Herodotus, has been enlightening (e.g. Harrison 1998; Munson 2005; Mackie 1996; Ross 2005). In this paper, I offer a case study by analysing the references to languages found in Book 17, that which deals with Alexander the Great. We have a valuable control in the often parallel account in Curtius Rufus, based on a common source. I will compare the references to language in Book 17 with the rest of the work in addition to the other Alexander sources in the hope of demonstrating Diodorus' creativity. It will be shown that recurrent motifs emerge, revealed by means of similar terminology or context. The account is naturally more abbreviated than Curtius or Arrian, which makes it all the more significant when Diodorus does include linguistic details, or allow more space to episodes with a linguistic dimension. While Curtius is interested in elements of multilingualism, Diodorus reveals a concern for different linguistic matters. I hope to show that he had particular pride in his own Greek tongue, as well as a rare interest in the problems of multilingualism. It will be suggested that Diodorus' knowledge of Latin, and indeed other overlooked aspects of Diodorus' own life, contributed to his depiction of foreign languages to some degree.

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Edward Jeremiah (The University of Melbourne / Monash University)

Aristotle’s self-thinking mind: mystical mumbo-jumbo or the actualisation of pure function?

Aristotle’s articulation of God as mind which thinks itself, whose thinking is the thinking of thinking, has often been sidelined or omitted entirely in discussions of his psychology and metaphysics. Modern philosophers keen to discover in Aristotle’s thought an embryonic form of functionalism are scandalised by the intrusion of such mystical mumbo-jumbo into an otherwise sober analysis, while intellectual historians often regard such passages as refugees of Platonism and Pythagoreanism that may even be interpolations. Yet Patrick Lee has recently and convincingly argued against attempts to marginalise the idea of pure thought in Aristotle, showing that it is in fact central to any holistic understanding of his philosophy and consistent with the cast of ancient thought more generally.

In this paper I will set sail to the same wind but take a different tack, working towards an interpretation of the self-actualising mind that blends idealism and functionalism, and traces Aristotle’s conception of mind to an engagement with his predecessors’ views on the subject, especially those of Anaxagoras and Plato. On this reading the notion of pure thought emerges as an elegant and cogent solution to the Platonic problem of the relation between mind and intelligible form.

Marguerite Johnson (The University of Newcastle)

Boudicca: A Suffragette Model

The increase in research in Classical Reception Studies has yielded some rich harvest over the last decade. What remain uncharted however, are the social and political implications at work in several discrete areas of reception.

The feminist, racial and gendered implications that inspire and construct the use of figures and events from antiquity may be exemplified by the Suffragette Movement’s appropriation of Boudicca to dramatise and intensify their agendas in a public space, most notably at the base of Thornycroft’s famous monument, the statue of Boadicea adjacent to the Houses of Parliament.

This paper analyses this particular use of an ancient icon and explores the reasons why and effects of one of the Women’s Movement’s most useful reception figures.

Naoki Kamimura (Tokyo Gakugei University)

Training for Christian Identity: Spiritual Exercises in Tertullian

The tradition of ‘spiritual exercises’ in late antiquity, the one which has attracted considerable interest, especially when we appreciate Pierre Hadot’s work, *Exercices spirituels et philosophie antique* (Paris 1993), in which he illustrates a complex set of modes of the exercises and defines it as a ‘metamorphosis of our personality’. Some scholars have often investigated it as the intellectual training of the intelligence or mind. Primary attention should be given to it. All the same, the simplistic approach is problematic and merits careful deliberation. Hadot emphasises the need to consider a wider diversity of the training within the very context of involving all facets of human thought and behaviour. A modification appears from the result of reflection in late antiquity despite the fact that the exercises vary according to the circumstances of a Greco-Roman tradition. It is noteworthy that, among early Christian thinkers, while Justin argues that philosophical investigation

can lead Christians to a better appreciation of divine truth, Tertullian speaks against its ethical claims (Jean-Claude Fredouille, *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique* [Paris 1972]). But although Tertullian exclaims that divine truth is found in Jerusalem rather than Athens, he understands Christian martyr acts as indispensable vehicles for the articulation of Christian identities and, therefore, as working to shape their perceptions of the way of life in this world: the seed of the Church is the blood of Christian martyrs. In this paper I will focus on Tertullian's view of the spiritual exercises, thereby coming to some understanding of the horizons on which Tertullian makes use of the dimension and goal in speaking about the exercises, and considering how these might have affected his dealings with the appropriate attitude towards temporal realities in this world.

David Konstan (Brown University / State University of New York)

*Public Lecture: The Two Faces of Parrhêsia: Free Speech and Self-Expression in Ancient Greece*

The Greek democracy is celebrated for its liberal attitude towards free speech, or *parrhêsia*. But was *parrhêsia* a right? What happened when this freedom ran up against popular opinion? Did it take precedence over one's duty to the community and respect for traditional values? In this lecture Professor Konstan will examine the two sides of free speech, as it was understood in the classical Athenian democracy.

*Conference Paper: Pindar's Pythian 11 and Political Allegory*

The myth in Pindar's *Pythian 11* describes Orestes' return to Amyclae in Laconia and his vengeance for the murder of his father. In his recent commentary, P.J. Finglass (2007) dismisses attempts to find political meaning in the myth. Thomas Hubbard (2011), on the contrary, connects the myth with the effort of aristocratic families to restore Thebes' relationship with Sparta. I argue that the myth does indeed serve to affirm the legitimacy of the Theban regime, but is at the same time a reminder that Sparta, the liberator of Greece, also had its turbulent moments.

Alina Kozlovski (The University of Sydney)

(Supervisor: Kathryn Welch)

*Architecture as Control: The Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste*

Much work has been done recently in trying to understand not just the histories of ancient cities but also the experiences of living within them. However, because of a perception that elsewhere evidence is lacking, the focus of such studies has remained largely on Rome itself and on the cities of the Vesuvian region. Examples of this include Favro who has given us itineraries through different stages of Rome's history and Laurence who has studied the paths of traffic in Pompeii. Architecture plays an important role in any such study because it creates the spaces through which people move and therefore controls their behaviour. This paper will examine one structure and its complicated pattern of architecture in an attempt to understand what it can tell us about the experience of another city in Italy.

Not far from Rome, the city of Praeneste claimed fame because of its enormous sanctuary to Fortuna Primigenia. The architects of this structure were able to cleverly connect archaic religious areas with much needed commercial spaces and pay homage to the Hellenistic fashions of the period through the use of architecture. Space was delineated, access could be granted or denied and the natural landscape could be tricked. By combining the work done by archaeologists such as Coarelli and the more recent approaches to Roman religion by both historians and anthropologists, much can be learned from this sanctuary which has not received enough attention from Anglophone scholarship. This paper will argue that because of its unique arrangement, this sanctuary allows us to track the itinerary expected of a worshipper, especially when coupled with texts on Roman religion by writers such as Varro and Cicero. Its various architectural features will be discussed and the way that they were used as methods of controlling behaviour within a landscape.

Hugh Lindsay (The University of Newcastle)

The tomb of the Arruntii at Rome as depicted by Pier Leone Ghezzi and Giambattista Piranesi

According to the report of Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674-1755), the Arruntian tomb was discovered in February 1733 in the area of Via Giolitti and Via di Porta Maggiore, 100 metres from Porta Maggiore. Ghezzi was involved in recording many monuments discovered in Rome in the 18th century, and had already taken sketches of the monument of Livia, which was uncovered in 1725-6 in the Via Appia. Naturally, Ghezzi took an interest in the Arruntian discovery. His drawings of the tomb are preserved in *Codex Ottobonianus 3108*. Ghezzi's plan of 1733 (or very soon after) includes only two chambers, but years later Piranesi provided a fuller plan illustrating a third and a fourth chamber. Piranesi also provides drawings of the contents, displayed as assemblages. Ghezzi's plan either ignores elements needing major reconstruction, or else the excavation was far from complete when he executed his drawings. Moreover, the two plans differ substantially on the entrance arrangements to the tomb. I shall discuss the 18th century drawings of the tomb, and their contribution to an understanding of its social role.

Christopher Malone (The University of Sydney)

(Supervisor: tba)

A New 'Effeminate' East? Claudian, Politics and Cultural Identity in the Fifth Century AD

The opening years of the 5th century AD saw the *imperium Romanum* divided into two geographic empires, West and East. Ruled, at least in theory, by the sons of the great Theodosius, both realms were ostensibly thoroughly Roman, and certainly saw themselves as such. Yet when Claudian, court poet of the West, penned a verse attack on the eunuch consul of the East, Eutropius, he not only produced a masterpiece of personal invective but lambasted the Eastern Empire as a whole. The regime in Constantinople and its subjects were portrayed as luxurious and effeminate, deserving to be ruled by a eunuch, as opposed to the virtuous, virile Romans of the West. This sort of hostile depiction was hardly a new way of presenting and deriding Easterners in general, but the topos had traditionally been applied to provincials and barbarians; outsiders, not Romans. This paper will thus use Claudian's invective against Eutropius to launch an examination of some aspects of identity politics in the Late Empire. The paper first examines the nature of the attack on the East, and its political and ideological value for the Western Empire, before looking at wider Western perceptions of the Eastern Empire; particular focus will be laid on the East-West divide and on the linked issues of *romanitas* and manliness. The paper questions whether the attack was really just a discrete political sortie, or rather part of a wider construction of an East Roman 'Other' in the 5th century. The depiction worked for Claudian, but how viable was this newly constructed (or perhaps reconstructed) image of the Eastern Empire, and what was the value in constructing it when actual barbarians were, quite literally, at the gates?

Bruce Marshall (ASCS Honorary Secretary / Macquarie University)

"Riders in the Chariot": Children Accompanying their Fathers in Roman Triumphs

*[The first part of the title has been unashamedly pinched from the title of Patrick White's novel.]* A phenomenon associated with triumphs in the Roman republican period was the regular appearance of sons (or children) accompanying their fathers. But it has received little comment. Given the strong religious associations in the appearance and paraphernalia of the *triumphator*, one wonders what justification there was for him to arrange for a son or sons to accompany him, sometimes in the triumphal chariot, at other times on one of the trace horses pulling the chariot. Did the *triumphator* require permission for this practice? Did it have any religious connotations? How common was it, and when did the practice start? Ancient evidence says that it was a regular practice, but for the republican period there are only two triumphs described in the literature as including children, and the numismatic evidence provides only two examples. Not a lot of evidence therefore. An examination of the literature and coinage might provide some answers to these questions – or maybe not.

Hanna Mason (Victoria University of Wellington)

(Supervisor: Art Pomeroy)

A Propertian Achilleid: Transvestism, Love, and the Violation of Ritual

The allusions to the work of Ovid, Vergil, and even Catullus in Statius' *Achilleid* are well known, and demonstrate that it is as closely engaged with earlier literature as its predecessor, the *Thebaid*. Statius' allusions to Propertius, on the other hand, have so far seemingly remained unnoticed. This paper examines the strong intertextual connections between the *Achilleid* and Propertius IV.9, an aetiological poem that provides an elegiac interpretation of the 'Cacus' episode and Hercules' subsequent role in establishing the *Ara Maxima* on the future site of Rome. Comparing Hercules' and Achilles' problematic transvestism and violation of ritual, Statius gives his hero a strong precedent and engages with the Augustan models upon which Domitian founded his teleological right to rule. Moreover, the close connections between the *Achilleid* and elegiac poetry signal the continued evolution of epic as a literary form that deals not only with *Roma*, but also with *amor*, and embraces the problematic yet thought-provoking concepts inherent in that dichotomy. Finally, comparison of these two poems elucidates several differences between Statius' *Achilleid* and the Ovidian passages to which it alludes. Though this paper deals primarily with the implications of Statius' allusions to a single Propertian passage, it is part of a larger (projected) study of the allusions to Propertius in Statius' work and in Flavian epic more generally.

Christopher Matthew (The Australian Catholic University, Strathfield Campus)

Using Physical Re-Creation to Understand the Battle of Marathon

2011 marked the 2,500th anniversary of the Battle of Marathon. Fought in 490 BC, this confrontation between the Greeks and Persians was a landmark event in ancient history and is one around which a substantial legend has grown. It was as much a clash of cultures as it was an act of conventional warfare and the results of this engagement cast ripples which influenced the course of history for centuries to come. Yet despite the significance of this event, very little is known about the battle itself and, in particular, how it was played out. This is primarily due to how scholars have read, re-read and subsequently debated, the ancient accounts of the battle without considering any of the physical implications of their hypotheses. However, this gap can be addressed using physical re-creation and experimental archaeology. The use of such methods sheds substantial light on the validity of these ancient accounts, provides details that are unobtainable through a simple reading of the texts and allows us to better understand one of the most famous battles of antiquity.

James McLaren (The Australian Catholic University, Melbourne)

Roman Administration in Judea from 6-41 CE: implications for understanding the execution of Jesus

It has long been accepted by scholarship on first century CE Judaea that the decision to execute Jesus was essentially an internal Jewish matter in which Roman involvement was, at best, contrived. It is widely accepted that a clear divide existed between those affairs subject to Roman authority and those affairs left in the hands of the local Jewish authorities. This paper will review the evidence regarding the manner by which Judaea was governed after Augustus made the decision to remove Archelaus from his position as ethnarch in 6 CE. The numerous changes made to the manner in which the territory was administered and the impact of those changes will be outlined. It will be argued that any notion of a divide between Roman and Jewish spheres of control belong to the period after the execution of Jesus and, in turn, that our reconstructions of Roman involvement in the decision to execute Jesus needs to be revised.

Sarah Midford (The University of Melbourne)

(Supervisors: Chris Mackie and Joy Damousi)

Classical Education in Australia 1788 – 1914

This paper will interrogate where the Classics fit into the Australian education system between 1788 and 1914. In order to do this the paper will investigate how much the earliest European-Australians

would have known of the Classical world. In the nineteenth century, Australian children were educated in higher numbers than children in Britain or the United States. In 1880 there were proportionally more children being educated in the New South Welsh Colony than in many English Counties. Australia also had a prosperous adult education industry and men and women beyond school age educated themselves at evening classes and in public libraries. By the 1850s Latin and Ancient Greek were compulsory first year subjects at Australian universities and necessary for matriculation. Australia was also a world leader in the democratisation of reading and, at the turn of the nineteenth century, more Australians would have had access to books than in almost any other place on earth. The Classics were available to students at all levels whether in their original languages or in translation. During this period, modern writers were producing less rigorous, idealised versions of the Classics in English. This egalitarian approach to knowledge fitted into the developing ideologies of the young and forming nation. The growing Australian reading public could utilise versions of Classical narratives to serve as both models of civic virtue and allegorical reflections on contemporary life. The accessible nature of these works meant that Classical knowledge was available to a non-traditional and diverse audience. These Classically-inspired moral works reinterpreted the ancient world to provide exemplars for the inhabitants of the new world and ascribe to Australia's egalitarian approach to education. The paper will conclude that, although Australia's access to Classical education was not conventional, it was available to a wider section of the community than ever before.

Richard Miles (The University of Sydney)

Religious Ambiguity and 'Rough Tolerance' in Vandal North Africa

This paper will look at the important roles that obfuscation, ambiguity and silence in religious matters played in the creation of political consensus in late antique North Africa.

In particular I want to argue for a model of successful co-existence between Catholic Romano-African elites and Vandal Arians in the 5th and early 6th centuries AD which centred on studied avoidance of religious differences, punctuated by short episodes of extreme religious persecution (what I call 'Rough Tolerance').

Taking the example of the sizeable 6th century Christian basilica at Bir Messaouda, Carthage (whose excavation I directed) as well as a number of other contemporary churches from that period, I shall contend that this studied ambiguity not only manifested itself in literary discourse but also in the ecclesiastical architecture of the period. At Bir Messaouda and other churches, their Vandal era building plans often appear to be designed to deliberately obscure their function and overall visibility.

I will conclude by arguing that this model of 'don't ask-don't tell' partly explains the extraordinary ecclesiastical building program that took place in the decades following the 're-conquest' of North Africa by the eastern Roman emperor Justinian in 535 AD.

Frances Mills (La Trobe University)

Cities and Signs 6: Saguntum and Capua in Silius Italicus' *Punica*

Throughout the *Punica*, Silius uses subtle internal referencing in order to impose a poetic symmetry on the historical record which he had very deliberately rearranged in order to compose his epic. This refined balancing act can be seen in the parallels that he drew between his account of the siege and defeat of Saguntum, the first stage of Hannibal's campaign, and his idiosyncratic retelling of the story Hannibal's sojourn in, and the later Roman capture of Capua. Saguntum is a city devoted to *Fides*; Capua is a city characterised by decadence and *perfidia*. The tales of these two cities occur at pivotal points in the epic (and indeed in Livy's history). Where the capture of Saguntum heralds the beginning of a series of brilliant victories over Rome, the Carthaginian occupation and later loss of Capua to the Romans instead initiates Hannibal's long decline into frustration, failure and ultimately to his defeat by Scipio Africanus at Zama. Hercules and *Fides* are unable to thwart Hannibal's attack and save Saguntum; Capua on the other hand is where Venus can intervene in her insidious way to work to the advantage of her Romans. This paper is an exploration of some of the parallels that Silius drew in his tales of these two cities, and the symmetry that they bring to his epic *Punica*.

Elizabeth Minchin (The Australian National University)

Poet, audience, and text: what difference does compositional mode – and medium – make?

What differences do we observe between the recorded texts of what are thought to be performances of epic song and those texts that were, we know, composed in writing? To what extent do the context and the medium of composition affect the way a text, particularly a literary text, is presented? In this paper I consider the poetry of Homer, which, as we shall see, reveals some surface features, strategies and tropes which we associate with spoken communication and others which we associate today with the written word. Working from Erving Goffman's and Wallace Chafe's accounts of spoken and written language, and Deborah Tannen's paper on making a presentation at a scholarly conference, I argue that the key to understanding this commingling of 'oral' and 'literate' modes in Homer has less, if anything, to do with orality and literacy *per se*, and, to a great extent, rests with the poet's professional practice, his own engagement with the moment, and his desire that his audience be engaged and involved with his song.

Kathy Moignard (The University of New England)

(Supervisor: Greg Horsley)

Dio Chrysostom, *On Exile: An Imaginary Life?*

In his thirteenth oration *On exile*, Dio Chrysostom describes to his audience in Athens the sequence of events which, he claims, made him a philosopher: exile, consultation with Apollo, and obedience to the god's command to pursue the activity in which he is engaged to the very end of the earth. Dio's account can be read as a pastiche of literary paradigms. In Greek tradition, any one of exile, a life-directing oracle, the sudden apprehension of the true path that is conversion, and a journey to the far reaches of the earth can be the trigger of a profound life change. In this paper, I suggest that Dio used the traditional imagery without any false consciousness in this and other orations, some of it as a true representation of his circumstances as he saw them and some metaphorically, in a way that he expected his audience to understand. Dio's exile itself – in the relatively moderate form known as *relegatio* – is not to be doubted historically, but this aspect is not my focus here. I examine Dio's works before and after this crisis in his life for evidence of a change in his philosophical position and discuss what – if not this – Dio could have meant when he claimed to have become a philosopher as a consequence of his exile.

Kit Morrell (The University of Sydney)

(Supervisor: Kathryn Welch)

Cato, Caesar, and the Germans

Cato's proposal to hand Caesar over to the Germans in 55 BC has been described as "too well-known to need recounting" – too well-known, apparently, to receive more than a footnote or a cursory sentence in most modern accounts. However, for all its notoriety, this incident is not well understood. Disagreement persists, for example, regarding the basis of Cato's proposal, even though most scholars acknowledge the justice of his complaint.

This paper will re-examine the episode on a technical footing. What Cato proposed was the *deditio* (extradition) of Caesar on the grounds that he had attacked during a truce and violated the rights of ambassadors. I will explore the fundamentally religious basis of these claims with reference to historical precedents for the *deditio* of generals. Finally I will argue that Caesar's account in his Gallic War commentaries is designed not only to justify his actions in terms of traditional standards of *bellum iustum* but to refute Cato's more specific allegations. It seems there was a case to answer.

Gary Morrison (The University of Canterbury)

Life at Night: Representations and Reality

Studies into 'Daily Roman Life' abound, be they general 'overviews', sourcebooks, or a focussed analysis into specific themes, events and/or activities. Yet through all these investigations what occurred at night receives limited attention, be it in regard to (a) reality, what did Romans do at night?

What could they do at night? And (b) as a literary construct, the association of night/darkness with certain activities, particular patterns and assumptions, and perhaps different groups – based on societal, cultural or ethnic divisions. Association to night and/or darkness may provide insights as to identity.

The limited attention that this topic has received is somewhat surprising; at the very least informative and at times lively anecdotes depicting night-time excursions appear in much of the extant literature. This paper brings together a selection of these anecdotes. Our focus will be Imperial authors (including Juvenal, Pliny, Tacitus and Suetonius); we will ask what use they make of night and darkness, and suggest what insights their representations could provide about Roman society. The parameters are deliberately extensive, as this paper will also introduce aspects of a much larger study that begins the process of analysing Roman society in a new way, or at least from a new perspective.

Peter Mountford (The University of Melbourne)

(Supervisor: Rhiannon Evans)

Livy and the Locals

This paper examines the way in which Livy portrays the Italic peoples in the first ten books of his *History of Rome*, which cover the period from the traditional foundation of Rome in 753 BC until 296 BC, where Book 10 concludes. The paper looks for similarities and differences in the portrayal of the various tribes with which the Romans came into conflict, as they spread their boundaries and their sphere of influence in the Italian peninsula. It seeks to discover whether there are any consistent patterns to be found in the way in which each people is portrayed. Are some seen to be more hostile than others? What language does he use to describe them? Can any reasons be suggested for the way in which he presents each people? What effect might the events in Rome at that time, or even in the time when Livy was writing, have upon his presentation of them? Could his own background be relevant? The paper considers Livy's apparent use of *exempla*. It also assesses the losses suffered by both sides in the various wars which were fought.

Takeshi Nakamura (Osaka University of Health and Sport Sciences)

The Theory of Receptacle and the Theory of Geometrical Particles in Plato's *Timaeus*

In the opening scene of the second part of the *Timaeus* (48e-52d) Plato introduces a genus called 'Receptacle'. This Receptacle seems to take up important roles in the *Timaeus*, but interpreters have widely disagreed on what kind of roles exactly it plays, since the way it is talked about is quite vague. After introducing the theory of Receptacle, however, Plato starts presenting the theory that physical objects in this natural world all consist of geometrical particles (53c ff.). A variety of interpretations have also been offered regarding what these particles are.

At first sight, these two theories, the theory of Receptacle and that of geometrical particles, appear to be completely different or even opposing explanations of the changes of natural objects. Receptacle is, after all, a domain where many different qualities appear, and the qualitative changes of the same objects can be explained by saying different qualities enter this domain one after another. On the other hand, the theory of geometrical particles seems to explain the movements and qualitative changes of objects in terms of the gathering and scattering of particles. However, if these *prima facie* interpretations are on the right track, why does Plato offer these two different explanations about the same event, i.e. the changes of natural objects, side by side?

Taking this question into consideration, I will discuss the relation between the two theories: whether the one can be reduced to the other; whether they are complementing each other; or whether they are explaining the same event from different perspectives and so are independent of each other. I will also try to reveal the role of this mysterious Receptacle through an examination of the two theories.



Bronwen Neal (The Australian Catholic University, McAuley Campus)

Letters of Gelasius (492-496): A New Model of Crisis Management?

This paper brings together in a wider setting a wealth of previous research on episcopal strategies for dealing with individual crises of various kinds in the 5th and 6th centuries. The seven categories of crisis that I have identified are:

1. natural disasters and climate change;
2. crises in structures of dependence. The phrase ‘structures of dependence’ neatly encapsulates both the causes and consequences of a highly stratified social structure, although people in Late Antiquity remained oblivious to continuing generational poverty and the structural reasons for that phenomenon;
3. religious disputes and the perception and treatment of ‘extremists’;
4. violent conflict, including barbarian invasions and gang violence;
5. social abuses, such as slavery of the freeborn, indentured child labour, and usury;
6. population displacement, including refugees and asylum-seekers;
7. other, including clerical discipline and ecclesiastical territory disputes.

Among the corpus of some 400 letters from bishops of Rome in the fifth century, the letters of Gelasius stand out as offering a markedly different approach. Bishop of Rome from 492-496, Gelasius had to deal with numerous crises, including the Acacian schism with Constantinople, as well as the recent transition of Italy to Gothic rule. Using Gelasius’ letters along with other sources – histories, inscriptions, *vitae* and the *Liber Pontificalis*, among them – I examine whether Gelasius was adopting a new model of crisis management.

David Nolan (The University of Tasmania)

(Supervisor: Jonathon Wallis)

Caesar’s *Res Gestae*: Understanding Combat Narrative in the Invasion of Britain

Of the battles recounted in the Gallic Wars, those fought during the invasion of Britain must have had special meaning for Caesar. The unprecedented nature of the crossing, and the excitement that the unknown held in the imagination of his audience enhanced the reputation of the commander and the esteem with which he was held at Rome. Caesar’s account of the expedition certainly reflects its unique place in the work, and his desire to portray it as a great achievement. However it is in his account of battle, the circumstances leading up to the first landing, and the combat fought on the beach where this objective is particularly resonant. Caesar selects his content carefully, paying meticulous attention to detail in order to emphasise the unique and challenging nature of the undertaking, or dismissing details where the absence achieves a similar result. At a structural level, battle follows a dynamic that focuses on the challenges, and the manner in which Caesar prevails over these obstacles to victory. Situational details such as the enemy encountered, morale, movement on the battlefield, and details of physical combat all address or emphasise the unusual challenges of a foreign invasion and the manner in which these are overcome. Each element of battle is presented according to these criteria even where causal associations are tenuous, or where the chosen dynamic precludes details more relevant to causality. Caesar certainly understood what was important for victory in battle, but how he selected and arranged these details provides valuable insight into how he reflected on the events and reordered his memory of battle. In this particular case his writing aimed to ensure that the venture be interpreted as an achievement worthy of the commander and the Roman people.

J.M. Ogereau (Macquarie University)

(Supervisor: Christopher Forbes)

Acts 2:44 and 4:32 in the Light of Neglected Epigraphic Evidence

The so-called ‘community of goods’ depicted in Acts 2:44 and 4:32 has traditionally raised some suspicion amongst New Testament scholars as to its historicity. Rather than taking at face value the description of the early Christians as holding everything in common (εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινὰ, Acts 2:44;

ἦν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα κοινά, Acts 4:32), commentators have indeed often emphasised the historical unreliability and idyllic character of the Lukan narrative. Drawing attention to the Hellenistic ideal of friendship expressed in proverbs such as ‘κοινὰ τὰ φίλων’ (‘friends’ goods are common property’) or ‘φιλότης ἡ ἰσότης’ (‘equality is friendship’), many have interpreted the passage as merely echoing these popular aphorisms for rhetorical effect.

However, new light can now be shed on this debated question through the examination of a neglected decree from the city of Troizenis (*IG IV 757*, c. 146 BC), in which several groups are recorded to have freely donated all of their common possessions (τὰ κοινεῖα πάντα) for the salvation of the city. A careful investigation of this fragmented inscription and its peculiar language indeed enables to reconstruct the exceptional circumstances affecting the city, and the extra-ordinary measures employed by the community to address its dire situation. This example then provides a comparative *historical* precedent by which the community spirit and structure of the early church can be examined with fresh perspective. It not only reaffirms the likely historicity of the Lukan account, which can reasonably be interpreted as reflecting, at least temporarily, the social reality of the Jerusalem community. But it also allows to further highlight, in contradistinction with the situation in Troizenis, the purpose and essence of the early Christian ideal of community.

Neil O’Sullivan (The University of Western Australia)

#### Cicero’s Greek and the Papyri

Cicero’s use of Greek is a subject which has the potential to tell us not just about the intellectual life of this central figure of European history, but also about the practice and ideology of the Greek language at a turning point in its history, a turning point for which Cicero’s Latin works present the first evidence. While there have been several studies of Cicero’s Greek, almost no use has been made of the many thousands of documentary papyri which provide invaluable evidence for the form of the language in general use in the post-classical era. This is curious, as a number of these studies have explicitly been interested in fixing a place for Cicero’s Greek in the continuum running from classical to koine. The paper will present some initial findings to qualify and supplement the work already done on the nature of Cicero’s Greek, and will offer some reflections on what an examination of the language of papyri in this context can and cannot tell us.

Patrick O’Sullivan (The University of Canterbury)

#### Life, the Universe and Everything: Empedocles’ Philosophy of Painting

As with other visual and verbal arts, the 5th century BC witnessed the growth of considerable interest in the nature and effects of painting both by practitioners and ‘non-practising’ intellectuals at a time of great technical advances in this medium. Vitruvius, for instance, tells us that the painter Agatharchus, who designed scenery for Aeschylus, left a commentary about his work which is said to have influenced Anaxagoras’ and Democritus’ views on perspective. And we have independent evidence for Democritean interest in painting (B28a D-K, cf B5h D-K). Pliny (*HN* 35.128) also mentions writings on painting by others from the 5th and 4th centuries such as Parrhasius – the painter with whom Socrates discusses aspects of his art in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* (3.10.1-6). While much ancient theorising about painting has been lost, this paper analyses an important fragment of the Sicilian philosopher Empedocles which uses painting as an analogy for his cosmic theories of the comingling and separation of the four elements (earth, air, fire and water) under the influence of Love and Strife (B 23 D-K). It will be argued that the rich and complex language Empedocles uses to describe painters’ techniques and skills, as well as their methods of composition and the effects of their work, constitutes an important document in the early history of western aesthetics. Not only does Empedocles develop Homeric concepts of artisan-figures such as Hephaistos in the *Iliad*, but his views on painting – especially as a medium capable of inducing *apatê* (deceit) – anticipate theories of Gorgias (his pupil) and Plato in *Republic* 10 and elsewhere on the perceived powers of poetry, rhetoric and visual artworks.

John Penwill (La Trobe University)

Compulsory Freedom: Literature in Trajan's Rome

The new age of Nerva and Trajan is hailed by writers of the time as one in which freedom has been restored, where in Tacitus' words 'you are allowed to feel what you wish and say what you feel' (*Agr.* 1.1). But in fact all this does is state the official position, as shown on imperial coinage. The emperor orders it, so one has no choice but to be free (Plin. *Pan.* 66.4, 67.2), and to celebrate that 'fact' becomes a matter of duty. Martial (10.72) ostentatiously bids farewell to the former *blanditiae* by which Domitian was addressed as *dominus et deus*, but concludes with a warning: *hoc sub principe, si sapis, cauto/uerbis, Roma, prioribus loquaris* ('beware, Rome, of using the old language under *this* regime' (10.72.12f.)). The new age requires new *blanditiae* which reflect its ideology. This paper focuses on four major Roman writers of the period – Pliny, Martial, Juvenal and Tacitus – and in particular on the various ways in which they are both constrained by and (in three cases at least) push the boundaries within which it is felt literature is required to operate. While the overt censorship of Domitian's reign is no longer in evidence the memory of it remains, with the structures that enabled it still firmly in place; the government is as much of a military dictatorship as ever. Some of the rules may appear to have changed, but tensions between writer and *princeps* still have their role to play in moulding literary output.

Simon Perris (Victoria University of Wellington)

When is a tent not a tent? Stagecraft and the stage-building in ps.-Euripides' *Rhesos*

This paper discusses a hitherto neglected aspect of stagecraft in the (pseudo-)Euripidean *Rhesos*: the stage-building. Firstly, I demonstrate that, contrary to prevailing opinion, *Rhesos* only requires the stage-building for the appearances of Athena on the roof and the Muse *ex machina*: the stage-door is not used and the stage-building itself does not represent Hektor's tent. Secondly, I argue that this unparalleled treatment of scenic space in an unparalleled nocturnal wartime setting is crucial to the play's aesthetic.

Given the night-time setting (see Strohm; Walton), most critics and translators assume *prima facie* that Hektor sleeps in a tent represented by the stage-building. Expanding on suggestions made by Björck (pp. 13-14), Taplin (p. 455), and Burlando (p. 20; see Jouan, lvii), however, I adduce further evidence (from *Rhesos*, from other tragedies, and from the Homeric *Doloneia*) which militates *against* this use of the stage-building in the play: Hektor sleeps in a bivouac onstage as the play begins. In its staging, *Rhesos* is thus less like plays in which the stage-door represents the entrance to an Homeric *klisiê* or hut (*Hekabe*, *Troades*, *IA*, and *Aias*) than plays in which the stage-door is not used at all.

All told, the staging of *Rhesos* underscores its night-time setting, heightens its tense, confused wartime atmosphere, and bolsters its *coups-de-théâtre*. The combination of archaizing Aiskhylean elements (principally the anapaestic choral opening and the treatment of the stage-building) and late-Euripidean elements (the choral exit and re-entry, the Athena-as-Aphrodite scene, the chase scene, and the singing Muse on the *mêkhanê*) is the defining feature of the play's engagement with tragic tradition, and thus the defining feature of the play's 'late' aesthetic.

Randall Pogorzelski (The University of Western Ontario)

A Monster in Arcadia: Genre and Identity in *Aeneid* 8

It is a Virgilian innovation to turn Cacus into the monster of *Aeneid* 8. Early portrayals of Cacus associate him with Satyrs and music (Small 1982, 4-5). Even Livy describes Cacus as a shepherd, albeit a criminal one (1.7.4-14). The *Aeneid* surrounds Cacus with pastoral elements, but removes all traces of the pastoral from the character himself. It is the pastoral king Evander who tells Aeneas of the monster. Virgil's Cacus alludes to Polyphemus, and Virgil's own description of Polyphemus highlights his pastoral aspect, calling him *pastorem* (3.657) and twice drawing attention to his flock (3.655 and 660). Nevertheless, in spite of the intertextual and intratextual pastoral elements, the character of Cacus is purely monstrous. Given the pastoral portraits of Cacus, the pastoral setting of Evander's narrative, and the pastoral aspects of Polyphemus, it is surprising that the Cacus of *Aeneid* 8 is not at all a shepherd. In an episode which problematises the heroic warrior virtue of Hercules and

valorises the pastoral humility of Evander (Putnam 1965, 129-50), some hint of Cacus as a singer or shepherd would heighten the moral ambivalence of the story. By removing the pastoral elements from Cacus, Virgil removes ambivalence from the opposition of Cacus and Evander, setting up a clear distinction between the epic and the pastoral heritage of Rome. Evander represents the pastoral, while Cacus is pure epic violence. The opposition of these two forces within Roman identity is crucial to the meaning of *Aeneid* 8, and adulterating the monstrous Cacus with pastoral elements would mitigate the conflict. By removing the ambivalence from the conflict between Evander and Cacus, Virgil emphasises the opposing forces of epic violence and pastoral tranquility in Roman identity.

Rebecca Price (Macquarie University)

(Supervisor: Peter Edwell)

#### Gender and Social Relations at Dura Europos in the Parthian and Roman Periods

Classical scholarship has, until recently, drawn largely upon Greco-Roman literary sources to examine concepts of gender and gender relations in the ancient world. Epigraphic evidence, which includes inscriptions, graffiti and dipinti, has, in contrast, been largely ignored, particularly in relation to the East. Epigraphy has been used as a source of information for the presence and roles – political, religious and social – of men and women as individuals. It can, however, also be of value in the exploration of gender and gender relations (mostly as men conceived them but occasionally women too). Epigraphy can provide insight into the self-identity of the author, or the perception of those whom they commemorate, through the roles and/or personal characteristics which are assigned in the text. Inscriptions are thus a means to explore not only what activities were carried out by whom in the public spaces of a town or city, but also the ways in which people sought to express their identity and highlight or strengthen their social position by employing gender and gender relations. Such non-literary texts, usually authored or commissioned by men, tended to emphasise and reinforce, implicitly or explicitly, the dominance of the adult, wealthy male at the expense of others, namely women, children and slaves. This paper will utilise epigraphic evidence, primarily religious dedications, to explore the conception of gender within Dura Europos, a city situated on the right bank of the Euphrates in modern-day Syria, during the Parthian and Roman periods. It will explore what it meant to be a ‘man’ or a ‘woman’ in Dura, primarily from an elite male perspective, how such ideas were used to establish and maintain social hierarchies within the community, and the uniqueness or otherwise of the city in this regard by a comparative study with the roughly contemporary city of Palmyra.

Jessica Priestley (The University of Bristol)

#### Fractured Fragments: Diodorus Siculus’ citations of Herodotus

In this paper Diodorus’ remarks on Herodotus and his *Histories* will be examined to try to determine his relationship to the earlier historian. The fact that we possess all of Herodotus’ work makes examination of this relationship particularly instructive for understanding Diodorus’ methods. The relationship is complicated, however, by the possibility that Diodorus’ comments on and criticisms of Herodotus are a reflection of the views of other, intermediate (lost) historians, rather than the product of Diodorus’ own independent analysis of Herodotus’ *Histories*.

Diodorus cites Herodotus by name eight times. These citations were discussed briefly by Dominique Lenfant (1999) in an article examining the ‘fragments’ of Herodotus in six later writers, including Diodorus (*Ktema* 24 (1999) 104-121).

This paper will begin by briefly reviewing the relevant passages. It will then expand on Lenfant’s analysis by focusing on the particularly troubling passage concerning Herodotus’ discussion of the source of the Nile (D.S. 1.37.11, Hdt. 2.28-34), in which Diodorus falsely attributes to Herodotus the positive identification of the Nile’s source. It will be argued that the misrepresentations of Herodotus, whether they are Diodorus’ own or whether they ultimately derive from Agatharchides of Cnidus, had a rhetorical purpose: they are introduced so that Diodorus/Agatharchides can present himself as methodologically more cautious than Herodotus on the problem of the Nile’s sources, and to establish Diodorus’/Agatharchides’ authority on an issue for which Herodotus seems to have been regarded as one of the most authoritative thinkers. The paper will end by addressing the problematic question of

whether this rhetorical construction is entirely Diodorus' own or whether it derives from Agatharchides, and the related issue of the extent to which we should use Diodorus' work in attempts to reconstruct the works of fragmentary historians.

David Rafferty (The University of Melbourne)

(Supervisor: Frederick Vervaeke)

Consular refusals of provinces in the late Roman republic

This paper will focus on a problem of late-Republican history which has not traditionally been perceived as a problem. Traditionally, the consuls' main duty was to command Roman armies in war – that is the picture which Livy gives us. So at first glance it is surprising that many late-Republican consuls declined to take a province during their consulship. It is even more surprising that our sources present this as an act of altruism, rather than as a dereliction of duty. While modern scholars have provided reasons why consuls did not take provinces, these reasons are private and political; public justification of these renunciations would have been necessary, yet these justifications remain unexplored. This paper is an attempt to remedy this gap in the scholarship by examining the justifications consuls gave for not taking a province. Using four attested examples – Q. Mucius Scaevola in 95, Cn. Pompeius Magnus in 70, Q. Hortensius in 69 and M. Tullius Cicero in 63 – it will reveal those aspects of late-Republican political thought which were used by consuls to justify this refusal. These were sometimes personal – witness Pompey's crafting of an image as the incorruptible solver of Rome's problems – but sometimes rather unexpected. Not all Romans always subscribed to the ideology of conquest pushed by men such as Caesar.

Ron Ridley (The University of Melbourne)

Livy the critical historian

The chorus of denigrators of Livy as an historian lacking any critical sense is well known. "He did not know how to go beyond the literary sources for an independent enquiry about the past" (Momigliano); Livy "has clearly less talent [than Tacitus] for critical evaluation of source material" (Walsh); "Livy is basically retailing at second, third or fourth hand the evidence of earlier historians and doing so with prejudice and without a critical or scholarly intent" (Ogilvie); "Livy and Dionysius record only minor discrepancies between their sources" (Cornell) – although there have been contesting voices (most notably Luce and to some extent Oakley). To analyse Livy's critical comments on his sources, in fact, would require a small book. In the first decade alone there are some one hundred and twenty times (!) where he acknowledges problems, and that is sufficient for this paper.

An attempt will be made to distinguish between places where Livy is faced with source discrepancies (and these are divided again into important and less important matters) and those cases where Livy seems to be making an independent comment springing from his own interests and personality, without prompting from conflicts in sources. The subjects of contention are, not unexpectedly, primarily military and political, but also include the fasti, chronology and topography. In certain matters, however, it must be recognised that Livy was bound by the annalistic tradition, as was any other historian. The result, it is hoped, will reveal a Livy who was quite alert to source problems and a much more nuanced historian than orthodoxy would admit.

Anne Rogerson (The University of Sydney)

An Achillean Cyclops: Re-playing the *Iliad* in *Odyssey* 8

Recent scholarship on Odysseus' encounter with Polyphemus in *Odyssey* 8 has shown how the hero's behaviour reflects that of heroes from the *Iliad*, and thus has established this early adventure as a crucial stage in Odysseus' movement away from the past towards a new kind of heroism, one based on cunning and guile rather than force (see especially Brown (1996), pp. 24-28). At the same time, those troubled by the brutal way in which Odysseus deals with the suitors at the end of the *Odyssey* have questioned this development, arguing that the lion-like hero there (*Od.* 22.401-6) looks very like the monster he earlier vanquished, who feasted on Odysseus' companions like a lion reared in the hills

(*Od.* 8.288-93). Polyphemus, then, has begun to emerge as a crucial figure in the *Odyssey* to think with about Odysseus' heroism.

This paper builds on these foundations, to argue that the Cyclops is not only a foil and a model for Odysseus as he journeys through the text, but that he also provides a distorted reflection of the heroes of the *Iliad*, and, in particular, that Book 8 presents Polyphemus as a monstrous Achilles. Tracing the multiple echoes of the *Iliad* in Book 8, we can see in the *Odyssey* not simply a rejection of old-style heroism but a complex re-working and interrogation of Iliadic models, their valency and their meaning in a post-Iliadic world.

#### Bibliography:

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David Runia (Queen's College, The University of Melbourne)

#### A new reconstruction of Aëtius' *Placita*

During recent ASCS conferences (most recently in Sydney 2009) I have given progress reports on the research I am doing on ancient doxography in collaboration with Jaap Mansfeld (Utrecht) and Oliver Primavesi (Munich). At the end of my 2009 paper I announced that we would be continuing our research by reconstructing all the remains of the single most important doxographical text extant, the *Placita* of Aëtius, and editing them in a single text. In the present paper I will give a progress report on the work. I will outline the methodology we are using and explain the various components of the reconstruction, and how it will be presented in a new edition. I shall also indicate some of the issues that we are confronting in our research. I hope to receive feedback from scholars that will aid us in working on a challenging project which, when completed, will be of great value to scholars working on the Presocratics and other ancient philosophers.

Nicole Semple (Victoria University of Wellington)

(Supervisor: Matthew Trundle)

#### The Functions of Entrance Ramps at Greek Temples

This paper investigates the significance of the incorporation of ramps in lieu of steps as the main point of entrance at Greek temples. Greek temples where the ramp is incorporated as a component, such as Aphaia on Aegina, Apollo at Delphi and Zeus at Olympia, are comparatively rare. While few examples remain, they do, however, occur at prominent ancient sites, yet the use and significance of ramps as important features of temples has largely been ignored in modern scholarship. This may be a consequence of the scarcity of such examples. However, the motivation for deviating from the standard temple blueprint to incorporate this feature must have originated from a specific need or requirement of those at the site: for example, access for wheeled transport of objects or for animals into the temple by ramp; or the ramp may have been used as an integral part of ritual activity for a procession or similar event. This paper will explore the motivation for incorporating an entrance ramp in Greek temples.

Lucy Smith (The University of Sydney)

(Supervisor: Rick Benitez)

#### Plato's Reference to Lamachus

The only reference to Lamachus in the Platonic corpus is at *Laches* 197c6, where Nicias associates Laches with Lamachus. In response to Laches' criticism that he is embellishing himself with his words, and trying to deny that those agreed to be courageous are courageous, Nicias says: 'But not you, Laches, so take heart. For I say that you are wise, and Lamachus too, since you are both courageous, as well as many other Athenians' (*Lach.* 197c6-8). Commentators on the *Laches* generally note two things about Lamachus: that he was a general who, along with Nicias and Alcibiades, was in command of the Sicilian expedition of 415 BC, and that he died a notably brave

death the following year at Syracuse. On the basis of these notes, a reader would be led to believe that by associating Laches with Lamachus, Nicias is acknowledging Laches' bravery. However, Laches certainly does not interpret the association in this way. Indeed, his reaction suggests that he sees the association as highly insulting. In this paper I offer an explanation of Laches' reaction. I argue that current scholarship on this reference is deficient and misleading, and that it is only by considering the accounts of Lamachus offered by Thucydides, Plutarch, and Aristophanes, that Plato's reference to Lamachus can be understood.

Tom Stevenson (The University of Queensland)

Milo of Croton: Olympic Athlete and Moral Exemplum

The fundamental aims of this paper are to collect (mainly literary) evidence for the life and exploits of Milo of Croton and to show some ways in which this evidence has been shaped and applied. Milo was the greatest Olympic wrestler of the ancient world, winner of the Olympic crown six times, including five times in a row. He became a half-legendary figure, around whom swirled a famous set of stories about his prodigious strength and appetite. Writers interested in the moral climate in which ancient sport was conducted showed a particular interest in him, emphasizing the limits of the human condition in comparison to the divine, the limits of brawn against brains, and the inevitable decline of even the most formidable physical specimens. Milo's southern Italian origins only added to the possibilities, so that Pythagorean teachings have sometimes been discussed in respect of his exploits. He is not without modern parallels among (e.g.) heavyweight boxing champions of recent decades.

Frank Strk (The University of Tasmania)

(Supervisor: Geoff Adams)

Sulla's Early Career and Dating Rome's First Contact with the Parthian Empire

Sulla's early career is an enigma – still. Rome's first fateful contact with the Parthian Empire occurred in the midst of this uncertain period in Roman political history. This paper explains the lost years of Sulla's early career by exploring the geopolitical context of his meeting with a Parthian delegation on the banks of the Euphrates River. By using heretofore ignored evidence that explains the circumstances of the Parthians' presence in this region, this paper dates this meeting to the late summer of 95 BC.

This paper accepts Badian's thesis that Sulla's praetorship was dated to 97 BC. In the following year Sulla was assigned the *propraetorship* of Asia to combat piracy in Cilicia, but on the way to his *provincia* his *mandatum* was altered and he was ordered to support a claimant to the Cappadocian throne, an exiled nobleman, Ariobarzanes.

Cappadocia had become the linchpin to dominance in Anatolia. Bithynia, Pontus and Armenia all vied for a stake in its control. If Rome was to hold sway in the region and protect its lucrative Asian *vectigalia* it needed at least proxy control of this buffer kingdom. Thus Sulla's mission to forestall these eastern interests in Cappadocia was a crucial one and, as this paper argues, occupied a far longer period of time than previous scholarship has acknowledged, thus explaining the 'lost' years of Sulla's early career.

Ikko Tanaka (Kyoto University)

The Divine Arrangement and the Language of Mimesis in Plato's *Timaeus*

In Plato's *Timaeus*, the language of mimesis is employed to describe the creation of the universe by the demiurge: the demiurge arranges the universe in accordance with the eternal as the model, and the result is called the imitation (*mimema*) of the model (48e-49a, cf. 38a, 39d-e, 80b). On the other hand, gods, namely the children of the demiurge, and philosophers are said to imitate the demiurge or that which is divine (gods: 41c, 42e, 69c; philosophers: 47a-c, 88c-e). This cosmic, metaphysical and philosophical mimesis of the eternal and the divine forms the key to understanding the scope of Plato's aesthetic thought. In fact, some scholars think that this usage of mimesis implies the possibility of philosophical-mimetic artists who can grasp metaphysical truth and implant it in their works.

However, this understanding of mimetic artists is apparently inconsistent with the one in Plato's earlier dialogue, *Republic* (Book 10), wherein mimetic artists are generally condemned as ignorant.

In this paper, I examine the language of mimesis in Plato's *Timaeus* and try to distinguish and explicate some important aspects of cosmic, metaphysical and philosophical mimesis. In addition, I argue that the language of mimesis in the *Timaeus* has various meanings; thus, it is not simply reduced to Plato's aesthetic thought.

Jeff Tatum (Victoria University of Wellington)

Censuring Cato: What's Wrong with Plutarch's Elder Cato?

Although Cato was probably an inevitable subject for a Plutarchan biography in view of his iconic status as a statesman and literary figure – especially during the period of the Second Sophistic, when Cato was highly celebrated – he was nonetheless deeply problematic for Plutarch owing to his professed hostility toward Greek culture. Plutarch does not flinch from recording Cato's views on the matter. At the same time, he emphasises Cato's real debt to Greek literature, and this is an inconsistency Plutarch folds into a larger set of apparent contradictions in Cato's personal life, including gaps between his pronouncements and his practices in crucial aspects of private life. Consequently, the reader of *Elder Cato* is obliged, in assessing its subject, to penetrate this cant in order to discern the authentic Cato. The effect of this representation is perhaps less subversive than it is disconcerting, but, in the end, Plutarch's elder Cato contrasts starkly with Aristeides, the Greek with whom he is paired. Aristeides, for Plutarch, is the very model of moral constancy and consistency, and his straightforward virtue exhibits an authentic version of the character that Cato, it seems, is too often merely performing.

Tristan Taylor (The University of New England)

Caesar's Gallic Genocide? A Case Study in Ancient Mass Violence

A debate currently exists in the field of comparative genocide studies as to the relevance of ancient instances of mass violence to the study of the phenomenon of genocide. One side argues that genocide is a product of modernity; while others argue that the phenomenon is best understood when examined over a long period of history. This paper contributes to this debate by examining whether Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* describes any events that could be classified as 'genocide'. When do such events occur? How are such events justified? The *Bellum Gallicum* makes an interesting study: it is contemporaneous with the events it describes and is written by a participant who had a keen interest in his own public presentation. After defining 'genocide', the paper argues that, while Roman warfare was brutal, there are few instances in the *Bellum Gallicum* that could be categorised as 'genocidal'. Three cases are examined in detail: the massacre of some Germans near the river Meuse following a raid (*BG* 4.14-15); the planned destruction of the Eburones for their supporting Ambriox (*BG* 6.34) and the massacre that followed the siege of Avaricum, partly motivated by the killing of Romans at Cenabum (*BG* 7.28). While the events at the Meuse and Avaricum involved indiscriminate killing, it is only the intended treatment of the Eburones that could be described as genocidal. In particular, Caesar states that he acts so that 'the stock and name of the tribe' (*stirps ac nomen civitatis*) might be destroyed (*BG* 6.34). The fact that Caesar openly states this intent suggests that he thought his actions here could be positively received. Notably, Caesar portrays all three instances of mass violence as being, in part, acts of retribution for wrongdoing towards Rome.

Wesley Theobald (The University of Queensland)

[Poster Presentation]

(Supervisor: tba)

Occupations in Roman Trade: Defining the Negotiator and Mercator

Modern scholarship on mercantile matters of the Roman world has often come close to understanding the roles of the *negotiator* and *mercator*, but what has been lacking is a study to understand their relationships to each other and the economy. By drawing together excerpts of their activities from a wide variety of literary sources, a contextual analysis can show what these relationships were, and what their roles entailed. With text-supported definitions as a foundation, it is possible to make more



accurate hypotheses of product supply chains and interactions between mercantile occupations. People of the Roman world interacted with the economy on many different levels and for different reasons, depending on their own role and status in society, so to better understand mercantile occupations will enable a better understanding of the connections between the economy and people, and people within the economy.

Alexander Thompson (Macquarie University)

(Supervisor: Malcolm Choat)

Sayings from Paradise: Reconstructing and Re-evaluating the Coptic *Apophthegmata Patrum*

The compendium of didactic sayings and anecdotes concerning early Egyptian monks, known as the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (*The Sayings of the Fathers*), is well known in its Greek and Latin versions, but the few surviving fragments of the Coptic manuscripts have been the subject of less study, particularly in the context of the tradition of gnomic wisdom in the classical tradition. This paper sets forth the surviving manuscript witness for the Coptic text and evidence that the ancient title for the Coptic version of *The Sayings* was *The Paradise*. Both the arrangement of the sayings in the Sahidic version and several linguistic features suggest that it is a translation made from the Greek. However, even if the Coptic collection is secondary, it is worthy of study. The early origin of written collections alongside oral traditions points to the possibility that oral tradition influenced the translators, with the result that variant readings in the Coptic text may, in fact, be preferable. Around fifty-five sayings absent from other versions of *The Sayings* are included in the Coptic text. In some cases material has been adapted from other monastic literature. There is also a sizeable amount of new material for investigation. The forms and arrangement of these otherwise unknown sayings has been influenced by the educational genre of *chreia*. This pedagogical tool of classical education encouraged students to expand on short sayings of leaders or philosophers, as an exercise in both composition and the internalization of a moral lesson. The Coptic *Sayings* are exciting evidence that the practice of collecting and editing of ancient wisdom in this form had a much longer history as part of Egyptian monastic discipleship than previously thought.

Susan Thorpe (The University of Auckland)

(Supervisor: Anthony Spalinger)

Social Aspects in Ancient Egyptian Letters from the Old Kingdom to the Late Ramesside Period.

There has been considerable interest in ancient Egyptian letters, but the methodology of the research has resulted in a ‘compartmentalisation’ of focus on individual letters rather than looking at a broader spectrum which considers the total range of letters from a societal and personal perspective and places the findings into a long-term historical context.

This paper will provide an introduction to the topic by looking at a selection of letters from the timeframe of the thesis – that is from the Old Kingdom to the Late Ramesside period, ca. 2720 BC–ca. 1070 BC, which represent some specific social aspects, such as religious belief, military customs, personal lifestyle and interaction. By analysing the content, defining the historical context, personalising the writers and recipients, indicating differences in style and modes of address, the paper will show what the letters reveal about both contemporary and generic attitudes with regard to behaviors, beliefs and lifestyle, in conjunction with the differences that may have occurred in these areas over this period of time. It will be an indication of the important contribution of notably private letters as primary sources of social history in ancient Egypt.

Matthew Trundle (Victoria University of Wellington)

Coinage and Greek Politics : Tyranny and Democracy

The role of coins in the development of Greek political life presents an irony for the Greek historian. On the one hand coins appear to have facilitated the rise and power of the tyrants in the Greek world – and even if coins were not themselves responsible for the earliest tyrannies they were certainly associated with tyranny by our aristocratic writers and especially the philosophers. Coins assisted the

maintenance of some famous tyrannies at, for example, Samos, Corinth, Syracuse and Athens. Yet, conversely, coinage also made possible the participation of a large number of Athenian citizens in political service and facilitated the machinery of the radical democracy. Coins forged civic identities, being very closely connected to the polis-concept (even under tyrannies). Not until the 4th century did individuals shed state imagery in favour of their own names and symbols on coins. Remarkably, even the most powerful of tyrants, like Syracusan Dionsysius, resiled from placing their own images on coins. Coinage, of course, undermined the power of the traditional land-based and embedded aristocracies and so empowered both autocracy and democracy (both political forms absent from unmonetised Sparta). This paper seeks to answer the question of the extent to which coins actually affected the political machinery of the polis either towards tyranny or democracy. There are plenty of theories regarding the rise of both tyrannies and democracies, like changing patterns of warfare, social interchange, foreign relations, religion etc. This paper will demonstrate the financial dimension and the significant role of coinage in both tyranny and democracy and explain that role in its social-economic and political context – without coinage Athenian democracy would never have emerged and flourished.

Caroline Tully (The University of Melbourne)

(Supervisors: Louise Hitchcock and Antonio Sagona)

A Little World Made Cunningly: Glyptic Images of Tree Cult in the Late Bronze Age Aegean

Iconographic evidence, primarily glyptic and fresco, is the main source of information about tree cult in the Aegean Bronze Age. Such images are widely considered to depict ‘rural sanctuaries’ of various levels of architectural sophistication; three dimensional examples of which have been sought within the physical landscapes of Crete and mainland Greece. The possibility that the glyptic images portray other types of sites such as wild places, peak or cave sanctuaries, gardens, groves, urban or circum-palatial locations, or purely imaginary places, has received far less attention. Poor archaeological preservation of vegetation from the Aegean Bronze Age means that the presence of trees at such sites can only ever be theoretically determined; any potential locations being dependent upon suggestions derived from architectural configurations. This paper abandons the wild goose chase of seeking out the fugitive sacred tree, instead focusing upon its two dimensional representation upon gold signet rings and its probable politico-religious function. It argues that whilst the Minoan glyptic idiom appears realistic, the miniaturisation process characteristic of glyptic art means that such images are not scenes but signs, analogous to minimalist Cypriot and Israelite examples. Essentially depicting a heterotopic space, Minoan glyptic images of tree cult are promoted within the Neopalatial administrative network as utopic through the verbosity of sphragistic multiplicity.

Fiona Tweedie (The University of Sydney)

The Roman Census: Personalities and Politics

Study of the census during the Roman Republic has tended to focus on the demographic information that it presents and its implications for questions such as the size and density of the Roman population and the sustainability of Rome’s military ambitions. Debate continues about what exactly the preserved figures represent and division between low-counters and high-counters persists. Rather than focussing on the demography of the census, this paper will consider it as a social and political institution.

The census was a significant ritual in the Roman world and was intended to organise and purify the population as well as simply counting it. Because of their critical role in determining citizenship of the *populus Romanus*, the political leanings of the censors themselves could have a significant impact on the census. Numerous incidents have been reported in which censors reject individuals’ claims of citizenship or make a criticism of them. As well as these occasions concerning individuals, however, this paper will argue that the census could become a vehicle for furthering political programs. The passage of the *lex Licinia Mucia* in 95, in response to the census of 97, is a key example of the way in which the census could become politicised. I will argue, however, that through attention to the careers and political affiliations of individual censors it is possible to demonstrate that the census was routinely influenced by contemporary political debate.

Frederik Vervaeet (The University of Melbourne)

M. Claudius Marcellus in 215 BCE: First of the Praetorian Proconsuls?

Many scholars believe that the command given to M. Claudius Marcellus (cos. 222) by virtue of a popular vote in 215 BCE, shortly after the expiry of his second praetorship in 216, represents the first historically recorded case of a praetorian proconsul (i.e. a holder of full praetorian *imperium* receiving consular *imperium*). Since praetorian proconsuls began to govern both Spanish provinces from 197/196 BCE and eventually administered most of the provinces by the age of Cicero, this matter deserves to be investigated properly. This inquiry should also produce some interesting observations on the nature of Roman high politics and military strategy in the immediate aftermath of Cannae, at a time when Rome's very survival was at stake.

Jonathan Wallis (The University of Tasmania)

Propertius in praise of (dead) princes

In his third book, Propertius offers a collection of Roman elegy with unprecedented mood and voice. Here the poet seeks to stretch the thematic limit of elegiac poetry to the point of breakdown, a situation enacted emphatically at the end of the collection with the purported dismissal of the poet's mistress and alter-ego, Cynthia. In this paper I examine Propertius 3.18, an egregious *epicedion* for Marcellus, dead Augustan prince – and a poem which offers the most challenging instance of a new modality in Book 3. Significantly, at a late stage in this elegiac collection, 3.18 puts on display a strikingly *Augustan* voice, seemingly paving the way for the poet's climactic rejection of a deceitful Cynthia in the name of a mainstream *Mens Bona*. This unexpected poem (*is it?*) allows us a glimpse of what it might look like – were an elegiac poet ever to write court poetry.

Lindsay Watson (The University of Sydney)

The Eppia-episode and Juvenal *Satire* 6

It has become commonplace in recent years to regard the Eppia-episode of Juvenal's misogynistic and misogynic *Satire* 6, in which a senator's wife sails off to Egypt with her gladiator-lover, in the process deserting family and homeland, as a spoof on the mythic elopements of Helen and Ariadne. While such an approach is not to be discounted, it is argued in this paper that it is also possible to read the episode thorough a different, historical lens: Eppia may be seen as the antithesis of the loyal wife who accompanies her husband into exile or danger in the context either of the triumviral proscriptions or imperial tyranny. Eppia's sensational violation of conjugal fidelity in turn connects with a larger theme of the poem, the systematic inversion by Juvenal's wicked wives of numerous key matronal virtues, so that it becomes possible to speak of these women as 'anti-matronae'.

The episode raises a further point of interest, this time structural. There are notable interconnexions between it and the sections of the poem which bookend it. Examination of these will serve as a platform for exploring further thematic and verbal copulae within the text, leading to the suggestion that it is somewhat excessive to characterise *Satire* 6, in Susanna Braund's words, as 'essentially lacking in structure'.

Pat Watson (The University of Sydney)

Reality, Paradox and Story-Telling in Aulus Gellius' narrative of Androcles and the Lion

Gellius' narration has been discussed from three perspectives: (1) as a folktale (Scobie, *Philologus* 121 1977) (2) for the light it casts on the attitudes of spectators to *venationes* (Fagan, *The Lure of the Arena* 2011) (3) as an illustration of Gellius' story-telling technique (Anderson in *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius* ed. L. Holford-Strevens 2004).

Dealing in turn with each approach, I will show that

(1) the story need not be dismissed as complete fiction. Parallels, both ancient and modern, will be adduced, e.g. 'Christian', a lion raised in captivity and subsequently released into the wild, whose joyful recognition of his former owners bears a striking resemblance to the lion in the Androcles tale.

(2) In the arena, lions were routinely killed and condemned criminals executed. In this case, however, there is a paradoxical inversion of the usual roles, the spectators reacting not merely from pure sentimentality but out of a recognition that both slave and beast have earned the right to enter civilised society by displaying traits associated with humanity and civilisation.

(3) Anderson's conclusion that Gellius is 'not a gifted storyteller' may be challenged by undertaking a close analysis of the passage, comparing in particular the contemporary version of Aelian. Whereas the latter is dry and straight-forward, Gellius engages the reader, evincing sympathy for Androcles by stressing, for instance, the cruelty of his master, which causes him to run away (in Aelian, by contrast, Androcles is a criminal fugitive from justice). He also underscores in various ways the paradoxical nature of the tale, summing this up in the concluding rhetorical flourish: "Hic est leo hospes hominis, hic est homo medicus leonis" (compare Aelian's bald statement of the moral of the story – that animals possess memory).

Kathryn Welch (The University of Sydney)

A Vocabulary of Murder: the *Lex Pedia* of 43 and its aftermath

In the second section of his *Res Gestae*, the princeps Augustus recorded with pride that he had pursued the murderers of his father Caesar 'through the law courts'. With this deft stroke, he publicly claimed that he had avenged his father while at the same time he avoided any reference to the hated proscriptions, which at the time had also been justified by an appeal to *pietas* (App. *BC* 4.8-11).

The court in which the assassins were tried was enabled by the *Lex Pedia*. In comparison with the dramatic events of the proscriptions, neither the law nor its history has received much scholarly attention, despite the place it is awarded in the *Res Gestae*. Under its terms, two groups, not one, were liable for prosecution (App. *BC* 3.95). Thus, from the beginning, not all assassins were equal: some were classed as 'participants' and others as 'sympathisers'. Some (eventually) could be politically rehabilitated while others could not (unless, of course, they could be 'reclassified').

This paper will attempt to recover the original intention of the law and to demonstrate the ways in which its terms were reconfigured as a result of the complicated politics of the period. It will then examine the vocabulary which both Greek and Latin authors employed to describe and categorise the murderers and their friends. It is my contention that words like *σφαγέυς* and *ἀνδροφόνος* in Greek, *interfector* and *consciūs* in Latin in fact provide a code by which we can expose who was a 'murderer', who was a 'sympathiser' and who was somewhere in the middle.

Jeroen Wijnendaele (University College, Cork / The University of Melbourne)

"Food as a weapon": The African grain shipments in context of Heraclian's revolt (AD 413)

In AD 413, the regional commander of Roman Africa, Heraclian, made an attempt to seize power from the reigning emperor Honorius. His usurpation has in the past been analysed from either a political perspective or a regional perspective. Heraclian had previously been one of the emperor's staunchest supporters during the Gothic siege of Rome, when Honorius' prestige and authority had dramatically dwindled. Heraclian's revolt also occurred at a time that religious and provincial tensions were at a peak in Roman Africa, after the conference of Carthage in 411. This paper wants to focus on the social and economic consequences of Heraclian's bid for power. An assesment will be made of the African grain supply and its importance for the Western Roman Empire and, more specifically, the city of Rome. Subsequently, an analysis will be made of the influence of disrupting the grain supply to Rome during its siege by Alaric. The use of grain supplies as a tactical weapon against political enemies will be then be put in context of both Heraclian's usurpation and its aftermath, during Flavius Constantius' campaigns against the Visigoths in Gaul and Spain.

Marcus Wilson (The University of Auckland)

Popularisations of Seneca's Philosophy

Recently, Seneca's philosophy has come in for considerable attention from professional philosophers after long neglect. On the other hand, his philosophical works have always attracted a general non-academic readership. This includes the continually reprinted *Morals of Seneca* by Roger L'Estrange

(1682) and even modern books of the ‘Seneca for Managers’ type and a popular UK television documentary series, *Philosophy: A Guide to Happiness* based on the book *The Consolations of Philosophy* by Alain De Botton. This long tradition of re-packaging Senecan Stoic philosophy for ordinary readers has not been charted or explained, nor has there been any exploration of the ways in which these popularising publications distort the original philosophy to meet the interests of new generations with different interests. The aim of this paper is to present research into the range and character of these popularising works and to correlate them with Seneca’s original texts to chart which of Seneca’s ideas they borrow, which they omit or recast and why.

Andrew Wong (University of Canterbury)

(Supervisor: Patrick O’Sullivan)

Odysseus the Athenian: Heroic Values in Antisthenes and Thucydides

Antisthenes’ *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches present the conflict between the Homeric characters in their rivalry for the arms of Achilles. The speeches show the opposing natures of the two heroes, and how Odysseus, as the versatile hero, can achieve more than the inflexible Ajax. Antisthenes’ presentation of the intellectual heroism of Odysseus has some notable parallels to aspects of the Athenian character as shown in Thucydides. This paper will discuss the typically Athenian qualities, outlined by Pericles in his Funeral Oration (Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* Book 2), which are similar to Odysseus’ attributes in Antisthenes; his constant activity, his adaptability, his concept of bravery, and his rhetorical ability. The links between Odysseus’ character and that of the idealised self-representation of the Athenians are strengthened by the similarities between the views of Odysseus (in Antisthenes) and Pericles and the ideas of Athenian values as described by Lysias (*Funeral Oration* 18-19) and Isocrates (*Antidosis* 230-236, 293-294). I hope to demonstrate that Antisthenes shows in the *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches how Odysseus’ heroism is superior to Ajax’s, and he does so by emphasizing the qualities of Odysseus which are in line with views held by Athenians. Geographically Ajax is considered to be more of an Athenian hero, yet the sophistic heroism of Odysseus more closely aligns him to Athenian values; it is the nature and character of the hero which is the more telling link. The correlation between Odysseus’ heroism in Antisthenes and Athenian values in Thucydides and others is one which has not been examined in great detail and deserves a closer analysis.

Sonya Wurster (The University of Melbourne)

(Supervisor: Parshia Lee-Stecum)

Philodemus on political life

Philodemus’ questioning of political life and simultaneous advice on how to engage in it appears to be a contradiction. This paper will demonstrate that there was in fact no contradiction, and that the ambiguity was cultivated by Philodemus in order to take account of varying readership. The advice on how to participate in political life can be understood as offered to his audiences of elite Roman males for whom public life was the norm, whilst his injunctions to withdraw can be seen as intended for other Epicurean wise men. The dual purpose of writing for both wise men and laymen partially removes the possible contradiction. Yet, Philodemus’ statements regarding political life also illustrate his engagement in contemporary Roman political discourse. Whereas Roman writers tend to present the first-century political turmoil as being caused by a decay of Roman virtues such as *virtus*, *honor*, *nobilitas* and *pietas*. Philodemus uses the language of ethics to suggest the reasons for civil strife. He suggests an ethical cure, as well as an implied change to political institutions. He advocates a move away from a form of government which causes political turmoil to one which would allow a greater majority to live a life of *ataraxia*. The model that Philodemus seemingly suggests is a monarchical system in which the king is advised by counsellors. Ultimately, of course, Philodemus suggests that the best society, the one which would bring about the truest state of happiness, is one based on Epicurean natural justice and friendship.

Lawrence Xu (The University of Auckland)

(Supervisors: Vivienne Gray and Jennifer Hellum)

Fabulously narrative – irony and morality in ancient Egyptian fables

Animal fables have existed in ancient Egypt since the New Kingdom, as is revealed in a number of illustrated papyri and ostraca, which depict animals acting in human situations, such as festivities, labours, and combats. However, no fable texts have been discovered which are earlier than the extant collections in the *Myth of the Solar Eye*, which dates to the second century AD. The myth includes fables such as *Lion and the Mouse* and *Hearing and Sight*, which parallel the works of Aesop in Greek literature. Although various studies have examined the linguistic features of the fables, very few have attempted to contextualise or examine the narrative devices used, in particular the use of irony and moral messages. Irony in Egyptian literature can present itself as verbal irony, which is most evident in the tales of the *Eloquent Peasant* and *Wenamun*. However, the irony present in a fable is generally situational, and is often based on the reversal of roles between the fictional world and real world. Subsequently, the irony is the underlying foundation of the moral message, which can appear as an *endomythium* or *promythium*. The message draws an explicit link between the fable world and the external narrative, and serves the fable's didactic function. This paper will argue that irony and morality in the fables are crucial to the understanding of the myth on the whole and will provide insights on religious and social concepts during the Roman Period.

Ioannis Ziogas (The University of Adelaide)

The Poet as a Prince: Authority and Authorship under Augustus.

[For the panel on Censorship organised by Han Baltussen]

There has been an increasing awareness in recent scholarship that Augustus' new political regime creates space for an unprecedented rivalry between poets and rulers. Hardie (1997, 182) notes: "Ovid's final triumph is to reverse the expected dependence of poet on *princeps*, as chronicler and panegyrist. In an ineluctable collusion between artist and ruler we finally see the prince of poets foist on his master a poetics of principate." (cf. Feldherr 2010, 7).

My paper examines Augustus' and Ovid's conflicting attempts of appropriating the *Aeneid* as a case study for the antagonism between poet and prince. By ignoring Vergil's wish to have the *Aeneid* burned after his death, Augustus claims Vergil's epic for himself. In his letter to Augustus, Ovid slyly calls Vergil "the author of your *Aeneid*", only to continue with a tendentiously Ovidian reading of Vergil's epic (*Tr.* 2.533-6). Through a parallel examination of Ovid's and Vergil's careers (cf. Farrell 2004; Krevans 2010), I focus on the rivalry between Ovid and Augustus in manipulating, censoring, and silencing literary traditions. In the end, neither Ovid nor Augustus is able to destroy poetic works which transcend the powers of physical destruction. Reception of poetry exceeds authorial intentions and imperial gestures.

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Lindsay Zoch (Genazzano FCJ College, Melbourne)

Elision and Juxtaposition in the *Aeneid*

This paper will explore Vergil's use of elision in the *Aeneid*. It will be argued that, while many examples are of little or no interest, many others serve to enhance the poetry in different ways. There is often, for example, a notable effect on the speed or the sound of the verse, and in other cases the device supports the sense by bringing together significant words or phrases. These last cases will be explored in detail in this paper. We will consider what kinds of words and phrases are juxtaposed in this way, and why the technique is highly effective in certain contexts.