English Proposals

1. María Flores Rivas

PhD Candidate, Complutense University of Madrid, Departamento de Filologia Clásica.

Animal Soul In Presocratic Philosophy

In recent decades, the central multifarious presence of non-human animals in ancient-world sources has come into focus in classical scholarship. This increasing interest has led to multiple animal-related workshops, conferences and publications, including my own dissertation on the animal soul in ancient Greece. Currently, my attention is focused on the notion of animal soul in Presocratic philosophy. The Greek thinkers known as Presocratics were active from the end of 8th century to part of the 5th century BCE. Despite the current fragmentary nature of their work, which has come to us, in addition, indirectly, it is possible to know that their inquiry was mainly concerned with *physis* "nature" and *archē* "origin, principle" of the cosmos, the world, and the *zoa*$ "living beings" which inhabit it. In this respect, the *psychē* "soul" plays a key role as the source of life (as well as thought and sensation according to some Presocratics) and as the entity by which all living beings are linked with one another in kinship and, at the same time, linked to the cosmos.

This paper aims to offer an overview of the complex concept of animal soul and its functions in the Presocratic framework through reading and analysis of a careful selection of fragments and testimonies.

2. Maria Pavlou
Lecturer of Ancient Greek Literature , Theological School of the Church of Cyprus

Plato's citation of the poets in the *Protagoras*.

The *Protagoras* is one of Plato's dialogues where Socrates makes specific reference to a widespread contemporary practice: the citation of older poetry with the view to supporting an argument and adding authority to it. As he points out, this sort of thing "is avoided by men of culture, who prefer to converse directly with each other, and use their own way of speech in putting one another by turns to the test". According to Socrates, it is pointless to put into test poets who are dead and therefore unable to respond to any questions (347e-348a). In spite of Socrates' claim, however, the *Protagoras*, like the majority of Platonic dialogues, contains various poetic citations from older poets, such as Homer and Hesiod. What is more, a big chunk of the dialogue is dedicated to the analysis of several lines by the lyric poet Simonides. My paper will be attentive to these poetic references in an attempt to provide a better understanding of their function within the framework of the dialogue. Are these poetic references merely trimmings or are they used in a way that deepens and promotes the philosophical discussion? Why does Plato reside to older poetry, if this is a practice that should be avoided by men of culture? Under what circumstances could the citation of poetry be potentially fruitful? As I will argue, among other things, poetic references serve to trigger the alert reader to reflect upon various philosophical issues and therefore be more actively involved with the ongoing discussion. Even though Plato's citation of the poets is a much-discussed issue, it is still an intriguing one and deserves to be further investigated.

3. Mary R. Bachvarova
Associate Professor, Willamette University

Plato's Response to the "New Sappho" in *Phaedrus*

Recent additions to our knowledge of Sappho's "Tithonus Poem" (*P.Oxy.* 1787 fr 1 = F 58 Voigt, ll. 11-26; *P.Köln* inv. 21351 + 21376, ll. 9-20, ed. Obbink) give us a new opportunity to study how Plato engages with her as his intellectual predecessor in *Phaedrus* (mention of her: 235c2; earlier discussions: Foley; Pender). I argue that the cicada myth in the *Phaedrus* (9258e5-259d6) is meant to draw the reader's attention to Plato's use of Sappho's "Tithonus poem," which itself had responded to Mimnermus' earlier use of the Tithonus myth (F 4 West, see Johnson). Plato uses the Tithonus Poem as an intertext in his myth of the chariot of the soul (esp. 246b6-253e4) to refute the notion that the changing mortal body – indeed changeability – are part of reality. He replaces the unidirectional voyage of Tithonus carried by the desirous winged goddess with ever-repeated voyages to the edge of rotating heaven by the immortal soul desiring to gaze on the blazing light of true reality as it goes through a series of bodies, eventually attaining full initiation, as in a mystery religion. The soteriological light image picks up on Sappho F 58.23-6, where Sappho proclaims her love of luxury and the sun, which "has obtained for me the bright and the beautiful." But, the older, thematically arranged Cologne papyrus substitutes a non-Sapphic poem mentioning Orpheus. Thus, some have questioned whether these four lines belong to the Tithonus Poem (Janko). Plato's response to her song suggests he knew the longer version as a discrete whole.

4. Takashi Oki
DPhil Oxon, JSPS Research Fellow, Nagoya University, Visiting Fellow, Yale University

Aristotle's Uses of 'ἕνεκά του' and 'οὗ ἕνεκα'

It is well known that teleological notions play important roles in Aristotle's physics as well as in his ethics. In this paper, I consider how Aristotle employs 'ἕνεκά του' and 'οὗ ἕνεκα' in passages on chance from the *Physics*, and in passages on ignorance in action from the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Eudemian Ethics*. In doing so, I seek to clarify that Aristotle's uses of the two terms in the *Physics* and in the *Ethics* are in harmony with each other, but not in the way previously thought.

I argue that scholars often fail to see precisely that, in the 'ignorance' passages from the two *Ethics*, the 'οὗ ἕνεκα' corresponds to 'saving/rejuvenating' rather than to 'killing' (*E.N.* III.1 (1111a5), *E.E.* II.9 (1225b3-4)), and to 'grazing' rather than to 'wounding' (*E.N.* V.8 (1135b15-16)). Ross (1936) is wrong in thinking (i) that the 'οὗ ἕνεκα' in the texts corresponds to 'killing' and to 'wounding', and (ii) that 'the οὗ ἕνεκα' in the texts should be taken to mean a 'result' rather than a 'goal'. Criticizing Ross, Lorenz (2015) properly argues that (ii) is implausible. But Lorenz (wrongly, I think) accepts (i) when he claims that the agents are considered to be ignorant that their actions are for 'killing' (or 'wounding') in the texts. While pointing out the possibility that (i) might be based on misinterpreting the *Eudemian* passage (1225b3-4) and/or Aristotle's formulation of 'for the sake of something' (196b21-22), I provide a more precise understanding of Aristotle's conceptions of 'for the sake of something' and 'that for the sake of which' on the basis of 'choiceworthy for an agent'.

English Proposals

5. Maurizio Sonnino,
Assistant Professor of ancient Greek Language and Literature, University of Rome 'Sapienza'

A Chapter in the History of Comic Theory: the Ending of the *Hypothesis* of Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* (*P.Oxy.* 663.44-48 = test. i.44-48 K.-A.) and *Tractatus Coislinianus* 7

At the end of the *Hypothesis* of the lost *Dionysalexandros* of Cratinus (*P.Oxy.* 663.44-48 = Cratin. *Dionysalexandros* test. i K.-A.) a reference is made to a particular aspect of comic abuse indicated as κωμῳδεῖν δι᾽ ἐμφάσεως. Scholars usually interpret these words as meaning that Cratinus composed his drama as a sort of allegory to satirize Pericles "by innuendo" (δι᾽ ἐμφάσεως). Nevertheless, although this interpretation is fundamentally correct, it does not make us understand that the author of the *Hypothesis* is referring to the same theory on comic insult that can be rescued from *Tractatus Coislinianus* 7. According to this theory, covered abuse realized through *emphasis* must be preferred to explicit abuse (*loidoria*). In the course of my seminar paper I will try to draw attention to some of the interpretative problems raised by both the texts of the *Hypothesis* and the *Tractatus Coislinianus*. It is my intention to point out, in particular, that the theory on *emphasis* and *loidoria* is closely related to Aristotle's idea on the origin and development of comedy as it was revised within the *milieu* of the later Peripatetic school. All this has consequences for the interpretation of the *Hypothesis*, as well as for the identification of the source of the *Tractatus Coislinianus*, which some scholars identify in the lost second book of Aristotle's *Poetics*, but which seems to presuppose the re-elaboration of Aristotle's ideas carried out in the later developments of Aristotelianism.

6. Nicoletta Bruno

Stipendiatin, Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin, Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften

The use of the adverb *nequiquam* in Lucretius' *De rerum natura*

This paper uses the illustrative example of the significant use of the adverb *nequiquam* to demonstrate the importance of beginnings for Lucretius' didactic method. The adverb is a recognizable didactic formula and in Lucretius means "in vain", "uselessly", or similar. There are thirteen occurrences in the *De rerum natura*, seven of which are in Book 5. The adverb always occurs at the start of the line and is always followed by the causal conjunction *quoniam* (except at 4.1239).

In the *De rerum natura*, Lucretius often draws attention to beginnings and endings: of a book, section, argument, or line. Beginnings and endings are crucial to Lucretius' didactic mission. Moreover, syntactic and rhythmic factors seem to confirm that the line-initial position of the adverb is an essential factor for determining that the formulas are linked above all to the structural needs of the argument. Through analysis of this illustrative example and related instances (e.g. *postremo*, *praeterea* etc., as well collected by Minyard 1978) the paper aims to demonstrate the importance of line-initial position for Lucretian argumentative strategy.

This study has strikingly helped me in the lexicographical work on the adverb *nequiquam* at the prestigious project of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. In conclusion, the last part of my paper will be devoted to a general *excursus* on the common use of the adverb in other notable texts between the 1st century BC and the 2nd century AD. Furthermore, at the end of my presentation, I will show a proposal for the disposition of the lemma *nequiquam* for the future article in the *ThlL*. Accordingly, I will also explain how the syntactic, semantic and stylistic difficulties of the analyzed occurrences in Lucretius have found a possible solution in the article itself.

7. Carlo Delle Donne,

Phd candidate in Ancient Philosophy, "La Sapienza" University of Rome

Time and time-before-time: an ancient debate.

If time began, had a "time-before-time" ever existed? What kind of time could it be? Seneca (*Ep. Mor*. 88.33) considered this question as one of the utmost importance as far as the the concept of time was concerned: "*discendum est [...] an aliquid ante tempus sit sine tempore; cum mundo coeperit an etiam ante mundum quia fuerit aliquid, fuerit et tempus*". In ancient times, this topic had to be debated, although our knowledge is unfortunately meagre. The discussion is likely to have been raised on cosmological grounds. A passage of text by Proclus (*In Tim*. 1.277.1 ss.) is worth examining. There, both Atticus and Plutarch are told to have defined the "pre-cosmic time" as "the number of the disordered movement which existed before the birth of the world". Such a definition seems to derive from the following theoretical assumptions. 1) Both of them proposed a "temporal" interpretation for the *Timaeus*' cosmogony: therefore, there should have been a time when the demiurge ordered the pre-cosmic matter and its movement, 2) thus making cosmic time begin. 3) Nevertheless, the two believed that any movement had to imply time somehow; but there had been a pre-cosmic movement, so there should have been a "pre-cosmic time".

Now: we are presented with two possibilities as to how to think of such a time. For the Epicurean Velleius (Cic.*Nat.deor*.1.21), time-before-time *nulla circumscriptio temporum metiebatur, spatio tamen qualis ea fuerit intellegi potest*. This *aeternitas* needs to be deemed as a *spatium* because the pre-cosmic time is not unidirectional. Instead, Plutarch (VIII *PQ*, 1007c) describes the pre-cosmic movement as "a kind of amorphous and indefinite *matter* (ὕλη) of time". Thus, time-before-time turns out to be a potential reality in so far as it is numerically disordered.

8. Giulia Fanti
Stipendiary Lecturer in Classics - St. John's College, Instructor in Ancient Greek and Latin, University of Oxford

Steps of Epicurean Apprenticeship in Lucretius' *DRN*

Progressing from the beginning to the end of the *De rerum natura*, Lucretius' audience displays a remarkable intellectual growth, which this paper seeks to survey through a study of appeals to the reader and related techniques. The way in which Lucretius employs these various strategies clearly suggests the dynamic nature of his didactic poem, alongside which the reader's understanding evolves. The poet's negative attitude towards the pupil's querulous voice – as it emerges in the first half of the lesson - is gradually replaced by a more positive tone as the lesson unfolds, thus disclosing a relationship of mutual trust and cooperation. This more equal footing will allow the pupil, having acquired some basic knowledge, to follow the tracks apparent to him, just as hunting dogs do (1.400-9). After tracing how the disciple's intellectual development blossoms in the poem, the final section of this paper discusses the identity of the anonymous addressee of the *DRN*, and, not least, considers whether the envisaged audience of the *DRN* matched the actual audience of the poem.

9. Silvia Barbantani
Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, Italy

Farewell to the arms – Farewell in arms.
Depictions of weapons on stone and in Hellenistic inscriptional epigrams.

Recent studies on Greek and Roman monuments have focused on the interaction of the material aspects of inscribed texts (such as, e.g., text layout on the stone, the use of specific scripts, interaction with iconographic representations on the same monument, architectural setting) with the content of such texts; in the last few years research on epigraphic poetry has also emphasized the effects of poetic words on the emotions of individual readers, as well as of the community they belonged to. Within this framework, I shall discuss the importance and frequency of the appearance of weapons (an important element of epic imagery) in funerary poetry, and its relation with representations of arms on gravestones and monuments in the Hellenistic period, geographically ranging from Lycia and Caria to the Black Sea, from continental Greece to the Aegean island. I shall focus in particular on the corpus of funerary epigrams for soldiers of the Hellenistic period I have been assembling in the late few years.

As I have observed elsewhere (Barbantani 2014), military epitaphs of the Hellenistic period indulge in gory and realistic imagery of battles less frequently than expected and, instead, mostly rely on standard epic and elegiac formulae; descriptions of the dramatic circumstances of death are often avoided in favor of a heroically transfigured representation of war expressed through the traditional language of centuries-old poetry: the epitaph is meant to elicit in the readers feelings such as sadness and pride, rather than fear and horror, and to present the fallen youth as the latest in a line of epic heroes fighting for their *poleis* and as a model for his fellow citizens. One of the most common features of poetic epitaphs for soldiers (including citizens, mercenaries, and soldiers belonging to royal armies) is the celebration of the military valor (*arete*) of the deceased; on the other hand, with the exception of the spear –that appears occasionally in epitaphs and often in encomiastic poems as a symbol of mastery in warfare and of political power– weapons are not mentioned very often in funerary poetry; it is therefore important to examine the instances in which they appear, and to assess their significance in the portrayal of the deceased, e.g. as a symbol of his social status, profession or age class. When they are not mentioned in the epitaph, or when the epitaph is not present, weapons are often represented on the funerary monument itself, in the form of reliefs or paintings, either in the context of a battle scene (e.g. in Bithynian stelae), or carried by the standing deceased, or simply as isolated objects, as symbols of his profession or social rank in life.

I shall first present some examples of diverse typologies of depiction of weapons on stelae (e.g. *Totenmahlreliefs*, scenes of *dexiosis*, etc.), then offer a couple of cases study where weapons, or other military gear (such as the shield) are both mentioned in the epitaph and depicted on the funerary stele (*SGO* IV 17/17/01, *SGO* I 01/02/01); I shall also discuss the importance of weapons as a status symbol in epitaphs for young boys deceased before, or just after completing their gymnasial education (*SGO* I 05/03/06, *SGO* II, 09/07/09), and finally present some examples of epigrams accompanying weapons as dedications to gods (e.g. Call. *Ep*. 37 and *IC* IV 243).

10. Ekaterine Kobakhidze
Associate Professor, Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
Tbilisi State University, Georgia

The First Image of Medea?

A supposed image of Medea first appeared in world art on Etruscan ceramics made from Etrusco-Corinthian ware during the Orientalizing period. Particularly, an amphora, preserved in the Allard Pierson Museum of Amsterdam, dating from 660-640 BC has been probably found in the Etruscan city of Caere where according to widespread opinion, Medea and a three-headed dragon have been pictured.

The woman wrapped in a long cloak, facing the three-headed snake, and touching the two upper heads with outstretched arms has been quite enthusiastically connected to the episode of the Argonaut myth, according to which Medea puts the dragon guarding the Golden Fleece to sleep with a spell. The basic argument that an image of a woman with three-headed serpent depicts Medea, emanates from inscription "Metaia", appearing on an Etruscan olpe of the same period, which represents an Etruscan transliteration of Medea's name. Apart from this, the connection between this Medea and the woman pictured on the olpe, at a glance, is bolstered by the fact that Medea also appears surrounded by snakes on Greek ceramics.

The paper gives analyses of classical texts, previously undertaken research and recently discovered archeological material (especially an image of a three-headed serpent discovered in the Tomba della Quadriga Infernale at the necropolis of Pianacce dating to the beginning of the 4th century BC, where a three-headed serpent can be seen pictured in the underworld) providing a solid precondition for substantive conclusions- the amphora discovered in Cerveteri with the image of the woman and a three-headed serpent is not Medea and could represent some unknown local mythological story - it may reflect the voyage of a deceased person to the underworld or some ritual connected to their burial, where the three-headed snake depicts a creature living in (or guarding) the underworld, with this creature in turn being approached by a priestess or goddess (Angitia or Vanth) or the deceased herself.

11. Giulia Bertoni
PhD Candidate at Columbia University in Classical Studies

Soldatenkunst in Roman art

 In a digression on the Roman army, Josephus describes Roman military camps in these terms: "Thus, as it were, an improvised city springs up, with its market-place, its artisans' quarter, its seats of judgement […]" (Jewish wars, III, 83) The "artisans' quarter" in a military camp? This may not be just a picturesque detail. My paper investigates the curious phenomenon of a "Soldiers' art", an idea proposed in 1903 by the German archaeologist Furtwangler (who first spoke of a *Soldatenkunst*), later furthered by the Italian art-historian Ferri and more recently revisited by the Barnard professor Kampen. Was there ever an art of the soldiers? What was this art like? Anticipating trends of late-antique style, was this art of soldiers and guards, even "avant-guard"? More generally, is *Soldatenkunst* a helpful framework to make sense of "Roman provincial art"?

I first briefly look at archaeological and literary evidence corroborating the hypothesis that a subset of Roman soldiers was in charge of making art. I then move to look at the way previous scholars have characterized this art from "rough, dry and native" (Furtwangler) to "non-elite, non-metropolitan, provincial" (Kampen). I argue that these analyses, often influenced by their own times, do not do justice to the evidence at the risk of stereotyping it. I argue instead, by focusing on the artistic evidence in the military zone of Roman Germany dating to the Augustan period as my main case-study, that the soldiers' art unique, defining feature is what I call its "pluralism" – by which I mean that we are to expect in the art of the soldiers a spectrum of styles more diverse than, for instance, in the art of the metropolis (not only across different monument but also within individual ones) reflecting the diversity of the army and the way they used style to express status.

12. Edoardo Radaelli, PhD

The University of Southampton & Sapienza – Università di Roma (Alumnus)

Olive oil amphorae from Italy, North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean in Rome (and Ostia) during the Middle Imperial age (2nd–early 3rd centuries AD): reflections deriving from the analysis of the ceramic assemblages in the "Terme di Elagabalo" in Rome.

Olive oil is one of many "greasy" products that were used in ancient times, but it was extremely important and the preferred good for different purposes during Roman times. The State imported copious amounts of it (especially during the Imperial period) in order to satisfy the strong inner demand of Rome derived by its large population. This import was mainly dealt by amphorae and these objects have always been a very useful and significant source of information for an understanding of commerce during Roman times and its evolutions over the centuries. The recent stratigraphic excavations in the building commonly known as the "Terme di Elagabalo" in Rome (carried out by the Scienze dell'Antichità Department of the Sapienza - University of Rome from 2007 to 2013) revealed large quantities of unpublished fragments of amphorae. The remains of those containers meant to carry olive oil and arriving from Italy, North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean, disinterred from the Middle Imperial ceramic assemblages of this site (2nd–early 3rd centuries AD), brought to consider their presence during this chronological period in addition to the published amounts in Rome (and then with a comparison with the quantities found in Ostia which is the traditional comparison site for the Capital). The commonly accepted chronologies, origins, and volumes of the found amphorae (together with an analysis of both ancient sources mentioning the found origins of these oils and the studies about their production facilities) led to reflect upon the fluctuations in the imports of these olive oil containers and their presence outside the well known dumping site of Monte Testaccio.

13. Alexander Kuznetsov

Professor, Department of Classical Studies, Moscow Lomonosov State University

Nestor of Pitekoussai: His Cup and His *Himeros*

The Cup of Nestor was burnt in a pyre of a male child about thirteen years old. The inscription claims that drinking from the Cup produces an instant love ἵμερος, and the paper will be focused on semantics of this word in archaic epic which gives an important clue to the inscription and the burial itself. In both erotic and non-erotic situations some person imposes ἵμερος on other people who are described as captured by ἵμερος and forced to do something immediately. Erotic situations follow a rigid narrative scheme which implies transfer of ἵμερος between participants of a story. This pattern can be applied to the pragmatic situation of the cup. Nestor was its owner, and, respectively, he possessed love ἵμερος connected with the vessel. This surely excludes the possibility that Nestor was the buried boy who, being a love partner, must have been deprived of love ἵμερος of any kind. Nonetheless, the boy was the last possessor of the Cup. It follows that the inscription can be understood as a symbolic loan act which supported a transfer of ἵμερος from Nestor to the boy. The inscription of the Cup resembles the epic narratives in that ἵμερος of Nestor is connected to the concepts of dominance and obligation, but no personally named object of desire is targeted. Hence, it is probable that the loan act served a more general purpose of endowing the boy with attributes of a member of sympotic community (socially recognized ability to drink wine and make love as an active partner). Taking into account the age of the boy and circumstances of the burial, the cup might have been a symbol of forthcoming initiation.

14. Antonio Dell'Acqua

Post Doc Research Fellow, Institute for Classical Archaeology, Tübingen University

Marble Trade in Roman Ashkelon

In the last sixty years, the importance of 'marbles studies' has been stressed as a major component in the historical research of the Greco-Roman world: because of the prestrike inherent to the use of marbles and coloured stones, the study of these building materials offers an important tool to help us to understand broader social, economic and historical dynamics. As Walker noted (1988, 192), the fortune of the trade in stone object "cannot be separated from the wider currents of the economic history of the empire". In line with other studies, the current paper aims to analyse the architecture of Roman period Ashkelon and, more specifically, the use of marbles in the Roman city. Ashkelon, located on the Mediterranean coast in southern part of Israel, 63 km from Tel Aviv and about 80 km from Jerusalem, plays an important role within the region because its coastal location at the crossroads of important trading routes. Aim of the paper is to present preliminary results of an ongoing project consisting in studying the architectural decoration of the Basilica, marble materials from the theatre and from the Byzantine church *Santa Maria Viridis*, to south of the Jerusalem Gate on the east side of the city, and those reused in the medieval walls and buildings. Another opened question regards the relationship between imported architectural pieces and local workshops. With regards to roman Palestine, Fischer pointed out that "artisans working in local stones became the main copyists of imported marble art" (2008, 505). Considering the relevance of Ashkelon in the region, it is important to address the question of its role in the development of local manufacturing traditions (e.g. are there local workshops or were the architectural pieces imported already finished?).

15. Dr. Leonardo Gregoratti

University of Durham

The Arsacids in Judaea: another Parthian client kingdom?

Following the defeat of the Romans at Carrhae and exploiting the fierce civic strife among Roman factions and warlords that Cesar's murder triggered, the Parthians managed to gain the initiative in the political struggle for the control of Western Asia and launched a series of attacks beyond the Euphrates' frontier, deep into Roman provincial territory.

The Arsacid prince Pacorus gained control of the most important cities of Syria and Phoenicia. He put on the throne of Judea Antigonus, the last of the Hasmoneans and the son of king Aristobulus, Pompey's enemy, executed in Rome. After analysing the relatively rich and well-informed sources concerning the Parthian supported kingdom of Judaea, aim of this paper is to establish a comparison with the policy adopted by the Parthians in order to control the smaller kingdoms they dealt with east of the Euphrates in order to spot similarities and differences. This in the hope to be able to draw some conclusion on the Arsacid plans involving Judea and all the other lands west of Mesopotamia.

16. Elena Gritti
Fellow Researcher, University of Bergamo

The Story of *Eusebius Cremonensis*: Travelling Men and Books between ancient *Syria Palaestina* and *Italy* in the end of IVth. cent.

I'm working to a prosopographical analysis about dealings between ancient and late antique Eastern Roman Empire and Northern Italy and my aim is to provide an overview of the links among these areas of the Roman Empire.

The Christianization of the Empire interested big cities, from the East to more remote and distant places, where individual, wealthy citizens began to approach the new religion - towards *loca sancta* and earlier exegetic works that appeared in eastern lands.

Eusebius, an aristocrat born in ancient Cremona around the middle of the fourth century AD, was one of the first pilgrims to be fascinated by the monastic community founded by Jerome, famous Father of the Church, in Palaestina in the last fortnight of same century.

After *Eusebius* had reached the Holy Land, he realized the need to spread the Christian message to the whole ecumenical community, aware of its universal purpose. So he asked the notorious theologian to translate theological treatises and dogmatic epistles into Latin language too, further he commissioned and received evangelical and prophetic commentaries as a gift.

These works were widely disseminated in Italy, when he came back from his monastic experience in the East. In fact, he promoted the widest possible knowledge and took an active part in the contrasts that arose between the great exegetes of his time: Jerome and Rufinus of Aquileia.

He also played a decisive role in the Christianization of his native city; although not all scholars agree on the latter aspect (Duval 1987, Rebenich 1992, Lizzi Testa 2003).

17. Thomas Marshall Miller
Ph.D. in Classical Philosophy, Princeton University

The Rhetoric of Praise in Augustine's *Confessions*
Nous choisissons souvent des lounges empoisonnées qui font voir par contrecoup en ceux que nous louons des défauts que nous n'osons découvrir d'une autre sorte. (La Rochefoucauld)

The primary character of Augustine's *Confessions* as a discourse of praise is announced in its very first sentence: *magnus es, domine, et laudabilis valde*—a near-translation of the phrase יהוה גדול ומהלל מ א , found in at least three Psalms. Praise in fact proves to be the lynchpin concept for the narrative coherence of the work, with the speaker's retelling of his life story—arguably pointless, given the supposed omniscience of his addressee, the divine "master" (*dominus*)—ultimately justified as a mechanism for offering praise. The *Confessions* are thus less an "autobiography" than a *sui generis* literary form that must be understood against the backdrop of two very different literary traditions in which praise plays a central role: the poetry of the Hebrew Psalms and the Roman panegyric oratory in which Augustine was himself trained.

The fact that the *Confessions* is a discourse of praise raises questions about important passages in which the narrator sharply criticizes the practice of praising other human beings. These include notably his retrospective puzzlement at his dedication of his first written work to the orator Hierius because others praised him (4.13.20-14.23), his disgust at offering mendacious speeches of praise to public officials (6.6.9), and, most importantly, his theory of human *ambitio saeculi* as a lust for praise (10.36.58-39.64). On the one hand, these passages can be explained as representing themselves an epideictic strategy: denigrating praise of humans implicitly elevates praise of the divine *dominus*. But they also provide an opportunity for taking up Laurent Pernot's recent suggestion to reread the ancient corpus of epideictic rhetoric, including religious texts, with an eye to "innuendos and things left unsaid." If praise is so often false, and giving and receiving it so morally fraught, can the narrator's praise of even the divine *dominus* be taken entirely at face value? Recognizing the centrality of praise to the *Confessions* thus opens the way for more nuanced, even subversive readings of a seminal Christian text.

18. Enrico Cerroni
La Sapienza University of **Rome**

The Greek perception of depression in the Hellenistic and Imperial Age

Through lexical and philosophical analysis of such words as θλίψις and στενοχωρία, it is possible to sketch out the general outline of a history of depression and its manifestations during the Hellenistic and Imperial periods and assess the semantic importance of this concept in Greek culture. Eric Dodds defined the second century CE as the age of anxiety: this impressionistic definition begs to be revisited to analyze the linguistic use of contemporary Greeks and compare it to that of previous and following centuries. Is modern depression comparable to that of the ancient world? The underlying metaphor expressed by the verb θλίβω (Latin *deprimo*) is actually still present within the word *depression* itself, represented by its cognates in many modern languages, just as the English term stress derives from the Latin *strictitia*, based on a different metaphor realized also in the ancient Greek στενοχωρία.

In fact, it is often difficult to identify actual cases of depression in literary texts: Galen describes the episode about Philippides the grammarian who died of grief and depression because his library perished in a fire (*On Freedom from Grief* 7); this is one among many little known incidents Galen describes in highly effective language: apart from the more obvious λύπη, the change in mood is defined as δυσθυμία, whereas the wasting away that supposedly led him to his death is expressed by the verb συντήκομαι, already used in this sense by the Greek tragedians (King 2013). Artemidorus of Daldis is more innovative in his use of στενοχωρία (8x) and θλῖψις (8x), charged with psychological meaning that can be interpreted along a subjectification cline, whereas his contemporary Galen uses the two words always in their physical sense.

My aim is to study how Greeks from the Hellenistic and Imperial periods interpreted the phenomenon of depression (either as 'pressure on' or 'tightness of' the soul, as a change in mood, or an alteration in balance because of divine intervention, etc.) through a systematic analysis of lexical occurrences in their context and of the semantic shifts that took place throughout the centuries.

19. Euclid's Theory of Definition:
Benjamin Wilck, Humboldt-University Berlin.

A Reconstruction of the *Elements'* Philosophical Commitments

My paper argues that Euclid's *Elements* is committed to philosophical views about scientific definition, which happen to coincide with some of the characteristic features of Aristotle's theory of definition. While Euclid nowhere talks about his mathematical work, Euclid's treatise nonetheless contains evidence for his implicit methodological commitments and philosophical background assumptions. Among other things, Euclid turns out to be committed to

- dihairesis (definition through the proximate genus and specific differentiae);

- a metaphysical distinction between species (substantial attributes) and differentiae (nonsubstantial attributes); and

- priority in definition (*A* is prior in definition to *B*, if *A* can be defined without B, whereas B cannot be defined without *A*).

Euclid's *Elements* records some occurrences of meta-mathematical discourse; however, these pieces of second-order language can hardly serve as evidence for a Euclidean theory of science. Instead, my paper argues that there is a more promising strategy to detect Euclid's metamathematical framework and the hidden methodology and logic at work in Euclid's *Elements*. Certain structural (linguistic and methodic) regularities in Euclid's mathematical practice allow us to infer Euclid's implicit philosophical commitments.

For instance, Euclid regularly defines species (such as *point*, *line*, *surface*, *solid*, *monad*, *number*) by stating their respective genus and differentiae (yet when he defines the most fundamental species such as *point* or *monad* he usually omits the genus.) Moreover, Euclid regularly defines the specific differentiae of mathematical species (such as *straight* for lines, *even* and *odd* for numbers) in a syntactically different way than the mathematical species themselves, so that we can infer that he systematically draws a distinction between species and differentiae. Furthermore, since Euclid always introduces fundamental items before derivative ones and simpler terms before more complex ones, we can attribute the notion of priority in definition to him.

20. Donna Shalev
Hebrew University

Once Upon a Case History

The case histories incorporated in the medical writings of Galen form a fascinating corpus which invites the study of a rich array of questions in many sub-disciplines of Classical studies, and beyond. Drawing on narratological and stylistic observations in Mattern, and in particular on her comprehensive catalogue of the case histories in the Galenic corpus, and drawing on many scholars' observations on literary, stylistic and text-structural features in Greek medical authors (e.g. Langholf, Pearcy, Smith, van der Eijk, Lloyd) -- and in technical writers at large (Thesleff, Asper, Knorr, Netz, Taub), I explore more closely some elements found in the case histories of Galen, with a focus on various devices in the lexicon, syntax, phraseology and text-structuring by which case histories open, and how they transition from the surrounding text. Some attention will also be given to how case histories close.

After a brief preliminary description of the variety of phenomena found in case histories in the corpus I am studying, I will present a more detailed account of the attestation in Gal. *san.tu.*, *loc.aff.*, *praecogn.*, *meth.med.*, with salient examples, from these and other treatises, of the following devices:
(a) indefinite adverbs and pronouns and their arrangement vis-à-vis the verb (which has parallels in and contrasts in conventional narrative openings in literature, and the syntactic countours of presentational sentences, studied e.g. by Rosén);
(b) expressions of eyewitnessing and autopsy, with a range of verbs of perception (along with other effects meant to lend authority and reliability to the material introduced, and possibly reflect a *modus scribendi* which intentionally blends the technical and the literary);
(c) particle use, particularly the particle γοῦν (which is used in logical arguments for 'part proof'); beside the value in accounting for particle use in an important and prolific author such as Galen, who is not covered in Denniston's *Greek Particles*, and moreover, this recurring use in the openings of case histories may be compared with analogous uses of the particle γάρ in literary texts (de Jong) and transitions from προοίμιον to διήγημα in forensic speeches – as opposed to other particles for transitions to other parts of the speeches (Crespo);
(d) codas of case histories involving repetitions of the openings or features of (a) and (b), and other elements contributing to palpable *Ringkomposition*.
These findings can contribute to a more nuanced appreciation of features of Galenic style and his *modus scribendi*, as well as to the question of how features figure within or diverge from the conventions of the medical writing of Galen's models and his translators (Arabic, Latin), and the conventions of other writers of technical and scientific texts. Study of such feature may also help us better understand how the Greek language accommodates and promotes, in turns, the transitions between two orders of text: the primary one theoretical or technical; and an order consisting of the examples, specific or documented cases, and other illustrative materials. A study of the suturing between these two orders of text can ultimately also pave the way for future study of the fate of case histories and other illustrative materials in translations of medical, scientific, theoretical and technical texts.

21. Maren R. Niehoff
Hebrew University

Greek Culture in Late Antique *Palaestina*: Insights from Origen's newly discovered Homilies on Psalms

In 2012 Marina Molin Pradel discovered in the library of Munich a manuscript of 29 homilies on Psalms, which she, Lorenzo Perrone and others identified as stemming from the church father Origen.[1] These homilies have been published in an excellent critical edition (Perrone *et al*. 2015), but not yet been translated into any modern language or systematically interpreted. Several articles have discussed their reports on Jews and Judaism (Fürst 2014, Mitchell forthcoming, Buchinger forthcoming) as well as their partial reliance on Philo of Alexandria (Cover 2018). Margret Mitchell showed in a pioneering article that Origen in his homily on Ps. 77 used Alexandrian methods of scholarship to emend in passage in the *Gospel of Matthew* (Mitchell 2017).

The 450 pages of *Codex Monacensis Graecus 314* are still far from being comprehensively understood and appreciated in the context of third century Caesarea. My proposed lecture will present a few passages, which have not yet been exposed, in the original Greek together with an English translation and then contextualize them intellectually and culturally. Having begun to study the homilies earlier this year, I am still in the process of reading my way through them. As there is no word index in the critical edition, I will choose passages that I will discover by the summer, which have the greatest bearing on issues of Greek culture in Late Antique *Palaestina*. Yesterday, for example, I came across a fascinating discussion of the expression "I have begun", which Origen encountered in the Septuagint version of Ps. 76.11 (Hom. 2 on Ps. 76, par. 1). He interpreted his notion by recourse to the Stoic notion of "progress" ("prokope"), which he integrated into his construction of Christian identity.

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[1] The journal ADAMANTIUS 20 (2014) dedicated 8 articles to the question of the Origenian authorship of the homilies, all confirming it. The critical edition provides plenty of parallels to other works of Origen, which further confirm his authorship.

22. Bob Corthals
Independent scholar

Ajax in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*

This paper discusses Sophocles' use of Ajax's downfall as a mythological comparandum for Oedipus' ruin towards the end of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The playwright's partial reliance on his own *Ajax* proves that this play antedates his *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

At the start of the sixth epeisodion of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, a messenger describes how "some *daimon*" helped a frantic Oedipus locate his mother/wife inside the palace (1258). This alludes to Ajax's death scene in Aeschylus' *Thracian Women* (Σ *Aj. 833)*: just as Aeschylus' female *daimon* (Athena) showed Ajax his vulnerable spot, so Sophocles' *daimon* (Apollo) is directing Oedipus to his—Jocaste, the source of both his own being and his progeny. Next, Sophocles interrupts the allusive frame to allow a description of Oedipus' self-blinding, only to return to Ajax with the messenger's announcement that Oedipus will soon show us his madness and that his sight will drive even an enemy to pity (*OT* 1287-96). There are clear verbal echoes here of *Aj*. 66-7 (the start of Athena's display of Ajax' delusion) and *Aj*. 121-2 (its conclusion: Odysseus' famous expression of pity for his enemy). From this point onwards, Ajax is acting as Oedipus' foil with the evocation of Ajax's state of selective vision putting in high relief both Oedipus' previous ignorance (his metaphorical 'blindness'), and the knowledge he now possesses notwithstanding the loss of physical sight. Crucially, Oedipus differs from Ajax in being allowed to reveal 'his madness' himself, signaling a release from the torment of Apollo. Whereas Ajax's temporary visual impairment is concomitant with his sickness and ignorance, Oedipus is freed from his sickness upon re-entry, and has acquired true understanding in his permanent blindness.

23. Massimo Giuseppetti
Università degli Studi Roma Tre

Hermesianax' Erotic Poetics in Context

The critical discourse about Hellenistic elegy has been for the most part content to draw comparisons with either Callimachus (usually at the expense of minor or badly preserved figures) or Roman elegy. What often matters is merely to demonstrate that Hellenistic elegy was a precursor of Roman elegy. However, the time is ripe to try and go beyond the fetish of the Callimachean, ancient or modern. To this end, in my paper I wish to put Hermesianax of Colophon at centre stage. After a brief survey of what has survived of his production, I will consider with fresh eyes his long catalogue on the love-affairs of poets and philosophers (fr. 3 Lightfoot = 7 Powell) from the *Leontion*, in the hope that it may offer new insights into the nature of his poetical endeavour and its significance within the larger picture of the early Hellenistic age.

Scholars have often assumed that fr. 3 is representative of the *Leontion* as a whole, and that it is a typical example of Hellenistic elegy, more specifically the contemporary elegiac production that Callimachus more or less explicitly would react to in his *Aetia*.

As a matter of fact, there is no evidence that the narrative structure of fr. 3 L. = 7 P. was extended to the whole of the *Leontion*. I suggest that this fragment is best understood as an exemplary catalogue whereby Hermesianax appropriates and rewrites the Greek intellectual tradition from the point of view of his main poetic preoccupation: love. In doing so, he also creates new biographical narratives about the poets and the philosophers he portrays. This is particularly likely, as I shall argue, in the cases of Mimnermus, Antimachus, and, to a lesser extent, Hesiod: here Hermesianax has exerted a lasting influence on the later reception of his fellow poets.

Many believe that the impulse for writing the *Leontion* comes from Hermesianax' personal biography. Even if we concede this (and the evidence is at best thin), the problem remains that the long catalogue in fr. 3 L. does not exhibit much 'personal' involvement on the narrator's part. Several features of this text suggest that the poet is more interested in the broad phenomenology of *eros*, an interest that he clearly shares with prominent figures of the Peripatos. All in all, Hermesianax appears as a highly creative poet who is deeply engaged with the intellectual trends of his age.

24. Valeria Melis
University of Cagliari

"If there are legitimate sons". Evolution and reappropriation of an Ancient Greek formula in Byzantine inheritance laws

From the Justinian era to the 10th c., Byzantine inheritance laws include a formula which designates the legitimate sons of an individual as the ones who should legally receive his heritage; the formula is first attested in Nov. [Epith. Ath.] 3.8.274.19 as γνησίων ὄντων παίδων and it is then reformulated from law to law in order to satisfy the contingent expressive and normative needs: e.g., it is attested six times in Appendix Ecl. 10.3 (= Nov. 89.12), once including the term γαμετή, and in the other cases with a pronoun instead of a noun (e.g., ὑπόντων δὲ καὶ γνησίων ἢ καὶ γαμετῆς … τούτων δὲ μὴ ὑπόντων); in Epan. auct. 14.55.6 (schol. ad Epan. auct. 54) we read παίδων μὲν γνησίων ὄντων τῷ ἀνδρὶ and, then, the formula is further expanded in Epan. auct. 35.7.1-3 (9th-10th c.), ἀνιόντων ὑπόντων τῷ τελευτήσαντι καὶ ἀδελφῶν γνησίων καὶ παίδων ἀδελφοῦ.

This formula is interesting mainly for two reasons. First, its roots are found in the ancient Greek inheritance laws attested by Demosth. 46.24 (παίδων ὄντων γνησίων … γνησίων ὄντων υἱέων) and by Aristoph. Nub. 1660-6, where Pisthetaerus quotes a "Solonian law" that excludes illegitimate sons from inheritance "if there are legitimate sons" (παίδων ὄντων γνησίων). It is thus possible to trace the evolution and reshaping of this formula from the Ancient Greek to the Byzantine era. Second, the presence of the formula in Byzantine laws could fruitfully demonstrate the authenticity of ll. 1660-6 of the Clouds, which some scholars consider spurious.

25. Margarita Sardak
PhD Student and scholarship holder of a.r.t.e.s. Graduate School Cologne

Religious Life in Athens during the Reign of Hadrian (117-138 AD)

Although continuity is regarded as a key feature of ancient Greek religion, changes, interruptions, and additions constituted a part of its development not only at moments of cardinal political and social breaks, but also during periods of seeming stability, even in the case of an ancient Greek polis with a long cultural and religious tradition as Athens. The transformation of the sacred space, that was not as solid, constant and durable as we commonly think, was deeply connected to the development of the urban topography and to its ideological, mythological and historical connotation.

These tendencies can be clearly illustrated using the example of Athens during the reign of Hadrian. The first philhellene ruler of the Roman Empire had a special connection to the Polis, which had appeared long before his rise to power and has provided Athens with numerous privileges, reforms and building projects, carried out by the emperor himself, persons of his close environment as well as by his successors. A major part of these activities concerned the Athenian religion and aimed for maintenance or revitalization of the old cults, but also for their reformation, reorganization of the religious structures as well as for establishment of new cults, sanctuaries and rituals. Not only the sacral topography but the whole urban space seemed to be remodelled to a degree, that Hadrian could be considered and worshipped as a "new founder" of the city.

This paper, based on archaeological, historical and epigraphical sources, will illuminate the most important aspects of this process, focussing on its artificial character, which reflects its relation to the interest of a few powerful individuals as well as to fashionable concepts of the time, such as Atticism or Philhellenism.

26. Linda Zollschan

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

The Palm Tree as a Symbol for Judaea in Flavian Coinage

The consensus remains that the palm tree on the coins of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian represents Judaea. This view has been much influenced by the use of the palm tree on Jewish coins. Less attention has been given to the introduction of the palm tree motif into Rome from Greece in 293 BCE as reported by Livy. This followed the building of the first temple in Rome to Nike/Victoria in 294 BCE. Along with the new cult came the symbol of Nike, the palm tree and its earlier association with Apollo. The fact that late black figure pottery used the palm tree in scenes depicting the Amazons and Scythians eliminates the palm tree as a geographical indicator. The palm tree represented success, righteous victory and the exceptional man who through such excellence had achieved lasting fame. The first known depiction of the palm tree on Roman coins appears after Octavian's Victoria story over Cleopatra on a dupondius depicting on the reverse a crocodile chained to a palm tree. Octavian attributed his victory to Apollo. Its next appearance is on a sestertius minted in Rome by Vitellius in 69 CE. On its reverse we see the goddess Victory inscribing a shield attached to a palm tree. In historical terms this coin represented victory over the tyrannical Nero. Vespasian adopted this image and reproduced it on his Judaea capta series of paintings. This presentation examines various series under Vespasian, Titus and Domitian as the promulgation of the emperor's success and through this his lasting fame.

English Proposals

27. Anna Strataridaki
University of Crete

Philomelos vs. Bouzyges: Cretan influence on Athens at a time of crisis?

The myth of the Attic hero Bouzyges is depicted on an Athenian krater dated in 430 BC. According to literature, Bouzyges, being named Epimenides, was known for having invented the plough and having yoked two oxen for land cultivation. In this paper, I argue that this Athenian myth was modeled on the story of Philomelos, who was credited with the invention of agriculture in Crete. Both myths were local articulations of the institution of agriculture in the respective regions. In addition, I attempt to explain why Bouzyges was named after the Cretan Epimenides, a figure of extraordinary qualities as a seer, prophet, and priest.

The Athenian story seems to have been composed for political reasons, at the time of Pericles. Specifically, Pericles seems to have promoted the depiction of Bouzyges' story on kraters, aiming in this way to project -to the Athenians- Athens as the instigator of agriculture, and, therefore, of civilization to the world. The depiction of Bouzyges' myth on the above-mentioned krater, as well as Bouzyges' appellation (Epimenides) may have been connected with Pericles' effort to uplift the morale of the Athenians, who had just faced their first dead after the first year of the Peloponnesian War. Just as Pericles' Funeral Oration was employed to exalt Athens as the "School of Hellas", in a similar manner Pericles seems to have utilized the mechanism of art -the Bouzyges painting- in order to project to the Athenians their polis' ancient past and her civilizing impact to Greece. In the case of the Athenian krater here, this particular wine vessel type was selected on purpose to serve Pericles' goal. In fact, kraters were intended for communal usage in men's social gatherings in ancient Greece, thus those vases would have had the proper impact upon the participants in such gatherings.

28. Vasileios Adamidis
Principal Lecturer - International Manager, Nottingham Law School, Nottingham Trent University

Causes of Populism and possible responses: Lessons from classical Athens

"Populism is a catch-all term which has been described as the 'shadow of democracy'; this particularly applies to forms of direct (or radical) democracy such as that of classical Athens. Despite the rigorous and comprehensive study of Athenian democracy, surprisingly enough, no systematic application of the concept of populism (as defined by modern political theory) to the rhetoric, practices and political institutions of Athens has taken place. I argue that the main reasons for this reluctance to proceed with this interdisciplinary endeavour is, from a classicist's point of view the danger of anachronism and the limited mastery of the theoretical background of the concept of populism and from a political scientist's point of view the fact that populism is largely seen as primarily relevant to Western, liberal, modern representative democracies, thus inapplicable to the Athenian setting.

Populism in Athens should be mainly seen as a freestanding ideology which contributed to the formation and supported the radical democratic regime of the late fifth century. This goes contrary to the suggestions of modern political theorists, who either view populism as a 'thin-centred' ideology incapable of standing on its own or view populism as anything else (e.g. style, discourse, strategy, political logic) but ideology. The Athenians of the late fifth century, having seen the perils of undiluted populism in practice (namely, the idea that politics and decision-making should be the 'expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the People'), proceeded to a number of reforms in their legal system to counter this phenomenon. To attain this objective, populism had to be defeated in the ideological battlefield too. Although reference will be made to the legal reforms, the paper is mainly concerned with the rhetoric and discourse of populism and anti-populism.

The main argument will be that the dominant ideology of populism in the late fifth century was gradually replaced by a 'rule of law' ideology, as becomes apparent by an investigation of the literary sources surviving from this period. To prove this point, close examination of the speeches and the rhetorical techniques used in the Athenian Ecclesia (Assembly) is necessary, in order to understand why and how populism became the dominant ideology in Athens. Having clarified this, the project will proceed with an analysis of the rhetoric of litigants in the popular courts, which is representative of the Athenian popular ideology and morality and signifies the emergence of the 'rule of law' ideology as the dominant one."

29. William Guast

A.G. Leventis Research Fellow in Ancient Greek Studies, Institute of Greece, Rome, and the Classical Tradition and Department of Classics & Ancient History, Bristol

'A toy model of oratory'? A fresh look at Greek declamation

The genre of declamation—fictitious speeches written for fictitious rhetorical scenarios—began in the Hellenistic period as a school exercise in rhetoric, but by the Roman period had become not only the final stage of education for elites across the Roman world, but also a full-blown literary genre in its own right; star declaimers travelled the Mediterranean giving performances for astronomical fees. For the third-century Greek writer Philostratus, declamation seemed the defining literary genre of the times in which he lived, and this conception of the Greek imperial period as a 'Second Sophistic' still often constitutes the starting point for work today.

Yet this vital genre remains desperately understudied. What work there is typically maintains that these texts somehow represented an 'escape' from life under Roman rule to the glorious classical past in which declamation is always set. In this paper, I reject this old model, and argue instead that declamations frequently engaged closely with contemporary concerns. If this is true, then declamation represents an important missing piece in our picture of Greek imperial discourse.

In the first half of the paper, I argue that the culture of exemplarity that we find in, for instance, Greek imperial historiography or Plutarch means that we should expect audiences to have drawn conclusions for their own time from the history that declamation relives. In the second half, I develop as a case study the notorious strife that existed between the Greek cities of the Roman empire. I show how declamations on the relations between the cities of classical Greece echo the discourses of these conflicts, and I go on to show how declamation's indirect reflections on strife represented some of Greek imperial authors' most sophisticated contributions to this major contemporary debate.

30. Marek Węcowski
University of Warsaw

Early Greek Poetry and Social Mobility

Presenting social arrivistes in a very unfavourable light and/or deploring the downfall of good old aristocrats is a well-known contrivance of the archaic Greek poetry. Scholars have long seen such motifs, potentially testifying to a fairly high degree of vertical social mobility. However, such utterances can theoretically be ascribed, on the one hand, to conventional wisdom regarding the instability of human fortune and alluding to a sudden fall of the mighty and, on the other, to the exaggerated conventions of the pugnacious genre of iambics. Nowadays, owing to the newly discovered "Brothers' Poem" by Sappho, we may finally be able to confirm how precarious aristocratic fortunes must have been in the archaic period, if a disaster of a single trade enterprise could potentially bring down a powerful Lesbian family – at least subjectively and/or conventionally.

The goal of this paper is to reassess the extent of vertical social mobility as present and alluded to in, as well as implied by, the archaic Greek poetry, concentrating on Solon and Theognis, but beginning as early as the *Odyssey*. If my argument stands, traditional and more recent models of archaic Greek society – featuring the social group once universally called "aristocrats", and whose very existence has recently been questioned – ought to be revisited. Ultimately, it may be argued that all such models either relied on or openly questioned the sharp opposition between the *aristoi* (*agathoi* etc.) and the *kakoi* (*deiloi* etc.) as ubiquitously present in archaic Greek poetry. It is my contention that we should rather postulate a new definition of archaic Greek aristocracy than discard the very notion of aristocracy in present-day studies of archaic Greek history.

English Proposals

31. Søren Lund Sørensen
Freie Universität Berlin

From the *Dīnskar* to the *Bäskär* – Toponyms and ethnonyms in the Zenā 'Ayhud

Zenā 'Ayhud is the name given to the Ethiopian version of Yosippon, the much-read Medieval Jewish work chronicling the events from Adam until the fall of the temple in Jerusalem. Originally composed in Hebrew in the tenth century AD on the basis of several ancient texts, e.g. the Books of the Maccabees and the works of Josephus, Yosippon was translated into Arabic whence the Ethiopian version (13th century). The main narrative remains but toponyms are changed over time, e.g. the Hebrew and Arabic translations offer revised and, as it were, updated toponyms and ethnonyms for the so-called Table of Nations (Gen. 10). The Zenā 'Ayhud is unanimously held to be a close rendering of the Arabic text, but in several cases proper nouns differ considerably from those found in the Arabic manuscripts.

This paper will examine a representative number of problematic toponyms and ethnonyms, mainly from the Table of Nations, in the Zenā 'Ayhud and attempt various explanations ranging from misinterpretations of the Arabic text to deliberate alterations on the basis of a transformed geographical knowledge of the Ethiopian community to which Yosippon was adapted.

32. Anna Malomud
Doctoral candidate, the Humboldt University of Berlin

Formulaic expressions in Nicander of Colophon

The paper deals with the phenomenon of formulaity in both extant poems of Nicander of Colophon (Theriaka, Alexipharmaka) as well as in the corpus of fragments. Particular attention will be paid to formulaic expressions occurring in geographical designations in the work of Nicander. I shall demonstrate that Nicander uses this device in two ways: firstly, he modifies – usually taking into account the usage of his hellenistic predecessors – some particular Homeric formulae (e. g. πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης 8 times in Homer, Nic. Ther. 792 πολυστίοιο θαλάσσης, 890 πολυφλοίσβοιο Χοάσπεω, Al. 6 πολυστροίβοιο θαλάσσης); secondly, the texts of his poems contain many repeated expressions coined by the poet himself, which serve for the imitation of the formulaic principle as one of important characteristics of the epic style. The latter category shows almost a full range of variation types attested for the Homeric formulae, such as splitting the basic expression by means of another word, changing the word order and metric position, using another case or suffix etc. It attests to the fact that Nicander did not superficially imitate formulae, but intended to reproduce this feature of Homeric *Kunstsprache* in all its complexity. On the whole the study of formulaic expressions in Nicander contributes to our understanding of how the Homeric formulae were perceived in antiquity: although ancient poets and scholars did not use any special terms for designating them, it is quite clear that they were aware of the phenomenon itself.

English Proposals

33. Chiara Maria Mauro
University of Haifa

A re-assessment of the phrase «λιμήν κλειστός» in the Periplus of Pseudo-Skylax

Although modern scholarship regarding ancient Graeco-Roman harbours often employs the expression «λιμήν κλειστός» (closed harbour), the meaning of this term still remains obscure. While in the past several theories have been put forward, the academic world still diverges on the correct way to interpret this expression.

The expression appears in various literary sources and is not limited to a precise historical moment; on the contrary, it shows a continual use over time. It can be found nine times in the *Geography* by Strabo and twice in a periegetical poem by Dionysus, son of Kalliphon, entitled *Description of Greece*. However, it is in the so-called *Periplus of Pseudo-Skylax* that it appears most frequently, being recorded 14 times. The *Periplus of Pseudo-Skylax* is one of the few nautical texts that has survived to the present. Therefore, the phrase should derive from technical, nautical terminology, or it should at least refer to a specific trait that certain harbours contained in that era.

Attempts to interpret the expression «λιμήν κλειστός» have often assumed a static nature of the phrase over time. In this talk, on the other hand, I will adopt a narrower chronological focus, in order to understand the possible meaning of the phrase when it firstly appeared in textual sources, between the Archaic and Classical periods. The emphasis will be on its significance in the *Periplus of Pseudo-Skylax*, whose final redaction may be dated to the end of the 4th century BC. In particular, the mentions of "closed harbours" within the Periplus will be examined within their archaeological, historical and geological context, calling into question previous interpretations and suggesting a new definition for the term.

34. Chen Antler
The Department of Archeology and Near-Eastern Cultures, Tel- Aviv University

Setting cultural Boundaries/Borders: the foundation of Rome

This lecture aims to examine the foundation of the city of Rome and the formation of the Roman ethos as a test-case that reflect the development of individual cultures by means of setting boundaries and borders, physical and conceptual. The "cultural creation" of Rome makes for a compelling and natural study: The physical process of urban foundation in Rome reveals an extraordinary case in which we can trace (via multiple disciplines) the organization of different social and concrete elements into a distinct singular culture.

The lecture is based on a research into the first public construction projects built in Rome in the 6th century BCE and their correlation to the establishment of social structures and divisions. Such an examination is based on comparing the historiographical evidence with the archaeological data. On the one hand, the literary sources preserve origin and foundation myths as well as traditions attesting to "borrowing" elements of the Roman ethos from other cultures. On the other, the physical remains of the first building projects attest to the development of a society; among them, the Cloaca Maxima which embodies the social boundaries of the "new" Roman society structured around the issues of purity and pollution, religious boundaries, social and gender hierarchies and the physical borders of the city.

By following the city's development throughout the centuries it is possible to demonstrate that cultural/social boundaries and physical borders evolved simultaneously, and to conduct an investigation into those moments when the coordination failed. The main themes introduced in this lecture include: the social scheme of town-building in 6th- 5th centuries BCE Italy and the rituals involved in setting and marking borders, "defining a culture" in archaeological terms (the complex and delicate boundary between "us" and "them"), the relation between physical and social development, and the flexibility of borders.

35. Peter Martin

Doctoral candidate, University of Cambridge

How History Lost Its Innocence

Thucydides described how power corrupts both people and *poleis*. But there is little indication Thucydides believed power corrupted him. Thucydides was an exiled Athenian general yet he gave few signs of worrying that his readers would think he was partial to Athens or Sparta in his narrative. Thucydides asserted his historical truth by focusing on the accuracy, not the sincerity, of his authorial voice.

Tacitus, in contrast, began his prefaces in *Agricola, Histories* and *Annals* by pronouncing his sincerity. No mention is made of his method of inquiry or of the accuracy of his narrative. Rather, he focused on his impartiality as the means of indicating his adherence to historical truth.

Woodman 1988 noticed this difference and concluded that Roman historians 'saw the truth in terms of impartiality' and that fiction is permissible in historiography provided that it is probable and written without an agenda. I propose a different reading of this historiographical change.

Roman historians still cared about writing factual accounts; Classical Greek historians still cared about coming across as sincere. Both sincerity and accuracy are prerequisites to truth, as Bernard Williams 2002 argued. But in defending their truthfulness, each historian focused on what might seem their greatest weakness. The Classical Greeks argued that their accounts were not poetic, but accurate; the imperial Romans that their accounts were not partial to one faction or another, but sincere.

I locate this historiographical change within historical changes. History writing was more politicized in the Hellenistic and Roman world than it was in Classical Greece. I argue that the Alexander historians, such as Callisthenes, Aristobulus and Ptolemy, mark a historiographical turning point. These historians worked directly for Alexander. They were loyal to Alexander while claiming to look through an impartial historical lens. This tension led to a greater historiographical self-consciousness. Alexander changed the face of history – but also of historiography.

36. Luca Mazzini

Doctoral candidate, University of Exeter, England.

Seleucia on the Tigris under the Anchor

The present paper aims to answer three questions related to Seleucia on the Tigris under the Seleucid domination: the date of its foundation, the nature of its civic institutions and the development of the political and economic relations with the city of Babylon. As to the ancient tradition on Seleucia, the modern historian cannot rely on the Seleucid historiography, due to its disappearance. About the event of the foundation, the main source is the *Syriaka* by Appian. Pausanias and Ammianus Marcellinus also briefly recount the foundation of this settlement in their works. References to the civic institutions of Seleucia are in Pliny the Elder, Tacit and Flavius Josephus, despite the fact that they described the institutions of the city while it was already ruled by the Arsacid dynasty. As well as the Greek-Roman tradition, the Astronomical Diaries and the Babylonian Chronicles are the literary sources that record precious information about the history of the Hellenistic Mesopotamia. These cuneiform tests were preserved in the "Esagila", the main temple of Babylon, managed by the native Babylonian priesthood. The Babylonian chronicles probably used the Astronomical Diaries as a source to write the history of the Esagila, but only the fragments concerning the period from VIII until III B.C. survived. The planning of the Hellenistic Seleucia was partly discovered thanks to three archaeological expeditions carried out progressively in the XXth century, revealing the presence of a theatre and the Royal Archives, containing more than 25,000 clay sealings. To conclude, I argue through the interpretation of the evidence that the foundation of the new Seleucid capital and the consequent administrative centralization focused on this centre did not undermine the symbolical importance of the religious authorities in Babylon. The Esagila still represented Babylonia as a whole in front of the royal officers from Seleucia.

English Proposals

none**37. Dr. Stefan E. A. Wagner**
University of Erlangen-Nürnberg

The Game of Thrones: Royal Representational Strategies in the Time of Antiochos VI. and the Decline of Seleucid Empire

The paper deals with the Seleucid Empire in the years of the child king Antiochos VI. Epiphanes Dionysos, a time when the huge kingdom was about to decline, mostly not because of the appearance of foreign aggressors, but primarily due to inner rebellions and civil war-like conflicts between diverse claimers of the throne. Those rivalries, insurrections and usurpations are not only traceable in literary and historical, but also in archaeological sources. My presentation will focus on three main questions: First: Which is the course of events that basically led to the weakening and, later, to the decline of the Seleucid Empire? Secondly: Which are the most important archaeological sources that can be considered as evidences of this period? And third: Which role playes the medium of ruler portraiture in those years, and to what extent can it be used as a source of reconstructing the inner discord within the Seleucid Empire? The paper provides especially an engagement with the theories of Jutta Meischner, who claimed in her works that the portraiture of those years clearly reflect the events, for example when considering the so-called Mersin portrait of Antiochos VI.

38. Michael Paschalis
University of Crete

Plutarch on the Issue of Alexander's Divinity

The paper examines the *proskynesis* affair in Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, chs. 50-54) in relation to Arrian and Curtius. The *proskynesis* affair comprises two episodes, a long and a short one. The former concerns Alexander's failure to introduce the act of *proskynesis* into the Macedonian court ceremony. The latter episode took place in a private symposium where the participants, with one exception, performed *proskynesis* to the king. Only Arrian includes both episodes. Curtius has the long and Plutarch the short version. Furthermore while in both Arrian and Curtius Alexander plans the events in advance — in Curtius he does so even in the minute details — Plutarch leaves the king's involvement in the planning entirely out of the picture. The paper argues that Plutarch handles the *proskynesis* affair in a manner that confirms his low regard for the ruler-cult and his view that Alexander's claimed descent from Zeus-Ammon was mere poetic flattery. He a builds a very strong connection between the murder of Cleitus and the *proskynesis* episode; in his mocking reference to Alexander's descent from Ammon and his contempt for *proskynesis* Cleitus functions as the author's mouthpiece. In order to avoid giving emphasis to the *proskynesi*s affair itself, Plutarch omits the long episode but praises Callisthenes for his firm and resolute opposition to obeisance. He retains the brief and less formal episode, enhances its casual character and provides a modified version of the ritual where Alexander is not the exclusive recipient of attention.

39. Franziska Luppa
Technische Universität Dresden

Groups of Origin within the Immigrant Community in Fourth Century Athens

When the speaker of Lysias 23 tries to challenge the identity of Pancleon, an alleged Plataean, he investigates among the foreign residents of Athens. Luckily, he has no trouble finding the Plataeans at the fresh cheese market, where they were known to meet every month. Judging from its prominent treatment within the speech, the fact that none of the respondents could confirm Pancleon's claim of origin is expected to be the most decisive evidence against him being a Plataean and thus against his eligibility of sharing in the privileges that the Plataeans have been awarded by the Athenians. Though short, this example nicely illustrates some features of different groups of origin within the Athenian immigrant community during the fourth century, which will be examined.

The paper stresses that becoming an Athenian resident did not necessarily mean abandoning one's 'national' identity as a citizen of another Polis. Rather, individuals with mutual origin frequently organized themselves into groups with common rituals, such as a monthly meeting. Our example even suggests, that individuals within these groups of origin were so closely connected that outsiders could be identified without doubt. It is not too farfetched to suppose, that by providing a means of self-definition to their members these groups would have potentially posed a threat to the foreign residents' loyalty to their adopted Polis. Athens however demanded their loyalty, regardless. In light of this, it will be argued that the formation and establishment of such groups of origin was at times facilitated and at times restricted by the Athenians. The aim of the paper thus is to discuss the main traits of groups of origin within the immigrant community at Athens and the Athenian dealing with these groups.

40. Konstantinos Melidis
University of Cyprus

Greek Bible epic: The *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* of Pseudo-Apollinarius

The *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*, commonly known as the "Homeric Psalter", is a 5th century intralingual translation of the Greek psalter reconstructed in epic verse. The scope of the unknown author (the work was attributed to Apollinarius of Laodicea until recently), as one can read in the programmatic prologue (named *protheoria*) of his work, was to put the prose text of the Septuagint translation of Psalms of David's Book in hexameters (*heksatonois epeessin*, Ps.-Apol. *Metaphr.* Protheoria, v. 32). Pseudo-Apollinarius considering that the Hebrew text of David lost his metrical and musical grace in its Greek translation (of LXX), decides to use the Homeric language and meter which can be identified with the glorious Greek literary tradition, in order to reach and render in a proper way the melodious character of their original text, viewed as the glorious poetic and musical Hebrew past:

> *…David's glorious character was worshiped by Hebrew meters made of divine melodies…*
> *Nevertheless, being translated into the Greek language, they lost their metrical grace.*
>
> (Ps-Apol. *Metaphr*. Protheoria, v. 15-19).

Within the frame of a larger project devoted to the Biblical epic Greek literature that is being presently curried out by our research team at the University of Cyprus, purpose of this paper is to discuss some basic topics of this interesting but unfortunately understudied text:

- With regard to the rhetorical theories on the paraphrastic techniques as explained by the ancient rhetoric literature, e.g. Quintilian, *Inst. Or*. X 5.8 and 11) and taking into account that several other biblical works transferred in Latin or Greek epic verse of the same or previous epoch (for instance, Nonnus of Panopolis, Sedulius, etc.), what are the rhetoric influences that our author uses in order to achieve his scope? Does he seem to be faithful to the ancient theories of paraphrasing procedure, especially from the point of view of *ornatio*, *variatio*, *copia verborum* -or even *omissio*?

- To want extend we can speak of a "Homeric Psalter"? Some non-Homeric (lyric, dramatic, Hellenistic epic and eventually early Christian literature) influences of Ps-Apollinarius image-making and vocabulary (e.g. musical terms) will be pointed out.

- Finally, some remarks will be expressed about the relation between our text and Ancient commentaries/exegetic texts on *Psalms*.

All the aforementioned non-Homeric echoes, do they have -even occasionally- an explicit or implicit religious exegetic intention, or just a pure literary/stylistic and philological character?

41. *Łukasz Niesiołowski-Spanò*, Ph.D., Habil.
University of Warsaw

The Biblical Joseph Story as a response to the Greek literary genre?

The Joseph narrative in Genesis has been for long the subject of research in Biblical Studies. Its unique role in the Genesis composition and its particular narrative aspect has been recognized. Despite the close analysis of the story, conduced repeatedly within the Biblical Studies, the reconstruction of the historical context of the narrative deserves further analysis. The main methodological problem in dealing with Genesis, and other parts of the Hebrew Bible, rely on the preconditioned assumptions about the date of Bible composition.

As *comparandum*, one may point to the recent studies on biblical Song of Songs. When scholars freed themselves from the slavish belief about an early date of this poetry (in monarchical period), the proposals about the origins of this poem in Hellenistic period popped up in scholarship. Now, claiming that the Song of Songs represents the Hebrew version of the Greek court erotic poetry does not cause strong reactions.

The Joseph story in Genesis aims to explain the presence of Israel in Egypt, within the frames of mythical Exodus narrative. It is, however, filled with "useless" details: Joseph's imprisonment, interpretation of dreams, and career at the pharaoh court. These details are hardly to be explained by the narrative needs of Exodus story. They are neither directly linked to the theological message of the Hebrew Bible. These details, *mutatis mutandis*, may reflect the popular Greek romance genre, focused on the ups and downs in hero's adventures.

The aim of the paper will be to pose a question whether the details in Joseph narrative in Genesis may reflect the genre of Greek romances, current in the Hellenistic period. Analysis of the Joseph story in the light of Hellenistic Greek literature may help to understand the process of the composition of Genesis – the pieces of Hebrew literature, as the literature used for the current political needs, as well as reaction to the overwhelming and over present Greek literature.

42. Rivka Gersht
Tel Aviv University

The Caesarea Maritima Asklepios Reconsidered

In August 2015 the Israel Antiquities Authority team uncovered a small marble head of Asklepios, the first and only head of the god found at Caesarea. All other images of Asklepios uncovered in the ancient city are headless. The head closely resembles a head of a statuette of Asklepios feeding a serpent with an egg from Nea Paphos, Cyprus. Yet the head of the Caesarea statuette was found without its body and the other Caesarea images of the god, associated with the Nea Paphos type, were found without their right hand which might have held an egg. Scholars have different opinions about the origin and significance of the type of Asklepios feeding the serpent with an egg. Some associate the type with Alexander the false prophet and his god Asclepius-Glycon, others relate it to the temple of Asklepios in Kos. In this lecture the Caesarea images of Asklepios will be confronted with the various interpretations of the type of Asklepios holding an egg.

43. Sarit Stern
Johns Hopkins University

Λέοντα ἥρωσιν - Artemis in the *Iliad*

While most of the Greek gods in the *Iliad* are occasionally presented in a negative light, none is treated as unfavorably as Artemis, who is continuously depicted as a weak, uncontrollable, and dangerous goddess by Homer, who excluded her from the masculine sphere of wars and heroes and downplayed her importance and powers. Homer also ignored her close association with archery and hunting, which were closely connected to warfare, restricting her connection with archery to the feminine realm - using her bow only against women, thus further distinguishing her from the realms of heroes and battlefields, where one should kill men, not girls. Moreover, in a poem full of gods interacting with humans and with each other, Artemis is mostly passive, speaking only once, when she scolds her brother for refusing to fight Poseidon in the Theomachy. Apollo does not answer her, and it is Hera who reprimands and beats Artemis with her own bow, illustrating her weak and childlike status (XXI.435-520).

The reason Artemis is presented as a *persona multum non grata* in the *Iliad* is that unlike Apollo and Athena, she was not a hero-oriented goddess, and was considered too wild and unexpected, easily offended, and potentially dangerous to the Homeric warriors. Her assistance was not sought after but rather she was presented as someone to be avoided on the one hand, while being mocked and denigrated on the other. Artemis is not excluded because of her feminine aspects, but rather she is affiliated with them in order to disassociate her from the warriors and battles. This way, the goddess, who ignored heroes and refused to help them, was turned into an insignificant deity to the heroes of the *Iliad*.

44. Andrés Cid-Zurita
Assistant Professor MA in History of the West, Universidad del Bío-Bío, Chile.

Similar to the Gods but not a God: epigraphic considerations for the imperial cults

When Augustus died, the imperial cults were wide spread all over the Mediterranean. Considering that point, it is important to recall how the divine and divinizing words were produced to the *Prinpeps* and the imperial family, and, if these words can be seen as a sincere expression of divinity (even in life) or just a mere adulation form.

This is an interpretative study of some Greek and Latin inscriptions that seeks to establish various elements that make some differences and bring new suggestions to the concept of imperial cults, focusing the changes in the titles and words given to the emperors through the epigraphs, not only considering as part of flattery or sincere expressions as the classical interpretation, because he importance of words is unique: they can show literally and figurative the expressions of one person and some individuals. In this point it is important to note that inscriptions can even be exaggerating individuals' rhetoric and it cannot be forgotten the language-game, as Wittgenstein pointed out.

Furthermore, the geographical locations and the cultural manifestations are important to note because depending the place, usually it can be found more or less powerful words to the imperial cult, producing innovations or specific visualizations. Using the religious and political epigraphical monuments, the literature of the period and also the numismatic study with the contemporary studies, some ideas can be tracked about the titulature of the imperial cult and the problems that still arise.

45. Antonella Bellantuono
University of Strasbourg

Do the words βίβλος/βιβλίίον have a religious connotation in Greek culture?

The aim of my paper is to investigate the religious usage of the words βίίβλος/βιβλίίον in antiquity and to analyze religious texts called βιβλίία coming from the Greek world. As is well known, the original meaning of βίίβλος/βιβλίίον is "scroll" and its use for the "Bible" in Jewish and Christian language takes its cue in a historical development, in particular when the term βίίβλος/βιβλίίον became used with reference to the Torah.

In the LXX translation of the Bible, the noun τὸ βιβλίίον is more or less the solemn expression for the book of the Law (e.g. Deut. 28,58; 29,20 (19); 4 Kgdms 2,8b). Moreover, in the Hebrew Old Testament often occurs the request to write down what is said *bₑ sæpær* "in a book" (Ex 17,14; Num 5,23; Deut 17,18; Tob 12,20; Isa 30,8). This can mean any surface or sheet adapted for writing, but the translators, who used βιβλίίον, probably would have thought of a papyrus scroll. It is worth noting that Josephus, who almost always has the plural ἱεραὶ βίίβλοι, uses βιβλίία rather than βιβλίίον for the Torah and the books of the Hebrew Bible. If from the time of Chrysostom the canonical collection of both Old Testament and New Testament has been called τὰ βιβλίία, this follows the usage found in Josephus except that it is now extended to cover the New Testament Canon as well.

As for the use of τὰ βιβλίία for texts of religious character, the question arises of whether the choice of this expression to designate the Torah could have been influenced by a previous Greek usage. In other words, could sacred books be called τὰ βιβλίία in non---- Jewish Greek texts? Apparently, in Greek literature the expression τὰ βιβλίία occurs without any specification to designate sacred books (e.g. Demosthenes, *De Falsa Legatione* 199). In fact, the existence of ἱεραίί βίίβλοι is frequently attested also in papyri and inscriptions.

I will study the lexical history of the expression τὰ βιβλίία in Greek Classical and Hellenistic literature with a particular focus on its religious use, in order to understand how widespread this use was and whether it could have influenced the LXX choice to use this expression to designate the Torah.

English Proposals

46. Ariadni Tatti, Professor Emerita, Dr. **Eleni Alexandri**, **Stergiani Tzirvitsi**, PhD Candidate
University of Ioannina, Greece

Hiketeia and *asylia* in ancient Greek mythical and political thought

The questions on the boundaries between myth and history are part of a wider discussion, which, at first reading, could be regarded as a purely political issue. Thus, in the context of the international interest in the granting of asylum and the integration of migrants and refugees in host societies, our paper aims to highlight some aspects of *hiketeia* (supplication) and *asylia* (asylum) in Ancient Greece and to present the ways of interaction of mythical narratives and political decisions regarding those issues.

More specifically, we will attempt to investigate the mythical and historical parameters in the supplication and asylum seeking scenes in the context of Ancient Greece thought and in the tragic plays and the Attic oratory.

The immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers are people who "approach, asking for protection and help. The literary evidence shows that the granting of asylum, accompanied by the corresponding ritual acts, has been at the heart of tragic inspiration, and that dramatic poetry is filled with suppliants: e.g. Aeschylus' *The Suppliants*, Sophocles,' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Euripides', *Herakles*, *Heracleidae*, *Medea*. Regarding the oratory, there are also many cases such as Isocrates' *Plataicus*, "the longest record of any act of ancient supplication" a discourse that could have been delivered by a Plataean official before the Assembly in Athens. The terms and the procedures also appear in the corpus of Demosthenes, Aeschines, Lysias, Andocides, Lykourgos, where we find information on the institutional framework, legislation and political processes.

However, the institution of *hiketeia* and *asylia*, had not taken a definitive form and the full legal process remains unclear. It is often noted that the dimension between legal and mythical thought is at the same time large and small. The examination, therefore, of the "stages" of supplication and asylum seeking, the terminology, the rhetorical framework, the legal framework, the circumstances, as well as the acceptance or the rejection, highlight the coexistence, incisions and common plots of myth with reason, written and unwritten law, mythology and history.

47. Filippo Trotta
University "Aldo Moro", Bari, Italy

Ritual Sacrifices and Liminar Divinities Between Greek and Etruscan World: New Considerations about the Paintings of the Tomb of the Inscriptions in Tarquinia

The following work, part of the result of a specialization's thesis in Etruscan studies produced by the writer, focuses on the analysis and interpretation of an alleged scene of sacrifice painted on the entrance wall of the Tomb of the Inscriptions in Tarquinia, located at the necropolis of Monterozzi and dating back to the last years of the sixth century BC. If it is clear that it is the gesture of a young boy to put a fish on a gridiron, the translation of the *titulus pictus* that dominates the image, the meaning to be given to the sacrifice or consumption of fish in a funerary context and, finally, the identity of the nude and itifallic character who presides over the ritual remain uncertain, made even more complex by the presence of numerous graphic and photographic reproductions made over time, which have returned different 'variations' of the character.

Through an analysis and comparison between apograph and antigraphs of paintings and between literary and iconographic sources, able to range from the Etruscan to the Greek and Italic world, this study attempted to give an identity to what is thought to be a liming divinity between the world of the living and the word of the dead, whose rituality could be connected to the immolation of fish. The new interpretation proposed, read in relation to that of the other frescoes that decorate the hypogeum, in this way has contributed to providing a new interpretation to the entire pictorial cycle.

48. Sarah Gilboa-Karni
University of Haifa

Liber Pater is Dionysos, but who is Libera?

The temple to Ceres, Liber and Libera on the slopes of the Aventine was one of the earliest temples inaugurated in the Roman Republic. The triad, commonly regarded as the Plebeians' triad, was interpreted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as equivalent to the Greek deities Demeter, Dionysos and Kore (*Ant. Rom.* VI.17.94).

While Ceres and Liber Pater (Liber/Bacchus) were securely identified in antiquity as the goddess of grain and the god of wine, both were assigned important civic and symbolic roles in the Roman world. Thus, their place in a renowned temple is understandable. Libera's identity on the other hand, is undecided; she was variously interpreted as Persephone (Cicero, *Nat. D.* 2.24), as Ariadne (Ovid, *F.* 3.512) and as Venus (Augustine, *De civ. D.* 6.9). Modern scholarship, addressing the ubiquitous Bacchic imagery, has further confused the matter by referring to female figures appearing alongside Liber/Bacchus, as a nymph or a maenad, without taking into consideration the possibility that the images represent Libera.

Based on an analysis of garden sculpture from Pompeii, Herculaneum and villas of the Bay of Naples, I propose to clarify the identity of Libera as distinct from Venus, Ariadne or Persephone/Proserpina, as well as from nymphs or maenads. The pertinent evidence is reliefs (*pinakes*) and double herms from these gardens that depict Liber/Bacchus with a female consort. My aim is to show that this female figure is the archaic Italic deity Libera, who presided alongside Liber/Bacchus over human and vegetation fertility.

English Proposals

49. Ioanna N. Papadopoulou,
Tenure Assistant Professor of Classics, Democritus University of Thrace,

Aspects of Epiphany: Fear and Love

To view the face of a god can be fatal, as in the example of Semele, the mother of Dionysus; yet there seems to be, according to the Greek Mythology, a time when humans lived side by side with the gods, as stated in the well-known passage of Hesiod (*Op.* 109 ff.). Is there an indication that a collapse to the "relationship" of gods and mortals caused not only the decline of the human race but also the fear in the communication between the immortal, omnipresent, and powerful gods and the mortals, powerless humans? In that case, what is the role of Prometheus, and especially his connection on why humans do not live forever? According to the myth (Nic. *Ther.* 486-92 Hop. = 334-58 G.-S.) the gift of immortality, a sign of epiphany, was the reward humans received for their betrayal of Prometheus; is only the 'stupidity' of humans to be blamed for losing any connection to their goods? Another ritual in Athens indicates a 'secret marriage': the priest of Dionysus as a persona of the god marries the queen (at the celebration of *Choes* during the *Anthesteria*). Can we assume that before or after the fear there was a short of 'sexual' unification of gods and mortals (which, of course, explains the origins of all the semi-gods and the heroes)? How did the fear of Gods and the love between 'chosen' mortals and immortals lead to supernatural epiphanies in tragedy? Are these signs of a world that became up-side down, and sought for the return to the old, lost harmony?

50. Ana Mihaljević, University of Pula, Croatia,
Petra Šoštarić, University of Zagreb, Croatia

Reception of Hesiod in Croatian neo-Latin literature

The linguistic heritage of the Latin language in Croatia is twofold: on one hand, Latin was spoken in the Roman provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia that covered what is today Croatian territory, and local Romance languages developed along the eastern shores of the Adriatic. On the other hand, Latin was used from the Middle Ages until 1847, among other things, as the language of the Church, administration, politics and *les belles lettres*. The literary output of Croatian humanists comprises around 7000 works in Latin, with epic poetry and historiography as the most prominent genres. Nevertheless, a small corpus consisting of Greek-to-Latin translations has been garnering more and more attention in recent years, and the Greek poet Hesiod holds a special place within this corpus. He was translated by two authors, Matthias Garbitius Illyricus and Bernardus Zamagna, belonging to two different religious and historical contexts: the former was a 16th century Protestant living in Germany, the latter an 18th century Catholic living in Italy. This paper aims to compare their respective translations of Hesiod, one in prose and the other in hexameter verse, including their rich paratexts, and discuss the different uses and interpretations of Hesiod.

51. Assist. Prof. Violeta Moretti
Juraj Dobrila University, Pula, Croatia

Dialogue with the contemporary reader: reception and translation of Ovid
(the Croatian perspective)

The paper addresses the question of reception and translation of Ovid's works in contemporary Croatia. Ovid undoubtedly belongs to the most influential authors of Roman Antiquity, whose linguistic and stylistic expressions took part in shaping Neo-Latin literature and the Western mind in general. Latin versions and their translations circulated among the literary public and attracted massive attention in literature, music, painting, plastic arts, etc. (through the famous works of such authors as Boccaccio, Petrarca, Shakespeare, Goethe, Rembrandt, Rodin, Monteverdi and many more). Included in Ovid's legacy is also his influence on epistolary literature, one of the less explored genres of Neo-Latin literature. He has been translated into Croatian several times (H. Lucić, Betondić, etc.), but his modern translations are rather scarce in number (T. Maretić, T. Ladan). This paper puts Ovid's works into the sociophilological frame in order to provide an explanation of the status of the Latin language and the classics in this part of Europe. Besides, it questions the possibilities of reception of Ovid's works in the contemporary context of weakened humanistic education, where students have less and less knowledge of Classical literature, mythology and the Classical world in general. Is there any possiblity of a dialogue with the text while dealing with so many blind spots in understanding the Classical motives? And what are the present chances of aesthetic enjoyment in the first place?

52. Olga Śmiechowicz
Jagiellonian University, Kraków

Oscar Wilde - the hero from Old Attic Comedy

In proposed paper I would like to present the forgotten drama „Aristophanes at Oxford". (I have found it in 2012 during my research (focused on the Reception of Aristophanes in UK) in Magdalen College Library in Oxford.) „Aristophanes at Oxford" was published in 1894. This (not well-known) drama was written by Leopold Amery, Francis Wrigley Hirst and Henry Cruso (students at Magdalen College). Authors in very funny and wit way used the structure typical for Old Ancient Comedy and wrote the satire on Oscar Wilde and his artistic work.

In the dramatic plot (mostly inspired by „Frogs" by Aristophanes) two students of Magdalen College escaped from the University to avoid learning Ancient Philosophy. To the they surprise at the Oxford's suburbia they met Aristotle, Socrates and Thucydides who escaped from Hades to see modern publications of their work. The plot of the Comedy is full of wit jokes mostly based on allusions to works written by Aristotle and Thucydides (and some informations that we know on Socrates). Similarly to „Frogs" and „Wasps" by Aristophanes, students and Ancient thinkers together provide the trial of the modern author (and lover of Antiquity) – Oscar Wilde. Authors used the whole potential of Old Ancient Comedy and used linguistic stylisations, interetextual allusions (f.e. to William Shakespeare, and Aubrey Beardsley), quotations from Wilde's texts and allusions to current problems in Oxford (in *parabasis*). Among Ancient characters they *onomasti* evoke ia. Carol Darwin, Henry Haggard and Lewis Carroll in the aim to talk about British Culture in the end of Victorian period. „Aristophanes at Oxford" is a very funny drama full of erudite allusions to Ancient and British Culture. What is surprising this drama is almost forgotten by British Scholars (both scientists who focused on Oscar Wilde's biography and those devoted to the Reception of Aristophanes). Currently I work on the commentary and Polish translation of this drama.

53. Natasha Remoundou
National University of Ireland, Galway

Theatre of Memory/ Theatre of Human Rights: Ireland's *Iphigeneias*.

My paper explores two emblematic Abbey productions of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis* staged for the National Theatre of Ireland, Katie Mitchell's acclaimed *Iphigenia at Aulis* (2001) and Marina Carr's loose adaptation *Ariel* (2002). *Iphigeneia*'s new millennial re-workings were staged in response to changing times and as reactions to cataclysmic events in the 20th and 21st centuries: the Second World War and the modern economic warfare of the Irish Celtic Tiger period. In light of this exploration of alternative kinds of memory discourse for the theatre, the focus on human rights narratives and/through memory can be read as synonymous to a universal trope for historical trauma. In my analysis, I dwell on the role of culture in forging ways through which we recount our shared "present pasts" as a fundamental human right to remember and to forget. Through the twentieth century's world wars till the not so distant Irish *Troubles* and the Irish Celtic Tiger period, a new rigorous understanding of myth and history has emerged while we are still learning to navigate the new century with its myriad challenges and apprehensions on a political, economic, environmental, and community level in societies in transition, migrations, borders, displacements, and diasporas. The particular performance aesthetic of both productions raised a series of questions of enduring importance: about war, nationalism, man's abuses of human rights, ambition, "the price of freedom, and inhuman sacrilege," but also about the right to remember and to forget. The productions were thus attempts to provide a theatrical space for internationally acclaimed theatre makers to present their work within the context of a classically informed repertory while directly highlighting the way the national Irish stage palpably commemorated the traumatic 20th century and the advent of a new controversial epoch almost five decades on since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

54. Giacomo Loi
The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

Shir shel acharei milchamah.
Classical and Biblical Myth in Haim Gouri's *Movement to Touch* (1968)

In 1990 Glenda Abramson discussed why Hebrew poets should have ever used Classical mythology: in comparison with the great Jewish tradition this use seemed to require an explanation. One of the istances analyzed is *Odysseus* by Haim Gouri (1960): this poem uses Odysseus as a figure of discontented return home, an image for the unhappy Israeli soldiers coming back from Sinai (1956).

Later on, just after the Six Days War, Haim Gouri (1923-1968) published his poetry collection *Movement to Touch*. In this paper I will analyze the first section, *Nine men from the minyan*. This section deals with the theme of return from war through a number of mythological figures. While it is clear that the Samson story is overturned to show the dramatic change in Israeli history post 1967, it is less obvious the role of Odysseus in this section. I contend that the poet changes the myth of Odysseus, denying him the return home, 1) to surprise the reader, thus re-enacting the public response to the 1967 war in the reader's reaction to the poems; 2) to offer a metaliterary justification of the poet's right to change myth. This justification can be afforded by Odysseus because of the many canonized versions, ancient and modern, of his story; in turn, the poet then extends this right to biblical myths, such as Samson, Absalom and Joseph.

My paper will show both the trajectory of change in the treatment of the Odysseus myth throughout Gouri's poetry and the poet's continuous manipulation of the reader's expectations, between change and loyalty to traditional versions of myths, to surprise the reader in the same manner that the Six Days War amazed the public.

1. Fayah Haussker , Tel-Aviv University; Open University

Plut. *Them*. 10.5 וציבוריותו של החינוך היווני בזיכרון ההיסטורי

פלוטארכוס, בהתייחסותו בביוגרפיה של תמיסטוקלס (*Them*.10.5) לקבלת הפנים החמה שאנשי טרויזן (Troezen) העניקו לנשים וילדים אתונאיים, שפונו מעירם ערב קרב סאלאמיס (Salamis) בספטמבר 480 לפנה"ס, מציין החלטה שהתקבלה על ידי אספת העם בטרויזן לספק לילדי האתונאיים מורים מקומיים במימון ה-*פוליס*. אמירה זו מצביעה לכאורה על מרכזיותה ותפוצתה של ההוראה הפורמאלית בעולם היווני ועל ההיבט הציבורי שלה כבר בתחילת המאה החמישית לפנה"ס, קביעה שזוכה לתמיכה רחבה במחקר המודרני מאז פירסום חיבורו של הנרי א. מארו (Marrou, 1948). אולם, המידע שפלוטארכוס מוסר, שאין לו סימוכין במקורות אחרים, בעייתי מאחר ואינו מתיישב כרונולוגית עם העדויות הקיימות לגבי תהליך הקולקטיביזציה ואופייה הציבורי של ההוראה ביוון העתיקה. בעוד שתפוצתו של החינוך היווני ה"פורמאלי" מתחילה לתפוס תאוצה לאחר מלחמות פרס, העדויות ראשונות להיבט הציבורי של חינוך זה ויישומו בפועל מופיעות רק בתקופה ההלניסטית (למשל 577, 578 *SIG* [3] ו Polyb. 31.31.1).

מטרת הרצאה זו היא לבחון את האמיתות ההיסטורית של המידע שפלוטארכוס מוסר לאור התמורות שחלו בחינוך היווני בין שלהי התקופה הארכאית לבין תקופת פעילותו הספרותית של פלוטארכוס. במקביל, ידונו עדויות ספרותיות והאפיגרפיות מהתקופה הקלאסית עד לתקופה האימפריאלית המתייחסות לתרומתה של טרויזן ליישום תכנית פינוי אתונה ערב קרב סאלאמיס. חוסר ההתאמה בסוגיית תהליך הפורמליזאציה של החינוך וקיומה של ההוראה הציבורית בעולם היווני בין העדות של פלוטארכוס למציאות ההיסטורית, תוסבר באמצעות ייחוס אנאכרוניזם לתיאורו של פלוטארכוס, הנובע בחלקו מאופיו וממרכזיותו של החינוך היווני בתקופתו ומאידך גיסא מהמסורות המאוחרות לתקופה הקלאסית, המונעות מהרצון להאדיר את תרומתה של טרויזן במאבק הברית ההלנית נגד הפולש הפרסי.

Plut. *Them*. 10.5 and Greek public education in historical memory

Plutarch, referring in *Themistocles* 10.5 to the warm hospitality that city of Troezen granted Athenian women and children, who were evacuated from Attica on the eve of the Battle of Salamis (September 480 B.C.), indicates a decision voted upon by Troezenians to provide the Athenian children with local teachers funded by the *polis*. This statement ostensibly posits the centrality and distribution of formal teaching in the Greek world, at least in Athens and Troezen, and to its public aspect, at the beginning of the fifth century BC, a claim which has gained wide support in recent scholarship since Henry I. Marrou's research (Marrou, 1948). However, the information that Plutarch provides is not supported by other sources, and is problematic mainly because it does not coincide chronologically with the evidence available about the process of collectivization and the public character of teaching in ancient Greece. While the distribution of "formal" Greek education began to gain momentum after the Persian wars, the first evidence of the public aspect of this education and its actual application appear only in the Hellenistic period (e.g. *SIG*[3] 577, 578 and Polyb. 31.31.1).

The present paper intends to examine the historical validity of Plutarch's information in light of the changes that ensued in Greek education between the end of the Archaic period and the time of Plutarch's literary activity. Concurrently, I'll discuss literary and epigraphic testimonies, from the classical to the imperial period, which relate to Troezen,'s contribution to the implementation of the Athenians evacuation plan. The discrepancy between Plutarch's evidence and Greek historical reality will be explained by attributing anachronism to Plutarch's description, which derives partly from the nature and centrality of Greek education in his period, and partly from post-classical traditions, which are motivated by the desire to glorify the Troezenians' share in the Hellenic struggle against the Persian invader.

2. Hava B. Korzakova, Bar Ilan

מה מתגלה בתחילת "איליאדה"? הרקע האסיאטי של הומרוס והשלכותיו על הבנת הפואמה במאה העשרים ואחת.

לאחר שנים רבות של המחקר ההומרי שאלת קיומו של הומרוס עצמו היא יותר שאלה של השקפה אסתטית מאשר זו המחקרית. אחרי הכל יותר נוח לדבר על מה משורר יחיד חשב או מה היה הרקע שלו מאשר לדון בכוונות או מוצא של "הענן" הבלתי מוגדר של מפתחי המסורת ושומריה. אומנם לדעתי אחת ההוכחות החשובות לטובת קיומו של מחבר "איליאדה" היא במבנה המתוחכם של הפואמה והבחירה באפיזודה שאיננו באה בסוף המלחמה ולא בתחילתה. לכן אני מדברת על הומרוס כמחבר "איליאדה" (בזמן שאני משאירה את "אודיסיאה" לדיון אחר).

התפקיד המאחד אותו שיחקו סיפורי מלחמת טרויה בתקופה הארכאית והפואמות של הומרוס בתקופה הקלאסית עירפל במידה מה את הכוונתו המקורית למשורר שהייתה למשורר אשר השתייך למסדר המשוררים שפעלו בשתי גדות של הים האיגיאי. ייתכן כי ניתן לשער מה הייתה הכוונה הזאת על סמך תחילת "איליאדה" וסיומה של הפואמה. המחקרים האחרונים בתרבות האנטולית והאיגיאית בתקופת הברונזה המאוחרת ותקופת הברזל הקדומה מציגים באור חדש את מה שידענו עד כה על הומרוס, ואולי גם מאירים במידת מה על מה שלא ידענו עליו.

אחת השאלות העולות אפילו מהקריאה הסתמית בפואמה היא סיבת הבחירתו של מחבר הפואמה באפיזודה כמעט שולית מתוך האגדה המפוארת של מלחמת טרויה.

ההרצאה מסכמת מסקנות המחקר המשולב החדש ומוסיפה מספר השערות אותם ניתן להציע לאחר קריאה מחודשת בשלושה קטעי "איאליאד", אחד מהההתחלה, אחד מהסוף ואחד מהאמצע, בקונטקסט החלק המזרחי של העולם האיגיאי. אחרי הכל, מי שרואה בטרויה את מרכז העולם – האם איננו מחוייב לראות את השני חצייו כשווי ערך, ולו רק מבחינת העניין שבהם?

What is revealed in the beginning of the "Iliade"? The Asian background of Homer and its consequences for the understanding of the poem in the XXI century.

Although the question of the very exitance of the "Iliade"'s composer is now more esthetic than scientific one, I think that the sophisticated structure of the poem is one of the strong arguments in his favor.

The uniting role played by the stories of the Trojan war in the Archaic period and by the Homeric poems in the Classical period has somewhat clouded the original intention of the composer who belonged to the poetic guild which was acting on the both shores of the Aegean sea. The latest research in the field of the Anatolian studies and the Aegean culture during the Late Bronze and the Early Iron periods presents in the new light the things we knew about Homer and may be even the things we did not know about him.

One of the many other matters that became approachable due to the research which combines Classic studies with the Anatolian it is the nonobvious selection of the episode for a plot.

The paper summarizes some of the conclusions from the recent research and presents several suggestions which can be made after closer look on the three episodes from the beginning, the middle and the end of the "Iliade", in the context of the eastern part of the Aegean world.

3. Noga Erez-Yodfat, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

"אל תפחד מהמוות!": מסר למת על קבוצת לוחות זהב מפלשתינה הרומית

בהרצאתי אבקש לדון בקבוצת לוחות זהב מפלשתינה הרומית (מאות 2-3 לספירה) אשר נמצאו בקברים ומכילים, באופן חלקי או מלא, את הפורמולה היוונית $θάρσει, NN, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος$ ("חזק ואמץ! אף אחד אינו בן אלמוות"). פורמולה זו נפוצה מאוד בכתובות קבורה מהתקופה הרומית, בעיקר באזור סוריה-פלשתינה וערביה, ושמשה פגאניים, יהודים ונוצרים כאחד. במהלך העשורים האחרונים הוזכרה קבוצת לוחות הזהב בהם אני מבקשת לעסוק על ידי מספר חוקרים, בעיקר בהקשר של "לוחות הזהב האורפיים". יחד עם זאת, מקורם ושימושם של לוחות הזהב מפלשתינה הרומית נותרו שנויים במחלוקת.

מטרתי היא להציע את הקשר פולחני אפשרי אשר אליו קבוצת לוחות הזהב עשויה להשתייך ופרשנות מחודשת למסר שנכתב על גבי לוחות אלו. ראשית, אציג את לוחות הזהב המוכרים במחקר כיום, להם אוסיף מספר עדויות נוספות שלא נקשרו בעבר עם קבוצת הלוחות, חלקן אף לא פורסמו מעולם. לאחר מכן, אדון בהקשר הפולחני והשימוש המשוער של לוחות אלו תוך שאני מתמקדת במיוחד בזיקה האפשרית לפולחני המסתורין של יוון העתיקה. כוונתי המרכזית היא להראות שהמסר שנכתב על גבי לוחות אלו עשוי להתכתב עם אמונות הנוגעות לעולם הבא, ומשקף, אולי, את אחת מהמטרות המרכזיות ביותר של חוויית החניכה אל תוך פולחני המסתורין: להתגבר על הפחד מפני המוות.

'Do not fear death!': a message to the deceased on a group of gold *lamellae* from Roman Palaestina

In this paper I intend to discuss a group of gold *lamellae* from Roman Palaestina (2nd- 3rd c. CE) that come from burial context and contain, fully or partly, the Greek formula $θάρσει, NN, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος$ (Take courage! no one is immortal). This formula was very common in the Imperial period on epitaphs of pagans, Jews and Christians alike, and it occurs in different places across the Mediterranean region, especially in Syria Palaestina and Arabia. During the recent decades several scholars have discussed this group of gold *lamellae*, in particularly in connection with the so-called "Orphic gold tablets". However, the origin and function of these unique artefacts remain controversial.

My purpose is to suggest a possible cultic background to which this group might belong, and a new interpretation to the message inscribed upon the *lamellae*. I will begin with presenting this group of *lamellae,* to which I will add some new evidence that have never been associated with it. Some *lamellae* are still unpublished, and will be presented for the first time. Thereafter, I intend to discuss the context and function of these *lamellae*, focusing on the probable link to ancient Greek mysteries. My main objective will be to show that the message inscribed upon these *lamellae* could reflect afterlife beliefs and might be associated with one of the most prominent purposes of the initiatory experience: to overcome the fear of death.

4. Uri Yiftach, Tel Aviv University

מספונסיו להומולוגיה: מקרה של סינקרטיות משפטית

הסטיפולטיו הינה אחת צורות החוזה הקדומות ביותר במשפט הרומי. לשאלתו של בעל החוב העתידי, "האם אתה מתחייב בקודש (spondes) כי ינתנו לי מאה", עונה החייב "אני מתחייב בקודש" (spondeo). הסטיפולטיו מתועדת גם במרחב היווני: תעודות הכתובות יוונית ממסופוטמיה וממדבר יהודה מצביעות על השימוש החוזר בסטיפולטיו בין על ידי אזרחים רומיים ובין על ידי מי שאינם כאלה בשתי המאות הראשונות לסה"נ. לאחר החלת האזרחות הרומית על כלל האוכלוסיה הלא-רומית של האמפריה, ב-212 לסה"נ, הופך תיעוד הסטיפולטיו למרכיב חוזר גם בתעודות יווניות ממצרים. יחד עם זאת, בין הטקסט הרומי ל"תרגומו" היווני עומדים שני הבדלים מרכזיים. אם בשורש הסטיפולציו עומדת במקור לפחות ההתחייבות הדתית, הטקסית, בטקסט היווני הפועל בו נעשה שימוש הוא homologeo "אני מסכים". מדובר אם-כן על חילון גמור של הקונטקסט. שינוי שני הוא בתוכן ההסכמה. הסטיפולטיו הרומית מגלמת בחובה התחייבות לפעולה עתידית. בניגוד גמור לכך, הפועל homologeo, אשר מתועד בהקשרים שונים עוד מהמאה החמישית לפנה"ס, מתייחס לפעולה ריאלית שהתרחשה בעבר: החייב מצהיר כי הוא קיבל מאה, וחובת המסירה העתידית נובעת מקבלה פיזית זו, לא מאמירת הנוסח. כך גם בגירסה היוונית של הסטיפולטיו: "לאחר שנשאל, הצהיר (החייב) כי הדברים בוצעו כשורה"). זוהי הנקודה שבה אני מבקש להתמקד: מעבר של מוסד משפט, אמצעי ליצירת חוזה מהמרחב הלאטינית למרחב היווני, אינו אקט מכני של העתקה, אלא בבחינת שימוש בכלי רומי לשימור ולפיתוח של תוכן יווני. אבקש לבדוק את ביטוייו של סינקרטיזם זה בטקסטים דוקומנטריים ומשפטיים משלש המאות הראשונות לסה"נ.

5. Yael Young

הסיכה, הָעֱלִי ומושג המַזְמִינות: ייצוגים של אלימות נשית וחפצי יום יום באתונה של המאה ה- 5 לפנה״ס.

בהרצאתי אני מבקשת לבחון ייצוגים מילוליים וחזותיים של אלימות נשית המתבצעת באמצעות חפצים יום יומיים, לאור המושג מַזְמִינות (affordance). המושג נטבע ע״י הפסיכולוג ג׳יימס ג׳. גיבסון כבר בשנות ה- 60 של המאה הקודמת והוגדר בשנת 1979 בספרו The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception. המושג קושר בין האדם לבין הסביבה החומרית המקיפה אותו. הוא מתייחס למגוון השימושים האפשריים בחפץ מסוים כפי שמכתיבים צורתו והחומר ממנו הוא עשוי. המושג משמש היום כמושג מרכזי בתחומי דעת רבים הקשורים להבנת תרבות חומרית ולפרשנותה.

בכוונתי להתמקד בשני חפצים, הסיכה והעלי, ולבחון מספר מקרים המציגים מזמינות החורגת מן השימוש הקאנוני בחפץ. אלו שני חפצים יום יומיים שהיו בעיקר בשימוש נשים. האחד נועד לחבר את שני צידי הפֶּפְּלוֹס (שמלה) והשני נועד לכתישת חומרי גלם קשים במטבח. בחלק הראשון אדון בשני טקסטים, האחד של הרודוטוס מחיבורו היסטוריה והשני מתוך הטרגדיה הֶקַבָּה מאת אוריפידס. בשני הטקסטים קבוצת נשים מתקיפה גבר באמצעות סיכות הפפלוס שלהן. בחלק השני אדון בקבוצת כלי חרס מראשית המאה ה- 5 לפנה״ס המעוטרת בסצנה ״נפילת טרויה״. בסצנה מתוארת אישה כשהיא מתגוננת מפני הלוחמים היווניים באמצעות עלי גדול ממדים. אף כי מקרים אלו נראים במבט ראשון כבלתי קשורים זה בזה, הם חושפים למעשה דגם של יחסים מורכבים בין נשים לבין החפצים הסובבים אותן. בהעדר כלי נשק של ממש נאלצות הנשים להשתמש בחפצים שמקיפים אותן באופן חריג וחתרני. הן מפקיעות את החפצים הללו מן המזמינות הקאנונית שלהם, מנצלות את התכונות של אותם חפצים והופכות אותם לכלי נשק רצחניים לעת מצוא.

Pins, Pestles and the Concept of Affordance: Female Violence and Mundane Objects in Classical Athens

In my lecture, I wish to examine verbal and visual representations of female violence carried out by means of mundane objects, in light of the concept of "affordance". First coined by psychologist James J. Gibson in the 1960s, this concept was defined in 1979 in his book *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*. The term makes the connection between humans and their material environment and refers to the various potential usages of any given object as dictated by its form and material make-up. Today, affordance serves as a central concept in contemporary disciplines that deal with understanding material culture and its interpretation.

I intend to focus here on two objects, the straight pin and the pestle, and to examine a number of cases presenting affordances that fall beyond the normative usage of these objects. These two mundane objects were historically used primarily by women. One was designed to fasten the two sides of the peplos (a type of Doric dress) and the other was intended for crushing hard raw materials in the kitchen. In the first section of my talk, I will discuss two texts, one from Herodotus' work *The History* and the other from Euripides' tragedy *Hecuba*. In both, a group of women attack a man with the pins of their peploi. In the second section of my talk, I will discuss a group of early 5th century BCE attic vases decorated with the scene *The Sack of Troy*, in which a woman is depicted defending herself from the Greek warriors with a large pestle. Although these cases appear at first glance to be unrelated, both reveal a complex relationship between women and the objects surrounding them. Deprived of any proper weapons, women are forced to utilize the mundane objects in their vicinity in a transgressive manner – commandeering them from their canonical affordance, exploiting their material properties and turning these objects into ad hoc weapons of murder.

6. Hebrew Panel Proposal

<u>בין פסיכולוגיה להיסטוריה בעת העתיקה – כיוונים חדשים למחקר בינתחומי</u>

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להלן הצעתינו למושב לכנס הקרוב של האגודה, מושב שיעסוק כולו במפגש בין היסטוריה לפסיכולוגיה בעת העתיקה. שלושתנו עוסקים במחקר של המימד המנטאלי-פסיכולוגי בשפה, בחשיבה ובהתנהגות בעת העתיקה. כל אחת ואחד מאיתנו חוקר את המפגש הזה מכיוון שונה ובהיבט פסיכולוגי מודרני שונה (פסיכולוגיה קוגניטיבית, מדע המוח, פסיכואנליזה התיחסותית). צירוף של שלושת הכיוונים האלה במסגרת של מושב משותף יציע מערך מחקרי חדש לדון בקשר בין פסיכולוגיה להיסטוריה של העת העתיקה.

We propose a session dedicated to the encounter between history and psychology in antiquity. The three of us study the mental-psychological dimension in the language, thinking and practice in antiquity, focusing on different aspects (cognitive psychology, neuroscience, relational psychoanalysis). A joint session will offer new research perspectives to discuss the interdisciplinary dialogue between psychology and ancient history.

1. שורשי הפסיכולוגיה בשלהי העת העתיקה: אינטרוספקציה כמקרה-מבחן
ד"ר ענבר גרייבר, אוניברסיטת הומבולדט של ברלין

השינויים הדתיים והתרבותיים של שלהי העת העתיקה הולידו כמה מהאלמנטים המצויים עד היום בבסיס החשיבה המערבית. בפרט, בתקופה זו הופיע דגש גובר על פנימיות לצד התעניינות חדשה בעולם הפנימי של האדם, תהליך שהגיע לשיאו בנצרות בהשפעת רעיונות תיאולוגיים. בהרצאה זו אני מבקשת למקם את ההתפתחות הזו כחלק מן ההיסטוריה של הפסיכולוגיה. בעוד שהנטייה בקרב היסטוריונים של הפסיכולוגיה כיום היא להתמקד בתולדותיה של הפסיכולוגיה המדעית המודרנית, ברצוני לטעון שיש צורך להרחיב את תחום המחקר כך שיכלול לא רק את תולדות הפסיכולוגיה כדיסציפלינה, אלא גם את ההיסטוריה של ידע פסיכולוגי. אני מבקשת להדגים את הצורך להרחיב את נקודת המבט בעזרת התמקדות בפסיכולוגיה של שלהי העת העתיקה, ובמיוחד בשיטות החדשות של חקירה פסיכולוגית שהופיעו בתוך התנועה הנזירית הנוצרית במזרח האימפריה הרומית. בפרט, ההרצאה תתמקד בשימוש הנזירי בשיטות של אינטרוספקציה, או התבוננות פנימית, ככלי להשגת ידע פסיכולוגי. בעוד שהדעה המקובלת בקרב היסטוריונים של הפסיכולוגיה היא שאינטרוספקציה היא שיטה חדשה של מחקר פסיכולוגי, ברצוני לטעון שכבר בשלהי העת העתיקה נזירים נוצרים השתמשו באינטרוספקציה באופן שיטתי ומודע על מנת ללמוד על תהליכים מנטליים ולחקור את התודעה האנושית. עם זאת, השוואה בין דוחות אינטרוספקטיביים שחיברו נזירים נוצרים לבין אלה שחיברו מייסדי הפסיכולוגיה המודרנית מגלה הבדלים עמוקים בפרשנות של ידע אינטרוספקטיבי, בניסוחו ובאירגונו. בכך היא מאפשרת לענות על שאלות בסיסיות באשר לטבעו של ידע פסיכולוגי וליחסיו עם קטגוריות תלויות-תרבות.

The Late Antique History of Psychology: The Test-Case of Introspection

The religious and cultural transformations of late antiquity gave rise to a novel and highly influential concept of the self, some elements of which have since constituted the identity of the Western self. In particular, a greater emphasis on interiority is an important aspect of the cultural and religious transformations that took place during this period. Especially in Christianity, new theological concerns resulted in a growing interest in the inner life of the individual and in the idea that individual human consciousness constitutes a special object of investigation. This paper examines these developments from the perspective of the history of psychology. While the

tendency among historians of psychology today is to focus on the history of modern, *scientific* psychology, this paper argues for the need to broaden the scholarly focus on the history of the modern *discipline* of psychology to include the history of psychological *knowledge*. It seeks to demonstrate the benefits to be derived from this endeavor by presenting the novel methods of psychological investigation that emerged within the Christian monastic movement, especially introspection. While the prevailing view among historians of psychology is that introspection is a relatively new method of psychological investigation, I argue that introspection was systematically and self-consciously employed by late antique monks as a method for producing knowledge about the human mind. Yet, rather than arguing for a simple continuity between late antique and modern introspective procedures, a comparison between early monastic introspective accounts and those of the founders of the modern psychology reveals profound differences in the interpretation and evaluation of introspective data. Thereby it allows to address fundamental questions related to the nature of psychological knowledge and its relationship with culturally constructed categories.

2. הוגים עתיקים ומחקר קוגניציה בן זמננו
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כל היסטוריון יסכים שתודעתנו היא מעוגנת תרבות, דהיינו, תלויה בהקשר ההיסטורי, אבל רבים נוטים להתעלם מהיותה גם נטועת גוף, כלומר, מעוצבת על ידי חוויות הגוף וגורמי הסביבה שמשפעים על תהליכים פיזיולוגיים. מכיוון שהתודעה מעוגנת תרבות ונטועת גוף, הרי שחוקרי תרבות, וחוקרי יוון העתיקה בכללם, לא יכולים להתיחס לבני האדם כישויות המונעות על-ידי תרבות בלבד. תודעתנו מעוצבת על-ידי המוח ומערכת העצבים כמו גם תהליכים גופניים שונים: טפלול הגוף משפיע על מצבי התודעה וההתנהגות. מעטות העדויות ההיסטוריות המזכירות מניפולציה של תודעה, אבל רמזים למרכיביה, לפעמים רק בחירה במילים ומטפורות בטקסט, יכולים לשמש ראיות לקיום התופעה.

ההרצאה המוצעת תעסוק בהיבטים מתודולוגיים של חקר תהליכים קוגניטיביים על סמך עדויות עתיקות. על מנת לעמוד על חשיבות הגישה הקוגניטיבית, אדון בפעילות של מספר פילוסופים יווניים. אבחן את הקשר בין חיפוש האמת והההארה של סוקרטס ואפלטון, ואסקור עדויות העוסקות בחוויות שינוי התודעה אצל הפילוסופים הפרה-סוקראטיים. למרות הייחודיות של כל אחת מהדמויות האלה, מהעדויות עולה שקיימים שני דגמים של טיפוח תודעה. הפילוסופים הפרה-סוקראטיים טפללו את תודעתם באופן מכוון, לכן יכלו לשלוט בתהליך. סוקרטס ואפלטון חוו כנראה רגעי הארה ספונטנית. האופי הוורבלי של הצגת ההזיות שנחוו במצבי תודעה שונים התפתח החל משירים אפיים המתייחסים למפגשים עם אלוהויות עד לשיחות וטקסטים בפרוזה שתיארו הארות בצורה מופשטת בהרבה.

מטרת הניתוח המוצע היא לעמוד על הפוטנציאל הטמון בשימוש בתוצאות חקר הקוגניציה ומדעי המוח. מכיוון שהמידע על חוויות מנטליות של האנשים שעסקו בפעילות פולחנית או יצירתית בדת ובתרבות יוון הן דלות מאד, לא ניתן להגיע להבנה מעמיקה של תיאורים אלה מתוך הקשרם התרבותי בלבד. על מנת לגשר על הפערים בידיעתנו של אנשי העבר, עלינו להשתמש במידע ובמודלים המבוססים על המדע המודרני העוסק התנהגות בני אדם בהווה.

Ancient Thinkers and Modern Cognitive Research

Every historian will readily agree that our mind is embedded, meaning that cognition is dependent on historical context. Many tend to disregard the fact that our mind is also moulded by its being embodied, that is, shaped by bodily experiences and physical factors of the surrounding world influencing various physiological processes. The practical corollary of the fact that cognition is both embedded and embodied is that a student of any culture, ancient Greek culture included, cannot regard human agents as solely cultural entities. Our cognitive

functions, through the brain and the nervous system, are affected by a plethora of bodily processes: manipulation of the body influences our mental states and behaviour. Only seldom historical evidence contains accounts of such practices, but even allusions to their elements (sometimes by mere choice of words and metaphors) may be indicative.

The proposed paper will discuss some methodological issues involved in the study of cognitive processes attested to in ancient evidence. The relevance of the cognitive approach will be illustrated by the example of activities of several Greek philosophers. I will examine Socrates' and Plato's association of the search for ultimate truth with divine revelation, and review evidence regarding Presocratics whose philosophic activities probably involved alterations of consciousness. Notwithstanding idiosyncrasies of these colourful figures, a pattern characterizing their self-cultivation emerges. The Presocratics appear to have manipulated their consciousness intentionally, and therefore were in a position to control it. Socrates and Plato possibly experienced alterations of consciousness as spontaneous moments of illumination. The way of verbalization of visions attained in the state of altered consciousness evolved from epic poems comprising accounts of encounters with deities to oral conversations or written texts rendered in prose, describing revelations in much more abstract form.

This analysis aims at demonstrating the potential of using the results of cognitive studies and neuroscience. Since extant testimonies on Greek religion and culture contain very limited direct evidence on the mental experiences of those involved in various cultic and creative activities, these accounts cannot be comprehended solely within their cultural context. What is called for in order to fill in the gaps in the knowledge of men of the past is the application of evidence and explanatory models based on the study of men of the present, provided by modern science.

3. פסיכואנליזה התייחסותית והשיח על הנפש בשלהי העת העתיקה
פרופ' יובל רוטמן, אוניברסיטת ת"א

ההרצאה מציעה לבחון את החידושים בהמשגה של הנפש האנושית בשיח הדתי והפילוסופי של שלהי העת העתיקה על רקע תיאוריות פסיכואנליטיות מודרניות העוסקות במימד הפסיכולוגי ההתייחסותי. הגישה ההתייחסותית תופסת את הנפש כחלק ממערך בינאישי דינמי, ומעניקה למערך זה תפקיד ראשון במעלה בכל ניסיון ואפשרות לשינוי. הכותבים הדתיים והפילוסופים של שלהי העת העתיקה משתמשים אף הם בגישה התייחסותית כדי להמשיג, להגדיר ולהסביר שינויים פסיכולוגיים-תודעתיים. התפיסה התייחסותית של הפסיכֶה היוונית והאנימה הלטינית מופיעה בכתבים נוצרים העוסקים בקשר בין המאמין לאל, בכתבים ניאופלטונים ואף בכתבים גנוסטיים. יחד עם זאת, הכותבים העתיקים ממשיגים את הקשר הזה באופנים שונים ולצרכים שונים. ההרצאה מציעה לבחון את ההיבט הפסיכולוגי בחיבורים פילוסופים-תיאולוגיים של שלהי העת העתיקה לצד דיונים פסיכולוגים מודרניים במטרה למצוא שפה מחקרית משותפת לשני התחומים.

כדי לבחון את המפגש בין השיח הפסיכואנליטי המודרני לבין כותבים של שלהי העת העתיקה, תתמקד ההרצאה בשלושה טקסטים מרכזיים בין המאות השניה-שלישית: הפרשנות הגנוסטית על הנפש, "על הנפש" לטרטוליאנוס, והאנאדות לפלוטינוס. שלושת החיבורים האלה תופסים את הנפש כאמצעי לשינוי תודעתי ורגשי שאליו צריך האדם לשאוף. השינוי התודעתי המיוחל מתאפשר מתוך הקשר בין הנפש לאלוהים. שלושת החיבורים מדגישים את היכולת ואת התנאים לקיים קשר כזה, וממשיגים אותו באופנים שונים. למרות שהחיבורים האלה נטועים היטב בשיח הפילוסופי של תקופתם בכל הנוגע לפסיכֶה/אנימה, הם מציבים חידושים משמעותיים בתפיסה שלה כישות התייחסותית. ההרצאה המוצאת מעוניינת לבחון את החידושים בהמשגה של הנפש כישות התייחסותית לאור תיאוריות פסיכואנליטיות מודרניות המדגישות את המימד ההתייחסותי כמצע לשינוי פסיכולוגי בתפיסת העצמי. קריאה מקבילה זו של תיאוריות פסיכולוגיות עתיקות לצד

מודרניות תאפשר הרחבה של המימד ההתיחסותי הבינאישי בתיאוריות המודרניות.

Relational Psychoanalysis and the late antique discourse on the *psuchē*

The paper proposes to examine the innovations in the conceptualization of the Greek *psuchē* in the religious and philosophical discourse of late antiquity against the background of modern relational psychoanalytic theories. The relational approach perceives the mind as part of a dynamic interpersonal matrix, and gives this matrix a primary role in any attempt and possibility for change. Late antique theologians and philosophers also used a relational approach to conceptualize, define, and explain mental and psychological changes. The relational aspect of the Greek *psuchē* and the Latin *anima* plays a central role in Christian and Neoplatonist writings as well as in gnostic texts, which use it in order to think and formulate the relationship between man and God. However, the ancient writers conceptualize this relationship in different ways and for different purposes.

The paper proposes to examine the psychological aspect of philosophical and theological writings of late antiquity alongside modern psychoanalytical theories. In order to find a common research language for both fields the paper will focus on three texts: the Gnostic "Exegesis of the *Psuchē*", Tertullian's *De anima*, and Plotinus' *Enneads*. These texts refer to the relationship between the human *psuchē* and God as a means of mental and emotional change, and emphasize the capacities and the conditions for such an encounter to occur. Although all three texts are well embedded in the philosophic discourse about the *psuchē* of their time, they present significant innovations in referring to its relational dimension. The paper seeks to examine these innovations in the light of modern psychoanalytic theories that emphasize the relational dimension as a platform for psychological change. This parallel reading of ancient and modern theories will allow to challenge modern psychoanalytical theories about the mind.