ASCS 35 (2014)
ABSTRACTS (*in alphabetical order*)

Arlene Allan (The University of Otago): "What Has Herakles to Do with Christ?"

This question has been posed before, primarily in an effort to uphold or discredit an argument which sees the tales of Herakles as having an influence on the depiction of Jesus, especially in Gospel narratives (Pfister 1937; Rose 1938; W. Knox 1948; Simon 1955; Aune 1990; Betz 2004). In contrast to these discussions, in this paper I reverse the focus and seek to demonstrate how 'Christ-curious' Greek-speakers, with neither prior knowledge of Hebrew 'Old Testament' nor ready access to their translation into Greek (the Septuagint), might have called upon their familiarity with various aspects of Herakles' story to aid in their apprehension and acceptance of Jesus. This discussion is supported by recent findings from the cognitive sciences on the ways in which the mind apprehends narrative (Turner & Wilson 1996; Fauconnier & Turner 2002) which serve to confirm what was previously only intuitively apprehended: the manner in which we integrate new information into our knowledge base is by utilizing our prior knowledge of one thing to understand another. I begin by offering a brief rehearsal of the most obvious similarities between these two heroic figures. Then, to further focus the discussion, I look specifically at how such a 'Christ-curious' attendee at a house-church meeting familiar with Zeus' temple at Olympia and its famous statue (as we know it from Pausanias' description, 5.11.1-8), might have called upon this knowledge to aid in his or her initial understanding and appreciation of Lion-Lamb in *Revelations* 5.

Lisa Bailey (The University of Auckland): "Saint Martin, the Boatman, and the Enormous Fish: Indirect Evidence for Lay Religiosity in Late Antique Gaul"

This paper defends the notion that it is possible to say something about the religious behaviours of the laity in late antique Gaul. Such a defence is necessary because of widespread scepticism on this score. Scholars have now a keen and healthy awareness of the limitations of their sources and the ways in which all texts are embedded within particular social and cultural structures. However, if, as a result, we abandon the effort to tell the story of the laity, we abrogate our historical responsibility to listen hard for the voices which are difficult to hear. One possible approach is to examine indirect evidence – the incidentals which emerge in the backgrounds of authorial narratives. I focus on these contexts and details in a variety of genres, including secular law codes and church council records, hagiographies, miracle stories and sermons. These reveal that lay Christians in late antique Gaul were interacting in complex ways with the institutions and representatives of the church. Lay people constructed their own relics, had their own relationships to sacred spaces and sacred times, and made use of church rituals and objects in their own ways. Sometimes these behaviours were represented by clerical authors as impious, but more often they emerge incidentally in the course of a narrative. Such is the case with the story of St Martin, the boatman, and the enormous fish, one among many stories which suggest that lay religiosity existed alongside, and in uneasy alliance with, clerical conceptions of ideal piety.

Emily Baragwanath (The University of North Carolina/Universität Heidelberg): "Reading the Future in Xenophon's *Anabasis*"

The ability to foresee future developments was regarded by Greek historians as a particularly valuable quality in a politician or general (e.g. Themistocles, Pericles). Xenophon's profound awareness of temporal change and of disjunctions between past and present pervade his

literary oeuvre, including *Anabasis*, with its evocation of his later exile from Athens and idyllic times at Scillus (5.3.7; Ma 2004; Rood 2007, 2013). Against that background, this paper explores the extent to which the ability to read the future remains for Xenophon an important possession of excellent leaders.

Knowledge of the future in *Anabasis* is intimately connected with two other varieties of knowledge: knowledge of human character, and of divine intent. And yet each is elusive. Thus Book 1 stages a clash of probable versus actual futures: on levels both human and divine, Cyrus is regarded as a man destined to be King; but a contingent event prevents the future from unfolding in accordance with likelihood.

Transporting readers back to the time when future outcomes were uncertain is a key way Xenophon generates suspense in this work, but might its use also cast a shadow on the leaders through whose limited visions the narrative is focalized? Or is reading the future so difficult as to make failure understandable? The terminology describing the character of Xenophon's attitude towards futurity (e.g. 5.1.10, 6.1.21) also invites reflection on how far characters' attitudes compare with that of the author/narrator, and whether and how far *Anabasis* anticipates futures outside of the text.

Jonathan Barlow (Trinity College, The University of Melbourne): "A.E. Astin's Scipio Aemilianus"

A.E. Astin's influential 1967 biography is the leading modern study of Scipio Aemilianus. It is a study of Scipio as a political figure set within the context of contemporary politics and the unfolding political development of the Roman Republic. Astin addressed the kaleidoscopic interpretations of Scipio and advanced his own assessment of Scipio's character and career as driven by intense ambition, ambition to be worthy of his name and ancestry, ambition for honour and glory, ambition to be the outstanding personality in the state. Moral qualities are downplayed or rejected by Astin as unreal idealisation. It is the contention of this paper that this is not how Scipio saw himself. The paper argues that Scipio is understood best in terms of the moral values of the Socratic movement and its successors. His education in Greek culture, friendship with Polybius, and guidance by the philosopher Panaetius shaped his character. Ambition is a passion, the desire to possess more than one deserves, and it is to be rejected as the wrong choice of the rational soul. Harshness and cruelty, which Astin makes much of, is explicable in philosophical terms. War sublimated into a corrective power rationalised force as morality, and the choice of opponents to acquiesce or not to the Roman representative of a higher world order determined their treatment. Scipio possessed the Cardinal Virtues and set himself within the transcendental realm of Providence. Greek thought had entered the Latin consciousness and Scipio believed he possessed true virtue.

Jane Bellemore (The University of Newcastle): "Livy, Children and the Laws of War"

Livy reports, almost without comment, many instances when children were either killed or taken captive by enemy soldiers in the theatre of war, and he suggests by his wealth of detail that both outcomes for children were legitimate. He has Hannibal describe one outcome as a 'law of war' (*belli ius*), according to which soldiers could take as booty any children won by conquest (21.13.9), although, on this occasion at Saguntum in 219 BC, Hannibal's soldiers killed rather than captured children (21.14.3-15.1). So, according to Livy's narrative, children were forfeited to conquering soldiers (Kern 1999) and so could be killed or preserved as these soldiers saw fit (Ziolkowski 1993; Kern 1999; Mattingly 2011).

Livy elsewhere, however, mentions a different 'law of war' concerning the treatment of children. During the siege of Falerii by the Romans in ca 394 BC (5.26.3-27.15), Livy has

Camillus, the Roman commander, state emphatically that one of the laws of war (*belli ius*) was that children should not be attacked by armed enemies, even in a town captured by force (5.27.6-8), and that accordingly Camillus freed captive children from Falerii, who had been surrendered to him by a traitor from the town (5.27.9).

My aim will be, if not to reconcile these seemingly divergent perspectives on the treatment of children in warfare, to try to explain them.

Frances Billot (The University of Auckland) "The House of the Golden Cupids, Pompeii"

Matteo della Corte's identification (1965, 76 n. 101) of Gnaeus Poppaeus Habitus as owner of the House of the Golden Cupids in Pompeii persists both in scholarship (either directly or more cautiously) and unquestioningly on popular websites and in books aimed for the general reader. The first part of this paper reviews the evidence for this argument and considers why this assessment endures despite Seiler's comment (1992, 136) that the claim was 'daring' and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's warning against too readily accepting della Corte's interpretations of ownership of Pompeian houses. The second part of this paper focuses on the house itself and assesses the evidence against descriptions of the House of the Golden Cupids as luxurious. The layout of the house in AD 79 does not conform to the usual plan for a wealthy house (*fauces* leading to *atrium* to *tablinum* to peristyle etc.) and has changed over time. The amount of statuary found in the house, although delicate, numerous and interesting, does not necessarily imply luxury, especially if such items were considered part of the fixtures and fittings: many of the sculptural pieces have been dated to the Claudian or Neronian period, ten to fifteen years earlier, and some to the early Hellenistic period. It is argued here that in AD 79 the house more closely reflected a past grandeur than its current owner, whoever that may have been.

Miriam Bissett (The University of Auckland): "Gone Fishing: Interpreting the Affecter's Scenes of Male Figures Holding Fish"

The scenes of the Affecter are some of the more peculiar in the black-figure tradition, and in twelve of his extant scenes he has drawn a draped male figure holding a fish and a spear. Mommsen, in her monograph *Der Affecter*, has warned against identifying this fish holding figure as Poseidon and labels it an example of the Affecter's quirky, irreverent style (1975: 64, 70). Given that in some scenes more than one figure holds a fish, interpreting these scenes as showing Poseidon is indeed misguided, but few alternatives have so far been advanced. Closer examination of these scenes alongside others with similar figures provides some possible alternatives to simply seeing these figures as stylistic abnormalities. Connections can perhaps be drawn between these figures and historical events, cult activity, or even mythological narratives. The focus of this paper will be on the scenes of the Affecter, with reference to other examples from the middle black-figure period, to establish what interpretations may be posited for these curious figures.

Dougal Blyth (The University of Auckland): "Aristotle's God in *Metaphysics* 12.7"

Scholars commonly say that in *Metaph*. 12.7 Aristotle identifies his prime mover as an intellect (*nous*); in this paper I aim to demonstrate that the text does not support this claim, and another interpretation makes better sense. Undoubtedly Aristotle argues here that the prime mover is a god, and in chap. 9 that divine intellect is self-contemplating, but clarifying chap. 7 puts the achievement of chap. 9 too in a new light, as an argument from a common philosophical opinion (*endoxon*).

Laks (in *Symp. Arist.* 2000) and Defilippo (*CQ* 1994) assert that Aristotle infers that his god is an intellect at 1072b14-18 directly from the result that it is pure actuality, but this involves confusion over the role of the reference to human intelligence (b17), as Broadie (*RPFE* 1993) had already pointed out; similarly Bodeus (Albany NY 2000). By contrast, De Koninck (*RM* 1994) argues that Aristotle only deduces in b18-19 that the highest actuality is an intellect, from which it follows that his god is an intellect. But close attention to the text will show that b18-19 only means that intellect participates in the highest actuality in knowing it, not that it is intrinsically the latter. Remaining questions I will discuss are how, in that case, we are to understand the references here to intellect, and what Aristotle shows in the arguments at b18-26 and b26-30.

Graeme Bourke (The University of New England): "Travels in Eleia: William Leake's Journals and Ancient Greek History"

This paper considers how certain entries in an early 19th century traveller's journal might help to develop our understanding of various aspects of ancient Eleia. In 1805 and 1806, William Leake travelled through diverse regions of Turkish-ruled Greece, including the valleys of the Peneios and Alpheios rivers. Despite his acknowledgement of the difficulties involved (*Morea* II, 179), Leake often focuses on establishing the location of various topographical features mentioned in the ancient texts, particularly Strabo and Pausanias, and thus makes a significant contribution to our reconstruction of the ancient landscape. In addition, he offers first-hand information about the physical geography, flora and agriculture of contemporary Eleia, which has its own value for the ancient historian. Leake's descriptions of pastoral practices such as the Greek herders' payment of money to local Turkish 'squires' for rights of pasture and transhumance from the highlands of the central Peloponnese (*Morea* I, 16, 20), for example, suggest an approach to understanding reports in the *Odyssey* that Odysseus kept herds on the mainland opposite Ithake (*Od.* 14.100-8; 20.185-8), even though this land was ruled by the Epeians (*Od.* 13.275; 15.298; 24.431). A romantic and patriotic attachment to the Greek independence movement, however, may have contributed to Leake's unfavourable comparison of the region's economic development with that of ancient times. A close examination of the reports of ancient authors such as Xenophon and Polybios, along with information gathered in contemporary Eleia, suggests a solution to this problem.

Carl Bradley (The University of Newcastle): "The Eastern Gallic Revolt of 54 and 53 BC: Caesar and Gallic Leadership"

This paper is a brief case study on the social and political nature of the Eburones and the Treveri people of eastern Gaul, and how it affected their ability to fight Caesar between 54 and 53 BC. The events of 54-3 are important, not for the destruction of one of Caesar's legions (*Gallic War* 5.33-37), but as a prelude to the general revolt led by the Arvernian war-chief Vercingetorix (Book 7).

The example of the Eburones and Treveri allow for an assessment of their leadership measured against a comparative model that I have developed to re-assess Caesar's interpretation of Gallic leadership and society. This model combines Caesar's accounts from his commentaries and measures against the archaeological evidence. This picture is then compared to the Māori of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

A brief explanation will be given of this comparative model and the benefits of applying it to Caesar's assessment of Gallic society. I will then discuss the geographical context of the eastern revolt and the social and political structures of these people within the framework of Hamilton and Hirszowicz's (1993) characteristics of the pre-state chiefdoms. I will make an

account of what the archaeological evidence shows us and then make the comparisons to Māori, and in particular the importance of kinship, who are also measured against the characteristics of the chiefdoms defined by Hamilton and Hirszowicz (1993). The summary will include new understandings of Caesar's observations of Gallic political leadership and structure.

Samantha Brancatisano (The University of Sydney): *"Auctoritas, Usus, Ingenium, Studium*: Reputation and Legal Authority in Cicero's *Pro Balbo*"

Despite the highly developed legal culture in Rome in the last century of the Republic, appeals to personal reputation continued to be commonplace in Ciceronian forensic oratory. That Rome, hierarchical and status-conscious, might at times uncritically accept an individual's status or character as appropriate considerations in judicial decision-making is seen by modern scholarship as an almost banal observation (cf. May 1988). This paper will suggest that this idea may need to be revisited.

In 56 BC Cicero defended Balbus, a native of Gades, on a charge of having usurped Roman citizenship. Scholars have generally thought that the political motivation behind the trial rendered any rigorous legal defence against the charges superfluous, since his acquittal was secured by the support of the Triumvirs (Gruen 1968, 311-13; cf. Brunt 1982; Harries 2004). Certainly, Cicero in his defence puts a good deal of emphasis on the *auctoritas* of Pompey; but did he expect the influence exerted by such individuals to be blindly accepted by juries as being above, or more coercive than, the law itself? How does he reconcile the tensions such appeals might create with more strictly legal argumentation? Our primary focus will be on Cicero's construction of Pompey's reputation, firstly around structured criteria for legal authority – *auctoritas*, *usus*, *ingenium* and *studium* – and then by elevating Pompey to the level of *mos maiorum* personified. We will question his motives for doing so, and make some suggestions as to why such an approach may have been necessary in a legal case of this nature.

Chloe Bray (The University of Otago): "Hekate and Lunar Ideologies in the Archaic and Classical Periods"

This paper intends to question the widely held view that the goddess Hekate was not associated with the moon until the fifth century BC. It cannot be assumed that our first direct evidence for this connection reflects its earliest existence. Drawing primarily on Hekate's liminal and intermediary functions, I will argue that her personae in myth, cult and iconography suggest a much earlier association with lunar ideas. Johnston (1990) argues that Hekate's central aspect was liminality, and that she became associated with the moon only after Stoic and Middle Platonic philosophies identified the moon as an intermediary principle. However, a study of the moon in the Near East and Egypt shows that the moon was considered liminal much earlier than Hekate, and therefore it can be suggested Hekate was influenced by these ideas. With reference to Near Eastern and Egyptian lunar ideologies, I will discuss the evidence for Hekate's worship before the fifth century, with particular focus on the Eleusinian Mysteries and Hekate's relationship with darkness and the underworld. I will also consider other aspects of Hekate which can be considered liminal, such as her connections with birth and marriage. Subsequently I will show that Hekate's attributes constantly reflect ideas which were connected with the moon in the Near East and Egypt, as well as in Hellenistic philosophy, literature and myth. It will therefore be seen through these significant connections that Hekate was likely associated with the moon much earlier than is directly stated in literature.

Adam Brennan (The University of Queensland): "Divine Retribution: Ares in the *Oresteia*"

Often viewed as little more than a despised berserker deity, the role of 'the Butcher' Ares in Athenian drama is easily overlooked. It is said that 'the more profound moral and theological aspects of war were taken over by other deities, especially Zeus or Athena' and that 'the brutality, waste and folly of war were personified in the image of Ares' (Morford *et al.*, 2011). It is a view that has persisted for some time, after Burkert (1985) described the god as 'everything that is hateful in war'. However, this portrayal neglects important elements critical to his character, as Ares was involved in Aeschylean conceptions of justice, vengeance and retribution.

This paper will examine appearances of Ares within the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, demonstrating the establishment of the god's ties to Athens and his intimate link to Athenian justice. It charts his course from the old to the new, his development into a deity favoured by the Athenian state. Importantly, his connection to Justice and the Kindly Ones is redefined by Aeschylus to conform to needed perceptions of an oath-god, a saviour, a protector of cities and a deity who embodies these virtues to the people of Athens.

The Ares who appears in the *Oresteia* is harsh, if ultimately fair. Once he has been bound to serve the needs of a community, his role becomes vital and necessary for the continuation of the Athenian state.

Caroline Brumbridge (The University of Auckland): "Telling Tales: Lies, Disguises and Deception in Select New Kingdom Narrative Texts"

A considerable amount of scholarly ink has been spilt defining ancient Egyptian literature and its functions over the past 50 years, as linguists, cultural historians and even folklorists question the extent that the texts reflect formative societal functions and collective cultural understandings (e.g. J. Assmann 1999; Loprieno 1996; Hollis 1990). This paper examines three narrative texts from the New Kingdom (c. 1550-1060 BC) and discusses how and why certain characters in these texts deceive each other, through both their speech and silence, through action and inaction. The three texts in question – *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*, *The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood* and *The Tale of the Two Brothers* – have previously been translated and analysed. The content of the texts will therefore not be new to Egyptologists; however, the interpretive framework will be. In order to analyse the deception motif, the characters will firstly be considered in light of gender differentiation and its associated stereotypes, and secondly be examined using a basic binary division of 'good' and 'bad' characters, a methodology that reflects the merging of mythic and *märchen*-like elements apparent in the texts. I will argue that despite gender-differentiated roles, the dishonesty of certain characters reflects their function as literary devices considerably more than it presents us with a plausible account of how men and women acted in contrast to one another. Hopefully this approach will allow for the three texts to be compared in a way hitherto missing from studies on New Kingdom literature.

Hamish Cameron (The University of Southern California): "Founder of Babylon and Master of Asia: Semiramis in Strabo's *Geography*"

This paper examines Strabo's use of the semi-mythological figure of the Assyrian queen Semiramis in his description of the Mesopotamian borderland between the Roman and Parthian empires. I argue that in his deployment of Semiramis, Strabo turns a mythological

representation of an indigenous historical figure into a Roman ideological tool. Since Herodotus and Ctesias, Semiramis had appeared in the Greek literary tradition in numerous guises, often attached to other myths or historical narratives. Ctesias, in his description of a carved image of Semiramis at Behistun, adapted accounts of an Iranian goddess, Shimaliya/Simirra, suggestive of 'Semiramis' (Phillips 1972). In the late first century BCE and the first century CE, Strabo was among a handful of extant authors to use stories of her deeds and character to illustrate their work. Diodorus used his account of Semiramis' journey to illustrate sites and routes of importance to the Achaemenids, Alexander and Hellenistic kings (Sulimani 2005). The figure of Semiramis was used by the unknown author of the Ninus Romance as a model of the appropriate expression of feminine desire (Anderson 2008). During the Augustan period, parts of the area formerly ruled by Semiramis were an inter-imperial borderland between Rome and the Parthian empire. In writing of this borderland space, Roman authors were forced to negotiate between an ideology of limitless Roman power and a reality of a permanent, independent foreign power. His presentation of Semiramis as a builder and conqueror allows Strabo to undercut Parthian power and link Rome to pre-Parthian history.

Michael Champion (The University of Western Australia): "Pity, Equity, and Justice in War"

This paper, which contributes to a project on ancient alternatives (classical and Christian) to the just war tradition, focuses on the classical idea of justice as linked to pity (ἔλεος/οἶκτος) and equity by deploying case studies from Aristotle and Thucydides. For Aristotle, pity is constitutive of the form of justice he calls equity (ἐπιείκεια). In Thucydides, just actions in war are described as tending towards equity (ἐπιεικές), virtue (ἀρετή) and moderation. Gross injustices in war are characterised as pitiless and lack of pity causes mistrust because it implies a rejection of the conventional Greek presumption of peace in just action (e.g. Thuc. 4.27.3). Tying justice to pity and equity provides Aristotle and Thucydides with overlapping conceptual frameworks by which to determine when it is just to act violently, how to limit acts of violence, and how to act so that violence does not make future reconciliation impossible. This paper maps an important ancient alternative to just war theory by exploring the work done by the concepts of pity and equity in defining justice in war. In linking pity and mercy with just actions, this ancient conceptualization of justice, which sits within a virtue-ethics framework, may be able to augment modern just war theory.

K.O. Chong-Gossard (The University of Melbourne): "Female Agency in Euripides' *Hypsipyle*"

Euripides' tragedies are well known for their experimentation with female agency, especially with tragic feminine roles that re-appear in Greek myth. Examples include the vengeful mother (Hecuba, Clytemnestra), murderous jilted wife (Medea), and self-sacrificing virgin (Polyxena and Iphigenia), all of which have been explored by Rabinowitz (1993) and Foley (2001); and the heroine in exile (Helen in Egypt, Iphigenia among the Taurians), as discussed by Kuntz (1993), to name a few. This paper explores female agency in a fragmentary Euripidean play, the *Hypsipyle,* through the characters of Hypsipyle (former queen of Lemnos, who has now been enslaved) and her mistress Eurydice, queen of Nemea. Euripides has at various times been criticized for recycling the same plot and other formal elements (cf. Mastronarde (2010), 14 for comments on previous generations' views of Euripides and 'ossification'). However, this paper will explore how the structure of the *Hypsipyle* might allude to typical Euripidean situations for mythical women, yet accomplishes something different and even uplifting. Hypsipyle herself can be compared to other abducted heroines in

exile, and with heroines who are reunited with long-lost sons, as well as with women who have saved the lives of their male family members; and Eurydice can be compared with other mothers who avenge the death of their child. But this play has a twist to it – the vengeful mother is persuaded to relent, according to the plot reconstruction of Cropp (2004) – and this paper will discuss how Euripidean aspects of gender allow this to happen.

Julien Cooper (Macquarie University): "The Sudanese-Eritrean Coast in Classical Toponymy and *Interpretatio Graeca*"

The historical geography of the southern Red Sea is largely terra incognita for historians until the advent of classical geographies. The apogee of foreign interest in Red Sea trade seems to have been conducted under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, who patronised trade through the creation of ports in Egypt and further down the Red Sea into modern Sudan and Eritrea. Classical geographies, particularly Ptolemy, Strabo and the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* are our chief sources for this region, and together paint a rather extensive picture of the peoples, places and goods encountered on the Red Sea. On the African shores the most prominent port by far was the satellite city of Adulis, located in Zula, Eritrea. However, the sources mention many emporia and landmarks both further south and north of this site along the coast.

A marked characteristic of many of these placenames is the fact that they appear lexically and morphologically Greek. This may be seen to be a type of Interpretatio Graeca of foreign onomastica (Bukharin 2011), where local words were equated with similar sounding Greek words. This paper will investigate these toponyms and analyse their etymologies in an attempt to establish what languages were spoken on the African coast of the Red Sea. In doing so it may be possible to not only shed light on the ancient geography of this coastline, but also understand the process in which onomastica arrived into the lexicon of Greek geographies.

Bob Cowan (The University of Sydney): "On not Being Archilochus Properly: Cato, Catullus and the Idea of Iambos"

This paper proposes a unified solution to the four main puzzles about Catullus 56: why it alludes to Archilochus fr. 168 West, which Cato is being addressed, what precisely is being done by the *pupulus* either of or to the *puella*, and why Catullus emphasizes the anecdote's laughability. Most scholars (e.g. Uden 2007) insist that Valerius Cato is the addressee, and the minority who argue for M. Porcius Cato (Bucheit 1961, Arkins 1982, Skinner 1982) stress the provocative incongruity of sending such an obscene poem to the prim future Uticensis. The more important connection (made, but not developed, by Westphal 1867, Ellis 1876) is with Plutarch's anecdote that, when Cato lost his betrothed Lepida to Metellus Scipio, he wrote iamboi in the manner of Archilochus, but without the latter's 'childishness' or 'licentiousness' (*Cat. min.* 7.2). This description, which may reflect Cato's own programmatic self-definition as an iambic poet, suggests a sober, moralizing mapping of Lycambes and Neobule onto Metellus and Lepida, and a distinctive 'take' on 'being' Archilochus. Catullus 56 constitutes a response to this significant contribution to the Roman reception of iambos, signalled by an Archilochean motto (Courtney 1989), and aggressively restoring the elements of laughter, obscenity and sexual violence which Cato had self-consciously excluded. This fits with Catullus' self-conscious construction of his own Archilochean persona (Wray 2001, Heyworth 2001), a construction which would in turn be contested by Horace (Harrison 2007, Johnson 2012). The rape of the *pupulus* further acts as a metaphor for iambos' hypermasculine violence.

William Dominik (The University of Otago): "Similes in Statius' *Thebaid*"

This paper examines the role of the similes in Statius' *Thebaid* in relation to the major themes of the epic. Despite the number (about 200) and importance of the similes in the *Thebaid*, no in-depth study of their narrative and thematic functions has been published. Similes are generally considered to provide embellishment in Roman epic (and, in the case of Statius, have been regarded as an end in themselves, e.g. by Summers 1920), but the similes in the *Thebaid* serve various functions that far transcend this basic role.

Major themes of the *Thebaid* concern the role of the gods and their calamitous effect upon humanity in terms of its suffering and lack of free will. More specifically, the main stimulus of the destructive human acts of the *Thebaid* is shown to spring from the internal motivation and actions of the gods, especially Jupiter, rather than from the innate disposition and drive of the individual human characters. While various critics (e.g. Hill 1996; Delarue 2000) have challenged these views, a study of the similes in the *Thebaid* demonstrates how they underscore its major themes. In addition to vivifying the narrative and suggesting similitude between persons and things, similes in the *Thebaid* show *inter alia* the power of the gods and the destruction they cause, the supernatural infusion of humanity with *furor*, the gods interfering in human affairs with disastrous consequences, and humans who suffer as the result of supernatural machinations being depicted as helpless before the onslaught of natural elements.

Korshi Dosoo (Macquarie University): "Typhon's Blood and Ink of Myrrh: The Creation of a Magical Archive"

Discovered in Egyptian Thebes in the 1820s, the Theban Magical Library was dispersed throughout the museums of Europe by the Swedish-Norwegian consul, Jean d'Anastasi. The fact that many of the ten scrolls and codices belonged together was recognised from their very first publication (Reuvens 1830), although they would not appear together in print until the completion of *Papyri Graecae Magicae* under the editorship of Preisendanz (1928-1931); even here, however, the Demotic and alchemical texts, which together make up about half of the Library were excluded; the later translation of Betz (1986) improved upon this by including the Demotic texts. While the great size of this archive has significantly enriched, and at times distorted, our view of ancient ritual practices, there have to date been few studies of the Library as an archive.

This paper will review previous work on the Theban Magical Library over the last 180 years, supplementing it with both broad statistical surveys of contemporary texts and close observation of scribal and artefactual features, illuminating the process in which the texts of the Theban Library were composed, collated and collected over the course of a century or more. We will draw out the collectors' particular interests and note their development over time. Finally, we will look at what the linguistic, ritual and technical contents of the Library may suggest about the individuals who once owned them, the 'Gnostic magicians' or 'Egyptian priests' of scholarly speculation.

Chris Dowson (The University of Western Australia): "Latin's 'Opifex Maximus'? A Study in Ciceronian Linguistic Innovation"

My paper builds upon the work of Kaimio (1979), Jones (1959), Powell (1995), Poncelet (1957) et al. However, where these authors only broadly examined the techniques of Cicero as a translator from Greek, my thesis will aim to collate data based on words which do not appear in Latin before Cicero and examine the contexts in which they appear to elucidate various philological techniques favoured by Cicero for translating Greek into his native Latin. The focus will be on Cicero's translation of Greek thought in the period of 45-44 BC, and

specifically philosophy. This will be achieved by examining a compilation of various words where Cicero specifically mentions that he is translating from a Greek original and analysing the method by which Cicero changes the Greek word into Latin.

The compiled data will illustrate the methods by which Cicero translated Greek terms into Latin sourced from his philosophical works and grouped under various syntactical and morphological headings such as: abstract suffixes, pre-existing words given a novel meaning, participle-formation, hendiadys, calques, and loanwords. I aim to provide a tabulated summary of these entries as well as a graph indicating the amount of Greek loan-words Cicero used over time beginning with *The Republic* up to the *Timaeus*. The examination will yield data which will be indicative of the extent to which Cicero preferred to innovate in Latin or to import Greek terms directly in order to convey Greek philosophical thought.

Charlotte Dunn (The University of Otago): "The First Inter-Dynastic Marriages Among Alexander's Successors"

The marriage between Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius, and Seleucus came soon after the battle of Ipsus, sometime after 301 BC. The marriage marked an alliance between the kings, who had recently fought against each other. For Demetrius, it paved the way for recovery following his defeat. Seleucus and Demetrius made much of their new friendship, making use of the opportunity for propaganda. It has been difficult to precisely date this marriage, with most scholars dating it to between 301-297 BC. The marriage itself was likely a response to the other marriages arranged close to this time, between the families of Ptolemy and Lysimachus. Through consideration of this and the politics of the time, it may be possible to point to a more precise date for the marriage.

This paper also attempts to comment on the political importance as a whole, following on from the arguments of Carney (2000) and Ogden (1999) in particular. It is not insignificant that these arrangements were the very first marriage alliances among the Diadochoi, and they indicate an important departure from a policy where they had sought to legitimise themselves through marriage into the Argead family. After 301 BC, this changed to intermarrying among the families of the Diadochoi, and these weddings and the other ways in which the newly 'royal' families were promoted may have been a way for the kings to demonstrate stability within their dynasty, for the purpose of ensuring hereditary succession of their kingdoms and title to their heirs.

Geoffrey Dunn (The Australian Catholic University, McAuley Campus): "Flavius Constantius and the Disputed Roman Episcopal Election of 419"

Flavius Constantius was the dominant power during the second half of Honorius' reign (395-423). One letter from him survives, preserved in the sixth-century *Collectio Avellana*. It is part of a dossier (*Epp.* 14-37) concerned with the disputed episcopal election in Rome in December 418 between the deacon Eulalius and the presbyter Boniface, which lasted several months. When, contrary to the emperor's instructions, Eulalius re-entered Rome before the matter was finalised, Symmachus, the urban prefect, wrote to Constantius informing Ravenna of developments and asking him for instructions. He replied (*Ep.* 30), directing him to follow the emperor's attached instructions (*Ep.* 31). Stewart Oost's biography of Galla Placidia has argued that, although her brother and husband might have supported Boniface, she supported Eulalius (*Epp.* 27 and 28), while Chantraine has argued the opposite, with Hagith Sivan being more agnostic. This paper examines Constantius' letter afresh to reconsider his role by placing it within the wider context of any supposed religious policy he pursued. It argues that, contrary to David Frye, Constantius did not promote Zosimus, the previous Roman bishop,

and was not therefore an advocate for Eulalius, often seen as loyal to Zosimus, and that, in fact, Constantius remained neutral, only being concerned, as was Honorius, that the matter be resolved swiftly and peacefully. That he was less partisan than his wife reveals the extent to which his marriage was one of convenience rather than productive of a power team.

Sven Erlic (Macquarie University): "Alexander the Great and the Wrath of the Peripatetic Philosophers"

It is when retelling how Alexander the Great, standing at the tomb of Achilles, said *'O fortunate youth, to have found Homer as the herald of your glory'* (Cicero, *Pro Archia* 24), that Arrian in his account explains why he took it upon himself to write a history of Alexander (1.12.4). The one single failure in his long chain of successes, Arrian writes, was that he had no worthy chronicler to tell his story. In 1931 Ulrich Wilcken took that statement further and argued that, due to the death of Callisthenes, Alexander invoked the wrath of the Peripatetic School of Philosophy, which began a policy to debase his image. W.W. Tarn and N.G.L. Hammond support that theory, while Peter Green, Ian Worthington and in particular A.B. Bosworth argue passionately against it.

This paper critically analyses the portrayal of Alexander by the biographer and peripatetic philosopher Satyrus in his *Life of Philip*. This early but secondary historical source has had an immense influence in later historical writing about the early life of Alexander. Hammond in *Sources for Alexander the Great* identified a number of serious concerns to the accuracy in this otherwise fundamental source for the history of Phillip II. Using Hammond's arguments as a foundation, this paper argues that Satyrus, who wrote a corpus of *Lives* of statesmen, poets and philosophers, and had a particular affinity for sensationalism and quoting outrageous behaviour and extravagance, while not intending to create anecdotal evidence in order to debase the image of Alexander the Great, nevertheless did so.

Phoebe Garrett (The University of Newcastle): "The Lost Beginning of Suetonius' *Julius Caesar*"

It is generally accepted that the beginning of Suetonius' *Julius Caesar* is missing. The recovery of the introduction to the *Life* (and possibly to the series) would not only fill in gaps about Julius Caesar, but it might also clarify the purpose of the first rubric in most of the *Lives,* the family tree. In 1606, Philemon Holland wrote a supplementary section to replace the missing part when he translated *De Vita Caesarum* into English. The possible structure and contents of this section appear not to have been given much thought since then. My research on the beginnings of *Lives* has led me to speculate on the closeness of Holland's version to the usual Suetonian beginning. In this paper, I will survey the extant beginnings of other Suetonian *Lives* for common structures and approaches, putting together a 'template' Suetonian introduction, and then note what this template suggests about the *Julius Caesar*, in order to improve upon Holland's reconstruction. I find that, although several elements of Holland's reconstruction fit with the general pattern of Suetonian introductions, he also interpolates some material that I suspect Suetonius would not have used. Since Suetonius often uses ancestral character traits to bring out vices in a Caesar, I will also consider the character traits of Julius himself, as they appear in Suetonius, and speculate as to which of those character traits might also have appeared in Suetonius' family tree of the Iulii Caesares.

Kyle Gervais (The University of Otago): "Flavian Intertextuality: A Digital Approach"

Searchable digital databases of ancient texts have revolutionised the study of intertextuality in Latin literature, while also raising important methodological questions (e.g., Fowler 1997).

Tesserae (tesserae.caset.buffalo.edu) is an online tool that automatically identifies matching two-word phrases in a corpus of Latin texts and scores the matches using a measure of potential interpretive significance. Both the matches identified and the scoring system have been shown to correlate with results produced by conventional (human) means (Coffee *et al.* 2012 and forthcoming).The ability to identify and score thousands of matches per minute allows for novel approaches to intertextual analysis. However, there remain methodological questions relating to the automatic nature of *Tesserae*'s analysis.

I explore these issues in the context of a *Tesserae*-aided study of intertextuality in Flavian epic poetry (*Argonautica*, *Thebaid*, *Punica*). After briefly explaining how *Tesserae* works, I discuss three of its applications. First, I show how *Tesserae* identifies interpretively significant intertexts in the *Thebaid* which have not been detected by scholars using conventional tools. Next, I use *Tesserae* to analyse the intertextuality of individual books of Flavian epic, visualizing the relative importance of different predecessor texts at various points in each narrative; it emerges that certain books of Flavian epic are, e.g., more "Virgilian" or "Ovidian" than other, or are more or less intertextual overall. Finally, I apply *Tesserae* to entire poems and incorporate sophisticated statistical analyses in a preliminary attempt to quantify the relative importance of various predecessor texts for each Flavian epic.

Jon Hall (The University of Otago): "Roman Jurors and their Role in the Spectacle of Justice"

This paper will examine the role played by Roman jurors in the trials of the Late Republic. Various incidents reported by Cicero (*Att.* 1.16.3-4, *Verr.* 2.1.158, *Q. Fr.* 3.4.1) indicate that: (1) Roman jurors were prominent members of the community who on occasions contributed actively and assertively to the legal process; (2) Roman jurors were far less constrained by procedural protocols than their modern counterparts (see *Brut.* 200). Their behaviour thus differed considerably from that of the 'anonymous' and essentially passive jurors of modern trials.

The significance of this point for our understanding of Roman trials and their oratorical dynamics has largely gone unappreciated by modern scholars, who have tended to focus instead on the technical procedures of the courts and the political allegiances of juries (see e.g. Greenidge 1901, Jones 1972, Kallet-Marx 1990, Lintott 2004). The Roman jurors' highly visible participation in legal proceedings in fact helps to explain two incidents from this time that run counter to modern sensibilities: the dramatic group-supplication at the trial of Scaurus in 54 BCE just as the jurors cast their votes (Asc. *Scaur.* 28C); and Cicero's claim at *Pro Plancio* 104 that some of the jurors at the trial – and even the court's president – shed tears in response to his emotional peroration. These incidents take for granted that many jurors would engage directly with the trial's human dramas.

Julia Hamilton (The University of Auckland): "Being *Imakhu*: Commemoration and Veneration during the First Intermediate Period"

This paper will draw on two case-studies from the cemetery surrounding the pyramid of King Teti at Saqqara to illustrate how funerary practices continued traditions established in the Old Kingdom (2686 – 2181 BC) but were adapted to suit the needs and constraints of burial and commemoration during the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2181-2055 BC).

This period of history, distinguishable from other major periods of Pharaonic history as centralised rule is absent, received much attention in the early to mid-twentieth century but is now considered under-represented in Egyptological publications (Adams 2007). Drawing primarily from First Intermediate Period material excavated in the Teti pyramid cemetery at

Saqqara (Quibell 1907; Firth and Gunn 1926; Kanawati 1990, Daoud 2005), my research seeks to synthesise archaeological, palaeographical, and historical perspectives concerning First Intermediate Period commemorative practices in the Teti cemetery.

Limited maintenance of the cult of Old Kingdom kings continued into the First Intermediate Period whereby the 'mortuary cult was replaced by a limited version of the cult of the divine' (Malek 2000: 257). Veneration of Old Kingdom kings and well-known officials as 'saints' occurred in the Memphite cemeteries of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom (Wildung 1969, Moussa 1971, Altenmüller 1975, Malek 2000, Daoud 2000, Morales 2006), accompanied by familial veneration. It could be argued that as royal involvement in the cults subsided during the First Intermediate Period, the prestige of *association* with the mortuary cults of the deceased kings was perpetuated by the local population.

Greg Horsley (The University of New England): "Pagan Angels: Revisiting the Epigraphic Evidence"

Since the time of Deissmann (1908, 1923[4]) and Cumont (1906, 1909[2]) a century ago desultory debate has continued about the relatively small number of inscriptions from various locations in Asia Minor (Ionia, Caria, Lydia, Galatia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Lykia) and the Greek island of Thera which refer to *angeloi* in various contexts. All belong to the Roman Imperial period before the Peace of the Church. No consensus exists whether these texts reflect Jewish, Christian or other – Iranian (Hirschmann, 2007), or indigenous – influence.

The relevant inscriptions are:
Sahin, *I.Stratonikeia* 2.1.1117, 1118, 1119, 1120 (Stratonikeia in Caria, AD II)
Robert, *La Carie* 191 frag. A (Kidrama in Caria, AD I-II)
Fontenrose, *Didyma*, p. 159 (Didyma in Ionia, AD I?)
Petzl, *Beichtinschriften* 3 (territory of Saittai in Lydia, AD 164/5)
Petzl, *Beichtinschriften* 38 (Lydia, AD III?)
Mitchell, *I.North Galatia* (Kalec1k in Galatia, AD II-III)
Robert, *CRAI* (1971) 597-619 (Oinoanda in Lykia, AD III)
Horsley, *I.BurdurMus*. 19 (Pisidia, AD II)
Horsley, *I.BurdurMus*. 92 (Hadrianoi in Pisidia, AD II-early III)
Horsley, *I.BurdurMus*. 32 (Pisidia, AD II-III)
Ricl, *Epig. Anat.* 18 (1991) 25 no. 48 (Yaylababa Köyü in Phrygia, date?)
Ricl, *Epig. Anat.* 18 (1991) 2 no. 1 (Temrek, SW of Saittai in Lydia, AD II-III)
Guarducci, *Mélanges Daux* (1974) 147-57) (Thera, AD III-IV)
CIG 2895 (Miletos in Ionia, AD IV-V?)

This paper will examine some of this surviving material and propose that a 'messier' solution is inevitable: that no single stream of influence is realistically likely. Instead, local conditions in various cities and villages favour different currents of influence, and not necessarily a single one in any particular location.

Vivien Howan (Massey University): "Understanding Callistratus"

Callistratus of Aphidna was an Athenian politician active in the first half of the fourth century BC. In this paper, ancient evidence relating to his career will be surveyed with a view to establishing his political objectives, affiliations with other public figures and his role as a general.

Information about Callistratus' career is sparse, resulting in a variety of modern opinions on his motives and actions. The problem is compounded by preconceived ideas. A popular

scholarly idea of a fourth-century division of labour between politicians and generals has led to such statements as that of Davies (1969) that Callistratus was 'never much of a military man', and the assumption that he did not serve in the field. Rhodes (2006) suggests that Diodorus was mistaken in including Callistratus' name among the generals of 378/7.

It is argued here that there is no justification for claiming either that attested generalships did not exist, or that Callistratus did not take the field when general. There is evidence that in 373/2 and 372/1 Callistratus went out on an expedition.

Political alignments have been partly worked out by scholars such as Strauss (1986), but some adjustments are suggested. Rigid pro-Spartan and anti-Theban labels do not fit all the evidence and need to be discarded.

Taylor Hughson (Victoria University of Wellington): "Traffic in Women in Ovid's *Amores*: Cupid and the Disruption of Homosocial Bonds"

It is a prevalent notion in recent scholarship (including Gamel 1985; Greene 1998; James 2003; Brunelle 2005) that in his *Amores* Ovid is something of a social critic, presenting his speaker as excessively brutal and exploitative in order to unmask and so critique the brutality inherent in the ideals of Augustan manhood.

This paper will agree that Ovid sets up the speaker to be critiqued. However, it will assert that this critique is based not on the speaker representing an excessive version of Augustan masculinity, but rather on the fact that the speaker constantly fails to embody Augustan ideals, thus representing an inversion rather than an exaggeration of them. This will be shown primarily through mapping out in greater detail than has been done before the 'traffic in women' in the *Amores*, revealing how instead of 'strengthening homosocial bonds' (Greene 2012, 358) through exchanging women, as may be expected of an ideal Augustan male, Ovid's speaker is constantly disrupting or undermining homosociality, building instead triangular or multi-party relationships based around jealousy and deceit. Rather than controlling women and producing legitimate offspring then, he ends with an abortion and finally impotence. Such a project thus hopes to reconsider the notion of Ovid's speaker as a *servus amoris*, arguing that this characterisation, much maligned in recent years, holds a degree of validity – offering us an image of the speaker enslaved by Cupid and so foolishly only in pursuit of (ultimately unachieved) personal satisfaction at the expense of Augustan ideals.

Daniel Knox (The University of Auckland): "The Social Consequences of Missing Appointments in Sixth-Century Gaul"

This paper examines an epistolary conversation between Ruricius of Limoges (*Ep.* 2.33) and his fellow bishop, Caesarius of Arles (*SG* no. 14). The two letters feature a disagreement between the two bishops over Ruricius's lack of attendance at the council of Agde in AD 506. The focus of my analysis is the breakdown of social relationships and the social consequences of failing to meet social obligations such as attending church councils. Of particular interest is the use of redressive politeness to mitigate the damage of this argument to the relationship of the two men (for a classical examination of redressive politeness, see Hall 2009). While these themes have been heavily explored in the period of classical antiquity, the topic of epistolary relationships has received less attention in relation to the post-Roman world; the two key works are Mathisen (2003) and Jones (2009).

These letters show an attempt by Caesarius to assert his authority over his social superior Ruricius, an attempt that is rebuffed by the bishop of Limoges. The contest in these letters is

between authority based on the office of Caesarius, who was the metropolitan bishop of Arles, and the authority of Ruricius based on social status (Rapp 2005). Social jockeying was a common feature of post-Roman Gaul as elites competed for ecclesiastical and civil offices; however, it was contrasted with a desire to maintain social relationships which were so important to the group identity of the Gallo-Roman elite. This paper explores that contrast.

Thomas Köntges (The University of Otago/Victoria University of Wellington): "The *Florilegium Gallicum* and Petronius' Poem *Quid Faciunt Leges*: A Re-Arrangement of the Text"

The market episode in the *Satyrica* is not only a highly entertaining pseudo-legal farce, it is also a text-critical challenge for scholars. The transmission of the text is mainly based on one family of manuscripts and early-modern editions (L), whose oldest extant witnesses are dated to the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, their order of events has not been commonly accepted. In particular, the order of the plot in chapter 14 has been contested when the most influential modern editions of Bücheler and Müller suggested transposing the satirical poem *quid faciunt leges*. While the manuscript family L ascribes the poem, which satirises the plutocratic structure of society as much as their critics, to Encolpius by placing it after *veniret*, Bücheler and Müller move the poem so it concludes Ascyltos' argument after *descenderet*. The problem consists of the fact that the manuscripts seem to coherently place it after *veniret*, although the protagonist Encolpius would then contradict himself in the blink of an eye. On the other hand, moving the poem after *descenderet* is not supported by any manuscript.

There is, however, a solution that is supported by the manuscript tradition of the *florilegium Gallicum*. It is conceivable that the poem was originally placed neither before nor after but within Ascyltos' speech, between the end of chapter 13.4 and *parvo*. The attractiveness of this new solution lies in the fact that it harmonises the valid points of the scholarly discussion with the text-critical evidence.

Alina Kozlovski (The University of Sydney): "Ruining the Romans: Rethinking Conservation"

The remains of ancient buildings have been treated in a variety of ways throughout their history. Depending on the time period, they have been broken up, conserved, reappropriated, reconstructed, digitised, idealised and forgotten. This process has culminated in the UNESCO World Heritage list with its emphasis on conservation and preservation. The notion that this is the optimal way to treat ancient architecture finds many supporters today who believe in the intrinsic value of the ancient fabric of historic buildings.

Beginning with a short history of the differing opinions on the treatment of ancient ruins, this paper will then take the timeline back to its beginnings and examine the Roman point of view. Their reactions have already been examined by scholars such as Edwards (2011) and Glendinning (2013), but the emphasis has been on their status as monuments for events which bear some similarity to our understanding of ruins today. I will argue instead that the ancient Roman conception was actually different because there was no widespread effort to physically conserve them as is done today. From the ancient Roman perspective, ruins were better preserved in text than in reality and the only architectural features that were reconstructed were those which still had meaning and relevance. I will then pose the question of whether in the modern world our emphasis on the conservation of Roman ruins has forgotten the opinions of the buildings' original custodians.

Sarah Lawrence (The University of New England): "Latins, Italians, Romans: *idem sanguis*?"

Despite the familiarity (and yet fallacy, Montagu 1943) of blood as an ethnic distinguisher, the term *sanguis* is rarely used to identify purely ethnic groupings in Latin texts of the Republican and early Imperial period. Contrary, however, to Thompson's argument (1981, 1993) that this concept was altogether foreign to the Romans, ethnic uses of *sanguis* do occur in authors including Cicero, Virgil, Livy, Ovid, Velleius Paterculus and Valerius Maximus. Curiously, where the term is used in this way, it is not strongly linked to famous historical opponents such as the Gauls or the Carthaginians; instead, there is a striking focus on the Italian peninsula: amongst the ten groups described with *sanguis* in this period we see references to Sabine, Etruscan, Italian, Latin and Roman blood.

This paper is based on a survey of the use of *sanguis* in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and builds on studies such as J.N. Adams' discussion of Latin language and *Romanitas* (2003) and Emma Dench's studies of the construction of Italian and Roman identity (1996, 2005), to give a detailed picture of the way in which Roman authors used blood to combine and separate Romans, Italians and Latins. By examining the connection between Greek and Roman medical writings on the physiological significance of blood and the technicalities of legal status and citizenship, this paper explores the way in which group identity was understood and represented amongst Roman authors in a period which saw these identities hotly contested in both Social and civil wars.

Marcia Leenen-Young (The University of Auckland): "Polybius' Self-Constructed Image and his Attitude towards the Romans"

The consciousness with which an ancient historian crafted his authorial image in the text has been recognised (Marincola 1997), although this approach has not been one usually undertaken by Polybian scholars. This distinction between the self-constructed authorial image and the historical figure needs to be appreciated more when analysing Polybius' *Histories*. The image Polybius created was one of a teacher and historian, promoting himself as an authority worthy to educate his audience of soldier-politicians. For Polybius, the purpose of history was primarily to be of *use* to his audience, influencing him to interpret events in ways he saw to be of benefit to his readers. The construction of his image and the interpretation of historical events to benefit the reader, means that those opinions given in the *Histories* cannot be seen as Polybius', but rather as consciously developed interpretations designed to meet his historiographical objectives. This should be kept in mind when analysing Polybius' attitude towards the Romans, a topic most recently discussed by Baronowski (2011) who argued that Polybius primarily had a positive attitude towards the Romans and saw them as both moderate and beneficent. Instead, I would like to propose that the way Polybius depicted the Romans was dictated by the didactic potential of their behavior. In this way, Polybius both praised and condemned the Romans for actions not because he saw them in a primarily negative or positive way, but because he judged them on the educational merit of their actions for his audience.

Peter Londey (The Australian National University): "Making up Delphic History"

Many years ago in Brisbane I tried to kill a cane toad with a mattock. It didn't work. In similar vein, thirty-five years ago Noel Robertson tried valiantly to kill off the First Sacred War ('The Myth of the First Sacred War', *CQ* 28 [1978] 38-73). The war, allegedly in the 590s, has been seen by many as the event which occasioned Amphiktyonic control over the sanctuary at Delphoi. Despite some very strong arguments on Robertson's part, like a cane

toad the myth has refused to die. Scholars continue to believe: e.g. Richard Neer in the *Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece* (2007) 227; Michael Scott, *Delphi and Olympia* (2010) 51; even the astute Catherine Morgan accepts the need for some sort of early 6th century conflict and feels Robertson goes too far (*Early Greek States beyond the Polis* [2003] 124f.).

This paper will re-examine the case, with particular emphasis on possible contexts for the invention and/or elaboration of the myth. Robertson saw the development of the story spurred on by the need to justify Philip's position at Delphoi after 346, though he sees its origins in earlier travellers' tales. I will look at the story from the point of view of contests over Amphiktyonic structure and functioning in a somewhat earlier period than that suggested by Robertson.

If time permits, I will also consider to what extent the story of the war makes sense in its 6th century context.

Anne Mackay (The University of Auckland): "What Painted Ladies Do: Representations of Female Agency in Attic Black-figure Vase-Painting"

While there have been quite a few specialised studies of depictions of women on Attic vases in the past quarter-century (from Harvey 1988 to gender-studies publications by scholars such as Rabinowitz and Blundell in the last decade) these have focused in large part on Attic red-figure vases of the 5th century, where the depictions can seem comparatively accessible to modern interpretation. The women represented on archaic black-figure vases, by contrast, are difficult to interpret, not least because few of them are iconographically identified. Furthermore, black-figure vase-painting is strongly traditional in its nature, so that it tends to use what may be termed a 'restricted code' (in contrast to the much more flexible 'elaborated code' of classical red-figure painting) that can limit interpretative response. In this paper, a selection of black-figure scenes featuring women in active roles will be discussed, with due attention to how their meaning should be (re-)constructed in the context of the black-figure tradition. This will lead to the recognition that in the vase-painting of archaic Athens as preserved, images of women on the whole represent polarised extremes: either they directly affirm (male) societal expectations of women's roles, or they reinforce those expectations through alterity expressed in mythological contexts.

Christopher Malone (The University of Queensland): "Between Ice and Finery: Identity and Loyalty in Jordanes' *Getica*"

Scholars have never been able to agree on who Jordanes was, or what exactly his histories were trying to do. Modern views range from seeing him as a mindless copyist, to a subtle Byzantine propagandist, or to a more or less – usually less – careful classicising historian; likewise his credentials as either a proud (or nostalgic) Goth or as a loyal (or cynical) servant of Justinian's court have been alternatively championed and dismissed (see e.g. Momigliano 1955; Goffart 1988; Heather 1991). It is, however, possible that we are unable to pin Jordanes down into a neat category because he does not actually fit into one.

In this paper I argue that Jordanes represents a more fluid category of late antique individuals existing between older and more formal statuses: he is not properly an insider, because of his Gothic roots, but also not properly an outsider, belonging to a Latinate literary circle in Constantinople. This paper will therefore offer an investigation of the layers of identity and loyalty in Jordanes' work from a different perspective. Rather than mining for sources or for ethno-genetic material, the paper will first reassess what little Jordanes tells us about himself and then examine in particular the way he presents figures in a position comparable to his

own, among them Stilicho and Alaric: people who come from ostensibly barbarian *gentes*, but exist and operate essentially within the imperial system; people caught, potentially, between barbarian and imperial identities.

Jonathan Markley (California State University, Fullerton, USA): "Roman History in the Context of Big History"

This paper introduces the Big History approach and advances some suggestions for how the classical world can be incorporated within this field.

'Big History' was spawned at Macquarie University when David Christian first taught his Big History course in 1989, and his subsequent 'The Case for "Big History"', *Journal of World History*, 1991. Since then, it has grown into a field in its own right. The IBHA (International Big History Association) was formed in 2010 and held its first conference in Michigan in 2012, hosted by Macquarie graduate Craig Benjamin. Bill Gates has funded the Big History Project to develop Big History courses in high schools, aiming to create a 'bottom up' demand for Big History studies. (So far 75 schools in the US, in addition to schools in Australia and elsewhere, have participated in the pilot program.) A History Channel Big History special ('History of the World in Two Hours') first aired in 2011 and a series *Big History* will debut late 2013.

Big History does not replace but rather supplements traditional studies. In my experience, classicists and ancient historians are sceptical of the Big History approach, assuming it must involve only crude generalizations. I offer five brief examples of how the broader context of tens of thousands or even millions of years informs an understanding of the Mediterranean World, considering the role of plate tectonics, volcanism, sea levels, domesticated plants, and the broader Eurasian context of the rise of Rome.

Bruce Marshall (Macquarie University/Bundanoon NSW): "Pompeius' *praevaricatio*"

Recently Frederik Vervaet put forward the view (conference on "Deceptions and Lies", 2012) that Pompeius advanced his career through downright *dissimulatio* (paving the way for Augustus' similar approach later). This begs a deeper question, about which scholars are divided: was Pompeius basically great as a military commander but inept as a politician (like the hero Marius a generation before), or did he have political skills? If one holds the former view (e.g. Green 1978 and 1990; Greenhalgh 1980), then one would have to argue that he could not have had the ability to tell successful and deliberate lies (hence disagreeing with Vervaet's thesis). If the second view is held (e.g. Leach 1978; Seager 1979 and 2002), then he would have been able to advance his career by deliberate deception. Now there is no doubting the successful advancement of his career and his long dominance in late Roman republican affairs, which suggests a certain level of political skill.

This paper argues for a different slant on Pompeius' success as a politician: *praevaricatio* rather than *dissimulatio*. But only later. Early on his success politically was based on the threat of an undisbanded army to extort what he wanted. But later, having established his military reputation and, like a Marius, wanting to be recognised as one of the *principes* (if not *the* leading man), he chose to obfuscate his wishes for powerful positions, so as not to upset the *optimates* and so secure their recognition of him for his outstanding services.

Margaret Miller (The University of Sydney): "Expanding the Horizons of 'Geometric' Zagora: The 2013 Season" (Special archaeological report—delivered by Peter Londey)

Excavation of the site of Zagora (Andros) by an Australian team led by Alexander Cambitoglou in the 1960s-1970s yielded a settlement that has become the textbook example of life 'in the time of Homer.' The ceramic profile indicated prosperous growth from the 9th through the late 8th century BC, then abandonment by ca. 680 BC. Architectural analysis showed agglutinative construction to maximize available space. Dedications at a temple, built in the 6th century BC, attest to returns to the site for some two to three hundred years after abandonment. But how uniform and how extensive was this famous one-period site?

The Zagora Archaeological Project, funded by an ARC Discovery Grant for 2012-2014 to study the social and economic life of the ancient settlement, held its first digging season in 2013. Five trenches were set at diverse locations, in a strategy designed to maximize information retrieval about the town's social and economic profile. Preliminary observation of the widespread presence of iron slag, testimony to metallurgical activity, already indicated multi-local production; geophysical survey in 2012 concurred that there was no single industrial sector, no "metalworkers' quarter." A ceramic deposit near the gate and stratified contexts in the south sector expand the chronological parameters, as well as provide evidence of trade with Corinth already in the early eighth century BC. The emerging picture is of a settlement with a plurality of "voices" and a more complex diachronic profile than had been hitherto suspected.

Elizabeth Minchin (The Australian National University): "Women under Pressure: Exploring Female Agency in Homer"

The world of Homer is a man's world. And yet women are an essential part of this world, particularly valued in the epics for their economic worth (as weavers of textiles, as prizes in competitions) and for their symbolic value (bringing prestige) – hence the jostling amongst the suitors we observe in the *Odyssey*. The loss of such a woman, on the other hand, is central to the story of the Trojan War; and it is the trigger for the great quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon that stands at the beginning of the *Iliad*.

From the small cast of women that we encounter in the Homeric epics I focus on Andromache in the *Iliad*, using as comparand Penelope in the *Odyssey,* who in recent years has been studied intensely from a feminist viewpoint: e.g. Marilyn Katz (*Penelope's Renown),* Nancy Felson-Rubin (*Regarding Penelope*), Lilian Doherty (*Siren Songs*). As we study Andromache's actions and her interactions with others in the story-world, it is tempting to observe that she has more prestige and exercises more autonomy within her respective household than do the women of Classical Athens. I shall argue, however, that the point the poet is trying to make in his songs is that Andromache behaves as she does because of the extreme circumstances in which she finds herself. What is important is not the *social implications* of the poet's representation of female agency but his *dramatic purpose*, as he depicts a woman under pressure.

Kathy Moignard (The University of New England): "'Liminal' Encounters in the Autobiographical Accounts of Dion of Prousa and Aelius Aristeides"

In purportedly autobiographical but otherwise very different accounts, Dion (13.1-9) and Aristeides (*Hieroi logoi* 2.5-7) describe experiences which can be described as liminal in two different senses of that term: they are encounters with the divine and also turning points which determine the protagonists' subsequent life-long self-presentations – if not their self-perceptions. Liminal encounters in the first sense were well-known in the literary tradition

and we can – perhaps – suspect sophisticated writers of the period of treating the motif as a trope. The ground-breaking work of van Gennep (1909/1960[2]) and Turner (1964/1967, 1969) established liminal experience in the second sense as a matter of sociological/psychological interest and debate; of particular interest is van Gennep's tripartite model picturing the experience as metaphorical death, a liminal period, and reintegration into society with a new identity. The model has since been discussed, often critically, in the field of classical studies, in particular in the context of pilgrimage to a sacred site. In this paper, I investigate whether Dion's and Aristeides' experiences are 'true' in the sense that they took place as described. I also investigate the extent to which they conform to the van Gennep/Turner model of sociologically/psychologically liminal experience and suggest that, in each case, a socially-dislocated (though not necessarily wholly unstructured) liminal period contributed significantly towards making the episode the experience of life-long significance that it was to become.

Kit Morrell (The University of Sydney): "Cato, Pompey's Third Consulship, and the Politics of Milo's Trial"

Pompey's appointment as *consul sine collega* on the initiative of Bibulus and Cato is sometimes regarded as the beginning of an alliance between Pompey and the *optimates*. Others emphasise its ephemeral nature. For Gruen (1974), Milo's trial soon signalled a return to 'politics as usual': Pompey wanted a conviction, while Cato and friends were Milo's foremost supporters. But Gruen's analysis disregards critical evidence of co-operation precisely in the context of the trial. The court was established *ex SC*, Cato's brother-in-law was *quaesitor*, and Cato himself was among Pompey's hand-picked jurors. Still, Cato made his true feelings known by voting openly for acquittal – or so Velleius believed (2.47.5). According to Asconius, no-one could ever find out how Cato voted (54C).

I argue that we should accept Asconius' version and that Cato concealed his verdict so as not to undermine Pompey's authority or the terms of the trial, which precluded a '*pro re publica*' defence. Cato believed Clodius' death was a benefit to the state and his nephew Brutus published a *Pro Milone* in those terms. Earlier in 52, before Pompey became consul, Cato actively supported Milo's defence. In 51, at the trial of Plancus, he censured Pompey for breaking his own law. Throughout Milo's trial, however, Cato suppressed his personal beliefs in favour of public endorsement for the sole consulship and the law-and-order regime he had helped to put in place. In this way, the evidence of the trial strengthens the case for meaningful collaboration between Cato and Pompey in 52.

James O'Maley (The University of Melbourne): "Footnoting the Past in the *Iliad*"

In a discussion of the ethical and theological background to archaic hexameter poetry, William Allan (*JHS* 126 [2006], 9 n. 40) lays emphasis on what he terms 'the fundamental point that the past is also constantly remodeled in the light of contemporary understanding'. Allan is describing here the difficulties inherent in mapping the society created by the Homeric epics onto any discrete period in Greek history, but the same point can be made of the internal structure of the *Iliad* itself: the poem's characters constantly remodel their understanding of the actions of previous generations in the light of their present narrative situations. This paper proposes to discuss the ways in which characters use these tales as paradigms, and how this is manipulated by the *Iliad* as a whole. In effect the poem relegates extra-Iliadic material to a secondary status, which is highly mutable and contestable, and therefore appropriable for characters within the narrative present. This material becomes, then, akin to footnote fodder for the main narrative of the poem. By doing this, the poem is able not only to privilege the stories it is currently engaged in telling above all others, but

even to deny to those other stories it recognises and acknowledges any meaning outside its own stated purposes. This paper will examine the ways in which this particular poetic technique can help us gain insight into the broader Iliadic attitude towards alternative epic (or 'cyclic') traditions.

John Penwill (La Trobe University): "Proteus and Venus in Silius' *Punica*"

The Proteus episode at *Punica* 7.409-493, with its long and allusive description of the Judgment of Paris, has received little critical attention in the recent revival of interest in Silius. Littlewood (2011) and Cowan (2013) make some pertinent remarks linking the representation of Venus and her victory with her role in the emasculation of the Carthaginians at Capua in Book 11 and more generally with the ongoing motif of the conflict between Pleasure and Virtue, but generally commentators have been content with drawing attention to intertextual allusions rather than exploring the function of this episode in the *Punica*'s thematic design. One striking aspect is the parallelism between this episode and the appeal of Venus to Jupiter in Book 3: Hannibal poised to descend on Italy from the top of the Alps provokes panic in Venus just as the appearance of the Carthaginian fleet off Caieta does with Cymodoce and her nymphs. The parallel invites comparison between the two responses and the futures they reveal. Both foreshadow a glorious future for Rome, but unlike Jupiter Proteus does not go on to see this future as manifested in the Flavian dynasty. In fact there is far more about the past in Proteus' reply, and the space allotted to the Judgment of Paris suggests that the upcoming battle of Cannae is the ultimate consequence not only of that disastrous decision but also of Aeneas' own succumbing to the power of Venus and Cupid in his relationship with Dido.

Simon Perris (Victoria University of Wellington): "Belisarios, 'Last of the Romans', in Historical/Science Fiction"

This paper analyses the treatment of Belisarios in science fiction and historical novels. Despite his relative anonymity in the Western imagination, three very successful mid-twentieth-century texts foreground Belisarios or an obvious cipher: Robert Graves, *Count Belisarius* (1938); L. Sprague de Camp, *Lest Darkness Fall* (full version 1941); and Isaac Asimov, 'The General' (1945). Accordingly, I pose the following questions:

(1) What did these novels do with Belisarios? How does that reception interact with the historiographical tradition(s)?
(2) Why was the Last of the Romans so 'good to think with' before and during WWII?

In *Count Belisarius* he is the too-perfect exemplar of virtue (i.e. *aretê-virtus*); in *Lest Darkness Fall*, via alternative history, Belisarios becomes the *defender* of Gothic Italy and, by extension, techno-scientific rationalism; in 'The General', Bel Riose ('Last of the Imperials') tries in vain to reconquer lost territory for the First Galactic Empire. I argue that:

(1) Through various tropes, these novels schematically reduce Belisarios (a liminal, problematic, figure in his own right) either to a quintessential noble failure or, conversely, to a quintessential improbable success. In so doing, they engage in wish-fulfilment for an atavistic, classical ideal.
(2) These Anglo/American works adopted Belisarios as a paradigm for the morally unimpeachable strategic-tactical genius, a pressing *desideratum* in the face of the military and moral threat posed by Hitler's Germany.

All told, these works show how Belisarios occupies an undiscovered conceptual space, and how exploring this space involves mapping out the (classical) limits of masculine virtue.

Roger Pitcher (Sydney Grammar School): "*Concordia* in Ovid"

The importance of *Concordia* in the ideology of the Augustan era has attracted recent attention, notably Kathryn Welch 'Velleius and Livia: Reflecting History', in E. Cowan (ed.), *Velleius Paterculus* 2011, 309-34. With reference to the shrine to Concordia built within Livia's *porticus* on the Esquiline and dedicated in 7, she takes issue with earlier scholarship (Flory, Severy and Littlewood) which limits Concordia to that of a harmonious marriage and says 'One wonders how such a powerful (and omni-present) association could be kept separate in a post-civil-war society.'

This paper will take this as a starting point to examine in detail the references to *Concordia* in Ovid, notably *Fasti* I 637-650 and VI 89-96 and 637-648, and argue that her role is integral to the ongoing public presentation of the family of Augustus and that indeed, based on his evidence, *Concordia* has ongoing implications in the political world of his day. In addition to consideration of Ovid's use of history (cf. Syme, *History in Ovid*) and his usefulness for historians, this paper will address questions of the poet's use of terminology appropriate for Augustus, Livia and Tiberius. The prominence of this divinity suggests continuing tensions which must be kept in check, showing that the Augustan settlement did not necessarily lead to the cessation of conflict. Also under consideration will be the significance of the building of the Temple of Concord in the Roman Forum.

Evan Pitt (The University of Tasmania): "Olympias' Antipathy: Tensions with the Antipatrids"

In 316 BC, the mother of Alexander the Great, Olympias, was executed by the then Regent of Macedon, Cassander. Her death brought to an end the long-standing conflict between the former queen and the Antipatrid household. Antipater, Cassander's father, head of the Antipatrids and veteran politician, had a long-standing relationship with the Alexander faction. Despite this relationship, the conflict between these two factions is well known to modern scholars (e.g. Bosworth 1988; Carney 2006).

Hostility between Olympias and Antipater reached its peak prior to and immediately after the death of Alexander in 323. In the year prior to Alexander's death, Olympias sent several letters to her son from Pella. These attempted to undermine Antipater's position as Regent by accusing him of acting outside his office and lacking proper respect for the king (Arr. 7.12.7). An area that has not been covered by modern scholarship is the effect this rivalry had on Cassander during his struggle for dominance in the Greek Peninsula in the closing decades of the 4th century BC. After her son's death in 323, Olympias accused Antipater and Cassander of playing roles in Alexander's demise (Diod. 19.11.8; Just. 12.14.3). The effect of these accusations against Antipater's regency in Macedon is documented, but the impact on Cassander needs further discussion.

This paper will discuss and evaluate the conflict between Olympias and the Antipatrids, and the ways in which it shaped Cassander's future interactions with Olympias, as well as the other members of the Macedonian royal house.

Emily Poelina-Hunter (The University of Melbourne): "Interconnections between Early Bronze Age Anthropomorphic Figurines in the Cyclades and Anatolia"

Schematic anthropomorphic figurines (SAFs) excavated from Early Bronze Age (EBA) sites in the Cyclades and Anatolia exhibit such striking similarities that it may be said with some certainty that one culture influenced the other. This paper will examine the evidence afforded by a detailed comparison of these figurines and argue that the similarities can be used to show

an Anatolian influence on Cycladic culture, supporting the theory that the Cycladic islands were colonised by people 'island-hopping' from the west coast of Anatolia (Broodbank 2000).

In several respects our understanding of Cycladic figurines is still inadequate. In this presentation I aim to reduce the gaps in current research, particularly in the area of find context and associated assemblages, and figurine workshops. While SAFs are found in relative abundance in EBA cemeteries in the Cycladic islands, the settlement finds are much rarer. At Troy we have a well-documented site which has revealed SAFs in settlement contexts that closely resemble SAFs found in the Cyclades – in his selective reports Schliemann notes that more than 500 examples were discovered in the EBA settlements of Troy (*Ilios* 1976 ed.). Furthermore, whereas no EBA marble workshops have been located in the Cyclades, one has been identified at Kulaksızlar (Takaoğlu 2005; 2011), where evidence of anthropomorphic figurine craftsmanship was found. The strength of the similarities between Anatolian and Cycladic figurines demonstrates that this area of study could prove extremely significant for supporting and extending existing theories of EBA cultural interconnections built on architectural and ceramic evidence alone.

Antony Pollock (The Australian National University): "Desensitising the Roman Legions to Civil War: The Case of 88 BC"

Why did the Roman citizen-militia, so long the protector of the state, suddenly turn on it in 88 BC, at the end of the Social War, when L. Cornelius Sulla's army decided to intervene in his political quarrels? The dominant traditional view has accorded primacy to pecuniary self-interest of the soldiery as the explanation (e.g. Keaveney 2007; Cagniart 2008; Martin 2012). This presentation rejects that view in favour of a more holistic explanation; what I term 'integration theory'. My theory explains how the Social War could plausibly have felt like a civil war to the Roman citizens who fought it, examining the process of homo-genisation that Italian allied peoples, serving over a long period in Roman republican armies, were subjected to as a result of the imperative to maintain the integrity of Roman battle-lines. Through such a process, I argue, various Italian peoples were fully integrated into Roman armies; so, by the time of the Social War, allied Italian soldiers looked and fought like citizen-soldiers, used the same arms and equipment, and had likely developed close social bonds with their citizen counterparts. The experience of Roman soldiers fighting former Italian comrades was critical to desensitising them to the idea of direct conflict against other citizens that their support for Sulla must have so evidently risked. By examining the events of 88 BC, this presentation both builds upon and challenges the conventional explanation, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of the likely motivations than has thus far been given.

Arthur Pomeroy (Victoria University of Wellington): "Seneca and Viticulture"

John Henderson concludes his examination of Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* 86, and refers to the letter as showing how to transform oneself by teaching 'the Transposition of Old Stocks into New Shares'. The moralising message of the letter has often been studied, but Henderson's characteristic punning also highlights an important point: Seneca as a Roman senator had very substantial capital invested through Italy (and even, Dio suggests, in Britain). Pliny the Elder (*NH* 14.48-52) tells us that the freedman Acilius Sthenelus had great success with improved viticultural techniques on his estate in Nomentum and was then engaged to create a model vineyard by Remmius Palaemon, freedman and entrepreneur, who then sold it

on to Seneca. Another freedman, Vetulenus Aegialus, developed a vineyard on a property at Liternum, once famously owned by Scipio Africanus. This was later acquired by Seneca.

While modern treatments of Seneca's agricultural comments emphasize the purely moralistic content (Henderson, Pagan, based on Summers), I will argue that it is important to see his writings as showing traditional Roman values based on rural endeavour (see D'Arms). Just as the letters of Pliny the Younger seek to portray their author as a model senator (including his estate management: Gibson and Morello), so Seneca wishes to reveal himself as a landowner dedicated to the efficient exploitation of his estates. In each case, however, this economic imperative is disguised as an ethical imperative.

Bill Richardson (The University of Otago): "What's in a Word? In Defence of *IG* ii^2 236"

One of Philip II's many achievements was the establishment of the Corinthian League – a body uniting the disparate Greek states, theoretically guaranteeing an end to Greek conflict. One key source of evidence for the League is a fragmentary inscription, *IG* ii^2 236. This inscription is generally believed to contain the oath taken by the League's constituents, along with a list detailing some uncertain aspect of the states' enrolment (Ryder 1965; Ellis 1976; Buckler 1994; Rhodes and Osborne 2003). The inscription's degradation, however, has led to vast sections of it having to be reconstructed.

This reconstruction has recently led to an argument against the interpretation of the inscription as a record of the Corinthian League (Worthington, in Mitchell and Rubinstein 2009). Particularly, nothing in the extant text explicitly refers to the League, and the reconstructions are based on this supposedly false conclusion. This paper's direct purpose would be to argue against this stance, while staying within its prescribed parameters – focussing only upon the extant text.

Evidence for this argument includes the undisputed interpretation that Philip II is referred to in this inscription, which in conjunction with the extant use of ἡγεμὼ[ν] indicates a subject matter related to the League, and that the word πολεμήσω conflicts with the proposed alternative, a bilateral agreement between Philip and Athens. Given that the extant text contains themes related to the Corinthian League and in opposition to Worthington's substitute, this paper would conclude that the traditional interpretation should be upheld.

Ron Ridley (The University of Melbourne): "*Audi alteram partem*: Livy as Counsel for the Enemy"

The problem of speeches in classical historiography is a timeless agony. Such dramatisation of situations and sides was an integral part of such history, however bizarre it seems to modern historians. Thucydides alone told us what he did with them – and oceans of ink have (quite needlessly) been spilt ever since. Herodotos, Livy and Tacitus vouchsafed no such confidences. In the case of Livy, his speeches have received erratic attention. The classic general works on Livy all, of course, comment on his speeches, but have nothing on this matter (eg. Taine 1874, Burck 1933, Walsh 1970). Luce (1977), amid so much ground-breaking work, said little about the speeches at all. The commentators, Ogilvie, Briscoe, Oakley, would seem the most fruitful but are too narrowly focussed.

The focus of this paper is not, however, on Livy's speeches in general, but on a very special category of them: the more than two dozen written for Rome's enemies, whether peoples, such as the Latins, Samnites, Carthaginians, Spaniards, and Aitolians, and so many of her most memorable individual rivals – Hannibal, Philip, Perseus. These speeches mostly occupy

a chapter. It is likely that none of them will be found to be based on real sources, but rather they are Livy's own constructions. So much the better: they offer us a precious but neglected window on his historical understanding and humanity.

A handout will list them all, but only three or four of the most illuminating will, of course, be discussed in this paper.

Christina Robertson (The University of Auckland): "The God's-Eye View: Conceptions of Space in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*"

This paper situates Ovid's use of space in the *Metamorphoses* in the context of recent scholarship on place and space in the ancient world. Talbert (2010) and Brodersen (2001) have discussed the prominence in ancient geographical thought of a linear, sequential presentation of space, as expressed in itinerary and periplus literature. By contrast, Keith (2000) identifies a top-down, quasi-cartographic view of space as an important motif in epic. Purves (2010) discusses the implications of sequential and cartographic presentations of space in Greek literature, arguing that these contrasting viewpoints can be understood in relation to the structure of a narrative.

Drawing on Purves's methodology, this paper explores Ovid's presentation of space in his narrative and argues for a meta-poetic reading of his use of space. Ovid exploits the tension between the sequential and cartographic viewpoints. Both viewpoints are represented in different episodes of the *Metamorphoses*, but Ovid also combines the top-down, god's-eye view with a sequential presentation of space in several significant episodes involving flight. I argue that the journeys by air of Phaethon (*Met.* 2.103-328), Perseus (*Met. 4*.604-669) and Daedalus (*Met.* 8.183-235), which combine sequential organization of space with the unity of an instantaneous, top-down view, are significant for understanding the structure of the poem as a combination of eusynoptic and episodic narrative approaches.

Gina Salapata (Massey University): "Inexpensive Votive Offerings as Functional and Symbolic Objects"

A customary way of demonstrating piety in the Greek world was to dedicate a votive offering. This established a lasting, personal relationship between deity and dedicant which, though unequal and uncertain, was expected to be reciprocal.

Small, inexpensive and mass-produced offerings are often considered to be dedications of the lower socio-economic strata. Though this could indeed have been the case in some instances, it is also likely that such offerings were determined by the occasion. Routine piety (e.g. casual visit to a sanctuary, participation in a festival or ritual, presentation of first fruits) would have called for simple tokens of respect offered by both poor and rich individuals. Conversely, moments of crisis or special occasions may have called for richer offerings.

Even though votives were more permanent expressions of piety than transitory sacrifices and libations, inexpensive offerings may have been exhibited very briefly, if at all, in which case the act of giving mattered more than the gift's monetary value. Similarly, if offerings (especially pottery) were used in a ceremony previous to their deposition, the gesture would have been more important than the conveyor. Other offerings, such as personal or home-made items, had emotional value and thus may have carried special significance that surpassed monetary value. Practical considerations, such as portability or local availability, may also have influenced votive choice. Finally, small generic offerings could have been dedicated in groups to produce specific personal narratives that related to the personal circumstances of the dedicant or the character of the recipient deities.

Bianca Sanderson (Macquarie University): "Women and the Infamous Bacchanalian Affair"

This paper explores the crackdown on the Bacchanalian cult in 186 BC as a demonstration of senatorial and patriarchal authority over the elite women of Rome. Livy's account of the senatorial response to the cult is confirmed by the preserved *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* inscription; however, his account of the events that provoked the Senate has been contradicted by archaeological evidence, references to the Bacchants in the plays of Plautus, and even elements of Livy's own narrative. Gruen (1990) has argued that, despite Livy's claims, there had been no recent innovations to the cult, and so instead it appears that changes in the socio-political landscape of Rome altered the perception of the Bacchanalian cult to something far more threatening in the eyes of the Senate. Hypotheses as to the motivation for this crackdown have been raised by Gallini (1970), North (1979), Gruen (1990) and Takacs (2000), but fail to stand up to scrutiny. Instead, a reference by Cicero to the Bacchanalian affair (Cic. *de Leg*. 2.15) reveals the true significance to this episode of elite Roman women. The growing wealth and influence of *matronae* following the Second Punic War were sources of profound concern to the Roman Senate. The Bacchanalian cult allowed women to circumvent senatorial control, posing a threat to the *ordo senatorius*. The suppression of the Bacchanalian cult can therefore be understood as a demonstration of senatorial and patriarchal authority over the elite women of republican Rome.

John Shannahan (Macquarie University): "How Involved was the Achaemenid King in Policy Formation?"

This paper surveys the evidence for a personal role of the Achaemenid king in developing foreign policy, and in the administration of the empire.

The view of the Achaemenid Empire as a highly developed bureaucracy is supported by its infrastructure, rationing payments and archives, taxation policies, satrapal autonomy, and propagation of royal representatives. Recent work on the Achaemenid court has further highlighted the ceremony which surrounded the king (Allen 2005; Jacobs and Rollinger 2010; Llewellyn-Jones 2013). An oversimplified view of the above produced the Oriental conception of a distant, remote overlord.

Scholars have, then, set out to highlight patterns of imperial authorization (Frei and Koch 1996; Frei 2001; Waters 2010). It can be safely asserted that the outlying satrapies would respond to imperial endorsement, illustrating the role of the centre in administration. But can one discern a personal role of the king in issuing directives? It will be argued that more can be made of the evidence for the king's hand in directing the empire's policy.

To address the task, one may begin with the Greek sources. Although flawed, they can shed some light on the decision making of the king. This survey examines evidence of financial management, judicial interests, diplomatic conferences, administrative changes, and policy alteration. Comparison will then be made between rulers of the growing empire, and those of the static empire. A consideration of such evidence bridges the gap between the remote, court-obscured monarch and the actions of the court administrators.

Emily Simons (Victoria University of Wellington): "The Infernal Barrier in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*"

The nature of the barrier between life and death, and the consequences of crossing it, are explored in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. This paper will explore the specific role that the barrier plays within the *Hymn*. When Persephone is abducted by Hades, her screams brought

the act to her mother's attention, and Demeter wanders the earth in search of her. But even once she is told who committed the abduction, Demeter does not attempt to follow. Her actions imply that she would do anything to save her daughter, yet she does not go after her. Instead her grief is expressed through famine across the land. I argue that Demeter was physically unable or unwilling to cross into Hades. The physical barriers that lie on the border between Hades and the world of the living, such as the Gates and Kerberos, serve the crucial function of keeping the living and the dead separate and thereby maintaining the equilibrium between life and death (Souvinou-Inwood 1995). But for gods who do not die, the barrier may serve a different purpose. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, the infernal barrier is portrayed as impermeable to deities (Foley 1994), but in other myths it is semi-permeable to mortals. This paper will address why this distinction exists and to what purpose the barrier is used in the *Hymn*.

Tony Spalinger (The University of Auckland): "The Heroics of Warfare in Demotic Stories"

A discussion of the various strands in the expansive war narratives set in Egypt during the 8th centuries BC onwards, with emphasis given on three main factors.

There are demotic tales/narratives, ones that partake of heroic and epic struggles both within Egypt and without. Their dates of the redactions cover the second century BC to second century AD.

1) The narrative presentations which expand beyond the 'home base' to include foreign peoples and places (e.g. Assyrians, Babylonians, Amazons, India etc). Cf. Spalinger. 'The Epistolary Tópos and War', covering the Coptic Cambyses, Roman and other demotic stories, in E Bechtold *et al*. (eds), *From Illahun to Djeme. Papers Presented in Honour of Ulrich Luft* (Oxford 2011) 269-78. Full references are given there.

2) The reasons for this massive broadening of outlook in which the exotic and fabulous replaces the more historically based narrative of war set in Egypt.

3) A brief discussion of the native Egyptian stories prevalent in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods.

4) And the situation of the entire so-called 'genre' of stories in the countries of the eastern Mediterranean during the Hellenistic (and Roman periods). Cf. J. Dieleman and I. Moyer, 'Egyptian Literature', in J.J. Clauss and M. Cuypers (eds), *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature* (Chicester and Malden 2012) 429-47.

Wesley Theobald (The University of Queensland): "The *Negotiatrix* in Roman Commerce"

Negotiatrices were women engaged in significant trading business roles, comparable in manner to male *negotiatores*, yet with a considerably modest epigraphic trail in their wake. As a consequence, modern scholarship has often played down or overlooked the value of such a feminine role to the Roman economy. Gender-themed studies such as Beard (1999), Gardner (2000), and Setälä (2002) have made valuable inroads into revealing the economic activities of women outside the traditional range of familial duties. They acknowledge that an understanding of women as trading entrepreneurs has been hampered by the quality of evidence and the way that it has traditionally been interpreted.

This paper will therefore re-assess the evidence that either directly or otherwise indicated the existence of a *negotiatrix*, using the methodological perspective suggested by Dixon (2004), whereby the evidence and its modern interpretations are viewed with an awareness of gender constructs and social ideologies. Further, a comparative analysis of similar roles without their references to gender will illustrate how high-powered economic practices were not the quasi-exclusive province of males, and that the interpretation of epigraphic trends requires more caution. Far from being marginal, the operations of *negotiatrices* will be shown to have played a more important and diverse part of Roman economic life than previously thought.

Sue Thorpe (The University of Auckland): "Festivals and Duties: Aspects of Religious Life Found in Ancient Egyptian Personal Correspondence"

This paper will look at a selection of personal correspondence from differing periods in ancient Egyptian history, which provides insight into religious practices and personnel. These letters will illustrate the importance attached to the observance of religious festivals and the requirements associated with them. They will also reveal that the responsibility for this observance was not restricted to religious personnel, and that the members of the priestly class themselves had varied duties which they had to undertake in addition to their religious ones. There has been considerable interest in ancient Egyptian letters. For example, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Wente 1990) provides valuable translations covering correspondence from the major periods of ancient Egyptian history. Individual letters, such as those from Ahmose of Peniati (Glanville 1928, Peet 1926) and from Ramose in the time of Akenhaten (Peet 1930), have also been studied. However, overall the methodology of research has concentrated more on translation, structure and language, rather than looking at analysis of content and the personalities and background of the senders and recipients. By focusing on these aspects, this paper will be able to show how personal correspondence can provide an important primary source for information on ancient Egyptian customs, people, and societal structure, in this case with regard to religious life.

Janet Wade (Macquarie University): "Mast-Step Coins in Graeco-Roman Ships: Offerings to Isis Pelagia?"

In A.J. Parker's (1992) inventory of ancient shipwrecks from the Mediterranean and Roman Provinces, over one third of the ships with surviving mast-steps contain a mast-step coin. Were these coins simply good luck tokens (Marsden and Henningsen 1965) or were they merely a secular extension of the foundation coin tradition (Carlson 2007)? This paper aims to demonstrate that the mast-step coin custom in the Graeco-Roman world had far greater religious and maritime significance than modern scholarship has suggested to date. Ancient ships acted as a type of sacred space for the sailors and travellers on-board, and there is a range of literary and archaeological evidence of ritual and other religious activities practiced at sea. In this context, the secure lodgement of a coin at the foot of a ship's mast and mainsail – a central and crucial part of the ship – must have been a deliberate gesture. This paper argues that a coin placed under the mast and sails of a ship was a votive offering to a maritime deity associated with this part of the vessel. The iconography of Isis Pelagia shows her on the deck of a ship, standing in lieu of the mast, holding its billowing sails. Epigraphic evidence also highlights Isis' place on board ships, guiding them safely across the seas. I propose that mast-step coins were offerings to Isis Pelagia, the inventor of navigation and mistress of the sea, and that the mast may even have come to symbolise this great maritime goddess.

Kathryn Welch (The University of Sydney): "The Creation and Destruction of Marcus Antonius"

That Augustus, or, more properly, Caesar Octavianus, attempted to destroy the reputation of his rival Marcus Antonius is not contested. Neither is the view that there was a concerted effort to skew his memory. The question we need to answer is how this was done and what can we learn from it.

My paper proposes that the ways in which Caesar Octavianus, and before him Cicero, set out to destroy Antonius give us clues as to how Antonius presented himself in speeches, pamphlets and other forms of media. In other words, far from being the passive victim of Rome's greatest orator and Rome's most successful politician, Antonius traded blows with them both. Contrary to the innocent victim depicted by Syme (1939, 104), Antonius manufactured his image and others reacted to it (e.g. Stone 2008).

The three most significant texts for revealing Antonius' self-promotion are Cicero's *Philippics*, Appian's *Civil Wars* Book 3 and Dio's account of the Actium campaign (Books 50 and 51). In each text, we see Antonius in a fast moving dialogue with either Cicero or the younger Caesar. My contention is that in different ways they preserve the gist, and sometimes even examples, of Antonius' own words, even if the information needs to be extracted carefully. Although my presentation cannot cover all the possibilities of these rich documents, by taking a wide-ranging set of examples from them, I hope to demonstrate that images are harder to destroy than we might at first think.

Pat Wheatley (The University of Otago): "A New Dated Alexander Tetradrachm from Sidon"

The famous dated coinage of Sidon and Ake was first published by E.T. Newell in 1916, but it was nearly half a century before the historical ramifications of this coinage began to manifest themselves, and a further twenty years before the chronological importance of the series became apparent to scholars. This unique and often anomalous series of tetradrachms and staters can be securely dated in sequence between the years 333 and 305 BC, coinciding with momentous historical developments in the Levant – the wars of Alexander the Great's Successors. Among the series no specimens are more critical to scholars than those of the Sidonian tetradrachms of year 22 (312/11 BC) with the Greek date mark X (chi). The issue of this year, during which Sidon changed hands twice between Ptolemy, satrap of Egypt, and Antigonus the One-Eyed, arguably provides a key chronographic pointer for the exact date of the battle of Gaza. Specimens with these date marks are very rare; I assembled a total of four in an article a decade ago (*ZPE* 144 [2003] 268-76), but in 2009 I was fortunate enough to gain possession of yet another specimen of this series. The present paper seeks to provide some new analysis of these rare, beautiful, and historically critical coins.

Lawrence Xu (The University of Auckland): "The Historicity and its Effect on the Portrayal of Characters in Demotic Story Cycles"

The two Demotic story cycles, the Setne Khaemwase and Inaros-Petubastis cycle, are considered to be some of the most well-known Demotic narrative literature, containing an impressive sum of ten stories, possibly more in collections as yet unpublished. What is even more astonishing is that each story consistently features the use of historical figures (such as Khaemwase, Mernebptah, Inaros, and Petubastis to name a few) as key characters. The adventure of these historical figures is the driving force behind the narrative of the story, and it is generally understood that these adventures are largely based on their persona in life. However, there are instances within the stories where the historical figures are not

contemporaneous with each other and yet still appear together, Khaemwase and Mernebptah in the first story of the *Setne Khaemwase cycle* for example. Therefore, the question remains whether the characters are supposed to follow their respective historical chronology, or are chosen based on their historical accomplishments and are taken outside their historical time-frame. Furthermore, how do the historical achievements impact on the portrayal and actions of the characters and the overall narration of the story? This paper will address these issues, and takes a closer look at the degree of historicity of the characters. Special references will be given to two stories in particular, those of *Setne I* from the Setne Khaemwase cycle and *Contest for the Breastplate of Inaros* from the Inaros-Petubastis cycle.

Brandon Zimmerman (Good Shepherd Seminary, Banz, PNG): "Augustine on Creation and the Platonists"

Many twentieth century Catholic scholars have claimed that the idea of creation is the unique contribution of Christianity to philosophy and stands in sharp opposition to the pagan understanding of the relationship between God and the world. The polemical attacks of some Church Fathers against various tenets of Platonic cosmology, such as the doctrines of pre-existent matter and the eternity of the world, would seem to vindicate this claim. Augustine, however, views Platonism differently. For instance, in *City of God* VIII.8, he says that Platonists and Christians agree that 'God is the creator from whom all other beings derive, while he himself is uncreated and underivative.' The position of chapters 6-10 of *City of God* VIII as a whole is that the Platonists and Christians reach substantially the same conclusions regarding the main questions of physics, logic, and ethics.

This paper will seek to establish that Augustine judged the Platonists to have been essentially correct about the nature of God and creation but wrong about certain details such as creation through creatures and the eternity of the world. The *City of God* will be the main text studied, but Augustine's evaluation of the Platonists in his early dialogues, the *Confessions*, and *On the Trinity* will also be considered. Augustine's evaluation of the philosophical achievements of the Platonists can be partially explained by the fact that he understood Platonic metaphysics mainly through the lens of Plotinus' account of the emanation of all things from the One.