From the Chair of the Faculty

One isn’t supposed to stare out of the window when chairing a seminar, but that’s what I found myself doing one Monday evening in February, conscious that I was the only person in the room in the right place to be able to see the extraordinary sight, and half tempted to stop the speaker and summon the audience to look with me. Nothing compares to a fine sunset, growing in intensity moment by moment until darkness suddenly gathers and the pink and orange is swallowed up. The exceptional clarity of the air, as well as the high temperatures, made February seem to be bidding for a place in Easter term, rather than Lent.

The old day descending into a blaze of colour, and the clear new sun bringing out unnoticed details - those are rather apt images for where Cambridge Classics finds itself as it steams into 2019. Joyce Reynolds’ 100th birthday in December 2018 and her undiminished presence in the Faculty Library are the most outwardly visible sign of the ways in which long-established members of the Faculty bring colour to the Classical world. The Research Excellence Framework (REF), with its demand that we account for ourselves by trumpeting the virtues of our research environment, parading our impact across society in the UK and abroad, and declaring our hand in terms of publications, makes us add up the books produced by Faculty members since 2014: so far we are on 28 and counting. Plenty of those are contributed by rising stars within the Faculty firmament, and it is to tomorrow’s stars that we have been turning our thoughts.

The next eight or so years will see a third of the Faculty retire, including four of the seven established Professors. We are all too conscious of the evanesence of the sunset and the need to make sure that tomorrow will be a sunny day. With that in mind, the Faculty had an away-day in December (retreating all the way to Trinity College) to consider whether what we teach and how we examine might be made to do an even better pedagogic job, and about how to secure the strongest possible team to take Cambridge Classics into the future.

There is plenty to energise us as we look forward. We are currently appointing a new lecturer in Ancient Philosophy, preparing for what promises to be an extremely memorable production of Oedipus Tyrannus as the 2019 Greek Play (at the Arts Theatre 18-19th October), anticipating increasingly confidently the completion of the Cambridge Greek Lexicon at the end of the year (www.classics.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/egl/), and, together with the School’s new director of Development, beginning our final push to raise what is needed for the new joint post at Joyce’s College, Newnham. Meanwhile, we say goodbye to four of our support staff, including Esme Booth, who has been looking after Outreach and Alumni communications and editing this newsletter, and Jennie Thornber, who has built up an inspirational educational programme in the Cast Gallery. We are committed to sustaining that programme despite Jennie’s departure, and to keeping in touch with you, even without Esme. Feel free to be in touch with me directly (ro225@cam.ac.uk) at any time.

We need your help and support more than ever, so come and join us, even before the Greek play, for this year’s Gray Lectures by Professor Jim Porter at 5pm on May 21 and 23 (with the traditional party after the lecture on May 23). It will be a wonderful summer.

Robin Osborne
Rose Ferraby and Martin Millett

Aldborough (near Boroughbridge in North Yorkshire) is hardly the best-known town in Roman Britain. But what the project that the Classics Faculty has been supporting for the last 10 years has been uncovering has shown that Aldborough (Ariovistum) is a place not to be underestimated.

A key part of the uncovering we have done has been in the archives. During the latter seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries antiquarian interest in the Roman period in Britain was on the rise. A small group of individuals, including Edmund Gibson and Francis Drake, were in regular correspondence, collecting information about archaeological finds from local informants across the country. Amongst their correspondents was the Revd Edward Norris who was vicar of Aldborough from 1676 until 1719. Filling together information from his letters published in various antiquarian sources, we have been able to map the early exploration of the Roman town, which included the uncovering of a series of mosaic pavements which were kept in situ and regularly shown to visitors.

The most exciting discovery from our historical research has been a hitherto unpublished drawing of an excavation beside the village church that took place between 16-20 July 1770 (as recorded in the York Mercury on 25 July of that year). This survives in the York Record Office in an album compiled around 1820 by William Hargrove, a York newspaper publisher. It almost certainly came from his father, the Knaresborough antiquarian Ely Hargrove, who was probably involved in the work.

Later nineteenth-century exploration of the site (which included major excavations between 1826 and 1852) was much better published in a 1852 monograph (H. Elcroyd Smith’s Ariovistum). By combining the mapping of all this antiquarian information with the results of modern geophysical survey, we have now just completed a study which maps the whole of the Roman town and its environs, and uses this evidence to write an entirely new account of the history of this key centre for Roman control of northern England.

Our current work on the site is building on the results of this survey to explore particular questions about the town’s history. In the initial stages of this research we have been re-investigating sites that have previously been excavated in order to obtain evidence about the dates of key stages in the town’s development.

The most challenging such excavation sought to explore the site dug in July 1770, which now lies mostly beneath a modern road. First, a survey of this area was undertaken using state-of-the-art Ground Penetrating Radar equipment (in collaboration with the University of Sheffield).
From this we tentatively identified the buried structure of the forum. We were then able to use this to locate a narrow trench on the grass verge which, dodging electricity cables, sewers etc., allowed us to re-expose the walls as recorded in Hargrove’s plan. The plan proved remarkably accurate and from our trench, we have been able to date the construction of the forum to sometime just after AD 120, and also confirmed that the first activity on the at Aldborough took place around AD 70.

This raises historical questions like how the development of Aldborough relates to Agricola’s campaigns in the North and how the construction of the forum fits in with Hadrian’s visit to the province in AD 122. The origin of the settlement predates Agricola’s presence but it seems that its growth as a trading centre was linked to military supply and the first exploitation of silver from the Pennines during his governorship. Equally, the town’s replanning in the 120s may be indirectly linked to a reorganization that followed the creation of Hadrian’s Wall.

Classics Textbooks from Open Book Publishers

The Faculty of Classics sponsors a vibrant programme of access and outreach activities, including a Classics Text Book series that promotes research-led learning about Latin literature already at A-level. Its partner here is a new press, Open Book Publishers, which was founded in 2008 by a team of adventurous Cambridge academics keen to make academic publishing fairer, faster and more accessible: all their titles are free to read and download online and can be ordered as cheap, print-on-demand paperbacks. Since 2012, they have teamed up with the Faculty to produce a range of course books on authors set for study at A-level, such as Cicero and Ovid, Tacitus and Virgil. These volumes offer the original Latin text, together with a variety of teaching resources, catering to a student population with increasingly varied backgrounds in the language. Vocabulary aids and the explication of grammar and syntax provide basic help in coming to terms with often difficult Latin. And a series of problem-oriented study questions encourages students to engage critically with the artistic design, ideological profile, and contemporary relevance of their authors - also beyond the constraints of the syllabus and the ‘answer grids’ of the exam boards. Fittingly for a series that promotes unorthodox pedagogy, OBP recruited John Henderson, grand yuan of Latin studies, as ‘series consultant’ – or, as a reviewer had it, ‘tutelary deity’. For his epiphany in the last installment of the series, a commentary on passages from Virgil, Aeneid 11 (Pallas and Camilla), visit: www.openbookpublishers.com/section/31/1

Ingo Gildenhard

Ingo Gildenhard and John Henderson

Alice Fordham

I came away from my Classics degree with a love for the links between the poetic and the political. There was a trip to Rome - I remember a chilly, pale-blue sky full of clouds of starlings - in the December of my final year, where we learned to see how the curves and angles of statues told stories about how faraway cultures influenced each other. There was the theoretical reading that lent itself to the love of tragedy I’d had since school. And there was a great supervision on Latin poetry that made me think about how writers play with form and convention to point out the foibles of their societies.

Later, I had the good fortune to become a journalist, an international correspondent, working largely in the Middle East. What I learned never left me. Once, I covered a group of Syrian refugee ladies who were staging a production of Antigone. They told me how they found solace and catharsis in realising that the dilemma of whether to risk chaos for justice was one that people - that women! - had been struggling with since ancient times.

I also worked a lot in northern Iraq, where, in 2010, I visited ancient Assyrian palaces and gawped at a massive frieze of thickly-muscled deities. Years later, I walked over the ISIS-ruined remnants of the same frieze, with a weeping Iraqi archaeologist who spoke to me about how she had been visiting the site since her teens. We discussed how important the ancient past is to modern Iraqis, a source of unity and pride in a country constantly fracturing.

At around the same time, I read the Epic of Gilgamesh - a poem about the act of storytelling as a bid for immortality when you’re afraid of death.

And there were so many others: the Syrian architect who told the story of her country’s breaking up through the changing shape of her city, Homs. The Tunisian museum guide who subversively showed me Roman mosaics showing drinking and gambling in his now-conservative country. Everywhere, people use art, culture and the past to explain who they are and what they want today. Classics, I hope, gave me the power to understand what they are saying.

Connie Parker

After graduating in 2017 I took a detour away from the classical world and have been in south India working as an intern with International Justice Mission (IJM), the largest anti-slavery organisation in the world. IJM works across 17 countries, confronting violence of many kinds (forced labour, sexual exploitation, police abuse of power and others) and addressing the broken justice systems that allow this kind of exploitation to continue. While some of my colleagues work on rescuing and restoring victims of bonded labour and prosecuting offenders, I am focused on the advocacy and government relations side of things.

It has been stretching and consuming work, and I have found out that when people say that Classics gives you ‘transferable analytical skills’, they really mean it. I have been writing articles, compiling information on human trafficking, analyzing legal documents and evaluating government policies. The multidisciplinary demands of the Classical

Tripos prepared me well for being kept on my toes and handling complex problems. It continues to baffle my colleagues that I voluntarily studied ancient languages and arts, but I see it as an immense luxury that I was able to devote three years to studying and comparing cultures, absorbing literature and learning how to form and express my own ideas.

Although I may not be writing about the Trojan Women any more, I have kept the ability to listen, to collect and sort ideas and perhaps most importantly the confidence to tackle the unknown. The joy I found in Classics is that it is ultimately about people, how and why we create things and the ideas that have shaped our collective lives. Once I have wrapped up my time in India, I’m hoping to start studying for an MSc in Conflict, Rights and Justice at SOAS in September 2019 and then branching further into the unknown.

I will admit (with some degree of shame for a Classicist) that after a year in India I’m still trying to pluck up the courage to attempt to learn Tamil, but if a Classics degree taught me anything about difficult languages it’s that you can tackle a challenging Greek prose composition and make it through alive. Wish me luck!
Exhibitions at the Museum of Classical Archaeology

The academic year 2017-18 was a bumper year for exhibitions at the Museum of Classical Archaeology - past students might be surprised to hear that we now host 4-6 temporary exhibitions each year, working with external partners (usually but certainly not only local artists) to host new works and disseminate amongst the casts.

This past summer saw our most ambitious exhibition yet - a show of new works created just for us by artist Florian Rothmayr (9 May-3 November 2018), co-commissioned from Arts Council England with Kettle's Yard and Wyseing Arts Centre and the Elephant Trust, and with a publication funded by the Henry Moore Foundation and a conference funded by the Paul Mellon Centre. The Humility of Flaster project was a reveling and very modern response to the process itself of cast making, taking inspiration from the wondrous application of casting processes beyond the artistic canon but also from the moulds which make up the very fabric of cast production itself. Inserted as interjections amongst the casts, Rothmayr's abstract sculptures offered a challenge to those visitors filled into a sense of security by the familiar figurative forms of the classical.

Spring then followed with Clare Yarrington's Making History, a very different exploration of familiar ground featuring the artist's own interpretations of archaeological intervention in ancient history. With her own history as an archaeologist and archaeological illustrator just beneath the surface of her work, Yarrington's exhibition reflected the preservation, preservation and reconstruction of material remains through her collages, prints and line drawings.

2018 also saw us reaffirm our long-term partnership with the teaching staff at Cambridge Community Arts as once again we hosted an exhibition of photographic work. CCA are a local not-for-profit who use the creative process as a tool to empower people by tapping into their own creative resources and improving their mental wellbeing. Their courses are designed not only to develop creative skills but also to promote social inclusion so that learners gain confidence and improve social skills.

Finally, our smaller temporary displays continued to put on display objects from our stores. As part of our klass Curate project, where our students can apply to use objects from our collection to tell their own stories, Alina Kozlovski curated Finding Forgeries, encouraging visitors to spot the fakes in our collection! We also displayed the rich finds from our ongoing inventory project, curated by volunteer Katie Phillips, and brought out objects from the Palaeolithic collection which were transferred to us from the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in 1960s.

Susanne Turner
Taking Care of the Collection

In many ways, the Museum of Classical Archaeology has a very odd collection for a museum; our plaster casts, which are very much the public face of the Museum and of the Cast Gallery, are replicas and not originals. Because our Cast Gallery is just that, a collection of plaster casts, not a collection of ‘original’ objects, it is tempting to think that these replicas don’t have any value in their own right. But this is very far from true. Some of the casts have a long history of their own – going back to the eighteenth century – and some could not be replicated today since they preserve the earlier condition of originals that have since deteriorated.

Recent years have seen us moving to take more seriously the casts not only as a collection of historical objects, but also as a collection worthy of care and preservation. We are now very fortunate to have the assistance of a UCM conservator one day each week. Just as many of our alumni learned from and appreciated our collection in years gone by, it is important to us that we continue to safeguard the collection for future generations. Here are some of the collection care projects we’ve been beavering away on, or ones which are on the horizon.

COLLECTIONS CARE SURVEY

Our UCM conservator, Kirstie Williams (with the help of several collections care volunteers), has spent two years painstakingly surveying the condition of the cast collection – and she’s still not finished! Each cast in the gallery has been photographed and measured, and its condition and care needs have been graded and recorded in a database. This work will form the foundation of collections care priorities in the future. It has also revealed that 50% of the collection sports some form of graffiti.

GORTYN

Our casts of the Gortyn Law Code were lubricated in 2011 and rehung in lecture theatre 1.02 shortly afterwards. After one fell off the wall (relocated by a student’s backpack) it became clear that the mounting system and location were not suitable long-term due to insufficient space. Over the course of two weeks in September, we removed each of the 96 casts from the wall, measured and marked them with unique identifying numbers, and carried them downstairs, where they were photographed, condition surveyed and packed for storage. We are now exploring alternative mounting options and locations.

Gortyn casts packed up and stored

SURVEYING THE HIGH HANGING CASTS

In November, Conservator Kirstie Williams and Curator Susanne Turner spent two weeks working on a mobile scaffolding tower to survey the casts mounted at height on the walls. This work revealed that the hanging casts are under strain, and it is now a high priority for the Museum to secure funding for a project of casts to rehang and conserve the wall-mounted casts so that their weight is better supported. The first stage of this project, to be undertaken this year, is the removal, consolidation and rehanging of the Museum’s largest wall-mounted cast, the Meleagros pediment from Corcyra, on display in Bay A.

NEW CATALOGUE

We have now begun work on transferring the databases of our collections to a new catalogue, based on a cutting-edge collections management system developed by the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. We are currently working with a developer to customise the catalogue for our needs and work has begun transferring some of the results of our ongoing inventory project. This new catalogue will not only improve access to our collections when it goes online, but it will also give us an opportunity to expand the information we store about our objects too.

Susanne Turner

If you would like to support the Museum’s Collections’ Care projects, you can do so by donating online: www.philanthropy.cam.ac.uk/give-to-cambridge/museum-of-classical-archaeology?table=departmentprojects&id=231
The Classics should be a subject open to all. As one of the world’s largest institutions devoted to studying the Greco-Roman world, the Faculty of Classics is particularly keen to promote the subject in all possible ways beyond the University. However, it would be wrong to describe this either as a simple or an easy exercise, in reality, there are many, quite distinct, forms of access and outreach activities, all of which are of importance to the Faculty.  

To begin with the most general, our Classics lecturers are the walking-and-talking ambassadors of the subject. We are always ready to advertise the thrill of studying the Classics. We should want to seize any opportunity to promote the subject in the public eye, whether on screen, in print or in person. But such open-armed outreach is of unknown cost; while we can count, for instance, the sales of a book (that popularises one or more aspects of the ancient world), we can only guess at how broadly its impact percolates. Furthermore, such endeavours to promote the public profile of the subject have only an indirect influence on the subject’s presence at Cambridge (and other universities).

To shape the subject more tangibly at the university level, we have to turn our attention to the educational paths of prospective students. Most of our undergraduate applicants (roughly 85%) apply from UK institutions; these prospective applicants we can invite to Cambridge, or host at large-scale road-shows around the country, or travel to their schools. Although visiting a single institute could restrict access to its pupils, it is our policy to encourage the school to advertise and open up any such event to other schools in the region.

But there are many more ways to promote the Classics to school pupils. To start with the most self-serving, Cambridge can publicise the particular strengths of its course and resources to persuade those students already committed to reading Classics to read the subject at our university ahead of others. Indeed, at the Oxbridge Classics day this March, a team of our students and staff strove to convince as many as possible of the 500 sixth-formers in attendance to apply to Cambridge ahead of our ally-and-rival out west. But, with only a little over 1,000 students taking Latin at A Level each year, entry to the Cambridge Tripos is severely restricted by school provision. As a consequence, over 70% of UK applicants to the Tripos come from independent schools, the university’s overall figure of independent-school applicants is below 20%.

It is for this reason that, in 2003, the Faculty introduced its Preliminary year. This foundational year accepts students who have successfully acquired a Latin qualification below A-Level standard, typically through extracurricular study. But, more to the point, it welcomes applicants who have never had any chance to engage with Latin. The Prelims year thus provides a much wider funnel of access into the three-year Tripos that follows. 85% of our UK applicants in recent years have been from the maintained sector.

Our outreach and endeavours must therefore range far more broadly than secondary-school Classics departments; not just to those who have encountered the subject via Classical Civilisation or Ancient History, but to those who have enjoyed studying other arts and humanities subjects but are yet to discover the near-infinite expense of studying the Classical world, introducing bright students of all ages to the Classics (whether in person through one of our taster days and the Come, See, Be inspired project, or remotely via our competitions for school children) is a tangible rewarding and important activity, regardless of whether these endeavours translate into future undergraduate applicants.

In the next newsletter, Dr Willay (my fellow Schools Liaison Officer) and I will reporting greater detail on the access and outreach initiatives which are proving to be the most effective in promoting the Classics at Cambridge and beyond.

David Butterfield
THE CHADWICK ARCHIVE

One of the Faculty’s most prized assets is the Mycenaean Epigraphy room, a special research facility dedicated to the study of the earliest writing on Greek soil in the form of the Linear B tablets and the other writing systems of the Aegean Bronze Age. Its importance, indeed its very existence, is intimately connected with the name of John Chadwick, one of the pioneers of Mycenaean studies from the decipherment in 1952 onward, who worked in this room until his death in 1998. His 1973 second edition of the monumental Documents in Mycenaean Greek, which he first published in 1966 together with the main decipherer of Linear B, Michael Ventris, remains an unsurpassed milestone in the field.

But not for much longer; a completely revised and reshaped multi-authored 3rd edition under the auspices of the former Professor of Mycenaean Greek, John Killen, is just one of several major publications currently being prepared in the bustling scholarly environment that is the Mycenaean Epigraphy Room. And another big project is just around the corner. A few years ago, John Chadwick’s son, Anthony, gave his father’s correspondence over many decades with other scholars in the field to the Faculty, earlier this year, the Faculty was able to obtain the copyright for the entire collection.

Much work needs to be done, and starting in the summer, Rebecca Naylor, the Faculty Archivist, will take the lead in the first stage of the project, consisting of conserving, cataloguing and digitising the collection. It is envisaged that we will finish the first phase of the work next year in time for the centenary of John Chadwick’s birth on 21 May 1920 and showcase the archive within the context of a major international conference on Mycenaean studies in order to mark this occasion. The correspondence, consisting of many thousands of pages in several different languages - English, German, French and Italian chief among them - can then be accessed properly, and in a second phase we intend to focus on the content of the correspondence. It is clear that this contains many suggestions of interpretations of individual words or tablets that were never published. Mycenaean studies is a fast-moving field: only a few years ago, the first Linear B fragments came to light from Agios Vasileios (Xerokampi), just south of the historical Sparta, and quite possibly identical with the Sparta that Homer tells us about. So far, just short of 100 tablets have been found, and it may well be possible to test, in due course, some of the suggestions in the correspondence against the new evidence. Once opened up and available online the Chadwick archive will provide a magnificent research tool for scholars in the field, bridging the past with the future of Mycenaean studies.

Torsten Meißner
Who uses the Library, and how do they use it?

Current and former Cambridge students will be familiar with the tripartite nature of the University’s library system. The University Library is one of the three biggest UK research libraries, but may stock only one copy of each title. Use of College libraries is generally restricted to members of that college. In between, one finds the Faculty and Departmental libraries, which are rare in OXbridge. Their collections are subject-specific, their clientele varies a good deal. Some libraries mainly cater for undergraduate use, while others (like Classics) also buy for research.

At Classics, lectures take place in the same building as the Library, which naturally maximises undergraduate use in Term-time - it is the obvious place to work ‘between’ lectures, as well as the place to borrow books. We aim to stock all Classics-related material which appears on undergraduate reading lists.

In vacation, Library usage falls, but not dramatically. Even in the ‘dog-days’ of midsummer, one can confidently expect to find around twenty ‘regulars’ working in the Library. Postgraduate students in the Faculty of Classics are given 24-hour access to the Library, a privilege which students in other Faculties view with some envy! Many choose to make the Library their main study space, and a certain degree of ‘meeting’ has been traditionally permitted by Library staff. On the floor in Term-time, postgraduates intersect their ‘supervisees’ in the adjacent entrance hall, and carry them off to the Cast Gallery, situated immediately above the Library.

The Library’s substantial research holdings also draw in many senior members, who can often be seen working at the same table as undergraduates. There is no doubt that attracting professors into one’s library really raises the tone, as well as ensuring a clerical rush! Upon entering the Library, the gaze of these distinguished scholars is invariably drawn to our display of ‘New Books’. Unlike most journal titles, print books continue to be in high demand at Classics, while rumours of the impending ‘death of the book’ at the hands of electronic alternatives have, so far, proved unfounded.

Finally, we always have a number of official visitors (visiting scholars and visiting postgraduates), who pay the Faculty a bench fee in return for out-of-hours access and borrowing rights. There is some evidence that Italian scholars migrate to Cambridge when Italian libraries close their doors for the month of agosto!!

While borrowing is restricted to current staff, students and official visitors in the University, everyone is most welcome to work in the Library and use our print material. We look forward to seeing you!

Stephen Howe

2019 J.H. Gray Lectures

with Professor James Porter

Professor James Porter is the Irving G. Stone Professor in Literature in the Departments of Rhetoric and Classics at UC Berkeley.

He is one of the world’s leading figures in the study of literary criticism in antiquity and the application of modern theory to ancient literature.

His work ranges from Homer to Nietzsche and Lacan, and his monumental 'The Sublime in Antiquity' won the 2017 Goodwin Award of Merit of the American Society for Classical Studies.

Thinking Through Homer

What Did Homer See?
21 May, 5pm G.19

Seminar: PMIch 2754 and The contest of Homer and Hesiod
22 May, 2pm 1.11

Homer between Rhetoric and Philosophy
23 May, 5pm G.19. There will be a drinks reception afterwards.
My doctoral research concerns the notion of *prolepseis* (προληψις) in Epicurean epistemology and philosophy of mind. My interest in this topic stems from the work I did in my MPhil under the supervision of Dr David Butterfield. In my MPhil thesis, I formulated an Epicurean account of personal identity from Lucretius’ discussion of palingenesis and memory in Book 3 of the *De Rerum Natura*. Although initially I had planned for my PhD, funded by the Gates Cambridge Foundation, to explore the ethical implications of these concepts, my reading on the subject led me to want to understand the extent to which the Epicureans articulated a cognitivist framework for such complex mental processes as recollection. As a result, my research today concerns the mechanics of concept formation. How are human beings, according to the Epicureans, able to receive vast amounts of sensory data and form initial concepts (*prolepseis*) about the world? In what sense are these preconceptions veridical notions? If *prolepseis* are, in fact, criteria of truth does their infallibility depend on their origin in sensation? Or do preconceptions owe their criterial power to some activity or intervention on the part of the mind? Can the Epicureans, or can we at least, on their behalf, answer these questions without importing any extra metaphysical baggage? I plan to assess the ramifications of these questions for Epicurean theology, linguistic theory, philosophy of imagination, and memory.

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**Between teleology and hermeneutics: the multiperspectivity of Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica***

My doctoral project, on which I work as a Gates Cambridge Scholar, focuses on Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica* (Ethiopian Stories, 4th century AD), the earliest and in many respects most ambitious novel from antiquity. Combining methodological elements of narratology, reader-response criticism, and cultural studies, my thesis maps out the impact of Heliodorus’ narrative technique on our reading experience and explores the cultural significance of his novel. I proceed from close readings of the *Aethiopica*’s embedded narratives to a comprehensive model of the novel’s architecture and discuss its use of such devices as narrative ambiguity, unreliable narrators, digressivism, and fragmentary narration. I argue that Heliodorus utilises these and other tools to construct a fictional work that allows for two different modes of reading (reader-perspectives): on the one hand a teleological one, which is charged with strong religious beliefs, and on the other hand one characterised by hermeneutic and epistemological interests, often paired with scepticism. While these two perspectives are utterly incompatible, the *Aethiopica* presents them as equal alternatives, there is no difference in hierarchy between them. As a result, the tension between the contrasting approaches to the novel is never resolved, and—depending on our interpretative choices—the way we experience the novel can change significantly even after numerous readings. Finally, my thesis examines the cultural implications of the *Aethiopica*’s rivalling perspectives. On the one hand, the hermeneutic pitfalls and scepticism that dominate one reader-perspective also feature prominently in late pagan Greek authors such as Lucian, Philostratus, and Dio Chrysostom; on the other hand, the teleological reading of the *Aethiopica* bears close similarities to early Christian literature, in which narrative forms are frequently utilised as a vehicle to propagate a similar end-directed, religious worldview. Heliodorus allows his readers to experience the pluralism of the late Empire while they explore the different interpretative paths laid out by his unique novel.
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