1.   **Karen Bassi**
University of California at Santa Cruz

The Color of Death in Greek Epic

Scholarship on color in Greek literature is dominated by terminological studies of the Homeric poems, beginning with the work of Gladstone (1858). Art historical and archaeological studies of color in ancient material culture (vases and statuary) tend toward empirical analyses, punctuated by philosophical discussions of visual perception. As an interpretive category, the semantic and metaphorical use of color in epic remains a relatively unexplored topic (Irwin 1974). This paper looks at the ways in which the *Iliad* mines the relationship between luminosity, chromaticity, and mortality. Beginning with Lyons' (1999.65) conclusion that "luminosity was more salient than chromaticity" for the ancient Greeks, the argument starts from the equation of mortal life with the presence of light and with the homophony between *phôs* ("light") and *phôs* ("man") in the epics (Tarrant 1960; cf. Chantraine 2009). In contrast, the figuration of death as black (*melas*) establishes a continuum on which the quality of light is a measure of the distinction between life and death. The paper explores the implications of this continuum in a close reading of the critical scene following the death of Patroclus and the intense struggle over his corpse (*Iliad* 17.356-383). In this scene, the quality of light -- from non-existent to hazy to bright -- is linked to the precarity of human existence. Within this context, the unique predication of blood as *porphureos* ("red") is not simply a substitute for the more common "black blood" (*pace* Rowe 1977). Rather, it sets up a contrast that is at once lexical, semantic, and chromatic. If, as Riley observes (1995: 20), color is a topic "that somehow drifts into metaphysics," this contrast demonstrates why and how color "drifts" into eschatology in the epics.

2.   Barbara Castiglioni
Università degli Studi di Torino,

Menelaos in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*: the Anti-Hero of πένθος

The aim of this paper is to reconsider the representation of Menelaos in light of the overall narrative of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Despite being the hero responsible for the Trojan effort, Menelaos' role and his function in the Homeric epics have often been considered secondary and studied only in relation to the other characters: he is the betrayed husband of Helen, the weak brother of Agamemnon, the antimodel for Odysseus, but seems to lack his own specific personality. One of the causes lies in Menelaos' problematic characterization: he lacks the martial virtues belonging to Achilles and to other warriors, but he also lacks Odysseus' wisdom, thus appearing to be out of the place in both poems. I argue that Menelaos presents an exceptional case within the broader spectrum of epic characterization and that his distinctive status is a deliberate choice in both poems. In both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Menelaos is portrayed as warlike, yet, whereas we might expect to see him presented as dominant and triumphant in his victory at Troy and his successful νόστος, the two epics instead emphasize his awareness of the suffering he has caused, his grief, and his sense of regret. I intend to show how Menelaos emerges as a complex and nuanced character—in some ways at odds with the ethos of Greek epic. My aim is to show that both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* prove to focus on Menelaos' emotions and sensibility and to depict the portrayal of a remarkably different grieving character, who might be considered the anti-hero of πένθος.

3.   Bob Corthals
Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands (doctoral candidate)

Ajax's Invulnerability in the *Iliad*

Included in the mythology of Ajax, son of Telamon, are stories that make him invulnerable. Different versions co-existed in the Classical period and Ajax was probably invulnerable in the Cyclic *Aethiopis* too. It is generally assumed, however, that the Iliadic poet has no knowledge of Ajax's invulnerability or, at any rate, ignores or suppresses it. This paper attempts to challenge such views by showing that Homer consistently keeps his naturalistic depiction of Ajax in tune with the hero's invulnerability, and moreover, uses Ajax's case throughout to exploit the traditional and specific referential ('allusive') potential of his oral-derived poetics. After a brief evaluation of the typology of invulnerability stories and the motif's application to Ajax, I will turn to the *Iliad*, arguing that Ajax's famous shield is the primary vehicle of his invulnerability, an 'ad hoc invention', and the only man-made product explicitly placed on an equal footing with objects of divine manufacture. Ajax's defensive prowess too reflects a fundamental quality of his invulnerable self. This becomes clear especially in *Iliad* 15/16, where Ajax's sole defense of the ships mirrors the role of Cycnus at the start of the war, when the Trojan ally singlehandedly prevented the Greeks from landing on the shore. Finally, I aim to show the relevance of Ajax's invulnerability in grasping specific allusions to Ajax's post-Iliadic downfall. So, in the case of Ajax's duel with Hector in *Iliad* 7, the concept may prove useful in understanding the ways in which the fight's exceptional length and structure stress the significance of Hector's sword as a key instrument of Ajax's suicide. Similarly, all three of Ajax's poor performances during the Funeral Games in *Iliad* 23 can be understood as a combined response to Ajax's tragic loss against Odysseus in the contest over Achilles' arms.

4.   Ines Silva
University of Edinburgh (doctoral candidate)

Blameless shield, faulty soldier?: extended cognition in Archilochus' fr. 5W

This paper will look at the psychological process underlying the description of ῥίψασπις (shield-leaving) by the first-person speaker in Archilochus' fr. 5. This fragment has often met with criticism due to what has been perceived as a boast about losing a shield in battle, which implies at most flight from the battlefield and at least a defeat. In fact, the soldier-speaker of fr. 5 does reassess the shield loss from a negative occurrence to a potentially positive one, since he can get a new shield, but not a new life.

The extended mind thesis asserts that human cognition extends beyond our biological cognitive apparatus. Fr. 5 shows that the shield itself is as essential as traditionally "mental" concepts (e.g. honour) for the speaker to think about his own conduct. From this perspective, fr. 5 is in no way a vaunting profession of cowardice, but instead a displacement of value from the tool to the wielder of the tool. Fr. 5 depicts the psychological reeling back of an extended cognition process gone too far. The shield is an extension of the owner's cognitive environment, specifically as a symbol of military honour or dishonour, and as such what happens to it reflects the owner's status; but this cognitive extension of the self is so deep and effective that it risks engulfing the self. Without divesting the object from its cognitive importance, the speaker recognises himself as the maker of meaning: losing the shield but not losing his life turned the lost shield into a negative symbol, but in the future the new shield that is just as good can become a positive symbol, because he lives to fight again.

5.   Ruggiero Lionetti
Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

The Fall of Troy, the Glory of Athens: Chorus and Community in Euripides' *Trojan Women*

Historicist readings of Euripides' *Trojan Women* presuppose a kind of identification, on the one hand, between the Greeks of the myth and 5th-century Athenians, and, on the other, between the Trojans and the communities oppressed by Athenian imperialism. This paper will proceed in a different direction. What I aim to do is to shed light on the interaction between the two communities at the center of *Trojan Women*: the city of Troy, *praesens in absentia* throughout the whole tragedy, and the Athenian civic body, as metonymically embodied by the public who witnessed dramatic competitions. The main point of this paper is that, in *Trojan Women*, Euripides appears to systematically superimpose Athens – a city still at the peak of its power – on the destroyed community of Troy. This is made possible by a skillful use of the chorus and by its ability to act as a bridge between the public and the fictitious world of tragedy: as I shall try to prove, the otherness of the Trojan chorus of this play is constantly brought back within the framework of the perspective and experiences of the 5th-century Athenian audience. In this light, the paper will focus, among the other things, on the encomiastic representation of Athens (*Tr.* 207-10, 218-9, 801-3) and Salamis (799-800, 1096) in the choral interventions punctuating the tragedy.

6. Manuela Irarrázabal
UCL (doctoral candidate)

Blurred Lines: Grief and Anger in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*

This paper sets out to discuss the connection between grief and anger in the Aeschylean dramatic representation of these emotions. Recent research on ancient emotions has drawn our attention to the advantages and limitations of applying Aristotelian and modern taxonomies of emotions to tragedy. One advantage is that by applying certain cognitive hypotheses we can establish clear-cut criteria of distinguishing one emotion from another. One limitation is that today's conceptualisations of emotions do not completely correspond to those of Aristotle and other ancient authors. The argument I present here adds a further element of complexity whilst enriching our view of ancient emotions. The *Oresteia*, drawing on other ancient Greek literary sources, provides a depiction of anger which is so often connected to grief that their conceptualisation can be largely considered as interdependent. This connection between anger and grief has not only been acknowledged by Hume and Freud, but also by some classicists such as P. E. Easterling, Helen Foley, and Barbara Koziak. Building upon these ideas, and applying embodied cognitive theories to Aeschylus, I explore ways in which tragic emotions can be understood as relying on human experience. I treat cognition as referring to mental functioning and processing information about the world, having the body with all its sensorimotor capacities as its context. Cognition is, thus, understood as depending upon the body as a lived, experiential structure that is present in literary representations. This approach allows us to bridge those views that see advantages in offering distinctive criteria to differentiate emotions (*e.g.* from the lexicon) with those that seek to understand emotions from cultural and phenomenological patterns (*e.g.* use of metaphors). Emotions in the *Oresteia* can be seen as unsettling precisely because of the blurred lines between them.

7.   Efi Papadodima
The Academy of Athens, Greece

Faces of Silence in Sophocles' *Ajax*

This paper pays close attention to the various forms, manifestations, and effects of silence in Sophocles' *Ajax*, the only extant tragedy that dramatizes the hero's lot and death. It aims to demonstrate how silence (*σιγή / σιωπή*), a meaningful and versatile 'behaviour' rather than the mere absence of words, proves an important element of the stage-action and of tragic characterization, by looking into the ways in which it is both represented and spoken of.

The mythical Ajax certainly fosters a special relationship with silence. Primarily famous for his '*postmortem*' silence in the *Odyssey*, when he refuses to respond to his major rival Odysseus upon encountering him in Hades, Ajax is associated with silence in another respect which defines him more essentially. This is his (alleged) lack of skill in eloquence – his being *ἄγλωσσος*, in the words of Pindar – or his (self-professed) laconic mode of expression. In most relevant sources – from archaic Greek lyric down to later Greek and Latin epic – this feature appears to be inextricably bound up with the outcome of the episode that proved most crucial to the hero's life, the awarding of Achilles' arms (*ὅπλων κρίσις*).

The Sophoclean Ajax, however, is eloquent and even 'poetic', as he is coming to terms with the consequences of his failed revenge – his occasional silence being highly suggestive rather than generic – while the poet's silence concerning basic aspects of the hero's predicament (including the judgment of the arms) is telling. Beyond that, the play presents us with a rich array of expressions of silence, whether understood as refusal to engage, withholding pieces of information, or actively silencing others. By, no less, embracing or problematizing moral and sociopolitical biases these expressions illuminate significant aspects of not only the eponymous hero's condition but also of the play's and its context's world.

8.   Hanna Roisman
Colby College

The Faithful Wife Clytemnestra

In spoken performance the sounds of words merge with their meanings to convey a message. In Greek tragedy the Aeschylean queen Clytemnestra is the female figure most noteworthy for manipulative vocality. I will examine Aeschylus' programmatic and intentional use of sound to suggest the ambiguity in Clytemnestra's utterances.

The paper will focus on the second part of Clytemnestra's speech to the messenger (*Ag.* 586-614), long recognized as a masterpiece of *double entendre*. I will discuss the aural and semantic implications of her self-depiction (in accusative) as γυναῖκα πιστήν (606). The phrase can be pronounced either in the expected way, to mean "faithful wife," or exactly the opposite. γυναῖκα πιστήν spoken without a pause between the noun and adjective sounds like γυναῖκ᾽ ἀπίστην "unfaithful wife."[1] In the context of the speech the phrase works both ways: if the actor slurs the words, the audience can hear simultaneously Clytemnestra's boast of fidelity and the playwright's ironic commentary.

For the spectator familiar with Homer, the phrase γυναῖκα πιστήν might be dissonant in any case. The term recalls the formulaic epithet πιστὸς ἑταῖρος - a loyal comrade. In applying the adjective πιστός to herself, Clytemnestra is perhaps trying to borrow the prestige of this Homer's value-laden phrase. Yet by referencing a Homeric epithet applied solely to males, Aeschylus undermines her emphasis on femininity (592, 594, 602, 606, 614). The audience might also have remembered Agamemnon's famous warning to Odysseus never to trust women: ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι πιστὰ γυναιξίν (*Od.* 11.456). These allusions suggest that Clytemnestra possesses stereotypical male aggressiveness along with the lack of trustworthiness associated with the stereotypical female.

---

[1] Compound adjectives usually use the male form for the female gender as well, but some of them do have a separate female form, e.g., ἄ-δμητος, εὔ-φημος, ἀ-πειρέσιος, θεό-δμητος, etc.

9.   Anastasia-Stavroula Valtadorou
University of Edinburgh (Doctoral Candidate)

Sex and Marriage in Euripides' *Andromache*: Two Women Sharing the Same Bed?

Euripides' *Andromache* has been severely criticized by scholars in the past due to its supposed lack of dramatic unity. Consequently, many scholars have endeavoured to identify its single, unifying theme in order to respond to these negative assessments. For instance, it has been argued that *Andromache* is: 1) political propaganda against Sparta (Kitto 1950), 2) a drama that explores the disastrous effects of the Trojan war (Stevens 1971), 3) a play whose dominant interest lies in the exploration of the *nomos*/*physis* dichotomy (Lee 1975), 4) a tragedy that is not so concerned with individuals, but with different groups of people and elements (Conacher 1967; Kovacs 1980), and 5) a play that explores the idea of the disrupted *oikos* (Storey 1989), familial bonds (Phillippo 1995; Kyriakou 1997) and marriage (Papadimitropoulos 2006).

However, little attention has been paid thus far to the fact that almost all the dramatic characters seem to be preoccupied with the notion of sex as being actualized in the marital bed. An examination of these recurring references reveals that the majority of them are time and again negative. Nonetheless, it is not sexual pleasure *in and of itself* that is being criticized as such by the *dramatis personae*. Rather, it is the excessiveness and lack of prudence regarding sex within marriage, which is depicted as dangerous and problematic. In this presentation, I will contribute to the above-mentioned discourse of Storey, Philippo, Kyriakou and Papadimitropoulos on marriage, by also bringing into focus the frequent allusions to sex and its less favorable actualization within the bounds of the marriages portrayed in this drama. I shall argue that sex and its (potentially) negative actualization within marriage is an important thematic motif that is either discussed or alluded to from the beginning until the very end of this tragedy.

10.   David Van Schoor
University of Zürich / Rhodes University

Eis Andros Physin: Artificial Intelligence in the Theatre of Dionysus

From Agamemnon and Eteocles in Aeschylus to Agamemnon and Pentheus in Euripides, one of the intractable dilemmas for interpreters of Greek drama, has consisted in the assessment of the conditions of volition of tragic protagonists: whether they be wholly compelled or in any measure free. In this paper, drawing for examples from Euripides, I put forth and test the proposition, that in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens, through the fabrication and dramatic activation of fictional persons – _personages_ – personhood itself, historical and lived, gains a new dimension. The very format of drama, through what it peculiarly accents and manages to contrive, gives rise to new possibilities for the conception of human subjectivity.

Dramatic minds are made-up minds, fictional intelligence is artificial intelligence. The lines an actor must recite have the characteristics of programmed instructions to actors required for that complex operation, which is the dramatic performance. As such they seem to elaborate those algorithms, which would be the personal traits – drives, desires, fears, ambitions, obsessions – of dramatic characters. The intentions of personages are derived from the mind of the poet who programs these anthropoid fictions to run on the operating system of received values and ritual conventions.

Referring to ongoing work in cognitive science, Gell's anthropology of art and to the philosophy of volition and agency in Charles Taylor, I explore the possibility of conceiving of a Dionyiac Rule in Greek tragedy. This rule would entrain original rather than derived intentions, and be as distinct from normal rules and behavioural algorithm as "natural intelligence" would be from artificial intelligence.

11.   Vasileios Adimidis
Nottingham Law School

"Tellus the Athenian: The prototype of Aristotelian happiness and justice":

This paper addresses two Aristotelian questions by reference to the story of Tellus of Athens:
1. What is distributive justice and how should it be exercised?
2. How does justice link to virtue and, ultimately, to happiness?

For Aristotle, 'distributive justice' (which is a part of 'complete justice') signifies the fair distribution of goods and evils according to virtue and moral desert, by taking into account:
1. The telos of the thing distributed and
2. The relevant (to the thing distributed) virtues of potential recipients.

For example, in relation to the just distribution of honours, the just polis distributes them in order to educate its citizens in virtue and in accordance with the civic virtues shown by the receivers. At the same time, for Aristotle, 'happiness' is the telos (purpose, end) of human life and is defined as 'an activity of the soul in accordance with virtue'. Virtue, which according to Aristotle equals to lawfulness and justice, is acquired by habitually practising it; it is the responsibility of the good polis to educate its citizens in virtue (through it laws, customs and distribution of honours and punishments). Therefore, living in a good, lawful and just polis is a precondition for the attainment of happiness.

How does the aforementioned discussion square with the story of Tellus? According to Solon, Tellus was the happiest man of his time (early 6th century BC). Virtuous, courageous and self-sacrificing, he justly received by the Athenians all the prescribed honours for his services to the polis. This act was a manifestation of distributive justice by the polis in line with the explanation provided by Aristotle more than two centuries later. By this distribution of honours, Athens educated its citizens in virtue, aiding them to attain virtue and, via this route, the telos of happiness. The ideas and values which can be extracted from Solon's narrative of the life of Tellus in early 6th century BC (as reported by Herodotus in the second part of 5th century BC) correspond with those of Aristotle in the third quarter of the 4th century BC. This is particularly important as it highlights the origins and core of the Greek system of values, evident throughout this period.

12.   Tomasz Kurzydło
Jagiellonian University, Poland (doctoral candidate)

Are the Platonic gods the same as ideas?

The issue of Plato's attitude towards the gods is quite problematic, for in his writings one can found contradictory statements on this subject. In dialogues concerning the theory of the state he seems to defend traditional Greek religion and its cult. Rémi Brague in the *Law of God: The Philosophical History of an Idea* (2008) presents the opinion that Plato in the *Laws* becomes a religious defender of divine law in opposition to the growing tendencies of secularization. Eric Dodds presents a similar opinion in *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951). According to him, Plato wanted to consolidate inherited religious beliefs in a new, more permanent form. A special place was given to Apollo and the sanctuary in Delphi was presented as a conservative and stabilizing force. In the *Laws* Plato attempted to codify religious practices including trials for unorthodoxy.

On the other hand, Plato refuses to recognise the gods of traditional Greek religion. One of the most important dialogues here is *Euthyphro*, in which the philosopher ridicules such gods.

In my lecture I focus primarly on this dialogue. It is generally accepted that the concept of the ideas is presented here on example of relations of gods towards pious things. In my opinion, not only *piety* is an example of an idea, but also gods themeselves. Analyzing this dialogue, I intend to point out that the basic characteristics of the ideas, such as intelligibility, incorporeality, existence, immutability, ontic autonomy and unity can also refer to the Platonic image of the gods.

Using this assumption, in my lecture I show possible ways of explain the aforementioned inconsistency in the Plato's approach to religion. Thanks to this, it will become visible why philosophers, who know the world of ideas, become priests in the Platonic state, not mythtellers and poets.

13.   Inbal Cohen
University of Haifa?

Diogenes of Oinoanda's Composition

The talk will focus on Diogenes of Oinoanda's philosophical inscription, with the view of showing that part of it is based on a composition that Diogenes circulated before conceiving his inscription.

Diogenes of Lycian Oenoanda in Asia Minor seems to have been a second century CE Epicurean, more than four hundred years after Epicurus. He was discovered at the end of the nineteenth century by archaeologists who uncovered the scattered remains of an inscription that he erected in his town. So far 299 fragments with 7500 words have been uncovered, estimated at between a fifth and a third of the original inscription inscribed on a long wall of a stoa. The gradual discovery of the fragments over a long period of time led to a number of contradictory reconstructions and interpretations of the inscription, with old problems still unresolved even in the latest edition and with the addition of new problems (see Smith 1993, 1996, 2003; Hammerstaedt & Smith 2007-12).

One essential problem concerns the concepts Diogenes uses to designate his work. One of the concepts is *sungramma* (σύνγραμμα). Diogenes writes that he is presenting a *sungramma* on a public stoa (YF 53.IV.8-V.1). Scholars are divided over his intention, and their interpretations influence our understanding of the structure and content of the inscription and Diogenes' motives for erecting it. I shall argue that the term *sungramma* refers to a composition which existed before it was inscribed on the stoa. I shall attempt to answer crucial questions: Did the *sungramma* include all of the writings in the inscription or only some of them? What is its theme and why did Diogenes inscribe it in public?

14.   Menahem Luz
Haifa University

Porphyry's Philosophy of Art and Religious Imagery

There is a renewed interest in the fragments of Porphyry's *On (Divine) Images* [2] with his defense of the old pagan cults. [3] A topic in this work that has been less explored is its explanation for the beauty of religious imagery and buildings and more importantly the mechanism by which their visual beauty is to be appreciated. Porphyry was once seen as a mere extension of Plotinus with art as a dim reflection of noetic Beauty not to be visualized in the world of color and shape.[4] However, the notion presupposed in *On Divine Images* is that noetic Beauty is reflected in artistic imagery with material artistry serving as its *medium*. Here, Porphyry explains the mechanism by which Beauty shines through the material of an artistic object translucently as through crystal - or is reflected by it as light is by Parian marble and ivory (fr. 332F). If the observer of such artistry is able "to read" and interpret an artistic creation correctly, he would understand that the gold and ivory material of the product was merely a *medium* for the reflection of Beauty conveyed by the artist (fr 353F; cf. 331F). On one level, Porphyry combines the idea of translucence (τὸ φωτοειδές; *Enn.* II. 4.5) and illumination of noetic Beauty with Aristotle's explanation for the movement of light, that is conveyed through a translucent or luminous *medium*. On another level, Porphyry restates Plotinus' analogy between writing and the plastic arts (*Enn.* v.8.6) in order explain the mechanism by which we may make correct artistic judgments. Porphyry pulls these strands together, carefully reformulating them as an explanation both for the metaphysical cause of beauty in art products - as well as for the translucent (φωτοειδοῦς) mechanism of how the observer is affected by them (331F). He thus can offer a coherent theory of art still presupposing its Neoplatonic principles.

---

[2] Porphyry's περὶ ἀγαλμάτων edited in Smith (1993), *de Statuis*.
[3] Girgenti – Muscolino (2011), 'Sulle Imgini degli Dei' (pp. 279-315, 605-634).
[4] Proimos (2002), 65-77; Dillon (1996), 319 "there is no independent sphere of aesthetics"; Adams (1977), 17 that it "does not yield a fully developed aesthetic policy"

15.   Mariapaola Bergomi
Università degli Studi di Milano

Keynote in a Chorus: Gender, Philosophy and Salvation in Porphyry's Letter to Marcella

In my paper I shall analyse Porphyry's *Letter to Marcella* offering some fresh interpretations of this work in the context of Porphyry's philosophy and religious criticism. The *Letter* is a unique piece of art and speculation which deserves new attention and a detailed survey. Indeed, Porphyry's interest in religion and his criticism of both Christianity and theurgical practices is one of the most interesting aspects of his philosophical speculation. He was deeply engaged in religious criticism and composed more than one work on this topic – the most famous being *Philosophy from Oracles* and the pamphlet *Against the Christians*. The care for the soul by means of philosophy offers a path to spiritual salvation: 'salvation' is indeed a key feature in Porphyry's philosophy; he calls 'salvation' the ascent of the soul to the divine principles by means of philosophical spirituality and a good and rational use of traditional religious beliefs. Unlike his fellow Platonist Iamblichus, Porphyry elaborated Plotinus' views against religious misconceptions (such as the Orphics') and focused his attention on philosophy as some sort of non-religious spirituality. This is especially evident in Porphyry's later works, such as the *Letter to Marcella*. In this literary refined piece of correspondence, Porphyry invites his wife to pursue a spiritual path in order to save her soul against all odds. Moreover, being addressed to a woman, the *Letter* contains some interesting gender-oriented clues to the intimate relationship between the thinker and the partner, and also some literary references that contribute to the uniqueness of this valuable work.

16.   Damian Miszczyński
Jagiellonian University, Poland (doctoral candidate)

Why a philosopher should not eat meat according to Porphyry

The actual title of my PhD project is „Vegetarianism in Antiquity. Religious and Ethical Sources of the Idea", and it revolves around the question about motivations of people of the Graeco-Roman world for being vegetarians. I distinguish two main categories of their motives: religious and ethical ones. The former is based on certain beliefs, superstitions or myths which encourage a meatless diet. The latter grows out of ethical reflection on animals' features and behaviours. In that case, a meatless diet is an outcome of purely philosophical and rational thought, it is a voluntary choice, regardless of one's beliefs.

In my research, I focus on examining ancient literary sources. I am particularly interested in the ways of arguing for vegetarianism (I also translate most important sources into Polish). Remarks on vegetarianism appear in many ancient texts, but only two extant works are entirely devoted to it: Plutarch's "De esu carnium" and Porphyry's "De Abstinentia". During the ISPCS conference, I would like to focus on Porphyry's work. It consists of a four-books long letter to his friend, Firmus Castricius, ex-vegetarian, in which Porphyry tries to persuade him to come back to vegetarianism which he presents as the only proper way of living for a real philosopher (and F. Castricius considers himself a philosopher).

In the first book, Porphyry collects all arguments of the opponents of vegetarianism in order to comment on them throughout the rest of his work. There are plenty of arguments of various kind. But in the paper for ISPCS my aim will be to define a real one and main motive for not eating meat, the very source of Porphyry's neoplatonic vegetarianism, in comparison to which all other arguments seems to be secondary and subordinate.

In his "De Abstinentia", Porphyry gives a lot of arguments for vegetarianism, pertaining to ethics, morals, biology, medicine, religion, and many others. But what is particularly interesting in his treatise, is the fact that he strongly believes that vegetarianism is not for everyone, but for those whom he calls "real philosophers". The questions I will address during my ISPCS presentation is why Porphyry believes it is so important for philosophers to be vegetarians, and whether this motivation is of philosophical or rather religious nature? (statement at the moment of writing that abstract: the motivation is of religious nature)

17.   Andrew Horne
University of Chicago (doctoral candidate)

Becoming Classical: Horace, *Satires* 2.5

Scholars have never known what to make of *Satires* 2.5. Outside the commentaries, scholarship essentially reduces to Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge 1966), and Sallmann, "Satirische Technik in Horaz' Erbschleichersatire (S. 2, 5)," *Hermes* 98 (1970): 178-203. And the critical silence seems justified: flamboyantly silly, the poem comes across as an outlier a corpus that otherwise deals with important issues. Horace introduces two Homeric characters, Odysseus and Tiresias, continuing their famous conversation in the Underworld—yet the subject switches from Odysseus' homecoming to cunning ways that he can make money. Tiresias recommends a procedure as immoral as it is anachronistic: legacy-hunting. My reading of this apparently absurd satire starts from Northrop Frye's theory of the circle of genres (*The Anatomy of Criticism*, Princeton 1957). Frye suggests that the "lowest" genre of all, irony, has a strong tendency to return to the "highest" genre, namely myth. I suggest that Horace is doing just that: with his anachronistic travesty of Homeric mythology, Horace is meditating on the way that ironic genres return to mythical genres, and thus points ahead to the new seriousness, the new mythology, of Augustan literature. My paper begins by reading the satire as a document in the tradition of Greek wisdom literature, almost a parody of Hesiod's *Works and Days*. The paper then explores the double-meaning of many terms in the satire (*genus*, *res*, *ludere*), which indicate that Horace is talking about aesthetics at the same time as legacy-hunting. By bringing irony to its limit, Horace heralds the creation of a new aesthetic and a serious tone, pointing ahead to the *Georgics* and the other great works of Augustan poetry. His poem is a meditation on the process of "becoming classical."

18.   Dalida Agri
Manchester University

Fear, power and agency: the figure of the tyrant in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* and Statius' *Thebaid*

The ubiquitous figure of the bad tyrant in Flavian epic, especially in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* and Statius' *Thebaid,* marks a sustained poetic interest in the relation between autocratic power and the tyrant's psyche. One trend in recent Flavian scholarship is the acknowledgement of Senecan influence on the representation of power and emotions (anger, *furor* and hatred predominantly), both in literary and philosophical terms. Fear, surprisingly, is the one crucial emotion that has received the least attention despite its prominent role in ancient construction of tyrannical power, not so much as fear inflicted upon the subjects, but fear as experienced by the tyrant himself. And yet, Flavian epic discourse is obsessed with it.

In this paper, I propose to look very closely at the depiction of fear in tyrants and how it conditions not only their approach to but also their exercise of power both in Valerius' *Argonautica* and Statius' *Thebaid*. Building from Senecan theory of emotions, I shall argue that fear is recurrently framed as an emasculating emotion, which then becomes a catalyst to more violent emotions, such as anger (*ira*) and hatred (*odium*), through which tyrants seek to reclaim a sense of political agency. Bad tyrants as the paradigmatic expression of Stoic villains can be interpreted as a didactic trend in Flavian epic, symptomatic of the poets' engagement with contemporary power.

The discussion will touch upon considerations as to how the figure of the bad tyrant in the Flavian *Argonautica* can be argued as a friendly warning for the incoming emperor Vespasian not to tread on the path of his Neronian predecessor. Can Statius' *Thebaid* be seen as attempting a similar didactic move towards Domitian? This is a timely discussion to have, especially given the current scholarly impulse to look for ways to rehabilitate Domitian.

19.   Eyal Meyer
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The Portrayal of Persians on Fifth Century BC Attic Vase-Paintings

In the early 5th century BC, probably in the wake of the battle of Marathon (490 BC), Persian warriors began appearing in battle scenes on Attic vase-paintings. Up until the middle of the fifth century BC the Persians are depicted as formidable rivals, which probably constitutes a realistic reflection of the Greek experience in the Greco-Persian War. But a dramatic shift occurred sometime in the 460s BC. In vase paintings which are dated to the middle of the fifth century BC and onward the Persians transform from brave and worthy adversaries into effeminate and cowardly rivals. In the present study I argue that this transformation in the image of the Persian warrior was a direct outcome of the Athenian propagandistic frenzy which followed Cimon's successful Eurymedon campaign in the mid-460s BC. In this campaign a fleet of the Delian League, under the command of Cimon, dealt a decisive defeat to Persian land and sea forces which were mustering at the mouth of the Eurymedon River in south-western Anatolia. The Athenians went all out to celebrate this victory in order to remind their allies that the war against Persia was far from over and by extension to justify Athens' continuous demand for funds, ships, and manpower. There was, however, another consequence to the presentation of the battle of the Eurymedon as a triumph which crippled the mighty Persian Empire - Athens' claim to have dealt a devastating blow to the Great Persian King neutralized the Greeks' fear of a third Persian invasion. Consequently, the elimination of the Persian menace, real or imagined, gave way to the depiction of the Persian enemy in a way that mocked and ridiculed Persian character as well as fighting skills.

20.   Eva Falaschi
Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

Ancient literary sources on Greek art. New approaches and perspectives

Since the beginning of archaeological and art historical studies on Greek art scholars have gone through literary sources in order to reconstruct lost artworks as well as artists' careers. This led to the publication of many anthologies, such as J. Overbeck's *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig 1868), organized by artists and artworks. If these anthologies are very useful in providing a quick list of texts related to an artistic topic, their approach shows its limits when we consider that sources are taken out of their context of transmission and not analysed in a philological perspective. As a consequence, a lot of information, for example on the reception of Greek art and artists, goes lost, or it happens that a piece of news is misunderstood. In fact, as the studies on fragmentary literature demonstrate, a piece of information can be modified and differently interpreted by the author who mentions it, or influenced by the history of the text. For this reason, a philological analysis of the source is essential. I want to overcome this approach to literary sources on art by proposing a philological analysis of texts and examining them within their literary, historical, philosophical, artistic and cultural context, in order to evaluate all the filters of the author – and the age – who transmits the information. At the same time, I intend to contribute to the study of the reception of Greek artists and artworks in the Imperial Age by showing how these texts are rich in details in this perspective, if read in the right way. To reach this purpose, I will present some case studies taken from Plutarch and Pliny the Elder.

21.   Beatrice Pestarino
UCL (doctoral candidate)

Officials in Ancient Cyprus: Rebuilding the Cypriot political-administrative structure during the classical period

In this paper, I shall address the issue of the political-administrative structure in Cyprus during the archaic and Classical periods. Through the analysis of some inscriptions, I aim to show how the Cypriot city-kingdoms were organised, taking into account the overlap of different cultures, which characterised the island. The Greek *βασιλεύς* or the Phoenician *melek* were at the top of a complex and hierarchical apparatus, consisting of officials with political or administrative roles. Along with *ostraca* and tablets mentioning counts, measures and some attendants, "king's men", who were in charge to arrange and control palace's stocks, epitaphs and dedicatory stele provide details on administrators and their main tasks. The quite high number of dignitaries and specified workers mentioned in the epigraphic texts indicates that the network was composite and the presence of peculiar congregations' chiefs shows that it was articulated on different levels. The study is mainly based on inscriptions, written in different languages: Cypriot-syllabic and alphabetic Greek, Eteocypriot and Phoenician. The considerable discrepancy between the number of officials mentioned in Cypriot-syllabic and Phoenician documents raises the question if the executive system showed in Phoenician *corpora* was the same for the city-kingdoms, which adopted Cypriot-syllabic Greek and Eteocypriot as official administrative languages. I will demonstrate that they present a similar fundamental structure, based on the palace, the main political institution, with a sovereign, a court consisting by king's family members and a local élite, and a levelled bureaucratic network. I will choose some examples in the epigraphic *corpora*, (*Egetmeyer 2010, Yon 2004, Masson 1983*) discussing the role of some dignitaries and providing cases of new textual reading.

22.   Ory Amitay
University of Haifa

From Cabbages to Kingship: The Traveling Myth of Abdalonymus

The paper suggested here deals with a story derived from the history of Alexander, concerning the rise to power of the Tyrian king Abdalonymos, as told by Curtius Rufus (4.1.15–26), Justin (11.10.6–9), Diodorus (17.46.5–47.6) and Plutarch (*De Fort. Alex. = Mor.* 340D). The core of the story is the same in all four accounts: following the political upheaval caused by Alexander's conquest a new king is sought for Sidon. After a number of aristocratic candidates are ruled out because they lack the appropriate regal ancestry, a suitable candidate is located in a garden somewhere in the city's suburbs, spending his days as an agricultural manual laborer. The surprised nominee – Abdalonymos by name – is clothed in purple and led before Alexander, who approves of the choice. Abdalonymos thus becomes the king of Sidon and a faithful ally of Alexander.

The story raises two distinct yet related questions. One, concerning of the story's historicity, has been discussed to some extent in previous scholarship, but without conclusive results. The other, which has received only very recent attention, concerns the change of location between the variant tellings: while Curtius and Justin place it (justly, I shall argue) in Sidon, Diodorus moves the story to Tyre, while Plutarch locates it in Cypriot Paphos. This peregrination of the story puts it at the crossroads of history and myth, and I intend to treat it from both angles.

In my paper I shall return to the question of historicity, trying to discern to what degree it is based on historical fact. I shall also ask with which city was it originally connected, why it was relocated at all, and why in particular to Tyre and Paphos.

23.   Krzysztof Nawotka
University of Wroclaw, Poland

Alexander the Great and the house of Pindar in Thebes

Eleven ancient and Byzantine sources convey the anecdote of the order of Alexander the Great to spare from destruction the house of Pindar in Thebes issued upon having taken the city by storm and having enslaved almost all of its surviving population. A variant version, known from Plutarch and Pliny, attributes to Alexander sparring from slavery the descendents of Pindar. The anecdote is set in the context of the failed rebellion of Thebes in 335 BCE. Its longest version survives in Arrian, its first attestation is in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, it is largely absent, however, in the Vulgate line of ancient history writing on Alexander which speaks against Cleitarch as its original source. Although this anecdote belongs to the topic of Alexander's respect for and contacts with intellectuals and artists, in all probability it was not made up in the age of the Second Sophistic. The social institutions of the classical and early Hellenistic age present in this anecdote point at its origin in the first generation after Alexander and the core story it relates is historical. In surfaced up in Pliny, Arrian and Dio of Prusa most probably because of the elevated position of Pindar among the litterati of the first and second c. CE. This may have also contributed to its popularity in later antiquity and Byzantium when it made its way to the school curriculum of rhetoric. It seems that this anecdote remained part of the literary tradition alone, with no attested following in Thebes, even if a building called the house of Pindar was shown to the tourists in this city in the second c. CE and in later antiquity.

24.   Miguel Herrero de Jáuregui
Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Levels of salvation in Isyllus' *Paean*: individual and collective safety at the dawn of Hellenism

In Isyllus' *Paean*, dated in the early 3rd century BCE, Asclepius tells a sick boy who supplicates for healing in Epidaurus to stay where he is until the god returns from helping the Spartans in a battle—and the boy immediately goes to Sparta to announce "the saving word" from the god. This extraordinary case of "holy disobedience" to a divine instruction reveals an overlapping of individual and collective salvation, that runs counter to the traditional link of the polis' safety with the sacrifice of an individual (Kearns); and also to the widespread association in Hellenistic politics between the preservation of the city and an all-powerful "Saviour" sovereign (Chaniotis).

Wilamowitz's harsh judgment on its literary value has resulted in a surprising scarcity of studies of a text that, far from expressing nostalgic archaism, attempts to consolidate political institutions in uncertain times. Kolde's commentary has vindicated the great interest of its ideological agenda in a context of multiple attempts to reinforce political identity. Since a Soter is needed to survive, Isyllus offers his own saviours: the gods and civic virtue. And like in the Soteria festivals, an act of divine salvation is recalled to legitimate present institutions. Aristotle in the *Politics* recommended how to preserve (σῴζειν) constitutions and states from a general, laic and scientific perspective; Isyllus deals with that issue regarding a specific city, in a religious, narrative, and emotional way. This paper will analyse his reshaping of various Hellenistic concepts of political salvation to express an original proposal through a traditional literary genre.

A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World*, London, 2005.
E. Kearns, "Saving the City", in O. Murray (ed.), *The Greek City*, 1990, 323-346.
A. Kolde, *Politique et religion chez Isyllos d'Épidaure*, Basel 2003
U. von Wilamowitz, *Isyllos von Epidauros*, Berlin 1886.

25.   Aaron Turner
RHUL

Polybius and the Critique of Historical Reason

According to Wilhelm Dilthey, Polybius was the first historian to employ the method of *zusammenhang* – the synthesis of historical facts and events into general knowledge – in his enquiry of the past. Critical of Aristotle's contention that historical inquiry could only reveal particulars whereas philosophy and poetry pertain to demonstrate universals, Polybius develops the concept of συμπλοκή, which is the means of the historian to synthesise particular facts into unified wholes. Polybius' notion of συμπλοκή was a direct influence on the development of *zusammenhang* by German historists such as Windelband, Rickert, Droysen, and Dilthey, who sought to liberate explanations of history from the naturalism of positivist historiography. This new idiographic method of historical inquiry represented a shift from the traditional nomothetic model. Central to Dilthey's philosophy of history is the relationship between *Erlebnis* (experience) and *zusammenhang*. He argues that *Erlebnis* is essentially historical as all of our experience is a fusion of past, present, and future. *Zusammenhang*, then, is the Kantian transcendental category that produces historical understanding through the accumulation and synthesis of individual experiences. The concept of συμπλοκή in Polybius has received extensive scholarly attention but its relationship with ἐμπειρία (experience) has been largely ignored. In Book 12, Polybius criticises Timaeus for his purely theoretical approach to history. For Polybius, historical understanding is wholly dependent on ἐμπειρία. In this paper, I argue that Polybius, like Hume, Hegel, and Dewey, understands experience as basic units of knowledge that accumulate temporally according to repeated exposure to similar phenomena. Such an accumulation of knowledge, therefore, is the basis of Polybius' conception of συμπλοκή, that is, the capacity of the historian to produce rational, universal wholes from empirical, particular facts.

26.   Miriam Ben Zeev
Ben Gurion University of the Negev

Hellenistic Traditions and Local Realities at Rome:
Tacitus and the Origins of the Jewish People as a Case Study

The six theories on the origins of the Jewish people presented by Tacitus in his *Historiae*, which once more reveal Tacitus' deep learning and erudition, heavily rely on previous sources, many of which may be traced in extant Hellenistic works.

The question to be addressed is whether Tacitus' use of Hellenistic sources is slavish and unbiased, or whether it may be taken to reflect obvert or hidden purposes.

An answer may be looked for by examining first the content of the various theories and the order in which Tacitus places them, and then the following paragraphs, where Tacitus gives vent to his own moral, political and personal views.

The examination of these issues leads to the conclusion that Tacitus made a very selective use of his sources, in a way not dissimilar from that followed by other Roman authors who wrote on the Jews before him.

The case of Tacitus on the origins of the Jewish people may also be taken to confirm the conclusions reached by contemporary scholarship. Even if Hellenistic civilization deeply influenced many aspects of Roman life, thought and learning, including philosophy, oratory, science, art, religion, morals and also manners and dress, Greek models were often not followed 'as they were', but were re-interpreted according to local realities, needs and insights, so that the final products came to be very different from the original ones.

The Hellenistic literary tradition therefore played a limited role in Tacitus' account of the origins of the Jewish people. What really mattered was the social and political dimension of local life in Rome and the priorities of Roman society.

27.   Sarah Bremner
University of Birmingham

A Rhetoric of Self: Persuasive Speech and the Idea of Athens

Demosthenes' public speeches are often characterised as 'Philippic', and while Macedonian expansion is an overarching context for this period of the 4th Century, Demosthenes' speeches demonstrate a rhetoric beyond Philip – a rhetoric of the power of Athens itself. This paper asserts how Demosthenes' persuasion utilises Athenian identity and explores the striking parallels between the use of the idea of Athens in the funeral oration, which 'served as the most official of lessons' (Loraux 1986: 144), and the use of historical exempla in the deliberative speeches which use an idealised image of Athens, arguably formed through social memory. This builds upon Steinbock's assertion that, for the Attic orators, social memory 'provides a pool of collective experience for the perception and analysis of present realities, but it also serves as a repository of symbols and metaphors.' (2013: 30). This paper asserts that the public speeches share (and are potentially informed by) the use of past identity in the *epitaphioi logoi*, and considering Ober's assertion that 'communication between the members of a society, especially in the context of political decision making, will make use of symbols (metaphors, signs) which refer to and derive from ideology' (1989: 40) this paper explores the *Idea of the Athens* as persuasive communication. This paper concludes that the Athenian master narrative is used in a didactic manner in public discourse to persuade the Athenians to reflect self-critically. Demosthenes' persuasion *relies* on collective memory – the power of the *Idea of Athens* – to urge citizens to recognise their culpability, and equates their external problems with their failure to act *Athenian.* Following a praise/ blame paradigm, Demosthenes uses paradigmatic examples of Athenian identity to compare and contrast their current behaviour, as a means to explain their current crises, and ultimately, like the *epitaphioi logoi*, as a powerful exemplum to follow.

28.   Joseph Roisman
Colby College

The Orator Lycurgus, Common Knowledge, and Nationalism in Athenian Democracy

Lycurgus of Athens (d. 324 BCE) has won accolades from modern historians, who credited him with transforming Athens from a city defeated in power and spirit after Chaeronea to a thriving, proud and military strong polis. The best source for Lycurgus' plan and ideology is his sole surviving speech *Against Leocrates*, where he promulgated his ideas about local patriotism, the ranking of public interest and sphere over their private equivalences and the glorification of the past. The proposed paper aims firstly to question J. Ober's thesis that used Lycurgus' speech as a prime example of how common knowledge and ideological equilibria were responsible for the soundness and success of Athenian democracy; (2008. *Democracy and Knowledge. Innovation and Learning in Classical Athens*. Princeton, esp. 183-91). I suggest that common knowledge was a contested concept that could actually destabilize the functioning of democracy. Secondly, the paper suggests that Lycurgus elevated allegiance to the aforementioned values to such an extreme level that his ideas and suggestions showed disturbing similarities to key characteristics of modern age fascism. For example, both the Athenian statesman and the fascists regarded persons as products of a long history and as inseparable from a greater biological or organic whole, namely, the nation, community, state and their members. Both elevated the state at the expense of individual rights and praised the subjugation of the family and the self to its needs. It is revealing that Lycurgus makes no more than eight-to-nine random references to democracy in his speech as opposed to seventy-three mentions of the fatherland. The paper examines to what extent Lycurgus' nationalistic policy, his focus on dangers to Athens from within, and his authoritarian style of government might have been a response to a rival model to democracy offered by the monarchy of Philip and Alexander.

29.   Isabel Canzobre Martínez
Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Divine Identity in the Greek Magical Papyri

The compilation of the magical texts (known as *PGM*) occurred when the religions of Greece and Egypt, as well as Judaism and Christianity, together with other movements like Hermetism, Gnosticism and Neoplatonism, converged at the same time and in the same place. This complex religious-philosophical outlook in which features of each set of beliefs take roots in the magical-religious imaginary of that time results in the Greco-Egyptian magical tradition captured in the *PGM*. The presence of deities coming from these traditions, fused together in some cases, and the terms used to present and describe them are two of the most recognizable characteristics of the magical texts. That is why this paper focuses in the terms that express two specific concepts related to the manner in which the practitioner describes or addresses to the superior entities: first, the primary origin of the divinity–evidence through the terms πρωτοφᾰνής, πρωτογενής, πρωτόγονος, πρωτοφὔής, προπάτωρ and προγενέστερος–; and secondly, the 'autonomy' in respect of their birth–using the words αὐτογενής, αὐτοφὔής, αὐτογένεθλος and αὐτολόχευτος–. All these terms are documented in *PGM* I, III, IV, XII and XIII, dated between the 3rd and the 5th century CE. Taking this into consideration, this paper has two main goals: a) to identify the divinities characterized with these terms and the context in which they are used, bearing in mind the solar origin of the entities; and b) a synchronic and diachronic approximation to the ideas of 'the first born' and 'the self-produced' in the traditions that converged in the magical papyri.

30.   Roman Frolov
Yaroslavl State University

Why private citizens? Caesar's complaint about *lictores* of *privati* in 49 BC

Roman promagistrates did not hold magisterial potestas or any formal power within the pomerium. This need not mean, however, that they never interfered in city politics, not only via senatorial backroom communication channels but also publicly and more directly. In his De bello civili (1.6.5–8), Caesar enumerates alleged offenses against the law that Pompeians committed while getting ready to leave the city when Caesar was approaching Rome with his army in 49 BC. One of the complaints was as follows: consules – quod ante id tempus accidit nunquam – . . . ex urbe proficiscuntur, lictoresque habent in urbe et Capitolio privati contra omnia vetustatis exempla. Since the passage is corrupt, a number of readings and changes have been suggested in order to clarify who exactly these privati were. Thus, Cynthia Damon in her excellent recent commentary on Caesar's work has advocated the view that one should read here privatim and take it as a reference to the consuls who, therefore, are the subject of habent. However, this is only one of the possibilities and it needs to be rejected for multiple reasons. This paper will argue that Caesar used privati to indicate promagistrates. Not only could the consuls hardly be accused of using lictors in the city but also the phrase produces historical sense exactly when it is understood as being about yet another case of promagistrates' interfering in city politics as if they were magistrates. It was not the first time when Pompeius and his agents could have been accused of violating the normative distinction between magistrates and promagistrates. Seen this way, BC 1.6.5–8 strikes as a more compelling piece of propaganda, than it may appear at first sight.

31.   Piotr Głogowski
University of Wrocław (doctoral canddidate)

The Classical Notion of Phoenicia

The definition of *Phoenicia* as a geographical or ethnographic term in the modern Classical scholarship is rather problematic - there is no general agreement what is the proper semantic range of this notion and what are the exact boundaries of the land designated by it. Moreover, the modern term is somehow pulled out from its original context since the idea of Phoenicia, although of uncertain etymology, seems to be a purely Greek construct with several meanings: a) as an ethnographic notion; b) as an administrative term; c) as an equivalent of the concept of Canaan. The question is, however, what *Phoenicia* is for the Greeks and Romans when the Phoenician language and culture - the most significant features constituting and distinguishing Phoenicians and Phoenicia - disappear. Is *Phoenicia* after the establishment of the Roman province Syria Phoenice understood as an administrative term only? Therefore, the aim of this paper is to take into consideration the Classical use of the term *Φοινίκη/Phoenicia* in order to examine its meaning, semantic range, and to trace its evolution. The analysis of app. 1000 attestations of the term in the Classical literary and epigraphic sources and the relationship between the notion of *Phoenicia* and *Syria* show the changes in the perception of the boundaries and status of that term in the imagination of Greeks and Romans (e.g. gradual transition from the ethnographic into administrative meaning, the reduction of the extent of the term in the south and expansion into the hinterland). Despite that, however, several factors suggest the persistence of the ethnographic broad definition of Phoenicia in the Late Classical culture (e.g. individuals described as *Phoenicians* or alleged Phoenician toponyms etc. outside the Roman province of Phoenicia etc.).

32.   Salvatore Tufano
Sapienza University of Rome

Local Traditions under the Empire.
Literature and Histories in Plutarch's *Amatoriae Narrationes*

The present paper aims at presenting the results of a new study of Plutarch's *Love Stories,* with a double goal: on the one side, it is argued, with new arguments, that the text must definitely be ascribed to this author, and that the very good knowledge of Boiotian history and myths is in line with the rest of Plutarch's production. On the other side, these stories are understood as a typical example of the form of local folklore, which is assumed behind Hadrian's recognition of Naryka as a 'proper' *polis* in a recently published letter (Knoepfler 2006). The vividness and originality of the *Love Stories*, in fact, connect them with local historiography, which is among the requisites which clarify and explain the status of polis which Naryka has demanded to the emperor.

In my introduction, I will summarise the *status quaestionis* on the text, with a focus on the third story. The mention, therein, of the difficult relationship between Boiotians and Sparta, in the early Fourth Century BC, connects the anecdotes with more than a chapter of Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas* and *On the Malice of Herodotus*. Through a comparison of the short story with the parallel materials attested in these two works, it will be maintained that Plutarch had access to a number of local Boiotian historians, nameless to us, whose materials were differently employed in his works. The conclusion will show how Plutarch's multifaceted relationship with the history of his own region is a specific and interesting example of a local reaction to the waves of panhellenism during Hadrian's reign: despite the creation of the *Panhellenion,* local culture and oral traditions still played a vibrant role in the everyday life of imperial Boiotia.

33.   Ekaterine Kobakhidze
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia.

The Earliest images of the Myth about Argonauts

It could be said with some precision that in Antiquity the myth of the Argonauts has enjoyed popularity both in Greece and outside its territories. The story was well known not only to the Romans but also to other ancient peoples and tribes inhabiting the Apennine Peninsula. For example, Medea alternating with Circe, Marica, Bona Dea, Angitia, and Cavatha is present in the perceptions of the Ausones, Marsians, Latins, and Etruscans. The first among the Italian tribes to be introduced to the personages of the myth no doubt were the Etruscans, who were the first to establish intensive contacts with the Greeks from Euboea founding a colony in Cumae, Italy. Consequently, this myth *Via Etrusca* became known to other Italic peoples. Information regarding the Etruscan perceptions of Medea and other personages of this myth is primarily derived from different genres of Classical Literature, which so to say, can be termed as secondary sources. Etruscan works of art themselves can be labeled as primary sources.

It is noteworthy that the image of Medea and the Argonauts first appeared on Etruscan ceramics. Namely, in the Etruscan city of Caere (Modern-day Cerveteri), a hydria was found which dates back to 660-640 BC and according to common knowledge, pictures Medea and a three-headed dragon. An Etruscan olpe (oinochoe) dating back to 630 BC was found in the same city of Caere, where Medea is pictured alongside the Argonauts and Daedalus (Taitale).

The paper gives detailed analysis of the works of Etruscan art on which Medea and the myth about Argonauts appear, providing a solid precondition for substantive conclusions. Some new versions of an interpretation expressed in relation to each of the artifacts on the basis of critical analysis of previously undertaken modern research are provided. It is noteworthy that there has been no complex study of the appearance of the Argonauts in Etruscan art, which is important in providing a complete account of the role of Argonauts and especially of Medea not only in Etruscan but also in Antique and world culture.

34.   Lara Laviola
Friedrich-Meineke-Institut, Freie Universitut Berlin (doctoral candidate)

How to convict a general: *Eisangelia* against *strategoi*

Did the Athenians have a formal tool to ensure that the *demos* mantained a control over the deliberative and decision-making processes, and especially over the policies of the board of the ten *strategoi*? In the speech *For Euxenippos* Hyperides stigmatises *eisangelia* as the weapon used by the citizenry against those generals who infringed the law. Indeed, since the first known trial in 432 B.C., this legal procedure was brought against a constantly growing number of generals from V to IV century. This contribution, after drawing the main features of the procedure, will shed a new light on its use and abuse. The survey on the political use of *eisangelia*, through a brief overview of the main trials which actually played a pivotal role in the history of the city, offers a lot of clues about the political life of Athens. This procedure could be brought against those who 1) attempt to overthrow the democracy, 2) betray the city or its armed forces, and 3) speak in the Assembly and do not give the best advice after taking money. By examining the results of the thirty-eight known cases of *eisangelia* against *strategoi*, we can see that the majority of the charged were convicted and condemned to death, so that it led Demosthenes to say that for a general the risk of being sentenced to death was greater that the risk of being killed in battle. Since among the remarkable high number of leaders charged there were some who were convicted on false accusations, this presentation will let us reflect on the features of the Athenian democracy and especially how a direct democracy could give a wide range of power to an easily influenced mass and sometimes it could abuse of it.

35.   Fabio Luci
Durham University

The Visual Accusative: Syntactical Strategies in Roman Republican Dedications of Spoils.

This paper investigates the relationship between artworks and inscriptions erected as dedications of spoils by Roman commanders during the third and second centuries BC, including the booty won by Claudius Marcellus (CIL I^2 608, 609), F. Nobilior (CIL I^2 615), A. Glabrius (*AE* 1993, 0643), and the *Tituli Mummiani* (CIL I^2 627-631). These dedications include both the plundered visual artworks and the new textual inscriptions. The relationship between the visual object and the text is strategic and important to the monument's overall meaning. A syntactical approach, building on the work of John Ma (*Statues and Cities* [2013]) for the Greek world, shows how the whole composition could be "read" by its audience. The methodology can help us analyze Republican Roman booty monuments even when the artworks are now lost.

I analyze the inscription of Claudius Marcellus focusing on its syntax to show how the statue itself is a surrogate for the missing direct object of the inscription's syntax. Metaphorically speaking, the statue becomes part of the syntax of the inscription, whose accusative was intentionally not expressed by words. This strategy creates a tension for those who read the apparently incomplete sentence, leaving to the audience the task of completing its meaning.

The visual artwork is part of the text, which is neither its tag, nor its caption. Conversely, text provides the logical order encompassing the whole monument. Through the syntax of the inscription, each elements of the phrase - subject, verb, and then the direct object, metaphorically embodied by the visual artwork - are perfectly organized and dependent on each other.

36.   Fabrizio Biglino
RHUL

Shock tactics and religious practices: psychological warfare in Ancient Italy

The importance of inducing psychological terror in the enemy in order to achieve victory in battle has always been a fundamental element in war. Béla Szunyogh defines 'psychological warfare' as "any action which is practiced mainly by psychological methods with the aim of evoking a planned psychological reaction in other people". This approach can entail various techniques aimed at influencing the enemies' emotions, motives, reasoning, behaviour, and, ultimately, their will to fight. The ancient world saw large use of such tactics. The Assyrians, for example, incited fear in their enemies with mass deportations. The Persians, as reported by Polyaenus, defeated the Egyptians at Pelusium by carrying cats, regarded as sacred by the enemy, into battle.

The same result could have been achieved by employing shock tactics in battle through the deployment and mobilisation of specific units, the most famous being the appearance of elephants.

Various forms of psychological warfare or shock tactics were certainly common in Ancient Italy and its battlefields as well. There are several instances in the sources in which the Romans made use of religious practices during the course of a battle, the most famous being the *devotio*. These can also be depicted as forms of psychological warfare, considering the deep impact on soldiers' morale, and their instrumental role in achieving victory.

This paper will investigate cases in which psychological warfare (religious practices in particular) and shock tactics (e.g. the employment of elephants or the use of cavalry) had a direct impact on the battlefields of Ancient Italy. This paper aims to shed light on the actual role of psychological warfare, demystifying exaggerations whilst presenting its actual implementation on military context.

37.   Juan Manuel Bermúdez Lorenzo
Universidad de Barcelona

The Beginning of the Procuratorial Provincial Administration in the High Roman Empire: a Comparative Study

How was the administrative beginning of a Roman province? After a conquest, violent or not, Rome tried to reorganise the territory to establish a government structure on a Roman basis. Nevertheless, the military beginning was necessary to apply a context of law, even if it was martial. The function of security was a principal point for the development of administrative structures. When a big zone was conquered and divided into two or more provinces, the relations of dependence established were ineludible between the new territories and the previous and not anymore liminal provinces. These relations were not just limited to a military sphere, but open to other spheres of society. The question is: was this process the same from the northern to the southern and from the western to the eastern areas of conquest?

The objective of this paper is to offer a comparative vision of the people who worked as *praefectus*, *procurator* or any other post at the highest provincial government. We will focus on some characteristics of the *cursus honorum* to discover their similarities. So, we could state that there was a path or a same way to act in a new conquered territory, no matter their specific geographical peculiarities. The sources of the study will be mainly the inscriptions of the administrative staff, though other sources will also be referred.

In all, I would like to isolate the similarities between structures or state if the way of acting from Rome to the provinces follows a constant path of administrative integration.

38.   Saundra Schwartz
University of Hawai`i at Mānoa

"Governors with Naked Axes: A Pythagorean Critique of Roman Power"

In the middle of the third book of Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii (VA)*, there is a curious tale deeply embedded in a dialogue between two *sophoi*, one Greek and one Indian. It is a quotidian episode from a past life, where Apollonius was not a Greek sage but a steersman of an Egyptian merchant ship. Prompted by his interlocutor, the Indian sage Iarchus, he relates a tale from a past life of narrow escape from pirates that evolves into a dialogue on the nature of *dikaiosynē*.

Apollonius' *kybernētikos logos* is deeply embedded in a complex ring structure in an extended section set in India. At the core, he relates a conversation he had when he was someone else. The story is related during a larger dialogue with Iarchas who, as someone endowed with powers of clairvoyance. By setting the dialogue in a paradoxical island of Hellenism far beyond the edges of the Roman world and through interweaving Homeric and Platonic allusions, Philostratus carves out a fictional space where the paradox of claiming to be both ruler and subject can be discussed at a safe remove from the reality of Roman power.

This paper explores the significance of a juxtaposition the quotidian business of seafaring along the Mediterranean world with the fantastical enclave of Pythagorean sages of India in order to underscore the Greek misunderstanding of the Roman power within a world empire, as filtered through the lens of an author whose position in the circle of Julia Domna gave him a special vantage point on the implementation of important legal reforms under the Severan dynasty.

39.   Agnieszka Wojciechowska, University of Wroclaw, Poland

Metropolis in Egypt before Septimius Severus: the Evidence of Papyri and Ostraca

This paper deals with metropolis, or nome's administrative center, in Egypt of the Greco-Roman period. Nothing can be said about metropoleis in pharaonic times and it is in fact first attested in the mid-third c. BCE. The handbook version of events has Septimius Severus raise all metropoleis from the status of *kome* (village) to that of polis. Recently Bowman and Rathbone have attempted to show, on a limited number of evidence, the evolutionary shift of the imperial-age metropoleis, gradually turning into full-fledged cities. This paper, based on comprehensive study of all written evidence from Egypt, evaluates the traditional and revisionist approach to the statues and transformation of metropoleis before the reform of 200 CE. Written sources to metropoleis before 200 CE is spread very unevenly, with the expected concentration in Fayum and a surprising one in Thebes. Identifiable symptoms of municipalization of metropoleis are: the usage of the term polis in reference to metropolis, presence of city-type magistrates (grammateus, bouleutes) and institutions, if they can be distinguished from similarly named state magistrates and institutions. Although the word *metropolis* is attested in ca. 1400 documents, papyri and ostraca show a few, out of 42 metropoleis meeting the criteria of municiaplization: Krokodilopolis (Arsinoites), Oxyrhynchos, Thebes, Thmuis. Almost all evidence is late-second c. CE. Bearing in mind that papyri and ostraca reflect mostly institutional change and self-perception of inhabitants of metropoleis, they show spontaneous municipalization of a few only, largest and/or otherwise best documented metropoleis and only in the late-second c. CE. It seems, therefore, that majority of Egyptian metropoleis became cities by the imperial fiat of Septimius Severus, not showing symptoms of municipalization, at least not those which find reflection in papyri and ostraca.

40.   Margaret Malamud
New Mexico State University

Figuring Classical Heroism: African American Uses of the Classical Tradition

Knowledge of Classics was a powerful weapon and tool for resistance—as improbable as that might seem now—when wielded by activists committed to the abolition of slavery and the end of the social and economic oppression of free blacks in the United States. African Americans forged distinct relationships and dialogues with Classics, which often subverted or contested white hegemonic interpretations and readings of Antiquity. My paper will explore one of the diverse strategies African Americans employed in annexing Classics to master or challenge their own American experiences. I will focus on abolitionist appropriations of heroic figures from classical history and literature, including Leonidas and the Spartans at Thermopylae, Medea, Demosthenes, Hannibal and the Carthaginians, Virginius and his daughter Virginia, Cato the Elder and more. As we will see, the works of abolitionists subvert, adapt or contest white commonplace uses and understandings of them, transforming them into exemplary heroic models of resistance to slavery, injustice and oppression in the United States.

41.   Guendalina D.M. Taietti
University of Liverpool

Alexander III wearing *tsarouchia*: the reception of the great conqueror in Modern Greek art

Since his lifetime Alexander the Great has enjoyed an abiding presence in the Hellenic mindset: he was portrayed as a philosopher king in ancient philosophical schools, as the emperors' ancestor in the Byzantine period, and as the freedom-fighter during the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman rule. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Alexander has become the protagonist of many folk songs and tales, and a contested symbol of the yet unsolved Macedonian Question. In this climate of 'Alexander-mania', three Modern Greek painters – Theophilos Chatzimichail, Chrysanthos Bostantzoglou, and Euthimis Varlamis – created their own Alexander and worked extensively on the image of the Macedonian, giving new spins to the Modern Greek Alexander-reception.

Theophilos (1870-1934) not only depicted, but also impersonated his Alexander, half *Rhomios*, with the typical *phoustanella* and the *tsarouchia* of the guerrilla fighter, and half ancient Macedonian, wearing a *perikephalaia* and holding a long *sarissa*.

Bostantzoglou (1918-1996), better known as Bost, left us a hero who is familiar to the Greeks and shows humanised characteristics. In fact, the painter cast him in a setting rich in famous folk themes and symbols of the recently constituted nation, such as the Mermaid, the sister of Alexander dwelling in the sea, the White Tower of Thessaloniki, and the Hellenic flag.

Over ten years, the painter and architect Varlamis (1942 -) has drawn more than 1500 pictures with Alexander the Great as a protagonist, working on a project entitled *Alexandros 2000*. In his works, he promotes a sheer variety of receptions of the Macedonian hero, making the viewer dream.

This paper seeks to evaluate the adaptations of the image of Alexander the Great according to the personalities, styles and aims of the three painters, and to compare these outcomes against the political situations that they experienced.

42.   Mark Padilla
Christopher Newport University, VA

Hannay *Poloutropos*: Motifs of the *Odyssey* in Alfred Hitchcock's *The 39 Steps* (1935)

In 1935, Alfred Hitchcock directed *The 39 Steps*, an international breakout film. The new-narrative movie adapted the 1915 novel of John Buchan, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, an early spy yard set in England involving agents with foreign allegiance. The film's "wrong man" plot features a man accused of a murder, but he is innocent and runs from the police to identify the true murderers, individuals who are in fact enemies of the state. Along the way, the protagonist meets a woman who initially is suspicious but then supports and falls for him (the MacGuffin pattern).

This paper argues that the filmmakers used Homer's *Odyssey* to develop its sequences and characters. Buchan was an accomplished philologist trained in Glasgow and Oxford, and memorably visited Greece in 1910. One of his tutors remained his friend: Gilbert Murray (1866-1957), a Cambridge Ritualist who, in the third stage of his *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, found in the achievement of Olympianism "an intellectual movement … that brought order to the chthonic world's … amorphous spirits" (Fowler 1989). Hitchcock's wrong man pattern analogously restores order to a world rendered chaotic by nebulous hostile agents. Hitchcock attended a Jesuit college preparatory academy in 1910-1913, studied Latin there, and had the opportunity to study Greek amid the period's typically classics-rich humanistic curriculum and in a city (London) teaming with classical images. There is no question Hitchcock knew Homer's epic poem.

The application of Homer's epic to the film rests on verbal and visual echoes of Odysseus' adventures, primarily the events which he narrates to the Phaeacians. The cues that inform the "labors" of Hannay--adventures in which he uses disguise and impromptu speech acts, negotiates with women, encounters the wild in the civilized, and demonstrates physical prowess—suggest Odysseus' encounters. The filmmakers adapted a novel whose narrative core is Odyssean but lacked female figures requisite for a successful film. When they designed these needed characters, they pulled from the characterizations of Athena, Circe, Calypso, Penelope, and Nausicaa.

43.   Cristian Mondello
Università degli Studi di Messina

Re-defining religious and ethnic boundaries: the construction of the taxonomic categories of Eusebius of Caesarea.

This paper aims to investigate the construction of the taxonomic categories introduced by Eusebius of Caesarea, that is ἑλληνισμός, ἰοσδαισμός and τριστιανισμός, whose influence conditioned the formation of the modern concepts of «religion» and «religious diversity». In order to ascribe a new historical and political role to Christianity after the so-called "edict" of Milan (313 AD), the Palestinian bishop tries to build the boundaries of "Paganism" and "Judaism" attempting to highlight the mistakes of traditional religions, aa well as the superiority of Christianity over Pagan and Jewish doctrines. The fabrication of religious taxonomy of Eusebius, which replaces the previous *ethnic* categories used by Greek and Roman authors, is based on a series of selected testimonies from non-Christian authors (both Greeks and Jews) to give apparently large neutrality to this construct.

It is therefore necessary to examine the criteria by which Eusebius converted – by an epistemological perspective – the ethnic component with a religious value in the definition of the identities and resolved the delicate relationship between *ethne* and religions. By a philological comparison with the texts of the cited authors, the study will analyze the strategies and the citation techniques of the bishop of Caesarea in the reuse and re-appropriation of Greek and Jewish sources, revealing significant cases of alteration and manipulation for apologetic purposes.

44.   Alena Sarkissian
Institute of Philosophy, Czech Academy of Sciences

Passio S. Genesii: Between Reality and Illusion

The paper shows how *Passiones* of saint actors may contribute to deeper understanding of how the concept of mimesis changed on the turn of pagan Antiquity and new Christian era, but also of the ways in which Christianity demonstrated its newly acquired power through the narrative strategies used in individual *Passiones*.

My presentation is going to discuss especially the *Passio Sancti Genesii* and *Sancti Porphyrii* (*Passiones* of other saint actors will be taken into consideration, too). These texts manifest many levels of meaning, from which those that define the different relations of theatre to reality in the Christian and pagan environments are taken into account.

While the pagans think of theatre as part of their own culture by which they define themselves using theatre among other things as a means of forming public opinion, in Christian cultural discourse the boundaries of reality and mimesis are somewhat shifted. The early Christians conceive the God as "the supreme director", the Great Agonothete, and the angels as an audience observing the world, and understand the whole Creation as "the Great Theatre".

Why the disappearance of the principle of mimesis occured in the last centuries of Roman Empire, then? Firstly it should be stressed that the Church fathers perceived the sacraments carried out by the Church as replicating the original act (e. g. the Last Supper, etc.): from these views originates the different axiology of the original act and the act of its mimesis, which has many consequences, especially in the early Christian art. As a result the attitude to theatre in the last centuries of Antiquity is disrupted, the theatre holding an inferior position in the mimetic hierarchy. It is the *Passiones* of saint actors that give a very thorough account of this issue: the fascinating situation of the performance of stage baptism demonstrates the clash of the two ways of perception by mixed pagan and Christian audience where the attitude of the second group is confirmed as right by the course of the narrative.

45.   Elaine C. Sartorelli, PhD
Universidade de São Paulo

Self portrait, self expression, self fashioning : Erasmus and the emergence of Modern subjectivity

This paper aims to present and comment on the educational system of Erasmus of Rotterdam. We will show how he relied on Quintilian's pedagogical proposals to defend a formation that would allow the best of each individual to emerge, whose very core was based on difference and diversity. In addition, by insisting on the *varietas* and the *copia*, his intention was to provide each orator with the tools that would enable him to produce speeches that would be his self-expression. In Erasmus´s rhetoric, there is an absolute identity between speech and speaker, aesthetics and ethics. His rejection of uniformity and unanimity, which is a mark of the Dutch humanist's thought, is also the foundation of his conception of genius -- that is, the natural talent of everyone, which must be favoured by education, not punished or repressed by it. Therefore, we will also demonstrate that Erasmus fused Ancient rhetorical elements with an assumption of a sincerity that he would call « Christian », in order to create his humanistic pedagogy, a blend of Classical literature and Patristic, which should prepare the speaker to put his *dicendi peritia* at the service of his sincere self expression. We will also seek to prove that it was this Erasmian theory, expressed in its refusal of a unique model, then represented by the Ciceronians, that subsidized the emergence of this new "self", the "moy-même" of Montaigne, considered as the first spokesman of a form of modern subjectivity. It is our intention, therefore, to prove that the modern subject that emerges with Montaigne is tributary to that praise of dissimilarity and eclecticism made by Erasmus.

46.   Maria Bąk,
Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, Poland

From the land of Minos or the land of Battos?
Terracotta lamps of the Gamos workshop found at *Creta et Cyrene*

This paper explores the terracotta lamps of the Gamos workshop found in two regions of the ancient world: Crete and Cyrenaica. Both lands, for a long time (67 BC – 297 AD) were conjoined into one Roman province. Studies on trade and functioning of both regions have traditionally been considered separately (except for the problem of money circulation). Whereas the local production of terracotta lamps provides insight into trade patterns between Crete and Cyrenaica and is probably virtually the only evidence proving very close relations between both parts of the province.

In 1985 two lychnologists: Luciana Mercando (working on the material from Heraclion Museum, Crete) and Donald Bailey (examining lamps from excavations in Berenice, Libya) published their catalogues, which included lamps signed ΓΑΜΟΥ. Both scholars attributed the Gamos workshop to local production (dated around 2nd century AD) – Luciana Mercando to Crete and Donald Bailey to Cyrenaica. Their assumptions were based on clay characteristics. The disparity of their opinions can easily be explained since even today neither in Crete nor in Cyrenaica has any workshop surely attributed to Gamos been found. Since that time, new discoveries of lamps have been appearing, and the dispute around the provenience of Gamos workshop is still ongoing.

The purpose of this paper is to present the repertoire of forms and iconography used in the group of lamps attributed to Gamos found both in Crete and Cyrenaica. Another aspect of this study is to compare the lamps of Gamos workshop with the examples of other local lamps produced between 1st – ca. mid-3rd century AD. The examined material includes numerous unpublished lamps of Polish excavations in Ptolemais, Libya conducted in the years 2001 – 2010.

Hebrew:

1. חגי אולשניצקי
אוניברסיטת בר-אילן (דוקטורנט)

החיילים היהודים של רומא

בשנת 66 לספירה, פרץ ביהודה המרד הגדול ברומאים. בארבע השנים הבאות, נהרגו רבבות יהודים, ובסיומן נחרב בית המקדש - מרכז החיים, התרבות והדת היהודיים - בידי טיטוס מצביאה של רומא, ולימים קיסרה. בעקבות הָאֵרועים הללו התקבע בחלק מעם ישראל, שהאימפריה הרומאית היא אימפריה רשעה, ואין רשע מטיטוס קיסרה. היחסים בין שני הצדדים בעשורים שלאחר מכן, היו רוויי טינה ועוינות, ששיאן במרד התפוצות ב-116 לספירה, ובמרד בר כוכבא ב-132 לספירה. המרידות דוכאו באמצעים אכזריים, כולל טבח כבד בעת חיסול מרד בר כוכבא. טבח זה הביא קץ לקיום יהודי משמעותי ברחבי ארץ ישראל, והטמיע בקרב היהודים לדורותיהם, את שלילת כל הקשור לקיסרות הרומאית. מבחינה מעשית, תפיסה יהודית זו הייתה אמורה למנוע יהודים מלהושיט יד מסייעת לרומא, ולהרחיקם מקבלת תפקידים במוסדותיה, ובמיוחד מְשֵׁרות בצבאותיה. אולם מסתבר, שיהודים שֵׁרתו בצבאות רומא, לא רק לפני המרד הגדול, אלא גם במהלכו, כשותפים בדיכויו, וגם בעשורים הבאים, כולל השתתפות בדיכוי מרד בר כוכבא, והתגייסות גם בתקופה שלאחר הריגתם או הגלייתם של רבים מבין היהודים תושבי הארץ. המחקר שעיקריו יוצגו כאן, יבקש לבחון מחדש את תופעת השירות הצבאי היהודי מימי כיבושה של ארץ ישראל לקראת סוף תקופת הרפובליקה הרומאית, ועד קץ האימפריה במערב (63 לפנה״ס-476 לספירה). הנושא המוצג יבחן לראשונה, האם השירות הצבאי היהודי היה רציף לכול אורכה של תקופת האימפריה, וזאת על אף שינויים רבים שעברו הצבא הרומאי בפרט, והחברה והאימפריה הרומאית בכלל, כמו-גם החברה והעם היהודיים. רציפות בשירות יהודי בצבא הרומאי, עשויה להצביע על מוסכמה חברתית ומסורת של שירות, שאינה נקטעת גם כאשר מדובר בתקופות שהרומאים לחמו ביהודים בארץ ישראל או במקום אחר, ומכאן שקיומן בו-זמנית של שתי התופעות – התקוממות ומרד אל מול התגייסות ושירות – מצביע על יחס מורכב ולא אחיד של היהודים כלפי רומא. רציפות השירות היהודי גם מלמדת על קיומו של יחס מורכב ליהודים מצד השלטון הרומאי, וכן יחס מיוחד למושגים מילת הכבוד והשבועה ביהדות התקופה. לצרכי בחינת הסוגיה דלעיל, המחקר מבקש לרכז את מרבית הממצאים והמקורות המספקים מידע על שירות יהודי בצבאותיה של רומא, תוך התייחסות לרקע היסטורי וספרותי רחב ביותר.

Haggai Olshanetsky
Bar-Ilan Unniversity

Rome's Jewish Soldiers

In the year 66 A.D., the Jewish Great Revolt against the Romans in Judea was initiated. In the next four years the Jews suffered heavy losses in manpower as tens of thousands of them perished, and much more significant in terms of the future existence of Judaism - the centre of Jewish life, culture and religion, the Temple, was

burnt to the ground by Titus, the Roman General and Emperor-to-come, and his soldiers. After the Temple's destruction, it became common knowledge among some of the Jews that the Roman Empire was an "Evil Empire" and Titus was the most evil among its sons. The following decades were marked by Jewish resentment and hostility towards the Romans. This attitude culminated in two large scale revolts - the Jewish Diaspora Revolt and the Bar-Kochva Revolt. The latter one led unwittingly to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Jews and the expulsion and slavery of many-many others. Consequently, it might have given rise to a new Jewish perception that a Jew should not lend service to an Empire which harmed Jews and Jewish life to such a great extent, and might do so and even worse in years to come.

I will hereby examine Jewish service in Roman armies, and ask if it was a continuous phenomenon traced through the existence of the Roman Empire till the fall of its western wing (63 B.C. to 476 A.D.) - surviving all the changes and diversions the Roman Army as well as its society and the Empire as a whole, have been experiencing during this long and tumultuous period of time on the one hand, and the trials and tribulations visiting the Jewish people on the other.

Continuity of Jewish military service might indicate a social norm and a certain tradition existing in the Jewish society, overshadowing any strained relations with, or animosity towards, the Roman Empire. On the other hand, this continuity, if there was one, might also give some clue to a complex and multi-faceted attitude of the Roman authorities to Jews and their existence in the Empire – especially to their loyalty and word of honour.

2.   חוה ברכה קורזקובה, בר אילן

אוסטרקון יווני מלכיש

תל לכיש היה מאוכלס החל מהתקופה הניאוליתית עד סוף התקופה הפרסית, אך רוב הממצא שייך לתקופת הברזל, כולל מכתבי לכיש המפורסמים[1]. בדרך כלל טוענים כי בתקופה ההלניסטית המקום לא היה מאוכלס.

לפני כשניים נמצא בתל לכיש (על פני השטח) שבר קנקן הלניסטי ועליו כתובת בדיו שחורה. הכתובת כוללת שלוש שורות של אותיות היווניות, שתיים מהן של שתי אותיות והשלישית של שלוש אותיות כמעט בלתי קריאות. הפריט צולם על ידי צלם המשלחת הארכיאולוגית בראשותו של פרופ' יוסף גרפינקל.

על משמעות הכתובת ניתן ללמוד מהמקבילות הרבות שמקורן בעיר מרשה הנמצאת במרחק של כ-12 קילומטר מלכיש שם נמצאו אוסטרקאות רבים מאותו מסוג[2]. בפרסומים של קורזקובה וכן של קורזקובה ואקר[3] פורשו כתבות אלה כנוגעות לתשלום מסים חומריים או להעברת סחורה חקלאית.

בגלל מצב הכתובת מלכיש לא ניתן לקבוע את תוכנה בוודאות. להשערתי מדובר הוראה למסירת סחורה כלשהי על חשבון מס קהילתי (*phoros demotikos*). אם קריאתי נכונה האוסטרקון המדובר כולל תאריך (אולי חלקי).

אם שבר הכלי לא הובא למקום במקרה ומקורו בלכיש, הכתובת מאשרת קיום קהילה כפרית במקום בתקופה ההלניסטית וקשריה עם מרכז מנהלי כלשהו, קרוב לוודאי עם זה שהיה במרשה.

האוסטרקון המדובר שופך פיסת אור חדשה על גורלה של לכיש בתקופה האחרונה לקיומה של העיר.

**Hava B. Korzakova,
Bar Ilan University**

Greek Ostacon from Lachish

---

[1] See Torczyner, Harry. *Lachish I: The Lachish Letters.* London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938.

[2] Korzakova H. B., "Greek Ostraca and Graffiti, in: *Maresha Excavations. Final Report* III. Eds. Amos Kloner, Esther Eshel, Hava B. Korzakova, and Gerald Finkielsztejn. Jerusalem, IAA, 2010. Pp. 89-146.

[3] Korzakova H. B., Ecker A., "Greek inscribed pottery", in: Stern Ian (ed.), *The Excavations of Maresha subterranean complex 57: the 'Heliodorus' cave.* Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014. Pp. 95-101.

The archaeological site of Tel Lachish was occupied since the Pottery Neolithic Period until the end of the Persian Period, while the majority of its findings are from the Iron Age, including the famous Lachish letters[1]. It is usually said that during the Hellenistic Era the site was not occupied.

Two years ago a shred of a local Hellenistic jar was found on surface in Tel Lachish, inscribed by black ink. The inscription has 3 lines in Greek, two of them have two letters each, and the third 3 letters, almost illegible. The ostracon was filmed by the photographer of the prof. Joseph Garfinkel's archaeological team.

The meaning of the inscription could be seen due to the parallel findings from the city of Maresha, about 12 km from Lachish, where many ostraca of the same kind were found. In the publications by Korzakova[2] and Korzakova and Ecker[3] the inscriptions have been interpreted as documents concerning material taxes or some sort of agricultural goods' transfer.

Because of the poor state of the inscription it is impossible to establish what it says for certain. My suggestion is that some kind of rural product has been transferred as a public tax (*phoros demotikos*). If my reading is correct, the ostracon contains a date (may be partial).

If the said vessel sherd was not brought there accidentally, and it's source is actually from Lachish, the said inscription confirms an existence of some rural community there during the Hellenistic Era, and possibly its connections with an administrative center, most probably Maresha. If so, it is a new bit of information about the last period of Tel Lachish occupation.

---

[1] See Torczyner, Harry. *Lachish I: The Lachish Letters.* London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938.

[2] Korzakova H. B., "Greek Ostraca and Graffiti, in: *Maresha Excavations. Final Report* III. Eds. Amos Kloner, Esther Eshel, Hava B. Korzakova, and Gerald Finkielsztejn. Jerusalem, IAA, 2010. Pp. 89-146.

[3] Korzakova H. B., Ecker A., "Greek inscribed pottery", in: Stern Ian (ed.), *The Excavations of Maresha subterranean complex 57: the 'Heliodorus' cave.* Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014. Pp. 95-101.

Panel Proposal

Flavius Josephus in the Classical World

Chaired by Stéphanie Binder
Bar-Ilan University

I would like to offer three lectures concerning Josephus' life in the Classical world and especially his approach to classical culture. The lectures can be delivered during a common session on "**Flavius Josephus in the Classical World**", and of course the title might be adapted if other lectures submitted to the ISPCS committee fit in the same framework.

The lecturers are Prof. Olivier Munnich (CNRS, Paris): Flavius Josephus as a connaisseur of the Greek Literature; Dr. Sébastien Morlet (Sorbonne, Paris): Josephus and imperial *commentarii* : an hypothesis; Dr. Emmanuel Nantet (University of Haifa): The size of the ship which carried Josephus to Rome in 64 CE [abstracts below].

The **French Institute** of Tel-Aviv sees in the session proposed an occasion to tighten the French-Israeli academic links and cooperation and to display the results of a common work to an international audience. Therefore, the Institute will grant the French scholars the amount needed for their travelling fees at the occasion of the conference of the ISPCS.

I believe that this cooperation is a very good opportunity for all the sides involved in the project.

Abstracts

1.   Olivier Munnich
CNRS, Paris

Flavius Josephus as a connaisseur of the Greek Literature

This presentation will question the so-called weak practice of the Greek language which betrays Flavius's works. We will provide multiple examples of his perfect knowledge of Greek nuances on semantic and lexical levels. We shall present some evidences of the fact that he originally wrote his works in Greek, the hypothesis of a first Semitic version or of a reformulation of his Greek text by Roman « assistants » being a mere self-justification.

We shall then elaborate on Josephus' wide literary culture. Scholars often mention Thucydides and Polybius' influences but one has to consider Josephus' accurate use of epic or dramatic vocabulary. His knowledge of Plato is also obvious, as is his direct link to Philo's texts. These references, both lexical and literary, are too embedded in

the writer's argumentation itself to be considered as secondary additions owed to Roman « assistants ».

Beside the epigraphic evidences of the Greek language in the 1st century C.E. Roman Palestine and, later, the wide use of Greek words in the Talmud, the high cultural level in Greek of a learned Jew like Josephus leads us to reconsider the cultural interrelations in the 1st century Judean elites.

2.   Sébastien Morlet
Sorbonne, Paris

Josephus and imperial *commentarii* : an hypothesis

In his "Autobiography", Josephus accuses Justus of Tiberias, in his narrative of the Jewish war, of not taking into account the "Hypomnêmata" (= *commentarii*) of Titus. Michel Rambaud, in 1966, analyzed the main themes and stylistic features of Caesar's *commentarii*. The same themes and features can easily be found also in Josephus' *Jewish war*. Beyond the obvious conclusions which such parallels suggest concerning Josephus' poetics, do we have to interpret them as indications that the historian made use of imperial *commentarii*?

3.   Emmanuel Nantet
University of Haifa

The size of the ship which carried Josephus to Rome in 64 CE

In his Autobiography (3), Josephus tells that he travelled once to Rome as he was a young man. Although short, the text shows a few relevant technical details about his journey. That is why this description is considered by scholars one of the most precious evidence about travelling in the early Roman period. Indeed, the ship finally capsized in the middle of the Adriatic Sea with her six hundred unfortunate passengers. Only eighty of them, including the narrator, were rescued and survived. The number of passengers aboard the ship, which probably started her journey in Caesarea, is quite impressive. Thus, this text reveals the existence of a "massive travelling" in the Ancient Mediterranean.

Is it possible to figure out the size of an ancient ship, such as she could carry six hundred passengers? Could these numerous passengers fit into a small ship? Or did they require travelling on a big ship? In other words, did Josephus journey on a small or a big ship? The data are too limited to allow an accurate estimation of the tonnage of the ship. Nevertheless, a rough estimate is possible.

The answer is relying on a careful analysis of the text. Moreover, it considers some other written evidence, such as the Rhodian Maritime Law, which mentions the surface allocated to each passenger during a sea journey. But the transportation of so many passengers requires the loading of food and water, which should also be taken into account. Thus, it seems that the ship was obviously quite big.