Annual Meeting of Postgraduates in Ancient History

Samuel Alexander Building, University of Manchester

Saturday 22nd March 2014

Programme

10.30-11.00: **Registration and Coffee** (North Foyer)

11.00-13.00: Panel Session A (Four parallel sessions)

1. Oratory and Historiography (Room A102)

Robert Sing (Cambridge) 'A spurious speech of Demosthenes: looking back on fiscal crisis'

Guendalina Taietti (Liverpool) 'Text and power: Alexander the Great in Ptolemy I's fragments'

Emma Nicholson (Newcastle) 'Philip V of Macedon's change for the worse: a Polybian construction'

Elena Giusti (Cambridge) 'Livy's third decade dilemma: Polybius' *anakyklosis* and/or Augustus' *urbs aeterna*'

2: Ethnicity and Identity (Room A101)

Marijn Visscher (Durham) 'The literature of the Generals: how early Seleukid writers shaped Seleukid space'

Guy Williams (Manchester) 'Eluding definition: Persians in the work of Ammianus Marcellinus'

Dylan James (Oxford) 'Cleitus revisited: Plutarch's Alexander and Macedonian speech'

Paul Grigsby (Warwick) 'Gone AWOL? Questioning the historical reality of the ancient Aeolians'

3: Ancient bodies: rhetoric, power and ownership (Room A113)

Patrick Cook (Cambridge) 'Tradition and the Suetonian talent'

Samuel Jones (Manchester) 'Scolded by a slave: power, age and slavery'

Rachel Plummer (Manchester) 'Pliny the Elder and women's medicine'

Ulriika Vihervalli (Cardiff) 'Before you accuse me: the power of sexual slander in 6th century Vienne'

4. The Apparatus of the State (Room A112)

Sofia Piacentin (KCL) 'Public and plebeian confiscations: two different procedures'

Andrew Stiles (Oxford) 'Misunderstanding censorship in the early Principate: the case of Cremutius Cordus'

Kimberley Czajkowski (Oxford) 'The effect of Roman presence on legal transactions in Roman Arabia: two cases from the Babatha archive'

Jen Hicks (UCL) 'The Bullae from Seleukeia-Tigris and the Seleukid fiscal system'

13.00-14.15: Lunch (North Foyer)

14.15-15.45: Panel Session B (Four parallel sessions)

5: Religion (Room A102)

Julie Baleriaux (Oxford) 'Cryogenized gods? Mixanthropy in Arcadia'

Rebecca Van Hove (KCL) '"The guidance of the gods": oracles in Lykourgos' *Against Leokrates*'

Ghislaine van der Ploeg (Warwick) 'Courtiers, emperors, and the gods: an Asclepieian case-study'

6: Politics and Material Culture (Room A101)

Stephen Harrison (Cambridge) 'The King and his subjects: Achaemenid legacies at the Court of Alexander'

Olivia Elder (Oxford) 'A "special relationship": the role and importance of the emperor in the epigraphic culture of Lyon

Ben Greet (Leeds) 'Jupiter or Pyrrhus? The symbolism of the eagle on Roman wartime currency in the third century B.C.'

7: Military History (Room A113)

Peter Norris (Liverpool) '*Exercitus Omnium Fortissimus*: Who were the soldiers of Varus?'

Elizabeth Pearson (Manchester) '*In Capitolio*?: The Location of the Republican *Dilectus'*

Aimee Schofield (Manchester) 'Mutually Assured Destruction: Heron, Ctesibius, and the rise of the catapult'

8: Space and Landscape (Room A112)

Timothy Clark (Oxford) '*Pro Imperio, Pro Deo*: Mars Ultor and the future of Rome's Empire'

Matthew Mandich (Leicester) 'The Villa 'Le Grotte': Reassessing Roman rural colonization in the Ager Pontinus'

Giacomo Savani (Leicester) 'Isolated bath-houses in the landscape of Roman Kent'

Note: all papers will last for 20 minutes, followed by 10 minutes of questions; 'panel hopping' is permitted!

4.00-4.45: Plenary Session (Arts Lecture Theatre)

Panel Discussion: Impact and Public Engagement (Chair: Prof. Tim Parkin)

4.45-6.00: Reception (North Foyer)

Abstracts

1. Oratory and Historiography (Room A102)

Robert Sing (Cambridge) 'A spurious speech of Demosthenes: looking back on fiscal crisis'

Demosthenes' speech 13, 'On Organisation', has long been part of the Demosthenic corpus but is usually bracketed as being written a later editor or rhetorician. However, its spuriousness continues to be questioned by a number of scholars. My aim in this paper is twofold. First, I strengthen the case for the spuriousness of Demosthenes 13. Second, I argue that its spuriousness does not mean the speech is of no value for us in understanding Demosthenes or the historical context in which the speech is set – the Athens of the late 350s. If, as I believe, that the writer wished the speech to circulate as a genuine work of Demosthenes, it is curious that he is apparently unwilling to replicate the warnings about Philip II which become more frequent in Demosthenes speeches around 350. This is especially so given the emphasis the speech places on the military benefits of a sweeping scheme of paid service. I suggest that the surprising absence of Philip, and also of the theoric fund, indicates that a later fourth-century audience attached more importance to Demosthenes as a contributor to wider questions of political economy than we might expect, that this has implications for our assessment of Demosthenes' activity in the 350s, and that the financial crisis of those years influenced subsequent Athenian thinking on the financial organisation of the polis.

Guendalina Taietti (Liverpool) 'Text and power: Alexander the Great in Ptolemy I's fragments'

In 323 BC, Alexander the Great's death in Babylon caught his soldiers unprepared. Ptolemy, a Companion and a valorous general of the deceased Macedonian King, immediately became one of the leading figures of the following frantic period which culminated in the the creation of the Hellenistic monarchies. The Lagid's career can be described as a long path composed of salient steps, which brought him to a closer position to the Macedonian Conqueror. This proximity resulted to be quite important especially in the aftermath of the Partition of Babylon in 323 BC, when a strong bond to Alexander III was considered a means of legitimisation of rule for his generals.

Therefore, Ptolemy's 32 remaining fragments represent an extremely appealing source of information for the modern historians: in fact, not only do they provide us with the account of an eye-witness, but they also create the image of ruler which constitutes the moral and political basis for the writer's own reign.

The aim of this paper is to shed light on Ptolemy's historical work, by considering how it fits into his political agenda, and how it is to be connected to Aristobulus' narrative of the Macedonian's campaign against the Achaemenid Empire. Together, these two accounts embody Arrian's double-headed source for his Anabasis. Furthermore, the paper intends to articulate the literary profile of Alexander the Great which can still be drawn from the Lagid's fragments, and to show to what extent it overlaps the image which the historian wants to promote of himself.

Emma Nicholson (Newcastle) 'Philip V of Macedon's change for the worse: a Polybian construction'

Polybius claims that Philip V of Macedon changed for the worse, transforming from being the 'darling of Greece' into a self-seeking, petty and faithless tyrant, when he attempted to seize and garrison the Greek city, Messene, in 215 BC. The city, a member of the Symmachy, was at the time

allied to the king, but free and independent from direct Macedonian control. It was only by the urgent appeal and firm warning of Aratus of Sicyon, general of the Achaean League and adviser to the king, that Philip was dissuaded from following this plan: if he should take the city, he would lose the goodwill of the Achaean League, whose allegiance was very important for the young king, and his influence, power and reputation in the Peloponnese would be much damaged.

This paper investigates Polybius' claim that the episode at Messene marked the change in the Macedonian king, suggesting that its significance within Polybius' *Histories* owes more to Philip's role as an educational model of caution and Polybius' bias towards the Achaean League rather than from a genuine real-life transformation in the monarch. By realising that Polybius has over-emphasized the importance of this moment within Macedonian and Greek history, we may understand better how he has constructed the overall depiction of Philip within his *Histories,* and, perhaps extricate a more realistic image of Philip and Macedonian policy.

Elena Giusti (Cambridge) 'Livy's third decade dilemma: Polybius' *anakyklosis* and/or Augustus' *urbs aeterna'*
As a historian writing on the Punic Wars under Augustus, Livy is trapped between the rationalisations of his Greek predecessor Polybius, who in *Histories* 6 famously expounded his belief in the decline and fall of *any* city (Polybius' theory of *anakyklosis*), and the almost religious credo of the Augustan 'propaganda' on the eternal survival of *the* re-founded city of Rome (Augustus' myth of the *urbs aeterna*).
Both Livy and Virgil – who, together with Tibullus (2.5.23), are the first two authors to participate in the Augustan creation of a statement of faith which was already latent at the end of the Republic but destined to become a long-lasting belief only from Virgil's *imperium sine fine* onwards – apply the Polybian model to Carthage and the Augustan model to Rome, thus presenting Carthage as a perfect mirror image of Rome were it not for one essential difference: while Carthage has succumbed to and inside History, Rome has managed to elevate herself beyond it.
In this paper, I argue that in the Third Decade Livy makes Hannibal endorse Polybius' (and Scipio Aemilianus') belief in the inevitable fall of Carthage *and* Rome, while Scipio Africanus-Major becomes the voice of the New Augustan myth of Rome's 'empire with no end'. In addition, I will show that this Republican/Augustan contrast between Hannibal and Scipio on the immortality/mortality of Rome provides a surprising point of comparison between Livy's Third Decade and Virgil's Carthaginian episode in the *Aeneid*. There, the '*urbs capta vs urbs aeterna*' theme is presented through a similar Republican/Augustan opposition between Juno and Jupiter, especially in *Aeneid* 1, where Jupiter's prophecy of Rome's eternal empire must be read in contrast with an interpretation of the scenes of Troy's fall on Juno's temple as a significant anticipation of the destruction of Carthage and – eventually – Rome.

2: Ethnicity and Identity (Room A101)

Marijn Visscher (Durham) 'The literature of the Generals: how early Seleukid writers shaped Seleukid space'
The reign of Seleukos I saw the rise of various ethnographic studies on the outer regions of the Seleukid realm. Examples include the well-known treatise on India written by Megasthenes but also several works that are less well known today, such as a treatise on the geography of Bactria by Demodamas; and Patrokles' *Periplus*. The authors of these early of Seleukid texts also contributed to

the consolidation of the Seleukid Empire as generals or envoys. In this paper I explore what their texts can tell us about how the Seleukids conceived of their empire.

Previous scholarship on these early ethnographic texts has generally focussed on reconstructing their view of Asian geography, and in this connection it has often questioned the historical accuracy of their reports. However, Paul Kosmin has recently shown that more was at stake for these writers than producing a correct map of inner Asia. Kosmin reads their works in the context of the Seleukid court and its efforts to take possession – conceptually as well as politically – of a vast geographical space (Kosmin, 2013).

In this paper I take up his argument and show how these writers use the fluid geography of the region and mould it to their own purposes. I contend that reading early Seleukid ethnographic texts as literature enables us to see how these writes conceptualise the Seleukid realm through the description of the border regions of the empire and the creation of a mental map of the Seleukid Empire which has a prescriptive as well as a descriptive function.

Guy Williams (Manchester) 'Eluding definition: Persians in the work of Ammianus Marcellinus'
Students of Roman history have long been informed by scholars and sources that the Roman attitude to foreigners was very simple: if you were not of the empire then you were a barbarian.   When it comes to the tribes beyond the frontier, Ammianus, a Latin historian writing in the late fourth century, reinforces this view - his narrative voice consistently condemns the tribes for being barbarian and exhibiting behaviour indicative of this state (lust for war, deceitfulness etc.). Even the Persians have been seen as barbaric, but just slightly more sophisticated. Yet this judgement belies the remarkable similarities which exist between Persian and Roman in Ammianus' history.

This paper hopes to build on the modern reappraisal of late Roman attitudes to foreign cultures in an argument that acknowledges the unique role which Persia plays in Ammianus' historical work. Through a detailed analysis of the 'Persia' construct in *RG* 17.5, it will argue that this construct raises serious questions concerning the ethnic categorisation of the Persian empire. Traditionally viewed as barbarian, we shall see that the Persians in the text actually appear to be nearly as 'Roman' as the Romans themselves. Each empire claims for itself the greater antiquity, the larger army, or the most sprawling kingdom, and each, crucially, considers itself a bastion of civilisation standing apart from the myriad barbarian tribes which live beyond the frontiers of both empires. It will be argued that Ammianus himself recognised that the Persians were not barbarians at all, but nor could they be classed as of equal status to Romans. Thus, the final conclusion will argue for the Persians occupying a definitional grey area, which Ammianus desperately attempts to resolve.

Dylan James (Oxford) 'Cleitus revisited: Plutarch's Alexander and Macedonian speech'
One of the thorniest problems in ancient history is the status and nature of the Macedonian tongue. Was it a Greek dialect? A distinct language? The evidence is, unfortunately, very limited. One key aspect of this question, however, is concerned with ancient perceptions of Macedonians and their tongue. Although literary references to Macedonian speech are few and far between, this paper will focus on one such passage: the murder of Cleitus in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*. The episode contains the only literary depiction of the tongue being used during Alexander's lifetime. At the climax of the scene, Alexander shouts out in anger, summoning his guards in Macedonian (ἀνεβόα Μακεδονιστὶ καλῶν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς). Plutarch then comments on the significance of this action (τοῦτο δ' ἦν σύμβολον θορύβου μεγάλου). These lines have been variously interpreted. It has been claimed that

the use of Macedonian was a "prearranged" signal (σύμβολον) to the guards about a general uproar (θορύβου) (Hammond 1995). Another view downplays the significance of the language in the scene, with the shouting itself, and not the specific tongue, as the symptom (σύμβολον) of Alexander's agitated mental state (θορύβου) (Bosworth 1996). Neither argument, however, fully examines Plutarch's narrative presentation in this scene. This paper will attempt to do so, and place the episode in its context within the *Life*. I hope to show how Alexander's use of Macedonian speech is significant for Plutarch's depiction of Alexander's identity at this point in the biography. The conclusions may also have some bearing on the use of this passage for the historical question of the Macedonian tongue.

Paul Grigsby (Warwick) 'Gone AWOL? Questioning the historical reality of the ancient Aeolians'
The Ancient world divided the Greek language into three major dialects – Ionian, Dorian, and Aeolian – this arrangement supposedly reflecting the three fundamental ethnic divisions. While Ionian and Dorian ethnicity is unquestioned, the case for Aeolian has always rested on less secure foundations, with some positing Aeolian as a simple catch-all term which merely included all those people not belonging to the other two groups.

Modern scholarship places Thessalian, Boeotian and Lesbian under the aegis of Aeolian, and this paper will discuss whether any historical reality lies behind this aggregation. Firstly I will discuss the use of the term Aeolian in the Ancient world and explore what real or imagined unity the term held for the Ancient Greeks, both in matters of language and ethnicity. I will then consider the linguistic case for the unity of the Aeolian dialect in the light of recent scholarship which suggests that no such unity exists. I shall examine whether any original religious or cultural unity existed amongst these Aeolian groups with an analysis of shared religious cults and calendars. Finally, all of these elements will be brought together to determine whether a common historical source can be postulated for the Aeolians, or whether the supposed cultural unity of the Thessalians, Boeotians, and Lesbians, was a later creation.

3: Ancient bodies: rhetoric, power and ownership (Room A113)

Patrick Cook (Cambridge) 'Tradition and the Suetonian talent'
One of the most striking features of Suetonius' *Lives* is the vivid description of the emperor's body found in each life. Although the level of detail in these descriptions varies considerably between the lives, something of a pattern emerges: while certain details, such as height, are always recorded, Suetonius favours peculiar aspects of each emperor's body. He is not overtly moralistic, nor is his description neutral. Whilst 'bad' emperors such a Caligula are more likely to have markedly aberrant bodies, even Augustus is not spared, as his body manages to be at once ideal and possessing weakness and anomalies.

Rather than looking at these passages in isolation, this paper will put them back into the literary and visual context into which they were written. This paper will position these passages of corporeal ekphrasis against the tradition of bodily description in Roman rhetoric and historiography more broadly. Examining the use Suetonius makes of tropes already present in Cicero, and reading his description of imperial bodies against related passaged in Tacitus and Seneca, this paper examines both the existence of a Roman tradition of corporeal description and the ways in which Suetonius is

innovative within that tradition. By unravelling the similarities and differences, this paper reexamines Suetonius' status as 'biographer' and 'historian'.

Samuel Jones (Manchester) 'Scolded by a slave: power, age and slavery'
There is no principle simpler in any study of Roman culture than this: masters are in charge of slaves. However, in this paper I hope to complicate this apparently self-evident model by examining the nexus of slavery, power and age. The relationship between children and the slaves most commonly associated with childhood in literary and material culture, the *paedagogus* and the *nutrix* will be discussed. It is clear that the *paedagogus* and/or *nutrix* had power of a sort over his/her young charge and the recognition of this caused no small distress to Roman slave owners. The relationship between slave and master typically lasted until death, but the relationship between the two parties altered dramatically over time, with the balance of power tipping in the favour of the growing master-child. By applying a life course based approach borrowed from the social sciences, I will try to examine this relationship in the hope of locating the different stages of the transition.

Rachel Plummer (Manchester) 'Pliny the Elder and women's medicine'
Pliny the Elder, in his *Natural History*, demonstrated a stark mistrust of the rational Hellenistic medicine that was establishing a foothold in first century AD Rome. Instead, he encouraged the traditional medicine that was the remit of the *paterfamilias*, incorporating gynaecological and obstetrical treatments as passed down via folkloric texts and word-of-mouth.

Throughout his work he peppered many folk remedies which, to the modern eye, seem ridiculous in the face of the scientifically-logical treatments contained in the *Gynaecology* of Soranus. It has been proposed that Greek medicine, with its complex remedies using exotic ingredients, became the *haute médecine* of the Roman elite, while the poorer classes had to make do with traditional remedies using locally sourced ingredients, administered not by foreign physicians but by family, friends and more humble medical practitioners.

While Soranus is our best source for shedding light on obstetrical care in Rome, we can learn much from Pliny about the traditional obstetrical care which was likely practised among the sub-elite. This paper will explore what Pliny can tell us about the materials and medicaments they used, their superstitious beliefs, and their concerns over fertility and sterility.

I am particularly interested in exploring what Pliny also tells us about the activities of midwives, the transmission of gynaecological and obstetrical remedies among women, and the opinions of Roman men on this apparent female control of women's medicine. While the existence of a network of midwives and female healers is difficult to prove, Pliny's comments hint at a tradition of passing remedies orally among family, friends and acquaintances. Through his veil of disapproval, we can identify a level of female independence which has important consequences for the way we view female power within the family and society through their own medical knowledge.

Ulriika Vihervalli (Cardiff) 'Before you accuse me: the power of sexual slander in 6th century Vienne'
Avitus of Vienne, a Gallo-Roman aristocrat, enjoyed a long episcopacy in Southern Gaul at the beginning of the sixth century. As bishop, Avitus had an important religious, social and political role in the region, clearly demonstrated by his surviving letters. This paper focuses on four of those letters:

three concerning a charge of incestuous adultery and one on an act of rape. In the former Avitus can be seen in an advisory and judicial role in a case that turns out to be more complicated than he anticipates. The latter case, on the other hand, demonstrates Avitus being pressured by local politicians and coming under attack himself. The study of this correspondence unveils the use of sexual slander as a form of public humiliation and blackmail – what is more, the letters are demonstrative of how successful such methods often were. The paper explores the tensions within society that are highlighted by the correspondence in terms of the power of the church in interfering with common Christians' private affairs, as well as examining a reversed situation in which ecclesiastical power is limited by political prowess yielded by non-clerics. The gradual change of sexual ethics that marks the Late Antique period continued into the sixth century, and the paper discusses how shifting ideas of morality were internalised, used and rebuked.

4. The Apparatus of the State (Room A112)

Sofia Piacentin (KCL) 'Public and plebeian confiscations: two different procedures'

This paper aims to investigate the earliest cases of confiscation and sale of properties of condemned men and public enemies at Rome recorded in the historiographical tradition. The first procedure is known as *consecratio bonorum*, a sanction which consecrated the person and his property to the appropriate divinity and its temple. The second one is known as *publicatio bonorum*, the confiscation of someone's property by the 'state' which made the belongings of the culprit 'public', sold them at auction and deposited the proceeds in the *aerarium* (public treasury). According to Salerno, the author of the latest and only monograph on this topic, the consecration of property should be interpreted as the archaic version of the later *publicatio bonorum*; the latter would have been derived and developed from the *consecratio* through a process of secularization. Instead, I intend to argue that the *consecratio bonorum* was an independent procedure used by the tribunes of the plebs down into the Late Roman Republic and not simply the archaic prototype of *publicatio bonorum*. In this way the study of confiscations offers a unique insight into the political distinction in Rome between patrician and plebeian politics and institutions, here in the distinct ways of managing public finances. These extreme actions deserve to be analysed for the variety of historical and anthropological implications that they raise about the continuing 'archaic' features of the late Republic: the loss of one's own property for a Roman citizen was effectively the equivalent of a social and civil death.

Andrew Stiles (Oxford) 'Misunderstanding censorship in the early Principate: the case of Cremutius Cordus'

The issue of 'freedom of speech' in the early Principate has often been approached with modern notions of 'top-down' censorship and centralised 'governmental policy' – however loosely one defines such terms. This approach overlooks the haphazard way in which those who were punished purportedly for their words came to be targeted. Rudich (2006) has suggested that many of the famous cases in the early Principate were actually a consequence of what he terms 'retrospective censorship' – this involved reading subversive or oppositional statements in (or into) texts which had been previously approved or overlooked altogether by the *princeps* or his supporters. In this paper, using Cremutius Cordus as a test case, I shall suggest that a number of episodes commonly thought of as being indicative of 'censorship,' were actually instances where one party made use of a charge akin to 'treason' (under the *lex maiestatis*) to achieve a particular political end – often the removal of another individual. The impetus could be quite unrelated to the 'offensive' statements 'discovered' in the defendant's writing or speech, which formed a pretext. These manoeuvres and prosecutions

suggest that 'censorship', in this period at least, is perhaps concerned most of all with exploiting the insecurities in societal power structures overall, in order to protect or promote one's own standing within those structures. In this respect, it operates more often on a 'horizontal' rather than a 'vertical' plane. It has short-term, rather than a long-term objectives – as authors whose works were burned sometimes suggested when defending themselves, their texts and ideas lived on beyond their enemies. Alongside these points, this paper will suggest that the notion of a censorship 'policy' is quite misleading in the early Principate, and is the legacy of a (Suetonian, and to some extent Tacitean) biographical mode of writing history, in which the 'reign' of a *princeps* is analysed synchronically, and actions of individuals are cynically attributed to those wielding the 'real power' behind the scenes.

Kimberley Czajkowski (Oxford) 'The effect of Roman presence on legal transactions in Roman Arabia: two cases from the Babatha archive'
The Babatha archive records the various legal transactions of a Jewish woman and her family from around 94 C.E. to August 132 C.E. She lived in the small village of Mahoza on the south coast of the Dead Sea, an area which was first part of the Nabataean Kingdom but was incorporated into the new province of Roman Arabia in 106 C.E. The documents therefore provide invaluable information about a community's experience before and after the creation of the province. Moreover, the laws and traditions in evidence in the two archives are remarkable for their diversity, exhibiting elements of Jewish, Nabataean, Roman and 'Hellenistic' law, sometimes within a single document. They have consequently provided fertile material for historians interested in legal diversity, the operation of law in the provinces and 'Romanization'.

In this paper, I shall examine the attitudes of these provincials to the Roman assizes. In particular, I shall question the common assumption that the documents evidence enthusiastic recourse to the Roman governor's court. By examining two cases from the archive, it will be suggested that the provincial reaction to the assizes was, in fact, rather more nuanced. In particular, their use of the Roman court system was not a straightforward matter of appeal in the hope of eventual judgment; their reasons for involving their imperial overlords were rather more complex. Consequently, their attitudes to Roman legal fora cannot necessarily be characterised merely as "enthusiastic uptake" – self-interest, pragmatism and power-plays in a broader negotiation process played a large part. Supposed enthusiasm for the assizes should, therefore, be placed in the context of the broader effect of the Roman presence on the manner in which provincials conducted their legal cases, both inside and outside of the governor's court.

Jen Hicks (UCL) 'The Bullae from Seleukeia-Tigris and the Seleukid fiscal system'
Evidence for the administration of the Seleukid empire (c. 312 – 63 B.C.) is extremely partial and diverse. Some inscriptions, incorporating letters from Seleukid royalty and officials, are known from Asia Minor and Syria, and a few cuneiform texts have been found in the Mesopotamian cities of Babylon and Uruk. But there is no equivalent to the wealth of papyrus documentation known from Ptolemaic Egypt: the daily records of the Seleukid administration and the court archives, written on parchment and papyrus, are lost. This makes assessing the typicality of what has survived very problematic.

One source that has been under-used, paradoxically because of the sheer volume of the material, are bullae, found in Mesopotamia and the Levant, which survive in their thousands. These are small lumps of clay which enclosed (now lost) parchment and papyrus documents. On these are impressed

seals, some of which (those bearing diverse images such as gods, portraits and animals) appear to belong to individuals, while others seem to represent the Seleukid administration, since they bear dynastic motifs, or have legends referring to taxes and officials. The largest group (*c.* 30,000 extant examples), comes from the 'Archives Building' at Seleukeia-Tigris and it is on these that I will focus in my paper. This building has been characterised as a civic repository where inhabitants stored documents, such as land sale contracts and tax receipts. However, statistical analysis of the distribution of the seals' impressions suggests that it must rather be considered as an official building housing a part of the Seleukid fiscal bureaucracy, and that a tax farming system existed, possibly resembling that known from Ptolemaic Egypt. I will conclude by assessing how the information provided by these sealings can improve our broader understanding of Seleukid fiscality.

5: Religion (Room A102)

Julie Baleriaux (Oxford) 'Cryogenized gods? Mixanthropy in Arcadia'
When we picture Greek gods, the first reflex is probably to see them in their anthropomorphic shape. However, this paper will be concerned with another, less common shape given to the gods: mixanthropy. For a long time considered an evolution of primitive animal-gods in Greece, mixanthropy – a term coined by Emma Aston to designate human-animal hybrid mythological creatures and divinities – has recently resurfaced into scholarly debates. This paper will investigate the significance of the cult of mixanthropic deities in Greek religion through two particular cases located in the region of Phigalia in Arcadia: Eurynome, goddess half woman-half fish, and Demeter Melaina, womanlike with a horse head.

Departing from these two divinities, the paper investigates whether mixanthropy really is a primitive feature of Greek religion that would have been preserved in the mountains of Arcadia. Bringing in evidence from literary and archaeological sources, the two cases of Eurynome-fish and Demeter Melaina-mare will be researched and will show that having animal features might not necessarily entail being a venerably old divinity. The two goddesses will be brought back into the larger historical and religious context of Arcadia in order to answer two key questions: (a) why would the Arcadians give the goddesses such singular mixanthropic shapes, and (b) why would the other Greeks recognize them as old on virtue of their mixanthropy? These questions will help reevaluate the significance of mixanthropy in Greek religion.

Rebecca Van Hove (KCL) '"The guidance of the gods": oracles in Lykourgos' *Against Leokrates***'**
The *Against Leokrates* has long been regarded as one of the most overtly religious speeches in the corpus of the Attic orators. Studies usually explain this religiosity as part and parcel of Lykourgos' fervent patriotism, as his speech is understood as a straightforward and unsubtle panegyric of Athens, employed to exacerbate Lykourgos' accusation of treason. However, in this paper I argue that Lykourgos' treatment of religious matters is more intricate than such readings would suggest and I demonstrate this by looking at the speech's treatment of oracles.

Lykourgos assigns to oracles a didactic function, as illustrated by the oracle concerning the Spartans' selection of the Athenian Tyrtaeus as leader (105-107). Oracles form part of the collection of *paradeigmata* with which Lykourgos argues he can best instruct his audience. In this way, oracles are assimilated to poetry. Secondly, Lykourgos employs oracles to present the gods as agents of action, in his discussion of the oracles concerning the punishment of Callistratus (93) and the sacrifice made by

Erechteus (98-101). An oracle is not simply divine advice, but an act by a god who is actively involved in deciding the outcome of a situation. In this way, Lykourgos focuses attention on Delphic Apollo as saviour of Athens – a depiction which complements the growing attention awarded to the cult of Apollo Patroos in Athens during this time. Thirdly, oracles are understood as expressions of divine will, yet despite Lykourgos' expression of belief in their irrevocability, they are also presented as requiring an action by man to make this so. As Lykourgos implies in his telling of the story concerning Codrus' death (83-88), it is the knowledge of the oracle which leads to its eventual (self-)fulfilment – an ambiguity which highlights the complexity of the speech's religious ideology and the need for its re-examination.

Ghislaine van der Ploeg (Warwick) 'Courtiers, emperors, and the gods: an Asclepieian case-study'
Asclepius was worshipped by various emperors at a number of different sanctuaries such as Epidaurus, Cos, and Pergamum. One of the most interesting occurrences of this worship was at Cos where the emperor Claudius' granted *immunitas* to the island on order that the Coans could dedicate their lives to the god's service (Tacitus *Annals* XII.61.1-2). Imperial worship did not always stem from an innate urge on the emperor's part to worship Asclepius, but his granting honours to the god or a sanctuary could have been prompted by a member of an imperial court or household who had strong ties to the cult. This is particularly clear in the case of Claudius' grants to the Coan Asclepieion which were the result of his personal physician, Gaius Stertinius Xenophon. Xenophon was born on Cos and had studied medicine there. As an Asclepiad, he had strong ties with the cult of Asclepius and used his imperial connections and close relationship with Claudius to further the standing and prominence of the Coan Asclepieion.

The aim of this paper is to examine the impact of Claudius' benefactions to the Coan Asclepieion and its effect on the promotion of a cult. How emperors worshipped Asclepius and which rights they gave to specific sanctuaries will be examined but also the wider effects of an imperial visit which could lead, for example, to building programmes or a change within the regional dynamics within a local network of *poleis*. The unique expression of the relationship between emperor and physician will be shown by an in depth analysis of the terminology utilised in inscriptions erected by Xenophon on Cos, such as *philokaisar, philoneron, philosebastos,* and *philoromanos*.

6: Politics and material culture (Room A101)

Stephen Harrison (Cambridge) 'The King and his subjects: Achaemenid legacies at the Court of Alexander'
Achaemenid reliefs depict the king on a separate plane from his subjects, demonstrating that he is distinct; this special status was reflected in social rituals like proskynesis. The potential influence of this notion of monarchical authority on Alexander the Great has long been recognised, but there has been little proof of its tangible impact. In this paper, I demonstrate how Alexander adopted elements of Persian styling in the decoration of his royal space in order to reflect a change in his relationship with his Macedonians subjects. By contrasting Alexander's royal space with that of Philip II, I demonstrate how direct engagement with the Achaemenid Empire changed the Macedonian monarchy. Partially this was an inevitable consequence of utilising Achaemenid materials as spoils of war, partly, it was the result of Alexander's interaction with non-Macedonian subjects, but it was also a deliberate policy, reflected in his social interaction with his companions.

Although Achaemenid reliefs emphasised the king's superiority, they also conveyed the secondary message that all subjects were equal before the king. By examining the attempted introduction of proskynesis in 327 and the banquet at Opis in 324, I show that Alexander altered this message. The paper concludes, then, by demonstrating how some of the central messages of Achaemenid ideology were adopted and adapted by Alexander.

Olivia Elder (Oxford) 'A "special relationship": the role and importance of the emperor in the epigraphic culture of Lyon
This paper will examine the unique verbosity, detail and distribution (chronological and spatial) of Lyonnaise epigraphy, and argue that this distinctiveness was due to the special position that Lyon (or Lugdunum) occupied in relation to Rome and its emperor. In turn, the distinctiveness of the city's epigraphy is indicative of the flexibility and mutual consent of town and emperor that made this 'special relationship' successful. I shall begin by examining Lyon's political, religious and military significance within Gaul, and the ways in which this played out in the overall space and character of the city's epigraphy. Lyon was always closely linked to the centre of the Roman Empire. The birthplace of two emperors (Claudius and Caracalla), the nexus of the Gallic road and river networks, the site of the council of the Three Gauls and of an important altar to Rome and Augustus, the city often commanded the emperor's special attention. This attention left striking marks in the epigraphy of the city, most famously in the Claudian tablets and the dedications of the amphitheatre and altar. In this paper, however, I shall look through these outstanding examples to the broader epigraphic culture of the city and to the interaction between elite and emperor that created and guaranteed Lyon's relationship to Rome. Focus will be on the Claudian period, when links between emperor and town were at their clearest and most personal. These links were not constant, but developed with the changing needs and priorities of its two participants. Strengthened and negotiated from both sides, the reciprocity of the 'special relationship' was writ large (and often at length!) in the epigraphic landscape of the city.

Ben Greet (Leeds) 'Jupiter or Pyrrhus? The symbolism of the eagle on Roman wartime currency in the third century B.C.'
The eagle is one of the most recognisable symbols in Roman culture, but this association often leads to automatic, and unchallenged, assumptions on the nature of its symbolism in Roman numismatics, particularly Roman currency produced during periods of warfare. Using three examples, I would like to challenge the traditional interpretation of the eagle during this period by examining its use in the wider context of ancient Mediterranean numismatics and previous representations within Roman visual culture. The first example I will be examining is an Eagle/Pegasus *aes signatum* from c.280 B.C., shortly after the Punic War. The eagle has traditionally been interpreted as representing Jupiter (Crawford, 1979. *Roman Republican Coinage*) but looking at its wider context this is by no means certain. Instead, other interpretations are possible, for example Pyrrhus, nicknames 'The Eagle' and the legions, from its possible use as a standard. The second example is a Minerva/Eagle coin from c.264 B.C., the start of the First Punic War, traditionally associated with Rome's alliance with the Mamertines. Again, the eagle's wider symbolic context creates problems for this interpretation, especially since it ignores the implications of the eagle's religious symbolism. The third example is a She-wolf/Eagle coin from c.217, during the Second Punic War. This coin has not received much scholarly attention, but again the eagle's symbolism here is more complex than originally assumed. Whereas it opens the possibility of the eagle's inclusion in Rome's foundation myth, the wider context creates problems. Through this examination I hope to challenge not only the interpretation of the

eagle on these coins, but of its assumed symbolism, and to instead use a constructed methodology of semiotics to create a definitive, yet fluid, symbolism of the eagle.

7: Military history (Room A113)

Peter Norris (Liverpool) '*Exercitus Omnium Fortissimus*: Who were the soldiers of Varus?'
In AD 9, the Roman army suffered a serious setback in the Teuteuberger Wald. Three legions were annihilated along with supporting auxiliaries. The extent of this defeat resonated throughout the nascent empire and according to Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.11), Augustus advised it should not expand further. The whole philosophy of the empire was apparently changed on the actions of a single commander, Publius Quintius Varus, and the troops he commanded. The campaign was a turning point in Roman military history, but who were these men? Being the man in command, Varus has been widely examined. No doubt resulting from the evidence of Velleius Paterculus (the only contemporary author), who blames the hubris of the commanders for the defeat. Interestingly, he attaches no blame to the soldiers. They are praised as 'the bravest of all the armies…' (*Vell.* 2.119).

This paper will examine the available evidence and propose a possible composition of the forces under the command of Varus. A segment of the battlefield has been the subject of archaeological analysis, but few military items have been discovered. The three legions (XVII, XVIII, and XIX) that have been suggested to have formed the main elements of the force have left little trace and the legionary numbers ascribed to them were never used again. The question of who actually constituted the personnel of this force has never been scrutinised closely, or why Velleius described them as he did. Keppie (1997,2000) examined the evidence available regarding the existence of these formations through a very limited corpus of funerary inscriptions. He did not attempt to identify the composition of the force during the *clades Variana.*

An examination of the Roman army in more broader terms during the period of this conflict and a deconstruction of the constituents of the legions at this time can provide a plausible basis for the identification of these personnel and bring to life that force on whose actions Roman history turned.

Elizabeth Pearson (Manchester) '*In Capitolio*?: The Location of the Republican *Dilectus*'
In the sixth book of his *Histories*, Polybius gives a description of the Roman *dilectus* (military levy) during the Mid-Republic (6.19-26). He states that the levy is held in Rome on the Capitol with the entire eligible male citizen body present. This narrative has been dismissed by modern scholars such as Frank Walbank and Peter Brunt as both implausible and anachronistic, not only for the 160s-150s BC when Polybius was writing but even for the point in his narrative at which it occurs, after the Battle of Cannae in 216. Instead, Polybius is considered to have been mistaken or to be reflecting a much more ancient practice no longer followed. A decentralised levy process is considered more plausible.

It is the contention of this paper that such dismissal of Polybius' account is unwarranted, Using topographical and demographic methods it will be demonstrated that it is possible that the *dilectus* could have been held solely on the Capitol in both the late third and mid second century. The physical space on the Capitol will be examined, along with the portion of the population to be considered as the 'eligible male citizen body', to reach the conclusion that this body of men could have gathered on the Capitol with enough space to effectively carry out the levy. Finally, in the light

of this acceptance of Polybius' account, mentions of the levy by Livy will be briefly re-examined in order to demonstrate that not only was it possible for the *dilectus* to be held on the Capitol, but also that the literary evidence points to just such an interpretation.

Aimee Schofield (Manchester) 'Mutually Assured Destruction: Heron, Ctesibius, and the rise of the catapult'
The catapult, developed in around 399BC, was a weapon which had a huge impact on the way in which siege warfare developed in the fourth century and beyond. It changed the ways in cities fortified themselves against attack and compelled attacking and defending forces alike to invest in new and upgraded military technologies. This ever increasing aggression culminated in Demetrius Poliorcetes' siege of Rhodes in 305BC, at which the defenders managed to force their opponents into a stalemate despite the huge and dramatic machines which Demetrius brought into play.

The first of our extant treatises on how to build catapults, the *Belopoeica*, was published around fifty years later by an Alexandrian engineer called Ctesibius. It, in turn, was republished at some point in the mid-first century AD by Heron, also from Alexandria. What part of the work are his, and which part comes directly from Ctesibius, is unclear and a matter for debate. However, the opening of the treatise presents a philosophical argument about the strategy of war which is still, to some degree, followed today.

Ctesibius, Heron, or both suggests that it is not through philosophical argument or debate that peace could be achieved between the warring Mediterranean states, but only through the equal and balanced acquisition of arms could 'tranquillity' or 'calmness' (ἀταραξία) be maintained. Part of this concept – which follows the line of si vis pacem, para bellum – is echoed in other authors, writing both before and after Ctesibius, including Thucydides, Aeneias Tacticus, Vitruvius, and Vegetius. However, this paper will argue that this passage goes beyond this point and that Heron and/or Ctesibius is making a point which is closer to our understanding of Mutually Assured Destruction.

8: Space and landscape (Room A112)

Timothy Clark (Oxford) '*Pro Imperio, Pro Deo*: Mars Ultor and the future of Rome's Empire'
Scholars have already focused substantial attention on the Forum Augustum. Yet they have not sufficiently discussed how Augustus intended his new plaza to function as a key manifestation of his vision for the future of Rome's empire and foreign policy. In addition, despite much study of the Forum's most important feature, the Temple of Mars Ultor, scholars have largely overlooked what possible religious significance(s) the Temple might have imparted to the Forum's overall message. In this paper, I argue, first, that the Temple subsumed the Forum's vision of Roman imperialism and foreign policy beneath a fundamentally religious framework and the dictates of a new state cult. In doing so, the Temple reasserted and reaffirmed Rome's imperial project as a fundamentally divine enterprise, as much a product of Mars' own divine sanction as Roman *virtus*. Second, this imperial project, unlike its republican predecessor, was not concerned with the *gloria* of individual *triumphatores*: the new empire, both Roman and Martian, would be an enterprise undertaken for the *gloria totae Romae*, the Roman populace and state in the broadest sense.

Matthew Mandich (Leicester) 'The Villa 'Le Grotte': Reassessing Roman rural colonization in the Ager Pontinus'

The *Ager Pontinus* in southern Lazio features a long history of colonization and conquest, and the region's natural resources and proximity to Rome made it an ideal target for early Roman expansion. Charting that colonization on the ground beyond urban colonies has been problematic: today, vestiges of enigmatic platform constructions dot the landscape, the majority of these structures featuring heavy polygonal masonry (*opus polygonalis*). Such sites have been predominantly labeled as *basis villae*, and interpreted as part of an emergent villa landscape; but other scholars have suggested these platforms instead relate to cult sites, garrison centers, or temples (see Becker 2012; De Haas *et al.* 2012). The Villa 'Le Grotte', a platform site built in *opus incertum* located in the immediate suburbs of Sezze (ancient *Setia*) marks an important transitional period in Italian architecture, when 'Roman' building techniques began to sweep the peninsula during the early 1st century BC. Although long known in the Pontine landscape, the site has never been excavated and its interpretation as a *basis villa*, first proposed by Zaccheo and Pasquali in 1973, has never been challenged. However, recent studies by scholars such as Bruckner (2003), and Quilici & Quilici-Gigli (1999; 2000; 2003) indicate that *Setia* and neighboring towns like Norba had vibrant religious scenes, with *Setia* boasting at least seven extra-urban cult sites. The confirmed religious activity in the zone, coupled with the striking architectural similarities between the Villa 'Le Grotte' and contemporary sanctuary constructions in the region, most notably at Terracina, suggest that this site may not be villa at all, but rather something else entirely. A detailed reassessment of this site, especially concerning its architecture and function, has scope to shed new light on aspects of Roman Republican colonization of Latium and the spread of Roman culture in the Italian peninsula.

Giacomo Savani (Leicester) 'Isolated bath-houses in the landscape of Roman Kent'

Baths and bathing were essential to Roman identity and played an important role in the processes of cultural change promoted by Rome in her distant provinces, such as Britain. While examples of large elaborate bathhouses, as well as small private facilities, have been found in towns, military forts and villas throughout the country, this paper will investigate a far more unusual and problematic facet of this topic: the so-called 'isolated' bathhouses of Roman Kent. These sites have been variously interpreted as public baths for dispersed rural communities, detached stone-built facilities of 'lost' timber-framed villas, or as buildings linked to industrial activities. However, in order to better identify the function of such structures, and question their classification as 'isolated', I will examine four sites in Kent, considering their specific typological and structural traits and place in the ancient landscape. A better understanding of the role of such bathhouses could then inform discussions concerning land use in rural Roman Kent, and contribute to the debate on the evolving cultural landscape of this region.