AMPAH 2013 Cambridge 27 April. Abstracts.

1A Greek History

i) Daniel Unruh, University of Cambridge

Poleis and Monarchs in Thucydides

The relationships between the belligerent poleis and the monarchies that surround them is a frequent object of interest for Thucydides. Both Athens and Sparta expend a great deal of energy attempting to win the favour of Thracian, Macedonian and Persian rulers. Indeed, it is Sparta's alliance with the Persian monarchy that ultimately wins them the war. Up till now, however, there has been little scholarly attention on how the poleis manage their relationships with these monarchs. In this paper, I will explore the different ways Thucydides depicts Athens and Sparta interacting with foreign kings. The differing characters and ideologies of the two states lead to markedly different results: conservative, tyrant-hating Sparta finds it nearly impossible to bridge the gap between monarch and polis; while flexible Athens, increasingly comfortable with its own role as "tyrant city", finds much in common with absolute rulers.

ii) Jennifer Martinez, University of Liverpool

The women of the ten thousand: female captives and army followers in Xenophon's *Anabasis*

This paper focuses on the women who accompanied the ten thousand in Xenophon's *Anabasis* and attempts to rectify the ways in which modern scholarship has portrayed how these women are represented throughout the text. More specifically, I will focus on the unclear and ambiguous role of the captive women and the female army followers, who have been overshadowed by recent scholarship done on the now more popular named women who appear in the narrative. Women such as Epyaxa, Parysatis and Hellas have all been addressed to some extent by modern scholars, but the captive women that Xenophon chooses to include at intervals in his account have not been properly examined. Thus, the only serious attempt to address these women has been that of John Lee in his 2004 article 'For there were many hetairai in the army: women in Xenophon's *Anabasis*'. The role and experience of these women during the march has been much overstated and taken out of context by Lee's study. Arguments proposed by Lee indicate that the women in the *Anabasis* are vocal, masculine and visible (2004, p. 145), but as this paper will show, this cannot be said for any of the women in Xenophon's text.

Women are often treated as a homogeneous group, and in war the word 'woman' always refers to an image of women as the victims of warfare. As this paper will demonstrate, women in the *Anabasis* did not constitute a homogeneous group: there were those who came voluntarily with the soldiers, those that were taken captive in the course of the march and those named women whom Xenophon choses to include in his narrative. The *Anabasis*, sometimes referred to as a 'polis on the move', provides a great opportunity to address and understand women in a specific war context. In conclusion, this paper examines the instances where women are mentioned or said to be present during the march with the aim to address the modern misconceptions about them and to propose new ways of understanding their presence within the army.

iii) Jacob Miller, St John's College, University of Oxford

Factional conflicts and the third-century expansion of the Achaean League

Why do several Peloponnesian tyrants voluntarily abdicate their tyrannies and join the Achaean League all within the same decade? (Viz. Lydiades of Megalopolis [235 B.C.], Aristomachus of Argos [229/8], Xenon of Hermione [early 220s], and Cleonymus of Phlius [c.229/8]). Polybius' explanations—the tyrants were discouraged by the death of Demetrius and felt threatened by Aratus and the Achaeans—are unconvincing. But more can be said. Elsewhere Polybius claims that cities came over to Cleomenes after 225 partly through

persuasion and partly out of fear, mentioning Phlius, Argos, and Hermione, three of the cities listed above. The overlap of the two sets points toward an answer: the evident social tension in these cities suggests that these tyrants joined the Achaean League at least in part to ensure their faction's dominance in the city. The Achaean League functioned as a guarantor of *homonoia*, or more cynically, the domination throughout the Peloponnese of a more oligarchical (if not oligarchic tout court) faction. By looking at examples of stasis from the two decades following these abdications—when there is no reason to believe that the nature of these social conflicts or of the Achaean League fundamentally changed—we can sketch a clearer picture of these tyrants' motivations for joining the Achaean League. The Achaean willingness to intervene to promote what it perceived as *homonoia* explains the rapidity of their expansion against the background of factional conflict. These tyrants, some of whom ruled over cities with demonstrable social conflicts that erupted just a few years later, wanted the garrisons and the security that came with Achaean support. If this meant surrendering some power—although perhaps they thought they might follow Aratus' example and become Achaean *strategoi*—they were prepared to make the trade. *Pace* Polybius, the Achaean League expanded because it could provide the leaders in these cities with garrisons; for the tyrants who went over to the Achaean League, the continued dominance of their faction and their class seems to have been decisive.

iv) John Daukas, University of Oxford

The Search for the Person in Athenian νόμοι

'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights...' This modern concept of the person, excerpted from the American Declaration of Independence but hardly unique to it, has been adopted as the fundamental basis of the person legally, culturally, and socially by the modern world. The idea of 'inalienable rights' has even redefined humanity's perception of the world and its orientation to it. But are these truths as 'self-evident' as the authors, and modern society by extension, suggest? In this paper, I will examine the concept of the person in classical Athens, a world vastly removed from our own chronologically, religiously, and socially. I will focus on how Athenian law (νόμος) defines the qualities that constitute the 'person' through the lens of the legally disadvantaged: resident aliens (μέτοικοι), women, and most importantly slaves (δοῦ λοι). These three groups in turn possess three distinct categorical similarities that delineate the Athenian category of the person: a share of honor (τιμή) and legal protection of that honor through the law of Hubris (γραφὴ ὕ βρεως), their manifestation and recognition by the law through the court system, and the ability to perform and partake in religious rituals and celebrations. The law on Hubris handed down from Demosthenes states that if someone attacks another's honor, whether the victim is a man, woman, or child, slave or free, he is liable to be indicted. Though slaves and women were generally not allowed to enter the courtroom, there were exceptions and they could enter evidence and take up, or be the object of, litigation. Metics were able to bring litigation at will, though there existed social obstacles which made pursuing a suit difficult. Demosthenes tells us the laws allowed foreign women and slaves to participate in public sacrifices with few exceptions, and literary and epigraphic evidence indicates slaves were admitted into the Eleusinian mysteries and held their own private cults.

1B The late Republic

i) Fiona Noble, University of Newcastle upon Tyne

Marius, Catulus, Sulla, and the Battle after Vercellae

In 101 BC the Romans won a decisive victory at Vercellae, ending the threat to the Italian peninsula posed by a number of Germanic peoples since 113. Descriptions of the battle focus on the unusual weather phenomena (clouds of dust and bright sunlight) which

aided the Romans while hindering the efforts of the Cimbri. Three exceptional figures were present at this battle: Gaius Marius, then in his fifth consulship; Q. Lutatius Catulus (cos. 102) as proconsul; and L. Cornelius Sulla (cos. 88, 80) serving as *legatus* under Catulus. In the years after Vercellae the precise nature of the events surrounding the battle became subject to conflicting interpretations, with traditions emerging claiming that either Marius or Catulus held sole responsibility for the victory. We know, for example, that the two senior generals fought over the right to triumph, and that although the triumph was granted to Marius, he shared it with Catulus largely out of fear of the adverse reaction of Catulus' troops, should they feel that their leader were not being sufficiently acknowledged (Plut. *Mar*. 27.4-6). Similarly, the two men each set up monuments in Rome to commemorate Vercellae; Marius built memorials of his victory and a temple of Honos and Virtus, while Catulus built the *Porticus Catuli* and the *Aedes Fortunae Huiusce Diei*. Although little more than fragments has survived, we may also be certain that this competition was also reflected in the contemporary historiography of this period, as has recently been argued concerning the Jugurthine War. It is possible to trace the remnants of these early historiographical traditions by examining the presentation of the three men in our remaining sources. Plutarch's account of the battle, for example, portrays Marius sacrificing with incorrect procedure and, once battle begins, becoming so lost in the dust that he managed to miss the battle line entirely, while the Livian tradition has Marius using the weather conditions to his advantage. Through analysis of such sources, this paper will uncover the lost historiographical debate regarding Vercellae, crucial for understanding the dynamics of power relations in this eventful period of the Republic.

ii) Edwin Shaw, University College London

Sallust and the Restoration of the Tribunate

The office of the tribunate of the plebs played a central role in the politics of the last century of the Roman Republic. Used to challenge the status quo by the Gracchi and the *seditiosi* who followed them (e.g. Saturninus), most of its considerable powers were removed by Sulla in his reorganisation of the state in 81. Their restitution was an important theme of the political debate of the next eleven years, finally enacted during the consulship of Pompey and Crassus in 70. This complex period is that covered by the fragmentary remains of Sallust's *Historiae*, which clearly dealt with the topic in detail. The purpose of this paper, then, is to reconstruct as far as possible Sallust's attitudes towards this important reform.

The paper will begin with an examination of the portrayal of the tribunate as an office in Sallust's extant monographs, which demonstrates that although individual tribunes may be strong speakers with the interests of the state in mind, the office as a whole is more divisive: the restitution of the tribunician power seems to be the point at which politics at Rome took a downward turn (*Cat*. 38). This is perhaps suprising, given that Sallust himself held the office in the chaotic year 52 BC, but needs to be contextualised within Sallust's political theory more generally.

With this framework established, and in the assumption that Sallust is a writer deeply engaged with the politics of his time, the paper will discuss the question of the restoration of the tribunate in relation to the *Historiae*. Although the text is fragmentary, it is possible to reconstruct some of the discussion of this important political question in the preserved speeches, and to suggest Sallust's use of the theme as a means of commenting on the political context of his own day. Thus, as well as an examination of the presentation of a major political debate the paper will allow some conclusions to be drawn on the important questions of Sallust's politics, and the veracity of his works (especially the speeches) as a source for late Republican history.

iii) Patrick Cook, University of Cambridge

What's Wrong with Piso's Face?

Cicero's attack on L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, delivered in 55 BC, makes considerable use of physical description, a technique he had previously used in his post-exile speeches to describe both P. Clodius and A. Gabinius. At the beginning of the speech, Cicero asks 'now do you see, now do you perceive, what complaint of humanity is in your face?', but over 2000 years later there is still no general consensus about what, according to Cicero, was wrong with Piso's appearance. Clodius and Gabinius both fit into the topos of 'the effeminate male', which has numerous precedents. It is more difficult to see what is wrong with Piso. Cicero, indeed, writes that one might see in Piso one of the bearded men of the early Republic. For this reason, Piso has been held out as one who 'tests the rules' of Ciceronian insult (Corbeill, 1996). Alternatively, Cicero's description has been glossed as incoherent (as in the classic commentary of Nisbet, 1961).

This paper will argue that Piso is not represented as looking like a paragon of Roman Republican virtue, but instead like a comic burlesque of the same. Cicero's repeated reference to Piso's beard or hairy cheeks would have marked him as anomalous in the first century, when Roman men did not habitually wear beards. Furthermore, although Piso's gait and appearance apparently avoid being obviously 'soft' or effeminate, but not of the opposite charge of being rustic (when Cicero advises his son, in de Officiis, that a man must avoid both), and Cicero repeatedly portrays Piso as resembling either a wild animal or a member of such stereotypically slavish races as the Cappadocians or Syrians. In striving not to seem over-refined, it seems, Piso looks insufficiently refined for a member of his social class.

Additionally, ancient physiognomic handbooks state that an obvious attempt to avoid moving in an effeminate manner is itself a sign of effeminacy. This paper argues that, in Cicero's representation, Piso emerges as a man who attempts to embody an ideal of Republican Roman masculinity but is instead rendered ridiculous.

iv) Eleonora Zampieri, University of Leicester

“Alteri se populares, alteri optimates at haberi et esse voluerunt”: political identity and religion in the architecture of Caesar and Pompey in Rome

The political propaganda of Augustus has been broadly studied in the last decades, following Zanker’s Augustus and the power of images in particular; great attention has therefore been lavished on the political and religious significance of Augustus’ euergetism too. In contrast, much less effort has gone on the euergetical propaganda of Julius Caesar, the figure who most inspired Augustus, even though his historical and political role have seen much investigation.

My paper draws on a key debate in my PhD research, and focuses on the main themes of Caesar’s propaganda, with the purpouse of connecting these to the monuments he promoted; I seek to interrogate the political and religious meaning of Caesar’s choices about the function and topography of his buildings.

Some preliminary but key questions can be raised for discussion: how well can the propaganda embedded in architecture be connected with Caesar’s self-representation as the leader of the populares? What analogies and differences are evident if we compare the propaganda in architecture of Pompey?

Finally, consideration should also go to exploring power and architectural politics beyond Rome and in the provinces, since both figures founded colonies, in Gaul and Spain especially: can we trace conflict and competition also here? What are the differences with Rome?

1C The later Empire

i)Alex Imrie, University of Edinburgh

The treasonous Caesar: the involvement of P. Septimius Geta in the assassination plot of AD 205.

The murder of the praetorian prefect Plautianus in AD 205 remains one of the more intriguing episodes found during the reign of Septimius Severus. The question of how the prefect had fallen from his powerful position in the Severan court to attempting an apparent coup d'état was debated even in the ancient sources. Herodian, often criticised for parroting a sanitised version of events offered by the imperial regime, described the plot as the brainchild of a power-hungry praetorian. Cassius Dio, on the other hand, argued that Plautianus was in reality entrapped by a scheme devised by Caracalla, stemming from the increasing animosity observed between the two men from the marriage of the young Augustus to the prefect's daughter in 202. In all of this unfolding drama, however, one figure remains conspicuously absent: the Caesar, Geta.

This paper aims to offer a third reading of the conspiracy that led to the death of Plautianus. In addition to comparing the accounts of Dio and Herodian, focusing on the appearance of a mysterious letter detailing the plot in both versions, epigraphic and numismatic evidence will be employed to suggest that the conspiracy might have been far wider than Plautianus himself, and better interpreted as an initial attack in the fraternal rivalry between Caracalla and Geta that was to characterise the latter half of Severus' reign.

ii) Melissa Markauskas (University of Manchester)

Ergo Romanae religiones ad Romana iura non pertinent? (Symmachus, *Relat.* 3, 13): The place of Roman law in the Altar of Victory Controversy

This paper takes as its case study the conflict known as the famous 384 AD Altar of Victory controversy, in which the urban prefect Symmachus and bishop Ambrose of Milan wrote counter-petitions to the emperor Valentinian II about the presence of an altar to the goddess Victory in the Senate house at Rome. This conflict has traditionally been seen as one of the last great rhetorical battles between "paganism" and Christianity in the Roman West.

This paper will instead argue that this foregrounding of conflict between competing religious identities is the work of Ambrose's rhetoric and that Symmachus' petition focuses far more on the 'legal' context: his petition requests that Valentinian restore the altar and monies privately donated to the Vestal Virgins confiscated to the imperial fisc because these confiscations were illegal.

In fact, it will be argued that the question of what role Roman law would perform in a newly 'Christian' empire is an underappreciated but crucial aspect of what was at stake. When viewed in this light, Symmachus and Ambrose's petitions to Valentinian both highlight that neither Roman law nor Roman imperial administration were seen as inherently 'secular', or neutral in terms of religious affiliation. The rhetorical logic of Symmachus' *relatio* 3 hinges on a connectedness between Roman religion and Roman law, while Ambrose's response carefully reframes the conflict as one where 'religious matters' and a Christian moral perspective are of a primary importance, and the legalities according to Roman law a second.

iii) Belinda Washington, University of Edinburgh

How to make an Ideal Empress: Julian's Speech of Thanks to Eusebia

Shortly after he had been appointed Caesar by his cousin Constantius II, Julian composed two panegyrics. The first was addressed to the Augustus, the person whose army had killed both his father and eldest brother and who had recently executed his brother Gallus. The second was addressed to Constantius' wife Eusebia. Both orations replicated the sequence and contents recommended in Menander Rhetor's treatise on how to write a panegyric to an emperor, *Basilikos Logos*.

The underlying motivation of both speeches, but primarily *Oration 1* to Constantius, was for Julian to demonstrate his loyalty to the Augustus in light of Gallus' recent trespasses and execution. In his speech to Eusebia, Julian frequently defends his choice of a female protagonist. But why did he choose a woman as his subject?

This paper will examine what was the motivation for Julian's choice of subject in this speech and how this relates to the relationship between Julian and Constantius. I will explore how Julian remodelled imperial panegyric for a female subject; specifically how he flattered the Empress, and why. Drawing on articles by Shaun Tougher, I will examine if there was a link between Julian's flattery and Eusebia manoeuvring on his behalf at court.

iv) Robert Brown Cardiff University

"An aspect as such to drive one almost mad." Observations on Military Display in Late Antiquity

The principal aim of my paper will be to analyse key aspects and examples of display on the field of battle in the 4th to 7th centuries AD. We find numerous references in contemporary literary sources describing the employment by generals of visual and audible spectacle designed to boost the morale of their own soldiers whilst eroding the confidence of the enemy. Forms of display could include exhibiting totems, standards and religious objects, the playing of musical instruments and the wearing of impressive apparel. Furthermore, on occasion individuals or groups of soldiers used display on the battlefield, such as performing feats of strength and agility or challenging enemy warriors to single combat, to encourage their fellows and terrify their foes. Martial display played a role in all manner of military engagements; from large scale pitched battles to ambushes and skirmishes. Spectacle also played a vital role in siege warfare; being employed by both sides in attempts to seize the psychological advantage. In addition to the literary accounts we can draw evidence of methods of martial spectacle from other mediums including sculptural reliefs, archaeological finds and military manuals. Despite the range of available evidence, and the critical importance of moral in ensuring success in battle, military display in warfare during the Late Antique and early Byzantine period is a subject which, thus far, has seldom been the focus of academic research. However, I believe that a greater understanding of the psychological effect of display before and during combat is essential for creating a more complete comprehension of the experience of battle in late antiquity. My paper will use a variety of sources from the late antique and early Byzantine period to examine key themes of battlefield display in the 4th to 7th centuries: Such themes include the methods of spectacle employed by armies during the period, the effects they were intended to achieve, and the psychological impact on the men observing them.

2A The Early Republic

i) Fabrizio Biglino, Royal Holloway, University of London.

Private and civic warfare in the Early Roman Republic: the case of the Fabii

In the early fifth century, Rome was at war on two fronts: in the South against the Aequi and the Volsci, and in the North against the Etruscan city of Veii. The gens Fabia offered to deal with Veii on its own and our sources tell us that all the 300 members of the clan, together with their clients, went to war. The Fabii built a stronghold on the river Cremera, close to Veii, but, encouraged by their successes, became bold and, at the end, they fell into the trap laid by the Veientes and all of them ,with the exception of Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, were slaughtered.

As an example of early Roman warfare, this episode poses problems since it shows an organisational structure of the army associated with the gentes while, according to the sources - mainly Livy and Dionysius - during the late regal period the reforms attributed to Servius Tullius changed the Roman army by introducing hoplite warfare suggesting an organisation centered around the city and not around aristocratic warlords. This paper condiers the early Roman army during this period of important changes with the use of literary and epigraphic sources. How can we interpret the episode of the Cremera? It poses questions as to the nature of early Rome and the relationships between the Servian reforms

and the development of civic organisation. It raises issues as to the nature of archaic warfare, and raises the possibility that the relatively neat development model in which hoplite warfare and civic organisation replace aristocratic war-bands is an over-simplication of the situation in archaic central Italy? The episode of the Fabii also allows insight into the process of the tradition that underpins the historiography of early Rome.

ii) Joshua R. Hall, Cardiff University

Contextualizing 'Legitimate' and 'Illegitimate' Violence and Warfare in the Early Republic

Violence and the control thereof is an important theme throughout our sources on early Rome. This should come as no surprise to a Weber informed scholar, by which we would understand that the exercise of legitimate violence is the provenance of the 'state'. There are, however, numerous instances in the history of the early Republic in which historical players are seen to use 'illegitimate' or at least non-state sponsored violence. Prime examples in this context are the so-called *condottieri* of Latium and Etruria. This paper will address this exercise of violence through the setting of the early Republic.

Discussing the evidence in the setting of the early Republic is a problematic endeavor. The problems with the literary evidence have no sure solution in the modern debate, between a credulous reading and an almost all out rejection as historical. For the sake of this paper I will approach the literary evidence similarly to Tim Cornell's judicious 'middle of the ground' reading. This approach to the literary evidence will allow for a dialogue between it and the archaeological evidence which is ever more vibrant for this period. In order to contextualize the use of violence, this dialogue between the literary and the archaeological evidence for violence in the early Republic will be heard in the light of current anthropological approaches to early states and competition.

iii) Janet Kroll, University College London

Some observations concerning Romulus' tyrant image.

Romulus' image during Republican times is considered to have carried tyrannical characteristics (Classen 1998, Ver Eecke 2012). Although there are no extant Republican sources that describe Romulus as a tyrant, the earliest account of a tyrannical Romulus by the Augustan author Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his *Roman Antiquities* (2.56.3-4) is thought to be based on a lost Republican source nevertheless. Licinius Macer is usually singled out as the author, who let Romulus degenerate to a tyrant towards the end of his rule (Walt 1997). However, this argumentation is very hypothetical.

This paper suggests that there is reason to doubt the creation of a tyrant-Romulus during Republican times and instead proposes as an alternative explanation that Romulus' tyrant description is a creation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Dionysius only describes Romulus as a tyrant in his passage of Romulus' death. This account, as the paper will show, is detached from the general narrative and a rhetorically constructed section. This paper will show in a comparison of the accounts of Romulus' death in Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus that both bear general similarities, but differ in their description of Romulus as a king and a tyrant respectively. This paper argues further that as Dionysius presents Archaic Romans as essentially Greek, he also modified his account of Romulus' death in order to provide his predominately Greek readership with a rationalised Greek explanation of Romulus' murder and thus created Romulus' tyrannicide-death. As the *Roman Antiquities* were written to render thanks to Rome, also the passage of Romulus' death can be explained as a favourable depiction of Archaic Romans who are presented as not killing Romulus the king, but the tyrant.

2B The early empire

i) Tom Derrick, University of Bristol

Containers and their Contents: Exploring the relationships between the perfumers and glassblowers of early-Imperial Roman Campania

This paper aims to explore relationships between glassblowers and perfume manufacturers in the urban centres of Roman Campania. Cato the Elder states that Campania was famed for its roses long before the invention of glassblowing (attributed to the Syro-Palestinian coast in the first century B.C.). This innovative technique combined with the skill of itinerant glassworkers, the suitability of glass for perfume preservation, and the exploitation of the fertile soil of Campania for floriculture lead to an undoubted increase in production of perfumed substances.

Difficulties remain in deciding whether the small vessels dubbed unguentaria by antiquarians are solely retail vessels or travelled over large distances in large quantities, furthermore, tentative cases have been made for square bottles and other glass vessels as instruments of long-distance trade. A discussion of stamps and moulds for marking and forming unguentaria and larger bottles is unavoidable, as is a consideration of whether it is likely that these represent the marks of the makers of the contents or the containers. It is entirely likely that the makers of the contents could commission the manufacture of not only stamps but of highly stylised moulds or entirely simple blank vessels from glassworkers that suited their own retail needs.

An analysis of the identified perfume workshops at Pompeii, Paestum and Herculaneum and the supporting archaeological, artifactual and epigraphic evidence for glass-working in their respective and nearby urban centres will prove an interesting tool to explore this relationship.

ii) Richard Warren, University of Durham

Tacitean National Heroes in 19th Century Art

In northern European nation states in the 19th century figures from the narratives of Tacitus who opposed Rome were appropriated in various manners to contemporary ideologies of nationhood and ethnicity. The articulation of legendary characters such as the German chieftain Arminius, the leader of the Iceni Boadicea and the Caledonian Calgacus, found various manifestation in national art in the duration of the century. A complex phenomenon, this process of appropriation of prototype heroes - or, in some cases, enemies - was not as simple as might at first sight appear.

My doctoral project looks at the various incarnations of these three tribal leaders in art from 1800 up to the fin-de-siècle, in Germany, Britain, Austria-Hungary and France, as well as other smaller emerging northern European states, and compares this process of appropriation. Local factors and artistic trends and schools both worked to influence the manner in which these figures and their legends were interpreted by artists. The manner in which an artist such as Ernst Bandel, in his great Hermannsdenkmal chose to portray Arminius in Germany may be contrasted with that of the Czech artist Alfons Mucha, working in Paris at the end of the century and illustrating a French historian's history of Germany. Whilst looking at the same legend and the same source, the two artists reach a very different interpretation of Arminius, which is influenced by their patrons, locations, their own nationalities and the different historical circumstances in which each work was created.

Variation in approach can also be found within what are today identified as nation states. Thus, for example, Bandel's portrayal of Arminius in the middle of the 19th century can be seen to be very different from that of Caspar David Friedrich, painting at the beginning of the 19th century and in the context of the Freiheitskrieg. Both historical circumstances and artists' individual styles influence their articulations of the legend. In Britain Boadicea, the leader of the Iceni tribe who rebelled against the Romans under Claudius, is assimilated to a personification of the new emerging commercial and

military power, in an awkward process whereby the warrior queen who resisted imperial aggression must function as a symbol of the nation, but of a nation now with imperial ambitions of its own. A further contrast may also be found in Calgacus, a figure employed by Celtic nationalists as well as British imperialists each for their own ideologies.

In my paper I discuss some of the work I have been doing and the artists I have been looking at. I would be especially keen to compare methodologies with other scholars in Classical Reception and use this as an opportunity to share ideas and suggestions.

iii) Donald MacLennan, University of Durham

***Aristocratia* in Josephus: the High Priest and the Sanhedrin in the Herodian-Roman Period.**

In Judaea, from the beginning of Herod the Great's rule (41 BC) to the Great Revolt (AD 66-70), the two institutions of the High Priesthood and the Sanhedrin were transformed from being autonomous bodies at the head of the Jewish state to reminders of Jewish subjugation. The prominent position of these bodies means that questions about their operation and composition have wide-ranging consequences for the study of Jewish history in the Second Temple period. As such, there has been significant debate over their composition and over the relationship between the High Priest and the Sanhedrin. There are significant discrepancies between different sources. Josephus presents these institutions very differently in the *Jewish War* and the *Jewish Antiquities*, similarly, the Josephan trial narratives give a different impression to elsewhere in his works. The other sources, the New Testament and rabbinic literature, are often at odds with Josephus and each other. Josephus uses the term *aristocratia* to describe the Jewish government of the High Priest and the Sanhedrin in both the Jewish War and the Jewish Antiquities. By analysing the use of this term, I suggest that it is incompatible with an often argued perspective of these institutions whereby the Sanhedrin is entirely subservient to a 'monarchic' High Priest; the Sanhedrin is, in these passages, shown to be a permanent and decision-making body with powers independent of the High Priest. This should go some way towards interpreting the discrepancies between the two major works of Josephus on this matter.

2C Encounters with the gods

i) Hamutal Minkowich, University College London

Thucydides and the Limits of the Rational

Thucydides is famously absent from Dodds' *The Greeks and the Irrational*. There are no Homeric (or Herodotean) dreams in Thucydides; religion in general is not prominent in his work. However, Thucydides' attitude to the divine is not uniform. Thucydides' description of the *erōs* that fell upon the Athenians, seducing them into the Sicilian expedition, is not an openly supernatural description but it is not reducible to the logical register of observed cause and effect. Moreover, Thucydides' description has much in common with Democritus' accounts of visual perception and dreaming. *Erōs* attacks the *sōma autarkes* for which Pericles had praised the Athenians; it excites within the Athenians delusional wishes and cravings. The *erōs* that fell on the Athenians may not be a Homeric message dream but it is at the very least a public fantasy and is phrased in precisely such language.

The question should not be what Thucydides himself believed, whether he himself attributed the the plague at Athens to *ta daimonia* or what value he attached to oracles or the gods. If *erōs* here does not have an openly divine dimension, it is still described as a force acting upon humans and forcing them into disaster. Perhaps a better question is what the limits of Thucydides' rationalism are and what lies beyond such limits. In spite of his commitment to rational analysis Thucydides still needs to explain the irrationality of human events. The causal mechanisms required for this do not involve the divine in a direct manner

but they are not always reducible to provable cause and effect.

ii) Elena Giusti, University of Cambridge

Virgil's *Arae* and the Treaty of Philinus -

This paper addresses Virgil's reference to the *Arae* at *A.* 1.109-10 and suggests that it might refer to the historical debate on the existence and value of a treaty between Rome and Carthage whose understanding was vital for the interpretation of the outbreak of the First Punic War.

The presence of the First Punic War in the storm that opens the first book of the *Aeneid* has already been noted and examined by scholars. Leigh's suggestion that, behind the 'constitutive' Homeric model of *Odyssey* 5, Livius Andronicus' *Odusia* and Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* are equally summoned in Virgil's decision to open his poem on the same storm-tossed seas which were both those of Odysseus' voyage and of the Romans' first maritime military achievement, can now be supplemented with Goldschmidt's careful analysis of the presence of the First Punic War displayed in the poem's interest in Sicily.

On the 'wave' of this rehabilitation of the influence of both Naevius and the First Punic War on the poem of Virgil, this paper addresses the bracketed 'Hellenistic footnote' of the *Arae*, whose Servian and DServian scholia refer to a treaty between Rome and Carthage which distinguished the respective spheres of influence of the two powers. Such treaty can be identified with the one that the pro-Carthaginian historian Philinus dated to 306 B.C. and whose existence Polybius firmly denied, since it would have made the Romans treaty-breakers by means of their crossing to Sicily to help the Mamertines in 264 B.C.

The paper will analyse the scholia on the *Aeneid* and the historical evidence for the existence on the Philinus treaty in order to argue that Virgil's reference to the *Arae* works not only as an aetiological footnote, but more specifically as a sort of peephole from the mythical narrative of the Trojans into the historical future of the Romans. Through the eyes of Juno, who is conscious of the events of the three Punic wars, the first Roman military navy overlaps with the Trojan fleet, and Aeneas is caught sailing exactly in those waters which, according to the treaty of Philinus, were more than off-limits to the Romans.

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The Religious Life and Work of Jane Harrison and E.R. Dodds.

Is it ever possible to remove personal biography from academic work and to be an objective observer? In this paper I shall detail the lives of two past Classicists, Jane Harrison and E.R Dodds in order to highlight the different ways in which biography and academic work can interplay with each other. Both Classicists were instrumental in instigating a trend towards supplementing the scant evidence regarding ancient religion with evidence gained from other fields, such as anthropology and psychology. To what extent did they also supplement their research using their own biographies?

One, Harrison, shall be used to show how personal experience can be used to create models for understanding the ancient world. The other, Dodds, shall illustrate how knowledge of the ancient world can be used to reinforce modern faith positions. For Harrison I shall show how a personal religious journey away from Christianity and towards eastern spiritualism informed her teleological take on Greek religion and her views that primitive religions evolved into Orphism. For Dodds I shall show how he interpreted Greek religion to bolster a belief in the supernatural by focusing on the seeming unexplained facts that lay between science and God.

By discussion of biography and academia in these two lives I shall both demonstrate the ways in which biography can influence how past religious experiences are envisioned as well as how historic study can substitute for religious experiences in one's own life.