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PANEL 01. IN THE 2500 YEARS OF SALAMIS: REALITY, REPRESENTATION AND RECEPTION

Tribute to Dr. Luísa de Nazaré Ferreira (1970-2019)

Panel Conveners

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National Victories and Neo-Barbarians in Greece: Reenacting the Battle of Salamis in the 1960s

Spectacles that celebrated maritime victories in the early 1960s in Greece implemented the notion of national continuity, from antiquity to the modern Greek state. Along with commemorations of modern war victories, the battle of Salamis was established in the political rhetoric as symbolic representation of the diachronic maritime virtue of the Greeks. Already from 1962, such celebrations exalted the glory of the Greek military past. Situating those spectacles in the political context of *ethnikofrosyni* (national mindedness), this study examines them as devices that convey nationalist and conservative discourses. Particularly, the political shift that brought the establishment of the Colonels' Dictatorship in 1967, and the need of the new regime to enforce its rhetoric of submissiveness and national discipline, led to the appropriation of the battle of Salamis as patriotic symbol. To achieve that, the spectacles embraced a militarist character that ideologically fit the dictatorship's ideology. What such war commemorations displayed were explicit statements against a neo-barbaric invasion for the Greek nation. The declaration of a state of emergency to fight that internal communist threat was then used to legitimate their usurpation of power. Thus, the implementation of such anticommunist discourse is discussed along with the politics of exclusion and repression against dissidents, which was adopted in Greece. That exclusion from the national body was often based on allusions to classical antiquity.

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La otra cara de Salamina: el mito de Teucro y la ambigüedad de la guerra

En Eurípides, la isla de Salamina aparece como la patria de Áyax (en *Ifigenia en Áulide*), de Telamón (en *Las Troyanas*) y de Teucro (en *Helena*). En las tres ocasiones el texto trata de la gran expedición bélica que los griegos consideraban el primer hecho glorioso de su pasado, la conquista de Troya y nunca la referencia directa a la otra gran victoria griega,

contra los persas, en la batalla que lleva el nombre de la isla. Atenas, sin embargo, no deja de verse envuelta en conflictos bélicos, esta vez contra sus semejantes.

Para Eurípides, el gran crítico de su tiempo, en la guerra de Troya se había luchado solo por la sombra de una nube, pues Helena vive oculta en Egipto. Teucro, hermano del héroe Áyax, pero hijo de una troyana, se ve obligado a abandonar su patria Salamina en busca de una nueva patria, porque en su casa ya no le reconocen como hijo. En su viaje se encuentra con Helena, que no es quien dice ser y, sobre todo, no es quien dicen que es, la culpable de la guerra. Teucro, a pesar de pertenecer al bando de los griegos vencedores, vaga en busca de otra tierra, como un troyano fugitivo. Su periplo dará lugar a la segunda Salamina, la chipriota, “ambiguam tellure nova Salamina futuram” (Horacio I, 7). La tradición mítica convierte a Teucro en un héroe errante, fundador de ciudades hasta en los confines occidentales.

Su doble origen, griego y troyano a la vez, su relación con Áyax, el héroe valiente preso de la locura, y su encuentro con Helena, a la vez culpable e inocente de la guerra, permiten una lectura acerca de la ambigüedad y la necesidad de la guerra, en que, tras la máscara de la victoria, se encuentra la desolación. Esta lectura de la otra cara de Salamina se extiende, en la tradición clásica, hasta el poema de Seferis sobre Helena, a partir del mismo pasaje de la tragedia de Eurípides.

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Marathon or Salamis? On competing lieux de mémoire in Classical Athens

In the context of the 5th century BC, Marathon and Salamis were justifications for Athenian claims to hegemony. The victories were portrayed as exclusively Athenian successes, for which the other póleis owed a debt of gratitude. Under the changed conditions of the 4th century, Marathon became an achievement for the freedom of all Hellenes and Salamis was re-interpreted as a joint undertaking. Demosthenes attempted to recreate a spirit of cohesion and cooperation against a common enemy.

Within Athens, the war dead were accorded hero status, cavalry, infantry and rowers equally. To maintain such an equality of honours, the pólis needed to be exclusively in charge of burial of the fallen. This meant depriving families of their traditional rights and obligations toward dead relatives.

The loss of those rights to “one’s own dead” was partially made up by the ubiquity of the war dead as a group in the city and in the public calendar of festivals. The demósion séma with the list of names had pride of place in the Kerameikos quarter, where processions started. Celebrations in Boedromión and Mounichía remembered the victories and simultaneously the dead heroes. Adolescent citizens interacted specifically with the monuments for the fallen of Marathon and Salamis at key moments of their rites of passage.

Salamis owed its victory in the competition among lieux de mémoire to Pericles’ politics. The battle of Salamis was fundamental for the Delian League, which guaranteed an immense income for democratic Athens and opened up a correspondingly large opportunities. Salamis is also shorthand and symbolic for the control which ὁ ναυτικός ὄχλος

exercised over the Athenian polity. The démos (and slaves?) won at Salamis and secured the democratic constitution (Aristotle, *Politics* V 4. 8 (1304a)).

The monumental architecture of Periclean Athens kept Salamis firmly in sight – as a place and a lie de mémoire.

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Entre Trump e Bolsonaro: os usos da Batalha de Salamina nos discursos do Ministro das Relações Exteriores do Brasil

Este trabalho objetiva analisar os usos da Batalha de Salamina pelo chanceler brasileiro Ernesto Araújo em dois momentos: em seu discurso de posse frente ao Ministério das Relações Exteriores do governo Bolsonaro e no artigo no qual estabelece Trump como o salvador do Ocidente. Defendo que, em ambos os documentos, o ministro recorreu à Batalha de Salamina para exaltar os governos de Bolsonaro e Trump. Para explicar essa perspectiva, aplicarei os Estudos de Recepção a fim de descrever como Araújo criou uma narrativa na qual os clássicos foram usados como modelo a ser seguido pelas políticas brasileira e norte-americana. Há um conjunto de problemáticas que contribuem para discutir esse cenário: Qual tipo de conexão Araújo estabelece entre os clássicos, o Brasil e os Estados Unidos? Como ele usa os conceitos clássicos? Em que níveis a Batalha de Salamina serve como modelo para a política brasileira e norte-americana? Para compreender a lógica do uso dos clássicos por Araújo, torna-se imperioso analisar não apenas os conceitos utilizados por ele como também os contextos políticos brasileiro e norte-americano na época de produção dos documentos aqui investigados. Desse modo, examino os discursos do ministro de acordo com os Estudos de Recepção, demonstrando as cadeias de recepção que geram a percepção lógica de conceitos antigos em um público moderno.

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Compasión y temor en *Persas* de Esquilo

La conferencia se centra en *Persas* de Esquilo desde una perspectiva de género con dos focos de atención. El primero será la situación de las mujeres en los conflictos bélicos, para lo que será muy útil confrontar esta pieza con *Suplicantes*, del mismo autor, y así poder analizar las diferencias entre las guerras en el exterior y las guerras de devastación en el propio territorio. El segundo asunto relevante será ver hasta qué punto es cierto que se documente ya en Esquilo la práctica de feminizar al enemigo con el fin de minusvalorarlo; en última instancia se pondrá en cuestión el papel de *Persas* como ejemplo primero de “orientalismo”. Esta perspectiva puede ayudar a entender mejor de qué modo la pieza llegaba a provocar en el espectador compasión y temor, como se esperaba de la representación trágica.

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Los persas en *Persas* de Esquilo

La conferencia versará sobre la imagen de Persia y el retrato de los persas que transmite *Persas* de Esquilo, tragedia centrada en la recepción de la noticia de la derrota del ejército persa en la batalla de Salamina. Se prestará atención especial a los aspectos lingüísticos (posibles ecos y préstamos del persa, orientalización del lenguaje, etc.), culturales (retrato cultural de Persia, comparación con los troyanos, orientalismo), etnográficos (realidad y elaboración literaria en la imagen transmitida de los persas) y artísticos (la tumba de Darío como posible escenario de parte del drama). Objeto de atención será asimismo la cuestión de si *Persas* es un drama nacionalista o “patriotero”, en sentido estrecho, o bien un drama de interés humano y universal.

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El origen de un imperio: la batalla de Salamina en el cine

Las Guerras Médicas fueron llevadas al cine durante el auge del cine péplum en filmes como *La battaglia di Maratona* (Jacques Tourneur y Mario Bava, 1959) o *The 300 Spartans* (Rudolph Maté, 1962). En el siglo XXI se estrenaron la exitosa *300* (Zack Snyder, 2006) y su secuela *300: Rise of an Empire* (Noam Murro, 2014), adaptaciones de la novela gráfica de Frank Miller. Deudor de Snyder y siguiendo las convenciones comerciales del cine de Hollywood, el filme de Murro contextualiza la batalla de las Termópilas dentro de la Segunda Guerra Médica desde la perspectiva ateniense, y se centra, con acusadas licencias históricas, en Temístocles y los antecedentes de la batalla decisiva que supuso la derrota persa: la batalla naval frente a la isla Salamina. Partiendo de los testimonios de Heródoto, Plutarco y Esquilo (con *Persas* como primera dramatización de la contienda), el presente trabajo analiza la caracterización, por oposición, de griegos y persas en la película de Murro: al igual que su predecesora, *300: Rise of an Empire* presenta la victoria griega en términos de supremacismo occidental.

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Passado e Presente em Plutarco: a Batalha de Salamina

Plutarco faz várias referências às Guerras Medo-Persas nas *Vitae* e nos *Moralia*. Interessa-nos para este trabalho sobretudo analisar como e as razões que o levam a mencionar a Batalha de Salamina. Qual o valor e o significado em trazer para o presente um acontecimento que havia ocorrido há mais de 500 anos? Trata-se meramente de um recurso estético ou retórico? De facto, para a memória dos Gregos, o conflito com os Persas manteve

sempre um significado especial. Por isso, consideramos que, num contexto político em que os Romanos detêm o poder, a referência a esta batalha ganha um sentido cultural particular, na relação entre presente e passado.

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A batalha de Salamina na cultura popular contemporânea: o caso da BD

Entendida como um dos marcos fundacionais da História do Ocidente, em geral, e da Grécia Antiga, em particular, o episódio da Batalha de Salamina teve natural recepção nos *media* culturais contemporâneos, quer nos que representam os interesses de elites mais eruditas (literatura, e.g. o romance de Christian Cameron, *Salamis. The Long War*, 2015; pintura, e.g. o quadro de Wilhelm von Kaulbach, *Die Seeschlacht bei Salamis*, 1868), quer na cultura popular (cinema, e.g. *300: Rise of an Empire*, de Noam Murro, 2014; e banda desenhada). Esta comunicação pretende analisar precisamente a forma como a Batalha de Salamina foi adaptada aos *comics*, por que meios, com que intenções e sob que estrutura narrativa. Sendo a BD uma das formas privilegiadas de acesso de à cultura na época contemporânea, parece-nos não só pertinente como fundamental avançar com este estudo, de modo a perceber a forma como um acontecimento tão significativo da nossa História comum tem vindo a ser percepcionado pelos grupos que recorrem à BD como expressão e representação culturais.

PANEL 02. RESPUBLICA LITTERARIA: HUMANITIES, ARTS AND SCIENCES (BEFORE THE SPECIALIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE)

Panel Conveners

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ÉRASME ET LES FINS DE L'ÉDUCATION LIBÉRALE: PRÉSERVER LA DIGNE LIBERTÉ HUMAINE ET LA CONCORDE DU MONDE CHRÉTIEN

L'humanisme européen est un mouvement intellectuel, culturel et pédagogique caractéristique de la Renaissance, qui a ouvert la voie à une révolution culturelle. Érasme a grandement contribué à ce mouvement : son élan humaniste vise l'éducation et la possibilité de perfectionner moralement l'humanité, en mettant en œuvre une refonte de la pédagogie éducative ainsi qu'un vaste exercice critique de relecture, de traductions, de commentaires et éditions des textes de l'Antiquité gréco-latine. L'étude de sa pensée nous plonge dans les querelles de l'éducation (Vivés, Colet, Melancthon, Sturn) et de traduction (Luther, 1530). Nous chercherons à comprendre son projet original d'enseignement trilingue au collège de Louvain (latin, grec, hébreu), profondément lié à la pluralité des cultures et des récits. Effectivement, c'est sur la voie de l'éducation libérale que l'humaniste Érasme va joindre la question de l'humanité de l'homme à celle de la valeur formatrice des *bonae litterae*, confirmant que « L'homme ne naît pas homme, il le devient », par amour des livres et des langues. De quelle manière Érasme va-t-il intégrer la culture antique, celle du texte-source ? Sous quelle forme va-t-il reconsidérer les problèmes qui touchent l'être humain, particulièrement ceux relatifs à l'éducation des enfants, à la religion et à l'autorité ?

L'analyse de son traité d'éducation libérale *Declamatio de pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis* (1529), que la tradition philosophique désigne en abrégé sous le titre de *De pueris*, révèle que notre humanité n'est pas donnée toute accomplie au départ de l'existence, mais qu'elle résulte au contraire d'un travail d'humanisation, d'une formation à trois niveaux : celui du corps, celui des sentiments et de celui l'intelligence. Humanisation liée au travail philologique de traducteur et de commentateur de la Bible, avec l'édition du *Nouveau Testament* (1516) – texte qui remonte aux sources grecques et marque un retour à l'autorité de l'Écriture pour enseigner une « philosophie du Christ », qui donne le pouvoir à chacun de se transformer à partir du cœur, et un catholicisme renouvelé qui rejoint la thèse du libre-arbitre qu'Érasme défend dans son *Essai sur le libre arbitre* (1524).

Notre analyse montrera par ailleurs que cette période s'accompagne d'une profonde crise de transmission, qui se manifeste de trois manières : l'apparition d'une nouvelle défini-

tion de l'homme comme liberté, la contestation de l'éducation médiévale (enseignement scolastique) et une activité intense de traduction. Au sein de ce mouvement, Érasme nous enseigne comment se former aux arts, aux lettres et aux langues (*paideia*) car l'œuvre de la nature doit être achevée par l'œuvre de l'éducation, conçue comme une préparation rationnelle à la vie active et au bien commun.

Mots clés: Érasme - éducation - pédagogie - humanités - transmission - traduction - nature - liberté - morale - Écritures.

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FRANCISCO SUÁREZ AND MAURICE MERLEAU-PONTY

In the process of rediscovery and revalidation of Francisco Suárez in modern philosophy, his thought is compared with René Descartes's philosophy and Martin Heidegger's phenomenology. My paper proposes to compare Francisco Suárez with another phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Maurice Merleau-Ponty is preoccupied with the question about the union of body and mind which he names with two terms that he coined of the visible and the invisible, and he tries to go into this question through Neoplatonic Plotinus and Maine de Biran. As a phenomenologist, Merleau-Ponty's question is also focused on the analysis of what is happening between two instances of Cartesian "I think" and "I am". The former that represents the movement of mind brings the realization of the latter that is the recognition of one's existence. This microscopic examination of self in the movement of thought is also for Descartes a way of unifying the mind and body. Descartes insists on having solved the mystery of transubstantiation by his science of physics. Merleau-Ponty is preoccupied with the study of perception, and for him the study of psychology opened the door of analysis about the connection between the perceivable physical world and mind. In Suárez, the notions of surfaces and modes, not forcibly associated as closely as Merleau-Ponty's visible and invisible, open a way to the concept of being. I propose to study Suárez at the moment when the modern philosophy unfolds its persistent question that Merleau-Ponty continues to ask, namely the questions about the union of body and mind.

Keywords: Francisco Suárez, René Descartes, Merleau-ponty, surfaces, modes, the visible and the invisible

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OMNIA VINCIT AURUM: DISCURSO LITERÁRIO E DISCURSO CIENTÍFICO JESUÍTICO

Em Seiscentos e Setecentos os escritores jesuítas escreveram um significativo número de poemas didáticos sobre os mais variados assuntos: o seu número é três vezes superior quando comparado com o do século precedente. Tais poemas revelam muito, não apenas sobre os jesuítas deste período, mas também sobre tendências literárias locais e a tradição

clássica, sobre costumes sociais, acontecimentos contemporâneos, invenções e sobre a circulação do conhecimento científico e cultural.

Interessa-nos avaliar em particular na nossa comunicação um conjunto de poemas em latim escritos por poetas oriundos de distintos países da Europa (França, Hungria e Itália) e do Novo Mundo (Brasil e Guatemala), editados em cidades também geograficamente distintos. Referimo-nos, em particular, a cinco poemas sobre o ouro e a mineração: *Aurum*, *Metallurgicon*, *Brasilienses aurifodinae* e *Rusticatio* mexicana. Para além da componente mais científica, um tema algo improvável para ser cantado em verso, pretendemos sobretudo analisar como estes poemas ecoam e evidenciam exemplos concretos dessas ligações continentais e intercontinentais, bem como se espelham, enformam e renovam nesses textos os modelos clássicos, sobretudo Virgílio.

Palavras-chave: História da Ciência, Mineração, Poesia, Tradição Clássica, Companhia de Jesus, Europa, Américas.

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GIORGIO VALLA AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE *ARTES LIBERALES* IN A HUMANISTIC ENCYCLOPAEDIA

Giorgio Valla (1447-1500) was an Italian humanist, famous for his teaching activity in Venice and his work as editor of Greek scientific texts. His encyclopaedic work, *De expectandis ac fugiendis rebus*, was published posthumously by Giovanni Pietro da Cademosto in 1501. The work appears as two large volumes in folio printed by Aldo Manuzio. The project of a vast encyclopaedia of science and philosophy dates back to the years when Valla was in Genoa (around 1480). We can find the first outline of this project in Valla's manuscript with the title *Quibus rebus humana perfecta sit felicitas*, now kept in the Ambrosian Library of Milan. From the *Vita* and the letters of Valla, we know that this work accompanied the humanist throughout his life. The first volume contains an introduction on the distinction between arithmetic and philosophy and the books on arithmetic, music, geometry, astrology, physiology, and metaphysics. The second volume presents medicine, grammar, dialectics, poetics, rhetoric, moral philosophy, economics, architecture, politics, the advantages and disadvantages of the body, and, finally, the *res externae*, such as the concepts of *gloria* and *amplitudo*. The communication intends to analyse the relationship between Valla's humanistic interest in literary studies (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics) and the new focus on the rediscovery of Ancient Greek science. Moreover, in this encyclopaedic project, Valla exploited his passion for collecting manuscripts and his intense editorial activity (as a translator, editor, commentator). His encyclopaedia thus became a complex intellectual project that integrated research and teaching and was strongly influenced by the contemporary cultural context.

Keywords: Giorgio Valla, Humanism, Venice, Ancient Greek Science, Literary Studies, Encyclopaedia

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ALEGORIAS E METÁFORAS NA ARGUMENTAÇÃO FILOSÓFICA DO *CURSUS CONIMBRICENSIS*: AS IMAGENS DA NATUREZA SUBLUNAR E DA NATUREZA HUMANA NO *DE GENERATIONE*

O conjunto de oito títulos de comentários à filosofia aristotélica, saídos dos prelos de Lisboa e Coimbra entre 1592 e 1606, – *Physica, Meteorum, Parva Naturalia, Ethica, De Coelo, De Generatione et corruptione, De Anima, Dialectica* – constituindo no cômputo geral aproximadamente 3000 páginas, representam um projecto pedagógico ambicioso. Sendo inerente ao ser humano a vontade de alcançar a ciência mediante a aprendizagem e a observação – *hominem esse disciplinem capacem* –, o Curso Conimbricense responde a estes anseios.

No âmbito do actual projecto de tradução *in fieri*, coube-nos uma parte do *De Generatione* e é nela que iremos deter a nossa atenção. Muito haverá por dizer quanto à metodologia, estrutura interna e *dispositio*, quanto ao hipertexto e tantas outras informações paratextuais, que operam como parte da *probatio*, reforçando a *auctoritas* discursiva. Este volume apresenta um formato de tratado sistemático: começa pela *explanatio*; segue-se a componente metodológica das chamadas *quaestiones* – exposições didácticas - subdivididas em artigos e estes por sua vez ainda organizados por *sectiones*.

O tema geral do *De Generatione* é o mundo sublunar e assiste-se à teorização da natureza dos elementos, à discussão sobre a geração e a corrupção destes que testemunham a providência de Deus. A tese da relação e interdependência dos elementos contrários é defendida: os elementos do mundo inferior estão contidos no corpo celeste superior tal como os elementos do mundo superior se encontram no inferior. Este confronto não inviabiliza nem obstaculiza a ordem natural do cosmos, pelo contrário, é um ‘conflito’ que o Universo reclama para a sua constante regeneração. O volume procura assim discorrer sobre a natureza de compostos não animados, sobre as suas variações e proporções, nos equilíbrios e desajustes de corpos imperfeitos e mistos, que convergem para uma concórdia última e harmonia soberana, neste mundo atreito a mudanças permanentes. A nossa proposta inscreve-se nesta tentativa de análise argumentativa e em especial no levantamento dos tropos de pensamento - metáforas, alegorias e símiles - recursos tão caros a Aristóteles e que não só fertilizam a problematização filosófica do *cursus* como incitam o exercício hermenêutico e heurístico do público leitor.

Palavras-Chave: *De generatione*, tropos, metáforas, símiles, natureza sublunar.

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O ESTUDO DO GRANDE COMETA DE 1577 NOS SÉCULOS XVI E XVII

Em Novembro de 1577, um cometa muito brilhante com uma cauda muito longa apareceu nos céus em toda a Europa. John Dee observou-o em Inglaterra, Tycho Brahe estudou-o na Dinamarca, Johannes Kepler viu-o quando tinha apenas seis anos de idade. Pedro Nunes, que viria a falecer em Agosto de 1578, deve tê-lo visto apesar de nada se conhecer, escrito por ele, sobre o tema. Em Portugal, o cometa foi visto pela primeira vez a 7 de novembro

de 1577, mas o astrólogo de Bolonha Hercule della Rovere usou a data de 10 de Novembro de 1577 para a elaboração do seu vaticínio para o ano de 1578, enviado ao Rei D. Sebastião pelo Papa Gregório XIII.

O padre jesuíta Cristovão Borri dedicou uma parte da sua *Collecta Astronomica* (1631) ao estudo dos cometas e ali se encontram comentários às observações do cometa de 1577 por Tycho Brahe. Foram certamente as observações rigorosas e cuidadas de Brahe, retomadas por Kepler, estudadas e divulgadas por astrónomos como Borri, que permitem hoje reconstruir com algum rigor a trajectória do Grande Cometa de 1577, hoje conhecido como C/1577 V1.

Palavras-chave: astronomia; cometa C/1577 V1, Cristovão Borri; Tycho Brahe; D. Sebastião.

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Sorbonne Université Lettres

Le Musée et les *ELOGIA UIRORUM ILLUSTRUM* DE PAUL JOVE: LA VÉRITÉ HISTORIQUE, ENTRE SCIENCE, ART ET LITTÉRATURE

Paul Jove, humaniste italien du XVI^e siècle, se forma en philosophie auprès de Pietro Pomponazzi et en médecine auprès d’Alessandro Achillini et de Marcantonio della Tore. Admirateur de Pline l’Ancien, il écrivit plusieurs petits traités naturels. S’il consacra son grand œuvre à une entreprise historiographique et morale, sa formation aristotélicienne et son goût pour la philosophie naturelle ont donné à son projet un tour original. En effet, il édifia sur les rives du lac de Côme un « Musée » dans lequel il réunit une collection de 400 portraits d’hommes célèbres du passé et du présent et il composa parallèlement deux volumes d’*Elogia uirorum illustrium*, de courtes biographies destinées à être apposées à ces tableaux. Comme nous essaierons de le montrer en étudiant quelques-uns de ces portraits, c’est en confrontant les sources iconographiques et les sources philologiques, en alliant la technique du peintre et la narration historique, en faisant dialoguer l’art et la littérature que Paul Jove cherchait à révéler la vérité sur chacun de ces grands hommes. La vérité historique ne résidait pas pour lui dans le décours des faits, mais dans le caractère et les intentions des acteurs de l’histoire et, pour pénétrer ceux-ci, il fallait avoir des connaissances aussi bien en anatomie qu’en psychologie et examiner les témoignages sur leur corps (les images) autant que sur leur âme (les récits). Cette double approche était précisément celle de la physiognomonie, une doctrine antique controversée que son maître Alessandr Achillini venait de remettre au goût du jour...

Mots clés: histoire – peinture – anatomie – physiognomonie – philosophie naturelle – philosophie morale – portrait – biographie – Paul Jove.

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DIEGO DE SAAVEDRA’S 17TH- CENTURY DREAM VISION OF A *REPUBLIC OF LETTERS*

While Francesco Barbaro was the first to use the concept of *Respublica litteraria*, the first to widely discuss the idea was Spanish diplomat and man of letters Diego de Saavedra y

Fajardo (1584-1648), who was inspired by the work of Juan Luis Vives. A lapse of nearly a century between Erasmus and Saavedra caused a big change in the concept of that commonwealth of scholars. Initially it was associated with the idea of textual presence transcending time. Yet Saavedra's 17th-century treatise *República literaria* is a kind of grotesque written in the convention of a dream. The "textual presence" of man was no longer possible... Did Diego Saavedra try to prove that the supranational community of scholars was not possible? It seems that it was not entirely his intention. His work, one of the lesser known, presents primarily the negative aspect of Renaissance humanist education, which in the author's opinion alienates the scholarly community from the real problems of the world.

Saavedra, like Francisco Quevedo or Baltasar Gracián, enters into polemics with the Erasmus vision of the scholarly community, and his *República literaria* vocalizes his skepticism, anxiety and concern for Tradition which is not treated with due respect.

Keywords: *Respublica litteraria*, Diego de Saavedra y Fajardo, Renaissance humanist education, scholarly community, Erasmus of Rotterdam

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ENTRE PHILOSOPHIE NATURELLE ET ÉTHIQUE HUMANISTE : LA QUESTION DE LA FOELICITAS DANS LE *DE SOLITUDINE* (1535) D'AGOSTINO NIFO

Au confluent de la philosophie naturelle et de la philosophie éthique humaniste, le *De solitudine* d'Agostino Nifo pose à nouveaux frais la question péripatéticienne de la *foelicitas*, qui fut au cœur des grands débats qui animèrent la scolastique des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles autour de l'interprétation de l'*Éthique à Nicomaque* et du *De anima* d'Aristote. Articulée au thème ancien des genres de vie, revivifié par les humanistes du Quattrocento, la réflexion sur la solitude – nouvel objet de la pensée philosophique depuis le *De uita solitaria* de Pétrarque – que propose ici Nifo emprunte des voies et des stratégies complexes qui intègrent la langue, les notions et les textes de la tradition universitaire naturaliste au sein d'un traité de facture humaniste, renouvelant ainsi la réflexion autour des thèmes de la béatitude et de la contemplation, de leurs définitions et de leurs implications, tant pour le philosophe que pour la cité. Cette communication se propose d'analyser la structure et les procédés (allusions, citations implicites, citations explicites) de l'écriture philosophique de Nifo, entre commentaire et traité, afin de mettre en lumière sa pensée et ses enjeux ainsi que la profonde originalité, dans le fond comme dans la forme, d'une nouvelle façon de philosopher.

Mots clés: Agostino Nifo ; philosophie naturelle ; humanisme ; scolastique ; éthique ; *foelicitas* ; *beatitudo* ; solitude ; traité ; commentaire.

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MONUMENTA ANCHIETANA E A CULTURA CLÁSSICA NO BRASIL QUINHENTISTA

Consiste o presente trabalho em debate, no campo da Historiografia Linguística, sobre os estudos anchietanos e a Cultura Clássica, cujo problema central é investigar se as obras literárias novilatinas do *corpus* anchietano participam do cânon vinculado ao Humanismo renascentista português, como corrente de pensamento. Nossa discussão se desenvolve com considerações sobre o *corpus* anchietano, conhecido como *Monumenta Anchieta*, reeditado no século XX, pelas edições Loyola, com as obras escritas pelo missionário S. José de Anchieta, SJ (1534-1597), na América portuguesa quinhentista. Em nosso estudo, são analisadas as obras literárias novilatinas de Anchieta: *De Gestis Mendi de Saa*, *De Beata Virgine Dei Matre Maria e De Eucharistia et aliis*, o latim humanístico de Anchieta e o seu estilo literário, a partir de pressupostos teóricos da Historiografia Linguística (HL), pela modelagem de Pierre Swiggers. É dada especial atenção à fase heurística (SWIGGERS, 2013) da pesquisa historiográfica sobre o pensamento linguístico de Anchieta, que se utilizou do latim humanístico para expressão no Brasil quinhentista. Nesse sentido, descrevemos e analisamos as fontes manuscritas e impressas, dos séculos XVI e XVII, e a intertextualidade da obra novilatina de Anchieta com os autores da tradição clássica e humanística, suas fontes e possíveis modelos. Ademais, nesse debate, nos remetemos à educação humanística da época de Anchieta (RAMALHO, 1997, 1998), que foi discente do Real Colégio das Artes de Coimbra, em 1548, tendo partido de Portugal para o Brasil em 1553.

Palavras-chave: Humanismo renascentista, América portuguesa, Poesia novilatina, José de Anchieta, Latim humanístico.

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RHETORIC AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY: BENEDICTUS PEREIRA'S *DE COMMUNIBUS* (1576) AS A SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSE

Jesuit education drew primarily on rhetoric and history. In 1576, the Spanish Jesuit Benito Pereira (*Collegium Romanum*) published his treatise on Physics dealing with the main topics of discussion concerning the medieval tradition, namely the causes, movement, the role of time and eternity, the description and dialogue within the arguments of Alchemy and Astrology, and the efficiency of the ancient philosophy for didactic purposes. The debate centred on how to create a new form of Physics focused on Mathematics as one of the main branches of Speculative Philosophy. In the preface, Pereira opposed two approaches: the first, supported by those who were exasperated with the Aristotelian method (Averroes and Alexander of Aphrodisias) and Platonism, consisted in depicting the inconsistency of phenomena (Burley, Zimara); the second was the empiric method under the guidance of reason. The latter proposal was not the revival of some of the old-fashioned arguments. Rather, it advocated that the aim of education was not exclusively moral learning, but the joy or pleasure gained from the communication of true scientific experiences of knowledge.

In the present study, I will explore the range of different proposals on the definition of the Physics in the context of that academic environment (Pomponazzi, Cardano, Zabarella), in order to bring out Pereira's specific contribution to the debate. The paper thus provides an overview of the *De communibus omnium rerum naturalium principiis et affectionibus* within the evolution of scientific discourse, and within Jesuit Neo-Latin rhetoric exercises.

Keywords: Jesuit science, Natural philosophy, Humanism, Structure of academic discourse.

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NATURAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE *COMMENTARIUM COLEGII CONIMBRIENSIS S. J. IN THREE BOOKS OF DE ANIMA ARISTOTELIS STAGIRITAE* (1598). THE PARTICULAR CASE OF THOSE WHO CAN SEE UNDERGROUND WATER

The natural philosophy visited in the 16th century is incorporated into the Renaissance environment, contributing to the production of a look at a world that appears different, endowed with an unimaginable geographical shape, full of surprising things, animals and men that in many cases, by the novelty, exceed the descriptions of medieval texts. The return to the Classics, more than a poetic *topos*, intends to excerpt from the antique philosophes material apt for building a scientific discourse compatible with the epoch.

We intend to illustrate this attitude starting from the example in book 2, chapter 7, question 9, of the Commentary to *De anima*, where Manuel de Góis attempts to rationally explain the phenomenon of those who can see underground water, resorting to Plinius and other authors old ones.

Keywords: natural philosophy, Jesuit Coimbra Course, underground water, Classics, vision, Manuel de Góis, *Plinius*.

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POETICS OF THE EXPLANATION OF NATURE IN THE 7TH CENTURY. THE CASE OF THE *DE NATURA RERUM* OF ISIDORE OF SEVILLE

Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636) in his treatise *De natura rerum* (c. 613) framed the philosophical explanations of natural phenomena into elaborated rhetorical structures. The 6th (and probably the 5th) book of the poem of Lucretius serves as the model for this treatise. While Lucretius correlates philosophical explanations of natural phenomena to criticism of the fear of gods, Isidore adds the allegorical (religious) explanations of them. Moreover, Isidore refers directly to the text of the poem or the name of Lucretius, quoting the authors that transmit the opinion of this author. The most evident layer of the meanings of Isidore's treatise contains brief, meagre and fragmentary explanations (both philosophical and Christian exegetical) of natural phenomena according to the tradition of doxography. Another layer reveals the mimetic character of the text. On the one hand, Isidore

follows the epistemological model of Lucretius. On the other hand, he adds new connotations and somewhat rendering the epicurean character of the poem. Thus, Isidore follows both traditional Roman framework of mimesis and epistemological framework of Late Antiquity that stressed the role of *auctores* and authoritative texts.

Keywords: Lucretius, Isidore of Seville, Late Antiquity, doxography, mimesis

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O CONHECIMENTO SOBRE A ALIMENTAÇÃO NO SISTEMA DE CLASSIFICAÇÃO CIENTÍFICA MEDIEVAL

Em tempos anteriores à especialização do conhecimento regida pelos parâmetros da ciência moderna (século XVIII) e à emergência da Nutrição como campo disciplinar e profissional (século XIX), reunir saberes sobre a alimentação requeria acessar um corpo de conhecimento bastante amplo e, em certo sentido para o homem do século XXI, inusitado. Lembrando que a matéria-prima da alimentação até a revolução tecnológica-científica provinha unicamente da natureza (plantas e animais), tal corpo de saberes abarcava matérias que hoje parecem pouco comunicantes a exemplo da agronomia, da filosofia, da astrologia, da culinária e da medicina. Contudo, no período medieval, essas matérias não só estavam em constante diálogo, como muitas vezes sobrepunham seus objetos de investigação. O cenário intelectual que se descortina é, por isso, muito mais complexo do que geralmente se supõe, uma vez que os critérios que o norteiam não provêm do racionalismo moderno, mas de outras formas de organização do pensamento nem sempre consideradas pelos historiadores (o que facilmente pode levá-los a cometer anacronismos).

Esta comunicação tem como objetivo, portanto, investigar alguns elementos que permitam refletir sobre os lugares do conhecimento científico sobre a alimentação na Idade Média e, a partir daí, avançar algumas hipóteses acerca de seu estatuto epistemológico no âmbito dos sistemas de classificação de saberes vigentes no período. Para tanto, serão analisados escritos provenientes de uma tipologia variada de textos (enciclopédicos, médicos, farmacológicos, teológicos, agrônômicos, dentre outros) oriundos da matriz clássica (latina e helenística) produzidos ao longo de todo o Ocidente medieval.

Palavras-chave: Idade Média; Renascimento; Alimentação; Medicina; Filosofia Natural; Tradição Clássica; História do Conhecimento.

PANEL 03. MUSIC AND DANCE IN ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME AND THEIR PRESERVATION

Panel Conveners

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UNA RECONSTRUCCIÓN DEL CONCEPTO DE ἑρμηνεία MUSICAL EN LA ANTIGUA GRECIA.

Si bien la noción de *hermeneia* en la Antigua Grecia se encuentra vinculada, principalmente, al ámbito de la crítica literaria, es posible reconstruir la acepción que este concepto tuvo en relación con la música. Algunas fuentes (Platón y Pseudo-Plutarco, en especial) nos revelan su importancia a la hora de comprender las implicaciones más profundas dentro del proceso de creación y representación artísticas. En el presente trabajo, una vez analizadas las características semánticas de este término dentro de su contexto retórico y literario, nos proponemos abordar los aspectos esenciales de la ἑρμηνεία musical, no solo entendida como el conjunto de habilidades técnicas que conduce al dominio práctico de un determinado instrumento (como el aulos o la cítara), sino también como la capacidad que debe tener el artista de actuar como mediador (ἑρμηνεύς) entre la obra creada y el público espectador. Esta concepción revela un matiz aún vigente —y, más que nunca, necesario— en la práctica actual del intérprete musical, pues aleja su actividad de la idea común de mimesis, en tanto experiencia estética, para situarla más cerca del estado contemplativo —en suma, irracional— propio de la experiencia religiosa.

Palabras Clave: *hermeneia*, música, Platón, aulos, cítara.

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NEW CONSIDERATIONS ON MUSICAL AND DANCE PERFORMANCES ON THE PITSIA PINAKES THROUGH IMAGING TECHNIQUES.

In this paper, musical and dance performances depicted on four wooden panels dated to the second half of the 6th century B.C., will be analysed. They were discovered in 1934 inside a cave located in Corinthia near the ancient city of Sicyon. The “Pitsa pinakes” are the oldest known examples of panel painting in ancient Greece. The application of non-invasive and non-contact imaging and analytical techniques (imaging techniques, including infrared-reflected and visible-induced luminescence, microscopy and mapping

XRF) has brought to light significant evidence not only on the materials and the technology of the paintings, but also on musicians and dancers and on ritual performances in the framework of a sacrifice.

Multiple figurative elements that had remained previously “unseen”, due to the losses and degradation of the original paint layers, were recovered, allowing for a better understanding of the original iconography and of remarkable aspects of musical and dancing activities. Furthermore, imaging techniques have largely contributed to an enhanced reading and understanding of the inscriptions preserved on the panels, including the personal name “Kalypso” on the panel depicting a ritual dance (inv. 16467); this name had hitherto been known only through literary sources.

New considerations on this sacrifice scene could improve our knowledge on musical and dance performances in the ritual context of the ancient Greek world.

Keywords: *Pinakes*; Colours; Sacrifice; Processions; Dancers; Musicians

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DIÁLOGOS ENTRE ORFEO Y PINA: EL MITO SE (RE)INVENTA.

El ecuador del siglo XVIII traerá consigo grandes renovaciones de la escena. En esta efervescencia, Gluck y Noverre dieron un paso al frente en la ópera y en la danza, respectivamente, proponiendo el retorno a las normas clásicas, mediante la búsqueda de la empatía emocional con el espectador. En este contexto se crea *Orfeo ed Euridice* de Gluck, una ópera que, pese al forzado final feliz, apela al redescubrimiento del “dolor de los antiguos” y a la acción catártica de la tragedia griega.

Dos centurias más tarde, Pina Bausch la transformaría en una ópera danzada que acentúa la dualidad que conjuga el mito (amor/muerte, luz/oscuridad), mediante el desdoblamiento de los personajes en cantantes y bailarines. A los primeros se les encomienda la narración poética del mito, en tanto los segundos desarrollan con su cuerpo la profundidad dramática. Esta comunicación indaga en la propuesta de Bausch, poniendo el acento en el protagonismo de la dimensión corporal como artífice de la emoción, evidenciada ya en la propuesta de Gluck, con el desgarrador grito de Orfeo y la *fisicalidad* de sus personajes y coros. A través del género híbrido de *Thanztheater*, (re)inventa el lenguaje corporal como instrumento para la exaltación de sentimientos y emociones. Esto unido a la utilización del significativo material coreográfico propio de la creadora, dotado de un vocabulario expresivo alimentado por el mito de Orfeo y cargado de mensaje y simbología de condensación-referencial, nos devuelve a la idea de Gluck de grecizar la escena, obviando ciertas convenciones del siglo XVIII.

Palabras clave: Orfeo, Pina Bausch, danza-teatro, ópera, catábasis, emoción, Gluck.

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ENHARMONIC GENOS IN TRAGEDY.

In this paper, I revise the information about the alleged beauty of the enharmonic genos as it is spoken of in ancient Greek treatises, without losing sight of the fact that most probably it had already disappeared when Aristoxenus wrote his *Elementa harmonica* in the fourth century, the oldest of all extant pieces. In any case, it is not found neither in any example at all in the Hellenistic phase, having been replaced by the other two gene (the chromatic and the diatonic), nor in the Roman period. My methodology will show that part of the problems for its extinction in music practice must have relied on the problems that the tuning of the enharmonic tetrachord implies for human voice, especially in a context in which most of the chorus singers of ancient drama were entirely amateur. As a result, treatises must be showing a nonexistent reality, that must have led to the elimination of the chorus in later phases of tragedy and comedy, primarily after the appearance of the New Music wave on stage.

Keywords: Enharmonic Genos, Vocal Technique, Music, Tragedy, Comedy, Classic Greece.

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MUSIC AND DANCE IN HONOUR OF ARTEMIS. FINDING THE MUSICAL DIMENSION OF THE CULT OF ARTEMIS IN ATTICA.

This paper aims to present the testimonies of dances and musical performances within the cult of Artemis in Attica. Compared to other gods, Artemis does not have a specific link with music. Nevertheless in her cult, the musical dimension is not absent. Sometimes she is depicted holding musical instruments, and in mythical tales, she is often presented together with groups of nymphs performing dances. In Attica, the presence of dances and musical performances within the cult of Artemis are attested in different contexts where the cult of the goddess is closely connected to initiation rituals. Although specific elements that characterise the cult of Artemis in Attica have been the subject of numerous studies, none of these have focused on the evidence related to its musical component. Literary sources, inscriptions, archaeological and iconographic testimonies present music and dancing as an important component of the rites held in honour of the goddess throughout the region. Musical instruments appear among the archaeological material from Brauron and within the Brauronian inventories, while Pyrrhichios and dancing performances by young girls are attested to be part of the rituals held in honor of Artemis Tauropola and Artemis Amarysia. The object of this contribution will be to analyse the testimonies related to musical performances and dances within different sanctuaries in order to enrich the knowledge we have about the cult and rituals held in honour of Artemis and to reconstruct the musical dimension of her cult in Attica.

KEYWORDS: Artemis, Attica, Dance, Music, Ritual, *Brauron*, *Halai Araphenides*, *Arkteia*, *Krateriskoi*, Brauronian Festivals.

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THE KRĒTIKĒ DANCE

Iconography of ancient Greek dance is an attractive and promising field of study which has already reclaimed a distinctive place in classical studies. Painted and sculpted depictions of the dance forms, dancers, and dance steps offer an exclusive view to dance in the Hellenic world. Such depictions, at the same time, generate endless questions on, particularly, identification of the dances and, subsequently, to the people, objects, and events shaping them. My study is founded on an Attic red-figure squat lekythos from the late fifth-century BC, decorated with a female dancer who carries a round object. Both the dancer and the object she carries have received unclear decipherments. The female figure is said to be running, rather than dancing, due to the prevalent understanding of the movement she performs, the *krētikē*, as the non-performative act of escape. The object is similarly remained understudied, thanks to its not so clear drawing. As this object does not see many repetitions across the red-figure vases, the lack of focus on its identity is not underlined as crucial. However, in the light of this revelation that the *krētikē* is in fact the conventional visualisation of a dance movement, we are given a chance to look up this object in the list of painted attributes of Dionysiac dance settings in the red-figure vase-painting. It can be demonstrated, then, that the object in question is a sacrificial cake, which in turn summons a reinspection of cakes and breads as offerings in Dionysiac rites as practiced in the classical Hellenic culture.

Keywords: ancient Greek dance; Dionysiac cultic dance; red-figure vase painting; the *krētikē*; *krētikē*-performers; sacrificial cakes; cake-platters.

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UNA APROXIMACIÓN AL LIBER NONVS DE LAS NUPCIAS DE MERCURIO Y FILOGÍA, DE MARCIANO CAPELA

Este trabajo pretende ofrecer una presentación general del último libro de *Las nupcias de Filología y Mercurio*, una de las obras de carácter alegórico y enciclopédico más destacadas de la latinidad tardía y que representó una fuente de conocimiento de las Artes Liberales organizadas en el *Trivium* y el *Quadrivium*. La última de ellas, consagrada a la música, es el objeto del libro que cierra el tratado. En esta conferencia se explicará su estructura y contenido, prestando especial atención a la exposición de la teoría musical dividida en la *Harmónica*, la *Rítmica* y la *Métrica*. Tras una breve presentación de los primeros epígrafes del libro IX, de cada parte de la ciencia musical se ofrecerá, además, un breve análisis conceptual, terminológico y de su fuente o posible fuente, estableciendo, en la medida de lo posible, *loci similes*. Este estudio permitirá, a su vez, justificar el título dado a este último libro en los manuscritos que conservan este texto y en las ediciones posteriores.

Palabras clave: música, armonía, rítmica, Marciano Capela, Artes Liberales, *Quadrivium*.

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EL EQUILIBRIO Y SU RELACIÓN CON EL MOVIMIENTO DE BRAZOS Y PIERNAS EN LA ICONOGRAFÍA GRIEGA ANTIGUA.

En esta conferencia se estudiará la manera en que la iconografía de la Grecia antigua establece la relación que se produce en la forma de manifestar el equilibrio en las distintas poses de brazos y piernas, de acuerdo con el movimiento que representan. La metodología seguida propone el estudio de los miembros del cuerpo humano como parte del movimiento natural al que asisten durante la danza, de modo que se podrán ordenar los resultados que muestra la coordinación de las extremidades humanas en tanto en cuanto los brazos contribuyen a que el movimiento de piernas implícito en las representaciones resulte más sencillo para los ejecutantes.

Palabras clave: Iconografía, Danza, Metodología de la Danza, Poses, Grecia antigua.

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DAFNIS Y CLOE: DE LA NOVELA DE LONGO A LAS MODERNAS COREOGRAFÍAS

El ballet *Dafnis y Cloe*, con música de Ravel y coreografía y guión de Fokine, se estrenó en 1912. A partir de entonces, la obra ha sido llevada a escena por distintos coreógrafos, que siguen o no el mencionado guión. En esta comunicación se presentan diferentes coreografías del ballet, con el objetivo de estudiar el seguimiento que hacen los coreógrafos del argumento y de los personajes de Longo, fijados en la versión de Fokine. En el guión se produce una concentración temporal de la acción de la novela, la cual obliga a la simplificación argumental y al sincretismo de personajes. Esta concentración significa dejar de lado o solo apuntados temas muy significativos en la obra de Longo (Hualde, 2008). Para el estudio de los cambios exigidos por el formato del ballet, se seguirán los principios de Cabrera y Téllez (2019). El trabajo tomará como punto de partida el análisis de la coreografía de Ashton (1951) -fidel al guión de Fokine-, que presentaba a los personajes con la estética de la época rock. A continuación, se revisarán coreografías actuales, algunas continuistas con la de Ashton en el fondo y en la forma, como la de Millepied (2014), que mezcla danza clásica y contemporánea, y otras más claramente contemporáneas. Dentro de estas últimas, se prestará atención a la de Köhler y a la de Maillot, ambas de 2010. La primera de estas sigue básicamente el guión previo, mientras que la de Maillot se centra en el proceso del descubrimiento del amor por parte de los protagonistas.

Palabras clave: Longo, novela, ballet, coreografía, danza contemporánea.

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TUBICINES FROM SANTA CRIZ (ESLAVA, SPAIN) AND THE GRAFFITI WITH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

The recent discovery and publication of the parietal graffiti from Santa Criz (Eslava, Navarra, Spain) includes an interesting scene of two *tubicines* next to a broken drawing of a possible wild animal. In other fragments located in the same place, there is a graffiti of a deer and other animals which are difficult to identify, so they could be part of the scene of a uenatio. The presence of *tubicines* and other musicians in parietal graffiti from the Roman Empire is confirmed in other places, although the total number of drawings is not too high. The social background in which the musical graffiti appears will be discussed, as well as their relationship with the different contexts in which music played a prominent role.

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MÚSICA Y LAMENTO EN LAS TRAGEDIAS DE ESQUILO. IMÁGENES LITERARIAS SOBRE LA MÚSICA GRIEGA Y SU REFLEJO ICONOGRÁFICO.

Esta comunicación forma parte de una línea de investigación iniciada hace algo más de una década en el campo de la arqueología musical, incluyendo el examen de fuentes escritas y fuentes materiales sobre la música en la Antigüedad, especialmente en Egipto y Grecia, y en particular acerca de la música, el teatro y la danza. Esta línea ha evolucionado para centrarse en la música y la danza griegas y desarrollar un proyecto de investigación, reconstrucción y experimentación de piezas musicales griegas, vocales e instrumentales, mediante réplicas de instrumentos antiguos con el grupo *Arqueoescena*. Ahora el proyecto, desarrollado desde la Universidad de Lleida, sitúa uno de sus principales focos en el análisis de textos dramáticos griegos para extraer datos sobre las situaciones en las que la música tenía una función relevante en la antigua Grecia, sobre los instrumentos que se usaban en cada contexto, sobre ciertas características organológicas que los textos detallan o incluso indicaciones sobre la forma de interpretación musical. Otro pilar de referencia es, sin duda, la iconografía, que sirve de reflejo visual a las imágenes literarias y, a su vez, a la realidad que los sucesivos hallazgos arqueológicos nos han librado en cuanto a instrumentos musicales se refiere. Otros aspectos relacionados –de los que nos ocupamos más específicamente en otro trabajo– se centran en el estudio de los espacios y los paisajes sonoros que el texto dramático sugiere y cuyos datos se podrían cotejar con las posibilidades acústicas de determinados espacios arquitectónicos. Se presenta aquí una sistematización e interpretación de los pasajes concretos de las obras conservadas de Esquilo en los que se describen situaciones donde concurren el canto, la música instrumental y la gestualidad en relación con contextos rituales. Se analizan los distintos elementos contenidos en el texto (lamento, himno, sonido instrumental, gesto, espacio), que podrían servir de marco de referencia para una reconstrucción escénica de dichos contextos, contrastada con la información proporcionada por la iconografía.

Palabras clave: música griega antigua, canto griego, instrumentos musicales griegos antiguos, música y tragedia griega, música ritual griega, Esquilo, himnos griegos, peán, iconografía musical griega.

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[PTOLOMEO, HARM. III 16 Y EL TESTIMONIO DE MACROBIO.](#)

El tratado conservado con el título *Harmoniká* del alejandrino Claudio Ptolomeo (ca. 100-170 d.C.) se ha transmitido con importantes lagunas, sobre todo en sus secciones finales. En el caso del último capítulo del libro III, los manuscritos presentan un breve fragmento que la tradición bizantina atribuyó a este autor de astronomía y teoría musical, pero cuya autoría han puesto en entredicho algunos críticos modernos. Este texto (*Harm. III 16*) contiene una sucinta comparación entre los planetas, sus efectos y las notas musicales. Nuestra comunicación vuelve sobre dicho capítulo, confrontándolo con un pasaje del *Comentario al Sueño de Escipión* de Macrobio (I 19, 19-26), donde se alude a los *Harmoniká* ptolemaicos. Así pues, nuestra propuesta es la de que esta noticia de Macrobio puede arrojar luz sobre el contenido original de *Harm. III 16* y ofrecer argumentos para decidir acerca de la autoría ptolemaica del mismo. Finalmente, se reflexiona sobre la coherencia de su contenido y las ideas ptolemaicas expuestas en *Tetrabiblos*.

Palabras clave: Claudio Ptolomeo, *Harmoniká*, Macrobio, música griega, astrología, transmisión textual

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[ANÁLISIS ICONOGRÁFICO DE UN ESTAMNO ÁTICO EN EL MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO NACIONAL \(MAN N. 11009\).](#)

La iconografía del estamno ático atribuido al Pintor de Goluchow 37, que hoy conserva entre sus fondos el Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid (n.11009) constituirá el punto de partida para profundizar en la relación entre música, literatura y sociedad en el marco del simposio griego de los últimos años del siglo VI a. C. y principios de la centuria siguiente. Los personajes travestidos que decoran el cuerpo del vaso son iconos susceptibles de diversas lecturas, tanto por su asociación con el culto dionisiaco, como por sus innegables influencias de los modos de vida y el lujo llegado a Grecia desde Oriente (*habrosyné*). Su pausada y extática danza, acompañada al son del bárbito, evoca también el Simposio y constituye un motivo iconográfico de notable interés, que caracteriza muchos de los que John Beazley designara como “Vasos Anacreónticos”. De ellos, el ejemplar que analizaremos es una de las representaciones más finas por la calidad de su ejecución y complejas por el número y variedad de sus extravagantes protagonistas.

PANEL 04. ANCIENT GREEK MEDICINE IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Panel Conveners

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CÓMO MARCAR UN HELENISMO EN LA LENGUA LATINA DE LA MEDICINA: AD HERPETAS QUAS GRAECI ZONAS VOCANT (APUL. HERB. 75)

Un recetario médico compuesto hacia el siglo IV contiene una receta para la cual la tradición manuscrita da dos títulos diferentes: *Ad herpetas quas Graeci zonas uocant* y *Ad alopecias quas Graeci zonas uocant*. Dado que ζώνη no era en griego término médico y que el autor de la receta latina probablemente no conocía la lengua griega, la frase *quas Graeci zonas uocant* no debe ser interpretada en sentido literal. El examen de frases similares en textos técnicos latinos de épocas diversas permite concluir que se trata en este caso sólo de una fórmula erudita para recordar al lector, que ya no sentía el término como un préstamo, que *zona* era un helenismo en latín.

Palabras clave: medicina, helenismos, léxico técnico, erudición, Antigüedad Tardía

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EFFECTOS TERAPÉUTICOS DE LA NIEVE Y LA SAL COMO AGENTES REFRIGERANTES: DE HIPÓCRATES Y GALENO A LA EUROPA MODERNA.

La presente investigación continúa la línea que inicié en un trabajo anterior que establecía el marco en el que se difundieron en Europa los primeros tratados sobre el tema médico del “beber frío”, que generó, a partir de los preceptos de Hipócrates y de Galeno, un encendido debate acerca de sus posibles efectos nocivos o terapéuticos. En el seno de este debate descollaron en Europa tres monografías sobre la refrigeración de bebidas no solo por medio de la nieve, el elemento tradicional por excelencia de la refrigeración, sino también por la acción química de una sal. Realizaré una aproximación al contenido y fuentes clásicas (principalmente Galeno) de estos tres tratados que presentan la sal como agente refrigerante en sustitución de la nieve: a) un tratado escrito en latín por el médico español Blas de Villafranca sobre el novedoso método de enfriar bebidas con salitre (Roma, 1550); b) el *Tratado de la nieve y del beuer frio* (Sevilla, 1571) del médico y botánico andaluz Nicolás Monardes, cuya traducción al latín (Leiden 1605) por Charles de l’Ecluse también examinaré; c) y los *Commentarii de sale* (Valencia, 1572) del teólogo e historiador Bernardino Gómez Miedes, primera monografía europea sobre el blanco condimento que trata el tema de la refrigeración de bebidas no solo con la nieve o el *sal nitrum*, sino también con la

sal común, anticipándose casi un siglo a los fundadores de la química moderna.

Palabras clave: Medicina griega. Sal y nieve como agentes refrigerantes terapéuticos. Galeno. Literatura médica renacentista. Nicolás Monardes. Bernardino Gómez Miedes. Blas de Villafranca.

Constantin-Ionut Mihai

Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iasi

MEDICAL LANGUAGE AND IMAGERY IN ORIGEN'S *CONTRA CELSUM*

In this paper, I intend to explore the medical language and imagery used in Origen's *Contra Celsum*, focusing on the rhetorical function of medical metaphors such as 'passions and sins as sickness of the soul', 'the Logos as healer of physical and spiritual illness', 'blindness of mind' and 'spiritual medicine'. In several passages of his work, Origen draws upon the language of physical suffering to emphasize the harmful influence that Celsus' treatise might have on those 'weak in faith'. As Origen himself notes, one of his aims was to apply a 'spiritual medicine' which could heal the wound made by Celsus' work in the souls of its readers (*C. Cels.* V,1). However, as I intend to argue, Origen's aim was not merely to turn the readers away from Celsus' view on Christianity, but also to provide a skillful protreptic appeal to the pagan intellectuals of his time to convert themselves to Christianity. As shown in recent scholarly literature, using a medical language and imagery was a literary topos and a rhetorical device well suited to a work of protreptic intent. Reading Origen's *Contra Celsum* from this perspective is important as it allows us to readdress not only the question of its genre, but also that of its sources, purposes, and intended audience. Equally important, such an approach could help us situate Origen's text more accurately in the historical context of early Christian rhetoric and ancient medical theories and practices.

Keywords: ancient medicine, medical language, protreptic, early Christianity, Origen, Celsus

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CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ANCIENT TERMINOLOGY: ARE WE ADOPTING OR ADAPTING?

This paper explores the survival and cultural heritage of the Greek term εὐθανασία (i.e. good death) in modern medical ethics. Today, the term is understood in multiple ways, but frequently we refer by it to the mercy killing of a patient who is beyond medical help. The famous quote from the Hippocratic *Oath*, which explicitly prohibits physicians to use a fatal drug, has therefore lead some scholars to believe the origins of such practice can be traced to antiquity. But do we really understand the concept of ancient εὐθανασία correctly? Textual sources seem to suggest the issue might have been considered, if not problematised in the modern sense. Notable are medical works, the said *Oath* being the most prominent, but also other genres, including philosophy and, perhaps surprisingly, comedy. A closer examina-

tion of these texts, however, shows that (1) modern euthanasia is wrongly based on ancient terminology, that (2) our medical ethics are based on false and/or idealised ancient medical values, and that (3) it is doubtful that the ancients have ever comprehended their εὐθανασία in our way of understanding of that term Overall the paper argues that the survival of ancient terminology does not necessarily reflect the survival of ancient cultural heritage in modern medicine.

Keywords: Ancient Greek Medicine, Euthanasia, Hippocrates, Medical Ethics, Medical Terminology

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IMAGE AND INTENTION: CHRISTUS MEDICUS ON THE SECOND-TO FOURTH-CENTURY CHRISTIAN SARCOPHAGI OF THE VATICAN MUSEUMS, AND ITS GREEK ICONOGRAPHIC ORIGINS

Christus medicus is a term that refers to the idea of the figure of Jesus as a healer, encompassing historical literary and iconographic references to Jesus' healing of body and soul. Analogies between Jesus and a physician (Greek ἰατρός, Latin *medicus*) are found in biblical and patristic texts as well as in Christian art which shows Jesus in the act of healing. These *Christus medicus* images commonly decorate fourth-century Christian sarcophagi, of which the Museo Pio Cristiano in Rome has the largest collection in the world; such images persisted in subsequent centuries of European Christian art. Focusing on these sarcophagi, this paper suggests their Greek iconographic origins and considers how such origins might have affected a third- or fourth-century viewer's interpretation of the scenes. This project differs from previous studies of *Christus medicus* iconography in its three-fold approach – iconographic, textual, and contextual – to understanding the origins and meaning of the images, but follows the trend in recent scholarship to consider both the meaning and the mechanisms of the symbolism. It is argued that the interpretation of the sculpture is best carried out through acknowledgement of its visual elements taken from Greek 'pagan' iconography, analysis of the associated literature, and discussion of the funerary context in which the sarcophagi were displayed. Drawing on existing ideas of Greek healing divinities and the idea of the Greek physician-philosopher, the scenes were intended to depict a divinity who was compassionate, knowledgeable, powerful, and a provider of comfort and salvation.

Keywords: Asklepios, *Christus medicus*, iconography, sarcophagi, Vatican Museums, Christian art

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SEMELHANÇAS ENTRE AS METODOLOGIAS DO HISTORIADOR E DO MÉDICO DA ANTIGUIDADE

Opsis, 'observar, ver com os próprio olhos', é um dos alicerces tanto da metodologia historiográfica como médica desde a antiguidade, preferível sempre que possível a *akoue*, 'escutar o

relato de terceiros' na busca da verdade ou, quando inatingível, a verossimilhança. História e Medicina compartilham outras semelhanças além dessa: o mesmo escopo (o ser humano), a investigação do corpo, linguagem e história dos homens sem preconceitos, tendo por princípio a exclusão da intervenção divina e patronos coetâneos nascidos em cidades situadas na Ásia Menor.

Esta comunicação visa discutir como historiadores e médicos da antiguidade valem-se igualmente de *opsis* e *akoue* nas suas respectivas áreas. Para tanto, procede à análise das passagens II. 43-44 e III. 12 da *História* de Heródoto à luz da metodologia empregada, comparando-as às passagens dos capítulos III e VII de *Ares, Águas e Lugares* na busca de semelhanças de método, confirmando a hipótese de que Heródoto e Hipócrates trilham caminhos paralelos rumo à realidade.

Vários estudos enfatizam a escrita e retórica de ambos patronos; Carra & Ragusa (2020) aborda o emprego da *autopsia* na metodologia historiográfica e Rodriguez et al. (2013) a médica. Entretanto, a análise comparativa das conclusões a que chegam historiador e médico através da *autopsia* não se faz presente.

Palavras-chave: História, Medicina, Heródoto, Hipócrates, metodologia, *opsis*, *akoue*

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HIPPOCRATIC THEORIES OF RESPIRATION: THE “DE-ESSENTIALIZATION” OF AIR

Given the philosophical and medical relevance proper of respiration throughout antiquity, I believe that it would be particularly fruitful to regard the Hippocratic accounts of it as a turning point. The well-known flourishing of the medical science that took place in the second half of the fifth century made the medical practitioners ask a new kind of question: instead of asking the meaning and purpose of respiration within the animated body, as the philosophical tradition had done up to that point, they were rather interested in how the interaction between air and the (strictly *human*) body could alter the latter's state of health. Their curiosity had hence a scientific and professional motivation, primarily aimed at improving the quality of disease prevention.

Despite the fragmentary and somehow marginal presence of respiration along the Hippocratic *corpus*, I believe it possible to regard some aspects of the Hippocratic conception(s) of air within the respiration process as particularly outstanding. Analysing (mainly but not exclusively) the Hippocratic treatises *De flatibus*, *De morbo sacro*, and *De aeribus, aquis, locis*, I actually suggest the possibility of tracing a line of what I call the “de-essentialization” of air: in fact, in the later treatises air appears to lose its status of ἀρχή becoming a factor of possible illness among many others, and thus part and parcel of a rational aetiology of diseases whose main purpose was helping other doctors to learn from their colleagues' observations and direct experience. Such a shift of perspective inevitably ended up modifying the lenses through which the ancients used to look at the very phenomenon of respiration, and I find it crucial to the respiration theories subsequently elaborated by great innovators like the Alexandrian Herophilus and Erasistratus, as well as by Galen himself.

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SCHOLARSHIP IN DE ALIMENTORUM FACULTATIBUS I: GALEN'S SCIENTIFIC METHOD AND THE OTHER PHYSICIANS

Galen's opera shows attempts of questioning the natural phenomena by using logic and analogy as the main tool for a compounded speech on natural sciences. By exposing his ideas with analytical criteria, searching for the 'right questions' and the facts that grounds them, the ancient physician can be seen as a prototype for modern research on science. As example, quite often he notes in the *alim. fac. I* the misgivings inherent to total acceptance of 'established knowledge', without a profound analysis, critic approach or controlled experiments: the essential criteria for the construction of a path to a multi-dimensional truth. In that sense the ancient physician tends bring into his speech the current trends at his time in order to reinforce his argument or create a background for the development of a give established knowledge.

The aim of this paper is to point out some of the tendencies and prejudices identifiable when other physicians' works are questioned in the text *De alimentorum facultatibus*. The debates promoted by Galen are remarked in order to understand his literature review as realistic attempt of producing a 'state of art'.

Keywords: Galen of Pergamon, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, scientific method, ancient medicine, literature review

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HAVING AN INFORMED DISCUSSION: HOW ADVANCES IN ANCIENT GREEK MEDICINE INFLUENCED EARLY PERIPATETIC THEORY OF MIND AND VICE VERSA

In 1997 Victor Caston wrote an influential article on "Epiphenomenalisms, Ancient and Modern", which lead to a discussion with Robert Sharples on whether the Peripatetic Dicaearchus developed an epiphenomenalist or emergentist theory of mind (according to Caston: the "Scylla and Chrybdis we face today"). While their discussion focussed on meticulous readings of Dicaearchus' fragments, his dependence on the advances made by e.g. Diocles of Carystus and maybe Praxagoras of Kos has not found much consideration. A closer look reveals that Dicaearchus might not have speculated far beyond what was scientifically accepted knowledge of the mind-body interactions of his time.

Later Peripatetics like Strato also integrated new discoveries in their philosophy, and it seems that this interest in medicine was passed onwards until Andronicus of Rhodes who may refer to Dicaearchus when he speaks about the mind-body relation. He seems undecided as to whether to accept emergentism or epiphenomenalism, but his thoughts again had a great influence on Galen's (otherwise Platonic) philosophy of mind since Galen positions himself in his *QAM* against Andronicus as epiphenomenalist. However, this interpretation of Galen's *QAM* has been questioned again in recent scholarship.

In my paper, I will elaborate on the influences that the medical discourse had on Dicaear-

chus and Andronicus. I will show that, in line with the scientific knowledge of their time, both were committed to neither an epiphenomenalist nor an emergentist theory of soul, since the concepts behind the “Scylla and Charybdis we face today” do not yet apply.

Keywords: Diocles of Carystus, Dicaearchus, Andronicus of Rhodes, Galen, QAM, Peripatos, Greek Medicine, Theory of soul

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THE BIRD IN THE CAGE, A SURVEY OF ERASISTRATUS OF CEOS

The purpose of the present paper is to obtain a more accurate portrait of Erasistratus of Ceos, who is credited with having set out one of the most original anatomical views in the History of Medicine. Since the first-hand sources on Erasistratus are rather scarce, actually bound to the compilation of fragments collected by I. Garofalo in his *Erasistrati fragmenta*, we intend to gain a deeper appreciation of Erasistratus by delving into a wider repertory of textual evidence. Emphasis is thus placed on two different types of *testimonia*: on the details provided by ancient Greek authors, and on the descriptions about Erasistratus that we learn from medical papyri, especially the *Anonymus Londiniensis*.

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PLANETS, STARS AND NUMBERS: ASTROLOGERS AND RODRIGO DE CASTRO'S DE VNIUERSA MULIERUM MEDICINA

The belief that planets may influence childbirth is as old as the oldest western civilizations and survived through the centuries until our days. In this regard, it does not seem surprising to find a chapter about astrology and childbirth in a Portuguese medical compendium about gynecology from the early XVII century, Rodrigo de Castro's *De Vniuersa Mulierum Medicina*. In this vast work, the Portuguese doctor dedicated a chapter to the opinions of astrologers and arithmetics about the time of parturition (*Astrologi arithmetorumque de tempore partus opiniones*). It begins with the influence of planets in people's lives and, among other subjects, stresses the importance of the number seven according to the Pythagoreans.

In this paper, I aim to offer the first modern study (and English translation) on this chapter and analyse what kind of sources does Rodrigo de Castro uses or mentions, the theories he explores and his own ideas about the influence of planets and ancient philosophies (namely Pythagorean theories) on childbirth. Simultaneously, other sources contemporary of Castro shall be brought to discussion, namely those of the *Gynaeciorum Libri*.

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EL DEBATE DE GALENO CONTRA DOGMÁTICOS Y METÓDICOS: LICO Y JULIANO

Galeno, como heredero y el mayor admirador de Hipócrates, no dudó en polemizar con profesionales rivales y enfrentarse a todas aquellas sectas -fueran empíricos, dogmáticos o metódicos-, que se atrevieron a calumniar al gran maestro de Cos y contradecir sus principios. Por ello, no tardó en calificarlos de locos, necios, ignorantes y falsos, entre otros epítetos peyorativos, por dejarse arrastrar por su ignorancia y escasos conocimientos y experiencias. El presente estudio muestra la crítica de Galeno de Pérgamo respecto a las secta dogmática y metódica, representadas por Lico de Macedonia y Juliano de Alejandría respectivamente. Para ello, se tomará como base dos opúsculos: *Adversus Lycum* y *Adversus Iulianum*.

Palabras clave: Galeno, dogmáticos, metódicos.

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THE ENCOUNTER OF THESEUS AND HERACLES: 'PSYCHOTHERAPY' IN EURIPIDES' HERACLES

In Euripides' *Heracles*, the encounter of Theseus and Heracles is among the most vivid examples of leading someone out of depression. The 'psychotherapeutic' scene is created by means of a dialogue between Heracles and Theseus, with Theseus acting as a 'psychotherapist'. Heracles' depression is manifested by shame and a feeling of impurity after he slaughters his wife and children. He does not want to live anymore.

The paper analyses in depth Theseus' therapeutic strategy – his attitudes (empathy, authority and categorical manner), words (Theseus recollects Heracles' deeds committed for the sake of Greece and his friends, reduces Heracles' guilt and creates new images of the future) and action (Theseus assists Heracles to walk). Theseus thus opposes Heracles' feeling of shame and impurity.

Heracles taking off of his peplos, which Theseus categorically requires, is the hero's first step towards recovery. The 'therapeutic' process continues with altering Heracles' beliefs and replacing his vision of the future with positive images. Heracles takes a decision to start a new life. Theseus 'psychotherapy' ends with assisting him physically (Heracles is unable to move independently).

This paper compares Theseus' 'psychotherapy' with Amphitryon's, who also tries to help Heracles but unsuccessfully, and focuses on the strategies they employ. These 'therapeutic' interventions are considered against modern cognitive therapy and phototherapy. I argue that in *Heracles* Euripides describes depression coping methods, which were discovered only in the the 1960s (cognitive therapy) and the 1980s (phototherapy).

Keywords: Euripides, Heracles, Theseus, ancient psychotherapy, coping strategies, depression, shame.

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INTRODUCCIÓN DEL LÉXICO MÉDICO GRIEGO EN EUROPA OCCIDENTAL: LA LABOR DE LOS TRADUCTORES

Se puede asistir al nacimiento del léxico médico griego a través de las traducciones latinas hechas directamente desde los textos griegos de Hipócrates y Galeno.

Como es sabido, Europa occidental recibe en primer término la medicina griega a través de las traducciones latinas de las versiones árabes de los médicos griegos. Las traducciones al árabe fueron llevadas a cabo en su mayoría a lo largo del siglo IX (Hunayn ibn Isaq es el artífice principal). En Europa Occidental, en el siglo XI, y sobre todo en el largo siglo XII se vierten al latín los tratados. En el latín resultante no había términos griegos salvo algunos que habían entrado en el árabe médico. Estas traducciones se utilizan en las primeras universidades europeas, típicamente en París.

Una vez conocidos los médicos griegos más relevantes por medio de las traducciones arabolatinas, Europa occidental contempla la posibilidad de acceder directamente a los textos griegos. Para ello necesita buscar manuscritos griegos. El dominio de Venecia y Francia sobre Bizancio, especialmente después de la conquista de Constantinopla por los Cruzados en 1204 y el expolio consiguiente, propicia el acceso a códices griegos. Me fijaré en dos traductores que trabajan en Italia y Sicilia en la primera mitad del siglo XIV. Pietro d'Abano, Catedrático de Medicina en Padua, traduce a Galeno, vertiendo en latín los términos médicos, como era de esperar, de manera que los estudiantes lo entendieran. Por el contrario, Niccolò da Reggio, griego de Calabria, translitera en latín el léxico médico en sus traducciones.

Veremos con ejemplos los resultados de una y otra labor y su repercusión.

Keywords: Greek medical terms, Niccolò da Reggio, Pietro d'Abano, Graeco-Latin translations, Galen

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LOS DATOS MÁS PERSONALES DE LOS PACIENTES DE LAS HISTORIAS CLÍNICAS EN LAS EPIDEMIAS DE HIPÓCRATES

Voy a hablar sobre las historias clínicas de *Epidemias* de Hipócrates, en cierto modo en continuidad con el tema del anterior Congreso: aspectos personales. Pero en aquel caso trataba de las referencias del médico a sí mismo, y ahora, de las indicaciones más personales del médico sobre sus pacientes, puesto que el relato de aquellos sucesos reales –casi invariablemente repetidos a lo largo de la historia- referentes a enfermedades y muertes, incluían también toda serie de aspectos de la vida cotidiana.

Entre los datos del esquema general de las historias clínicas, unos son externos a la enfermedad y relativos a la identificación del paciente (1. Mención del paciente. 2. Datos personales, como, principalmente, nombre, parentesco, profesión o condición servil, domicilio, procedencia, edad. 3. Ciudad. 4. Época) y otros aluden a la enfermedad en sí y su desarrollo

(5. Causa -o circunstancia previa, como embarazo o parto- 6. Descripción más o menos pormenorizada de los diversos síntomas. 7. Terapia. 8. Indicación del transcurso de los días, y otras indicaciones relevantes de tiempo. 9. Altibajos. 10. Desenlace. 11. Reflexiones o datos post desenlace).

Nos centraremos en los aspectos más personales, dejando de lado los propios de la enfermedad: los datos que se ofrecen del paciente, con el propósito principal de identificarlo (su designación por medio de un nombre propio, el suyo o el de un allegado; sus relaciones de parentesco o servidumbre; sus características: edad, profesión, domicilio, etc.; rasgos físicos incluso, alguna vez -"ciego", "calvo", "guapa"- y circunstancias varias, en ocasiones algo anecdóticas.

Keywords: Hipócrates, *Epidemias*, Historias clínicas Datos paciente

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[LAS MUJERES COMO CASOS CLÍNICOS EN LOS TRATADOS SOBRE LA FLEBOTOMÍA DE GALENO DE GALENO](#)

La flebotomía se halla bien atestiguada desde Hipócrates, pero es a partir de Galeno que su uso se extiende a todo tipo de dolencias. Tanto en la configuración de la teoría que explica sus beneficios como en las particularidades de su praxis, las mujeres, como casos clínicos, cobran especial relevancia. En las siguientes líneas se estudiará la presencia de las mujeres en los tratados específicos de Galeno sobre la flebotomía para discutir si la fundamentación que hace el autor de esta práctica a partir de la fisiología femenina constituye una verdadera justificación del tratamiento.

Keywords: Galeno, flebotomía, fisiología, plétora, mujer, Hipócrates

Carmen Soares

CECH - University of Coimbra

[THE INVISIBLE CLASSICS IN PORTUGUESE MEDICAL TREATISES OF THE EARLY MODERN ERA](#)

The main goal of this paper is to discuss how the role played by gustatory memory in the treatment of the sick, as it is described in Portuguese medical treatises, can be anchored in Hippocratic dietary principles. The modern written sources used are mainly medical, but contemporary culinary manuscripts and historical narratives on the new lands within Portuguese America will be also considered, as they prove the dietary 'humanistic flair' of non-expert (i.e., non-medical) discourses about eating healthy and tasty food. The rationale involves making the invisible Classics visible, a research path structured into three sections: 1. The place of taste in ancient Greek medicine: Hippocrates and Plato; 2. Anchoring early modern Portuguese medicine on the Classics: tasty and personalised cooking for the sick; 3. New World, ancient dietetics: the therapeutic delicacies of Brazil.

Keywords: Taste, Medicine, Ancient Greece, Early Modern Portugal, Portuguese America.

Dimitra Eleftheriou

University of Ioannina

IRREGULAR MEDICAL PHENOMENA IN ANCIENT GREEK PARADOXOGRAPHY

Ancient Greek medicine has been handed out to us through several medical treatises, such as the so-called Hippocratic corpus, the most famous collection of medical documents. The literary research, through the ages, has been able to evaluate the significance of these texts and give the public an idea of the development of medicine from antiquity to our times.

However, elements of ancient medicine are also found in non – medical literary documents, such as paradoxographical treatises. As a writing practice, paradoxography flourished during the Hellenistic times and for a short time thereafter; its main feature is the presentation of the *paradoxon*, i.e. marvellous and extraordinary facts found in the nature in both human and animals.

More precisely, this paper aims to present irregular medical phenomena registered in paradoxographical texts, like the ones of Antigonus of Carystos, Phlegon of Tralles and others. Manifested through several devices (transvestism and androgynous models, appearance of male characteristics in females and vice versa or even inexistence of any genital feature), these facts bear an obvious connection to ancient medicine.

But, should these paradoxographical phenomena be considered as reliable sources for medicine or not?

In the end of the paper, we should be able to assess the veracity of these cases, the reason and the socio – cultural context in which authors proceeded to writing such works, as well as the echo of medical *paradoxon* in later European literature (i.e. French literature, physiognomy etc).

Chiara Bianco

Trinity College, University of Oxford

GREEK MEDICINE AND TECHNOLOGY IN OVID'S PYGMALION.

Despite the many extant studies on the episode of Pygmalion in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, little has been said on the relevance of the passage from a medical and biological perspective; and yet, the female characters in the episode, the ivory maiden on the one hand, and the shameless Propoetides on the other, are prominently characterised by references to their body, and especially their skin (e.g. 241-2; 254-5; 283-6; 289).

In this paper, I want to show how Ovid utilises his knowledge of ancient Greek medicine and theories of the body to establish the juxtaposition between these two opposite paradigms of female sexuality. In the first part, I will focus on the characterization of the Propoetides with the aim of tracking down what ancient Greek medical theories might have informed Ovid's account of the physiological alteration of their skin as a consequence of their shamelessness. In particular, by focusing on ancient Greek medical and non-medical descriptions of cutaneous conditions, I will show how Ovid combines old myths and medical literature to select a specific symptomatology which fits well within his story. In the second part, I will switch

to the ivory maiden to show how references to ancient technology can tell us more about the gendered and eroticised nature of the artifact, as well as Ovid's debt to ancient Greek science.

Keywords: Ovid, Pygmalion, Greek Medicine, Skin, Diseases, Technology, Ancient Dolls.

Carlo delle donne

Università di Roma

METAPHORS, SIMILITUDES AND LINGUISTIC EXPERIMENTS IN ANCIENT MEDICAL WRITINGS

Metaphors, similitudes and linguistic experiments are widely spread in ancient medical writings. The Hippocratic physicians, for example, tended to rely on terms and expressions coming from everyday language, in their struggle to technicize their vocabulary. In particular, some words, which were sometimes commonly used in a metaphorical sense, appear with a metaphorical and also *eminently medical* meaning in the *corpus* (e.g. ἐμπίπτω, ἀνθέω, θάλλω, ἀγριοῦμαι). Thus, a kind of perspicuity and intelligibility would be obtained by exploiting the (already widespread) metaphorical value of certain words or expressions, though by means of a markedly medical reading of them. Another way for the physicians to make their language both technical and understandable to laymen consisted in isolating one of the meanings of polysemic words, and then to medically qualify it (e.g. λεπτός, κοῦφος). Last but not least, needless to say, also real neologisms can be found in the *corpus* (this process tends to be sequential and it mainly regards some specific semantic fields).

But also, the laymen would draw upon similitudes to voice their suffering. As I will show, the similitudes and metaphors put forward by the patients tend to come from everyday life, whereas those of the physicians tend to compare the illness under scrutiny to others already known (and potentially knowable to the patients as well).

As a general result, linguistic experimenting will turn out to represent a significant aspect of ancient medicine.

Manuela Marai

University of Warwick

CORRECTING OTHER'S ERRORS: GALEN AND THE INDIVIDUALIZATION OF PHARMACOLOGICAL TREATMENT

The Greek physician Galen of Pergamon (129-216 AD) built his system of medicine on Hippocratic doctrines and on a combination of experience and reason which he believed could lead to the completion of the imperfect Hippocratic method. The perfection was not achieved by his predecessors, since “some did not know the method at all, while those who did know it were unable to add what was lacking” (*De methodo medendi*, X 633 K). Galen's refutation of previous approaches and his invectives against representatives of the different medical sects (Methodics, Empiricists, Dogmatics) take the shape not only of theoretical discussions but also of presentations of clinical cases, where Galen's expertise intervenes to fix the damages caused by other physicians' errors.

At a first analysis, those mistakes can be a result of anatomical ignorance, lack of audacity

or mismanaged pharmacological therapy, the latter being the focus of this investigation. What Galen often criticizes in his works is the inability of his colleagues to differentiate the pharmacological treatment according to the affected part, the nature of the patient and the progress of the disease – an idea clearly stated in his treatise *De methodo medendi* as well as in other works. The choice of treatment requires a deep knowledge of the theory of mixtures, which are the bases of the different natures both of men and body parts, and which determine the properties of each *pharmakon*. Therefore, Galen adjusts the cure in order to create an individualised treatment, which normally differs in ingredients and their amounts. Starting from a selection of clinical cases presented by Galen in various works and investigating further his ideas regarding the mixtures of qualities, this paper will explore Galen's interventions to correct other physicians' errors and his attempts to personalize the treatment, leading to more effective and less harmful therapies.

Keywords: Galen, medical error, pharmacological therapy, individualisation of treatment, medical sects, clinical cases.

Giacomo Savani

University College Dublin

THE LURE OF THE PAST: ANCIENT BALNEOLOGY AT THE TURN OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

This paper addresses the reception of ancient medicine in England, focusing on two central figures in the burgeoning balneological debate at the turn of the eighteenth century: John Floyer (1649–1734), one of the most fervent supporters of the healing virtues of cold bathing, and Thomas Guidott (1638–1706), who championed the benefits of the hot springs at Bath. Baths and daily exercise were recognised as an essential part of the healthy routine of the ancients and prescribed for all sorts of ailments. Both Floyer and Guidott were greatly influenced by ancient practices, and their treatises abound with references to the works of Hippocrates and Galen, but also of historians like Tacitus and Suetonius. The accuracy of these historical digressions was crucial to legitimising their medical claims, and the two authors often offered different interpretations of the past to push moral and religious agendas, or simply to glorify the antiquity of a practice. By looking at the way Floyer and Guidott engaged with medical and historical sources, I aim to reveal the role played by the past in the construction of medical discourse in the early eighteenth century.

Keywords: Balneology, Classical Reception, History of Medicine, John Floyer, Thomas Guidott

PANEL 05. IMPERIAL (AUTO)BIOGRAPHIES. NARRATING IDENTITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Panel Conveners

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Ália Rodrigues (Centre of Classical and Humanistic Studies - University of Coimbra) [alia.rodrigues@uc.pt]

Tine Delafontaine

University of Lille, France

AN IDEAL ROMAN. THE YOUTHFUL JUGURTHA IN SALLUST'S *BELLUM JUGURTHINUM*

This contribution concerns a character sketch of a young man of outstanding behavior: although good-looking, he is not interested in luxury nor idle occupations. Instead, he engages with his friends in virile and martial pastimes (javelin, riding, ...), and nearly always exceeds them in healthy competition, earning much praise; yet he stays humble. Upon entering the army, these virtuous qualities make him excel once again: brave, hard-working and clever, he is highly regarded (Sal. *Jug.* vi-ix). As such, our youth is considered an example of *virtus* for his nephews (Sal. *Jug.* x, 8). Indeed, his occupations and behavior very much resemble the (idealized!) description of the *maiores* when they were still young themselves, at the onset of the republic (Sal. *Cat.*vii). Yet this youth is not a Roman: he is a barbarian prince, and soon to become Rome's deadly enemy.

Soon, too, his conduct will become far less laudable: lying, manipulating, and bribing in purchasing his unhealthy ambition, an attitude fostered whilst serving in the army by his Roman friends. This young man is called Jugurtha. My contribution intends to investigate the picture of this youthful Jugurtha dressed by C. Sallustius Crispus at *Jug.* vi-vii (40BC), and its resemblances with the ideal of the Roman, traditional *virtus*, as exemplified by the *maiores* (Sal. *Cat.*vii), but, according to Sallust, in ruin today. Yet, we will discover how Jugurtha's subsequent fall from these standards, too, closely resembles Roman moral evolution (*Jug.*viii), even if he is cleverly exploiting this very decadence himself. In this way, young, barbarian, Jugurtha's character sketch illustrates the underlying mechanisms Sallust is detecting in (Rome's) gradual moral downfall.

Keywords: *virtus*, *labor*, Roman decadence, Jugurtha, Sallust, projection of Roman values, 'noble savage', Latin historiography.

Fábio Faversani

Federal University de Ouro Preto, Brasil

CATILINA'S "CORRUPTION": A STUDY OF AN ARISTOCRATIC CONFLICT

Corruption in Rome has been analysed in different perspectives: as moral decay, as a crime (understood in a very broad way), as an economic problem (usually seen as derived from moral decay) etc. Catilina was often taken as a symbol of Roman corruption (and, otherwise, Cicero was shown as the champion of traditional Roman morals and values). The exhaustive repetition of the question "Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?", found at the beginning of the first Oratio of Cicero's Catilinarian, applied to very different contexts, shows that this particular vision remains central. This paper examines the "Catilina case". The conflict opposing Catilina and Cicero is taken as a competition between aristocrats for power. In this context, our hypothesis is the following: was "corruption" used as a means to eliminate competitors, and not dishonesty?

Keywords: Catilina, Cicero, Roman Republic, corruption.

Gerjanne Van Den Berg

University of St Andrews, UK

TACITUS' *AGRICOLA* OR HOW TO BE A ROMAN SENATOR DURING AN AUTOCRATIC REGIME

On first reading, Tacitus' *Agricola* is an encomium of his father-in-law, praising his military achievements and arguing that one can still lead an honourable life under a tyrant. On closer inspection, it is also an ambiguous commentary on the life of a Roman senator under Domitian. Scholarship has noted that the *Agricola* hovers between Domitianic and post-Domitianic Rome (König 2013) but has not yet considered agency in relationship to the identity of Roman senators during this period. In this paper, I will argue that the *Agricola* is an exploration of how much agency and freedom there was under Nerva and Trajan, using the historical agency of *Agricola* and Domitianic Rome. Through analysing metaphors and narratorial comments, I will show that Tacitus focuses on the limits of agency of the Romans and how one could navigate Roman politics post-Domitian. The metaphor of slavery (cf. Liebeschuetz 1966; Lavan 2011) emphasises the limitations of agency. At the same time, the contrast between *Agricola*'s role in Britain and Rome shows there are different forms of agency (Whitmarsh 2006). The narratorial interventions commenting on the fate of Thrasea Paetus and Helvidius Priscus also show that there is no one correct way to be a senator. Reading the *Agricola* as a forward-looking exploration of the new identity of Roman senators not only provides a new perspective of the book but also explains Tacitus' far-reaching ambitions: it shows the wide scope of Roman Imperial biography and the importance of historical agency for the writer's audience.

Keywords: Tacitus, *Agricola*, Agency, Roman Identity, Narrative strategies.

José Brandão

University of Coimbra, Portugal

FROM PLUTARCH TO SUETONIUS: BIOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVES ON CAESAR'S LITERARY CULTURE AND POLITICAL GOALS

In this paper, I will compare Plutarch and Suetonius's approaches to Caesar's literary culture and politics, in particular, their different points of view regarding his paideia, his inclination to populist policies, and his dictatorship.

Keywords: Caesar, Suetonius, Plutarch, culture, politics.

Cristiana Roffi

University of Trento, Italy

SEMPER IN OMNIBUS VARIUS: HADRIAN'S PORTRAYAL IN THE *HISTORIA AUGUSTA*

The aim of this presentation is to examine a specific aspect of the collection of Roman imperial biographies conventionally known as *Historia Augusta* (henceforth: *HA*), namely Hadrian's portrayal and the analysis of the ideal of *optimus princeps* through the semantic interpretation of adjectives – *optimus*, *malus* – and nouns – *clementia*, *pudicitia*, *pietas* – in the corresponding *vita* (H). In addition, this paper proposes to trace the development of an exemplary aspect of imperial image-forming, starting from the analysis of the traditional imperial representations and the *vitia* and *virtutes* of the ruler. A special section will be dedicated to the *topoi* related to the emperor, examining the literary strategy used by the author to discredit or praise the emperor, providing an overview of cultural stereotypes in the *HA*, examining (self-)representations and (self-)images and their impact on the formation of imperial identity.

What is more, it will be relevant to investigate Hadrian's fragments (H 16, 3-4; 25, 9), confirming the presence in Rome of products that refer to classical Greek texts, discrediting the idea of a period of artistic decay within an empire fairly cosmopolitan and crowded with a multilingual population (cf. Hingley 2005, Swain 2004). A special attention will be paid to Hadrian's well-known nineteen-word *propemptikon* to his soul (H 25, 9), whose authenticity has been questioned in the past century and in which we could prefigure the tortured spirit of this era, its self-doubt and its presentiment of imminent destruction.

Keywords: Hadrian, *Historia Augusta*, *animula*, Imperial depictions, fragments.

Ália Rodrigues

University of Coimbra, Portugal

"BECOMING A GREEK LAWGIVER: PLUTARCH'S NUMA"

Plutarch's *Life of Numa* occupies a unique place in not only the history of representation of Numa but also in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*. Prior to Plutarch, Numa's biography is transmitted in mainly two parallel narratives: Cicero and Livy depict him as an old priest king, while Ovid presents us with an image of a Pythagorean magus associated with divine phenomena. Plutarch expanded this representation of Numa in arguably an

unprecedented and disruptive way. Despite his clear emphasis on unconventional aspects of the tradition, Plutarch also seeks to establish a consistent narrative which combines both those of the king-priest and Pythagorean magus. In addition to these two, Plutarch also incorporates a third element: the figure of the Greek legislator. This new biographical dimension derives from an analogy with the Spartan pair and the figure of Lycurgus which reshaped the figure of Numa from both a political and a historical perspective.

Keywords: Plutarch, Numa Pompilius, Pythagoras, identity, biography.

Camilla Ferreira

Secretaria de Estado da Educação do Espírito Santo (SEDU), Brasil

THE POETIC PERSONA AND THE (AUTO) BIOGRAPHISM IN HORACE

In this communication we intend to discuss the problems concerning the poetic *persona* and biographism in the Roman World in order to analyze how Horace, a poet who experienced and supported the emergence of a new regime, namely, the Principate, connects the construction of his poetic career with the political context, seeking to represent himself as a poetic *actoritas* holder just as Augustus was the holder of an *actoritas* that elevated him in front of other citizens. For this, we will dialogue with Vasconcellos (2016), Oliensis (1998) and Maingueneau (2006), to demonstrate that the boundaries between fiction and reality are much more complex given the issues concerning the literary genre in Rome, but also in relation to the social performance adopted by individuals who seek, in one way or another, to act in the construction of their reality.

Keywords: Rome; Principate; Autobiography; Poetic persona; Horace.

Adrian Gramps

University of St Andrews, UK

A LIFE IN LYRIC: HORACE'S ODES AS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Our generation of classicists was reared on impassioned prohibitions against doing precisely what my title proposes to do: reading Augustan poetry (or indeed any ancient poetry) as the expression of its author's living being. We are taught to regard Horace and poets like him as a devotee (or at least a beneficiary) of the so-called *lex Catulliana*, that is, the commandment that a poet's self-portraits in verse shall be strictly dissociated from the author's 'real', historical self.¹ Why, then, do so many of those memorable passages where Horace bodies forth images of himself as lyric poet appear to insist so energetically that

¹ See esp. K. Freudenburg (1993) *The Walking Muse: Horace on the Theory of Satire* (Princeton, NJ), with idem (2010) 'Horatius anceps: persona and self-revelation in satire and song', in G. Davis ed., *A Companion to Horace* (London) 271-90; also, E. Oliensis (1998) *Horace and the Rhetoric of Authority* (Cambridge); on the *lex Catulliana* see esp. D. Selden, (2007) 'Ceveat lector: Catullus and the rhetoric of performance', in J.H. Gaisser ed., *Catullus* (Oxford) 490-559; for a (tentative) contrary view, see E. Gowers (2003) 'Fragments of autobiography in Horace, Satires I', *ClassAnt* 22: 55-92.

his art and his life are of one substance? In c. 4.3.23, Horace pays the following tribute to the Muse Melpomene: *quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est* ('that I draw breath and am accepted, if I am, is your doing'). In joining *quod spiro* with *quod placeo*, Horace eloquently weds the success of his poetic enterprise to the health and vitality of his own living, breathing body.

In this paper, I will consider examples of the wedding of Art and Life in this and other *Odes* (2.13, 3.4, and 4.6) to recover the true nature of Horatian autobiography.

Keywords: Horace's Odes, Autobiography, Poetic persona, fictionality.

Martyna Świerk

University of Wrocław, Poland

SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF PROVINCIAL CITIZEN AND RELATIONS WITH NON-ROMANS – APULEIUS OF MADAURA

Apuleius of Madaura is one of the most famous Roman literature author, who was distinguished by a provincial origin. Apuleius' homeland – North Africa during imperial times was important province of the Roman Empire, characterized by wealth, and as its supposed, high level of romanization. Most of the information, that we have about the life of the African author, comes from his works, although they cannot be seen as an autobiography and their genre affiliation has some constrains. In *Apology* author repeatedly refers to his own experiences. Presents himself not only as a comprehensively educated, notable citizen of the province, but primarily a member of the Roman intellectual elite, this picture is also complemented by details from *Florida*. In contrast to his self-presentation, Apuleius invokes opinions about other members of the provincial community, generally putting them in a bad light. Even though they are often dictated by the convention, such references can tell a lot about the differences between members of particular social groups and their mutual relations. The aim of the proposed presentation will be to trace the differences in the representations of citizens related to Roman culture and other representatives of local communities, and to pay attention to what aspects of life such discrepancies occur. Moreover, the stereotype of a man from the province emerging from Apuleius' works will be compared with later depictions that can be found in the works of other authors with African provenance such as Saint Augustine or Tertullian. Such literary references may also be an introduction to the discussion on the mere duration of Punic cultural substrate in Africa Proconsularis.

Keywords: Apuleius, Apology, Florida, North Africa, province, stereotype, non-Romans, citizens.

Francesca Mazzilli

University of Bergen, Norway

NARRATING IDENTITIES THROUGH THE STUDY OF CULT SITES IN LUSITANIA

Lusitania became a Roman province in the late first century BC. This major political event triggered a complex change in the religious life of the territory, which was, nevertheless, embedded with its own traditions and influenced by traditions coming from the Greeks, the Carthaginians as well as neighbouring populations in the Iberian Peninsula. How did this nexus of identities over time shape religion in Lusitania? In the current scholarly discourse, we cannot longer consider only the dichotomy between “Roman” and indigenous; religious traditions in the Roman Empire were the result of an interplay between multiple identities. Being at the edge of Empire, facing the Ocean, connecting with various cultures and being a territory with a long-term history, Lusitania offers an ideal case study to discuss the variety of identities reflected in cult sites across the province. These religious centres were situated in cities or in the rural landscape on the plain, highlands, mountains or on the coast. This topographical variety will also help identify the role of landscape in defining identities and shaping religion.

Keywords: Lusitania, religion, landscape, temples, Roman, identities, interactions, cults.

PANEL 06. SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES IN ANTIQUITY. BETWEEN LAW AND SOCIAL PRACTICE

Panel Conveners

Rosa María Cid López (University of Oviedo) [rcid@uniovi.es]

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Julia Guantes García (University of Oviedo) [guantesjulia@uniovi.es]

Susana Reboreda Morillo [rmorillo@uvigo.es]

Universidad de Vigo

EL MONOPARENTALISMO EN EL OLIMPO

In ancient times in general and in Greek culture in particular, religion permeates and determines many guidelines of society. Homer shows for the first time, the main characteristics of the hierarchical Greek pantheon and especially allows us to approach the Olympic family. In the family relationships that are established between gods and goddesses, a wide range appears that, almost always, is far from the canonical dynamics of human beings. My proposal is to analyze, according to the panel to which I am attached, the cases of single parenting, specifically, two examples: that of Athena, born from the head of Zeus, and that of Hephaestus, sired alone by Hera, as revenge. of his husband's parthenogenesis. Analyzing a series of myths, we will detail how the relationships between descendants (Athena and Hephaestus) and their respective progenitors (Hera and Zeus) are established and evolved, which, in addition to following opposite guidelines, will bring us closer to the complicated universe of connections between olympic divinities.

Giulia Pedrucci [giulia.pedrucci@univr.it]

University of Verona

ZEUS A SINGLE FATHER: THE CASE OF ATHENA AND DIONYSUS

Zeus personally gave birth to two of his children: Athena and Dionysus. Not only was he a single father; he partially gestated them. But what happened after their birth? Who fed them? Who took care of them? How did they grow up? Which role had their father in their “coming of age”? Which were the consequences of growing up without a mother for them? They did not have a mother, but they had an extraordinarily powerful and vengeful step-mother. Mythological narratives usually reflect social realities. The aim of this paper is to investigate to what extent the paradoxical world of Greek deities reflects the real situation of a single father in everyday life. Particular attention will be given to gendered differences between the two deities which are taken into consideration.

Julia Guantes García [guantesjulia@uniovi.es]

Universidad de Oviedo

MATERNIDADES EN TIEMPOS DE GUERRA. A PROPÓSITO DE TROYA

La guerra, ha sido a lo largo de la Historia, el fenómeno por excelencia de resolución de conflictos entre distintos grupos. Desde el inicio de las primeras civilizaciones humanas podemos evidenciar un reparto de funciones en el que la violencia aparece como parte del dominio masculino, mientras que las mujeres desempeñan el ejercicio de la maternidad, tal y como expresó el célebre especialista Jean-Pierre Vernant: “el matrimonio es a la hija, lo que la guerra es al hijo”. A través de las narrativas del ciclo homérico, pretendemos llevar a cabo un análisis sobre la función de la guerra como agente desestabilizador de la familia tradicional. Así, mientras los héroes se ocupan de la lid o sucumben bajo su propio peso, vislumbraremos a las protagonistas femeninas desempeñando su maternidad en solitario a través de múltiples situaciones. A partir del abandono del hogar familiar del padre o del marido, dará comienzo un proceso de descomposición que se caracterizará por la transgresión y la pérdida. A todos estos temas trataremos de dar respuesta en nuestra comunicación.

Katherine Backler [katherine.backler@all-souls.ox.ac.uk]

University of Oxford

THE SELF-WORTH OF WORKING SINGLE MOTHERS IN CLASSICAL ATHENS

Early mortality, wartime spousal separation, and a dramatic gendered discrepancy in age at first marriage made single motherhood endemic in classical Athens. Many single mothers undertook paid work to support themselves and their children, sometimes working alongside their children. In this paper, I take a gynocentric (woman-led, woman-focused) approach to moral evaluations of the paid work of single mothers in Athens. I show that while some Athenians considered working single mothers morally suspect, and in at least one case attempted to use their work to question their legal status as citizens, single mothers themselves may have evaluated their work more positively, and derived from it a sense of self-worth. I begin with the rare ‘autobiographical’ testimony of a working single mother named Melinna, who made a dedication to Athena Ergane, patron of craftworkers, describing how she ‘raised her children with her hands and her skilled labour, and with righteous courage’ (IG II² 4334). By this description, Melinna asserts the dignity and value of her work in moral terms, and collapses the distinction sometimes made between paid work and childrearing. I will examine the testimony of Melinna’s dedication alongside descriptions of paid work by widowed or separated mothers in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* and Demosthenes 57, exploring competing moral evaluations of the paid work of single mothers, and showing where these women’s sense of self-worth is recoverable from male-authored, androcentric texts.

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FAMILIAS MONOPARENTALES EN LA EPIGRAFÍA DE HISPANIA. EL CASO DE LA ESCLAVITUD

Los lazos familiares que caracterizan la esclavitud están definidos jurídicamente como ilegítimos. Esto no se traduce en su inexistencia, lo cual suma a esos modelos alternativos u otros modelos de familia que podemos rastrear en distintas fuentes, por ejemplo, la epigráfica. En concreto, se utilizarán inscripciones pertenecientes a la península ibérica, con el objetivo de recuperar uniones familiares conformadas por madres y su descendencia. Partiendo de un contexto de vulnerabilidad y falta de legitimidad, se explorará en qué modo aparecen representadas en la fuente epigráfica y el particular significado que tiene para el grupo social esclavo el mantenimiento de la memoria relacionado a los lazos personales, familiares y de afecto.

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University of Brown

FINDING SINGLE PARENT FAMILIES IN THE EPIGRAPHIC RECORD

This paper sets out to find single parent families in epitaphs from the city of Rome. The difficulties are several: first, epitaphs portray a set period in time and cannot represent the evolution of any family; second, the frequent omission of ages prevents scholars from knowing if the named children are already grown or still dependent from the parents; third, their purpose was never supposed to be demographical. The most significant advantage, however, is that epitaphs represent the best record of everyday families and show us that single parent families were a possibility in known commemorative patterns. Surveying a sample of 2000 inscriptions from CIL VI, I have found 126 single parent families, where one child is commemorated by either the mother or the father alone. The epitaphs set up by fathers for sons are 35, for daughters 27. The slight prevalence of epitaphs for sons is explained with the well-known bias in favor of males in Latin epigraphy. As for epitaphs set up by single mothers, 33 are to sons, 31 to daughters. The numbers are remarkably similar, suggesting that single mothers did not outnumber single fathers, and gender did not make mothers more likely to commemorate daughters over sons or vice versa. The highly formulaic language of commemoration hinders the analysis of whether parents of either gender addressed the loss of sons or daughters differently. In conclusion, single parent families are attested in epigraphy and it does not appear that gender played a central role in their commemorative patterns.

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Università di Trento

SINGLE MOTHERS AND THEIR CHILDREN IN ANCIENT ROME: A FINANCIAL PERSPECTIVE

Literary sources depict exemplary widows and highlight their influence in the children's upbringing and education: from Livy's Lavinia, to Pliny the Younger's Calpurnia Hispulla, up to Aurelia, Atia and Iulia Procilla mentioned by Tacitus, Latin literature provide us with models of independent and virtuous women raising offspring and transmitting the *mos maiorum* to new generations. Do these characters merely represent stereotyped figures? Or do they rather hint at a wider social practice where single upper-class women could influence their children's lives not only from an educational but even from a financial perspective? The paper aims to discuss how *matres familiarum* could significantly contribute to their descendant's financial well-being in Roman society. The exam of literary, epigraphical and juridical testimonies seems to suggest that single mothers who acted *de facto* as heads of the household and protected their offspring's financial interests were a quite common phenomenon in Ancient Rome: despite the lack of *patria potestas*, *infant*, women *sui iuris* could more or less have the same property rights as men and play a substantial role in the management, conservation and enhancement of their children's assets.

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MADRES Y FAMILIAS MONOPARENTALES EN LA ROMA ANTIGUA. ENTRE LOS *EXEMPLA* Y LA *IMPUDICITIA*

En la Roma antigua, el concepto de familia nuclear representa el modelo normativo entre la población ciudadana, en el que el *pater familias* y la *mater familias* habían contraído justo matrimonio, o *connubium*, con el firme propósito de tener descendencia. Sin embargo, la realidad nos ofrece situaciones que se alejan de la norma, emergiendo modalidades monoparentales, por circunstancias muy diversas. Aparecen, entonces familias alternativas, que cuentan solo con un padre o una madre, debido a la muerte de uno de los progenitores, un divorcio o el adulterio femenino. En estas familias monoparentales, llama la atención el predominio de las constituidas por la madre, aparentemente mucho más frecuente. En general, se trata de mujeres viudas, divorciadas o simplemente abandonadas; si no volvían a casarse, el respeto a su esposo fallecido y la atención a la descendencia las convertía en *exempla* femeninos, dignos de admiración por sus comportamientos adecuados con el *mos maiorum*. Frente a la *matrona* respetable, identificada con la *viuda univira*, hubo otras, las *adúlteras*, que acababan siendo abandonadas por el marido y debían atender a su descendencia en soledad. Con ello, se trataba de resaltar la infamia de su comportamiento, que podía llevar incluso a darles muerte por sus propios parientes. Como ejemplos de tales madres y familias monoparentales se tratarán algunas biografías de mujeres de la *domus julio-claudia*, sobresaliendo casos como los de las viudas Antonia Minor, Agrippina Maior y Agrippina Minor, modelos ejemplares de *matronas univirae*, que contrastan con lo sucedido a Julia Maior, Julia Minor y Mesalina, alejadas de sus hijos por *adúlteras* y castigadas con el destierro y la muerte.

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LA “ESPOSA NIÑA”: PLAUTILLA EN LA ESTRATEGIA FAMILIAR Y POLÍTICA DE LA DINASTÍA DE LOS SEVEROS

Los estudios que tratan la dinastía de los Severos se han centrado en su mayoría en analizar el gobierno del iniciador de la saga imperial desde múltiples ópticas, no solo desde la perspectiva histórica, sino también desde otras disciplinas como la arqueología o la historia del arte. Plauciano es uno de los personajes más interesantes por la importancia que tuvo en el gobierno del princeps lepcitano, llegando incluso a casar a su hija, Fulvia Plautilla, con el heredero imperial Caracalla. No obstante, escasos han sido los trabajos tratados sobre la hija del prefecto del pretorio y aquellos que se han llevado a cabo, siempre se han acometido desde la óptica del consensus imperial desarrollado por Septimio Severo. En este trabajo pretendemos analizar las estrategias orquestadas por el prefecto del pretorio con el fin de consolidar su posición en la corte imperial. Para ello no solo analizaremos la relación mantenida entre Plautilla y su padre, sino también, a partir del material epigráfico y literario, pretenderemos estudiar las consecuencias jurídicas que implicó la unión entre la hija del prefecto del pretorio y el primogénito de Septimio Severo. No tenemos referencias de la madre de la Augusta, siendo Plauciano el único que tuvo que guiar al resto de miembros de su gens, en este caso sus hijos. La proximidad que tenía con el emperador no solo provocó la enemistad de Julia Domna, sino que, su posición política y social dentro de la corte imperial se viera reforzada a partir de su hija, siendo, por tanto, un elemento fundamental para su supervivencia y la del resto de integrantes de su familia.

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VEJEZ Y FAMILIAS MONOMARENTALES EN LA ANTIGUA ROMA

La presente comunicación aborda qué suponía envejecer como madre soltera, viuda o divorciada en la antigua Roma. Partiendo de la noción ideal de envejecer junto al esposo y rodeada de descendencia, examinamos las diferentes situaciones que podían llevar a una romana a alcanzar la vejez sin pareja y las consecuencias sociales, económicas y legales de este hecho. A través de diversos estudios de caso de familias monomarentales, analizamos cómo era la relación entre una anciana y sus hijos e hijas pasados los años de crianza. Lo hacemos además desde una doble perspectiva de género y clase, preguntándonos si los lazos afectivos y de dependencia que las ancianas establecían con sus hijos eran los mismos que con sus hijas y comparando las vivencias dispares de las mujeres de la élite y las ancianas pobres y marginales. Así, esta comunicación arroja 4 conclusiones principales: 1) Que las tareas de cuidados ejercidas por las madres romanas les daban una posición privilegiada en la vejez; 2) Que la supervivencia de las vetulae dependía en gran medida de los lazos que tuvieran con las generaciones posteriores; 3) Que las rela-

ciones que estas mujeres establecieron con sus hijos e hijas estaban caracterizadas por una mezcla de afecto y autoridad y que algunas madres emplearon la vejez y la maternidad como recursos discursivos para conseguir sus objetivos a través de la emotividad y 4) Que las circunstancias en las que una romana vivía la vejez estaban condicionadas por el género y la clase social.

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APROXIMACIÓN AL ESTUDIO DE LOS HIJOS PÓSTUMOS EN LA SOCIEDAD ROMANA

Las fuentes epigráficas, jurídicas y literarias recogen numerosos testimonios sobre la figura de los descendientes póstumos. La alta mortalidad de la época antigua provocó que muchos niños y niñas perdieran a sus padres incluso antes de llegar a nacer. No siempre estos recién nacidos fueron bien recibidos por el resto de sus familiares, ya que su llegada al mundo podía afectar al reparto de las herencias de los progenitores fallecidos. Los juristas recogieron un sinfín de casos hipotéticos abordando los diferentes problemas que tenían los vástagos póstumos. Asimismo, las inscripciones nos ofrecen datos sobre cómo era la vida real de estos individuos, quiénes eran sus seres queridos y qué sentimientos demostraron hacia ellos. Por último, los autores romanos hacen referencia a determinados personajes ilustres de la Historia de Roma que también tuvieron la desdicha de perder a sus progenitores antes de ser alumbrados.

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FAMILIAS MONOPARENTALES EN LAS VIDAS PARALELAS DE PLUTARCO. VULNERABILIDAD Y DESARRAIGO INFANTIL

Esta comunicación analiza una importante colección de biografías, las Vidas Paralelas de Plutarco, para explorar la información que las mismas nos proporcionan acerca de las familias monoparentales en la antigüedad. Un vistazo rápido a las distintas referencias nos permite concluir que se trató esta de una situación relativamente común dentro de las sociedades antiguas, al encontrarse presente desde la Vida de Teseo hasta, por ejemplo, la Vida de los Graco. Una vez realizada tal constatación, nuestro objetivo será doble: Por un lado explicaremos tentativamente cuáles fueron las razones de Plutarco para decidir incluir este tipo de informaciones dentro de sus relatos biográficos (veremos cómo las mismas -independientemente de su naturaleza- le ayudaban a perfilar mejor el carácter de sus biografados, así como a entender mejor las acciones que protagonizarían). Por otra parte, trataremos de rastrear, en la medida de lo posible, la forma en la que estas situaciones afectaban la vida de los más pequeños. Así, por ejemplo, constataremos la especial vulnerabilidad de estos cuando no podían crecer en un ambiente familiar estable, e incidiremos en que, sospechosamente, dos de los escasos intentos de suicidio infantil que

se atestiguan en las Vidas Paralelas se producen tras años de separación familiar en un marco donde el desarraigo y los abusos adquirieron la categoría de lo cotidiano.

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LA MATERNIDAD EN SOLITARIO EN LA ANTIGÜEDAD. ESTRATEGIAS MÁGICO-RELIGIOSAS EN BUSCA DEL AUXILIO DIVINO

La crianza de la descendencia por un único progenitor sería un fenómeno frecuente en la Antigüedad, atendiendo a la alta mortalidad e inestabilidad social. Sin embargo, la maternidad en solitario debía verse afectada por una vulnerabilidad más aguda, pues la situación de la mujer conlleva una enorme desprotección ante múltiples circunstancias de la vida diaria, más aún si se está a cargo del cuidado de uno o más hijos e hijas. Esta situación provocaría la creación de redes de apoyo y estrategias de compensación entre familiares y/o allegados que permitieran auxiliar a la madre. No obstante, dicha ayuda también puede buscarse en las divinidades, daimones y cualquier otro ente benefactor o malefactor, para conseguir venganza, consuelo o auxilio. La difícil realidad de la maternidad en solitario también habría movido a las féminas a buscar salida a esta situación, por ejemplo, tratando de poner fin a sus embarazos; de ahí la proliferación de pócimas, amuletos y rituales mágicos destinados a este fin. Estas y otras circunstancias, en cuyo análisis se tendrá en cuenta la perspectiva de género y las diferencias socio-económicas, serán abordadas en nuestra intervención. El objetivo es doble. Por un lado, ahondar en la vulnerabilidad y en las dificultades concretas en las que se veía envuelta una parte importante de las mujeres en la Antigüedad. Por otro, analizar las vías de comunicación con las deidades, los rituales mágico-religiosos y las estrategias utilizadas para desplegar potencias en favor de la resolución de los problemas e inquietudes de estas mujeres.

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LA FAMILIA MONOMARENTAL EN EL ANTIGUO EGIPTO

Uno de los principales preceptos sociales del antiguo Egipto, como en la mayoría de las culturas de la Antigüedad, era la de formar una familia y tener hijos. Esta familia ideal estaba encabezada por un hombre, sustentador y protector de su mujer y sus hijos. Sin embargo, este principio se contrapone a una realidad que se extiende desde el modelo mítico hasta la esfera profana. Así, dos de las divinidades más importantes del panteón Egipcio, Isis y Horus no se ajustan a los parámetros sociales convencionales, ya que la muerte de Osiris convierte a Isis en viuda y a Horus en huérfano, poniendo de manifiesto la existencia de una unidad familiar, la monomarental, escasamente estudiada hasta la actualidad.

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FAMILIES ON THE MOVE: TEMPORARY SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES IN LETTERS FROM ROMAN EGYPT

As Bagnall and Frier's elaborate study of Egyptian census returns shows, the "life cycle" of households in Roman Egypt was more complex and fluid than traditional typologies may suggest. Building on this concept of dynamic households, this paper aims at analyzing a social reality in the daily life of Roman Egypt that has been often overlooked: families that temporarily live apart due to distance. One or more family members leaving the household to attend businesses, join the military, attend a wedding, start a new job or simply travel was a common social practice that had an impact on households, where many family heads (often women) had to take on the single-parent role. What were the benefits, burdens and limitations of temporary single-parenting? Which groups were more affected? What were the daily issues and perceptions of the single-parents who stayed? And what about those who are away? The study of papyrus letters from Roman Egypt in this paper will shed light into these questions from the own voice and experience of those who wrote them.

PANEL 07. AGEING BODIES IN ANTIQUITY. DEPENDENCY AND CARE

Panel Conveners

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VEJEZ Y ANTIGÜEDAD. UNA APROXIMACIÓN AL TEMA DE ESTUDIO

El objetivo de esta intervención es doble. Por un lado, se pretende reflexionar sobre el estadio en el que se encuentra el estudio de la vejez en las sociedades del mundo antiguo, con especial atención a la griega y romana, incidiendo en sus orígenes, el modo en el que ha evolucionado incorporando categorías de análisis como el género, la vulnerabilidad, la dependencia o la discapacidad. Además, se incidirá en las líneas de investigación futuras. Por otro, se expondrá un caso de estudio: el de la esclavitud en la Roma antigua, con lo que se conjugará no solo la edad, o cualquiera de los elementos expuestos anteriormente, sino también el grupo social. De esta forma, superando hasta donde sea posible la falta de información y la invisibilidad en las fuentes, observaremos en qué modo la vejez afecta al grupo más desfavorecido de la sociedad romana del mundo antiguo.

Katherine D. van Schaik

University of Harvard

PALEORADIOLOGY AND THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF AGING: NEW TOOLS TO ANSWER OLD (AGE) QUESTIONS

The Hippocratic physicians seem to have paid little attention to the physiological changes associated with old age and, in Finley's and Garland's opinion, to have neglected the elderly almost completely. One snippet of the *Aphorisms*, which lists the diseases of the elderly, seems to the fullest extent of their engagement with 'geriatrics'. Even those who are optimistic enough to label Hippocrates the father of the discipline for just these clinical observations, balk at attributing to him a theory of aging. In the central sections of *On the Sacred Disease*, however, we find just such a theory, rudimentary though it is. Here, the author elucidates differences in the manifestations and frequency of epilepsy in three age groups: children, individuals above twenty, and the elderly. Though the arbitrariness of 'twenty' as the age demarcating adults from children points to operative socio-political concerns, the author endeavours to explain this division in terms of an imagined physiology of aging. Adulthood, then, is characterized by an abundance of hot blood which counteracts and overpowers the pathological effects of downpours of cold phlegm, namely seizures. The aged body, on the

other hand, sees a diminution in the volume, concentration, and heat of blood, leaving the victim vulnerable to vicissitudes of these phlegmatic down-fluxes. Old age, in other words, is imagined to be a diminution not merely in heat, but also in the resultant ability to regulate one's own body and to mitigate the effects of illness-provoking humours.

Agnès Garcia-Ventura

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

DE LA ALABANZA DE LA LONGEVIDAD A LA DURA REALIDAD DE LA DEPENDENCIA: APROXIMACIONES A LA VEJEZ EN LA MESOPOTAMIA ANTIGUA

En los años 1980s y 1990s surgieron, en el sí de los estudios sobre la Mesopotamia antigua, varias publicaciones que se ocupaban de un ámbito que hasta el momento no se había considerado en toda su amplitud: la vejez y el envejecimiento. A partir de ese momento y hasta nuestros días, con la contribución también de las perspectivas de género, el tema se ha tratado a partir de tres tipos de fuentes escritas: las literarias, las económicas y las legales. En esta comunicación presentamos una selección de estas fuentes, lo que nos permitirá tratar dos grandes temas. Por un lado la esperanza de vida y la longevidad, por el otro la gestión de la dependencia.

Ello nos permitirá reflexionar acerca de la paradoja de la vejez, presentada como algo positivo y deseable en las fuentes literarias pero en cambio como algo potencialmente difícil de gestionar en los textos económicos y legales, que tienden a ocuparse de la gestión práctica y tangible de la dependencia física que puede derivarse del envejecimiento. Asimismo reflexionaremos, desde una perspectiva interseccional, sobre cuán distinta es la perspectiva de la vejez en función de cómo interactúan género y clase, un aspecto también bien atestiguado en las fuentes escritas.

Ana Seiça Carvalho

Universidade de Coimbra

VER E SER VISTO – A VELHICE NA LITERATURA GRECO-LATINA

A velhice não é apenas um factor biológico, mas sim algo cultural e pessoal, a sua natureza é objecto de reflexão científica e social e participa de um vasto sistema de valores que passam pela religião, a política, a filosofia, a história, a arte e a literatura, que escolhemos analisar.

A ideia de velhice como angústia, ira, doença e morte vem já desde a épica e dos hinos homéricos, em que a idade avançada era considerada um verdadeiro desastre, a ausência de saúde (ὕγιεια), o aparecimento de enfermidades múltiplas, sendo a mais sombria etapa da vida. Se ao jovem de sangue impetuoso, força e virilidade, se opõe o velho frágil e de aparente declínio físico e mental, como compreender a visão da velhice numa sociedade (e, no fundo, tão, tão actual!) norteada por valores de beleza e bem-estar?

Nadine Bernard

Université de Rouen-Normandie

¿ENVEJECER EN FAMILIA? EN BUSCA DE LOS ABUELOS

La comunicación se propone examinar el papel de los abuelos y las abuelas en las ciudades griegas, ubicándose en la intersección de dos ejes de reflexión del congreso: la cuestión de la visibilidad de los hombres y mujeres mayores y los papeles sociales que se les asignaba al interior de las familias. Las fuentes literarias (tratados, alegatos judiciales), epigráficas (epitafios) e iconográficas (estelas funerarias) asignan poca atención a los abuelos como tales, vivos o muertos, y estos parecen estar relegados a la periferia del núcleo familiar. Esta discreción de las fuentes plantea interrogantes y nos invita, en primer lugar, a examinar las estructuras demográficas de las familias, así como los regímenes matrimoniales, que tienen una fuerte influencia en el número de *progonoí* presentes. También nos invita a cuestionar las relaciones intergeneracionales (obligaciones de descendientes en virtud del parentesco vertical) y las expectativas sociales que les conciernen (por ejemplo, en términos de afecto, educación y socialización de los nietos). Finalmente, plantea el interés de considerar las diferencias que emergen de las disparidades entre abuelos y abuelas, y entre personas de niveles de fortuna dispar.

Teniendo en cuenta las fuentes disponibles, la investigación se centrará principalmente en la ciudad ateniense del período clásico. Se buscará entender cómo las personas mayores se integraron en los tejidos familiares y sociales, así como determinar si la condición de abuelo o abuela contribuyó a generar visibilidad y valor social.

Aida Fernández Prieto

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ANCIANIDAD, VULNERABILIDAD Y DEBER SOCIAL: FORMAS DE “ASISTENCIA PÚBLICA” EN LA ATENAS DEMOCRÁTICA

Algunas de las investigaciones que se han centrado en el estudio de la “asistencia” a los menesterosos y a otros sectores vulnerables de la población en la Antigüedad clásica han remarcado el antagonismo existente entre un mundo pagano “grecorromano” –donde no existiría la obligación moral de ayudar a aquellos– y el posterior desarrollo, con la llegada y afianzamiento del cristianismo, de una ética social articulada en torno a la noción de “caridad” (Bolkestein [1939] 1979: esp. caps. 1-2 y pp. 418-25; Hands 1968: esp. caps. 1-3; Nieto 2010: 19-20, 32-5, 393-4).

Si bien es cierto que la *polis* ateniense no desarrolló una idea de “caridad” similar a la cristiana, parece que esta asumió en términos de “deber social” –al menos en parte y durante la etapa democrática– el “sostenimiento” de sus ciudadanos más pobres y/o débiles, entre los que se encontrarían individuos cuya edad avanzada los incapacitaría para el desempeño de ciertos trabajos, con el consecuente peligro de caer en la pobreza (Dillon 1995; Garland [1995] 2010; Bearzot 2015: 17-27; Penrose 2015: 508).

En este sentido, y como trataremos de desarrollar a lo largo de nuestra intervención, ciertas formas de *misthos*, especialmente el *dikastikon* (si atendemos, entre otras evidencias, al

perfil sociológico de los jueces en Aristófanes: Ar. V, 303-10, 550-2, 684-713), y posiblemente también otros pagos, como los destinados a los *adynatoi*, podrían haber contribuido a paliar, en cierta medida, la situación de vulnerabilidad socioeconómica de los *politai* de edad más avanzada, especialmente de aquellos de procedencia humilde o muy humilde.

Rosalía Hatzilambrou

University of Athens

THE IMPORTANCE (AND DANGER) OF BEING OLD IN CLASSICAL ATHENS

In this paper I explore the position of the old wealthy male Athenian citizens in the classical period. My case studies will be two forensic speeches from the corpus of Attic inheritance speeches, namely Isaeus 6 'On the estate of Philoctemon' and Isaeus 8 'On the estate of Ciron'. Although in these two speeches are included demeaning stories regarding two aged wealthy Athenians, I argue that these narratives could be read as evidence for the important position old elite Athenians kept within their family (*oikos*) and social circle, and how this was achieved. Additionally, these two stories arguably demonstrate how the behaviour of such old people could often compromise their status and weaken their position. The paper aims to contribute to the understanding of ageing in classical Athens, which should not be always perceived as a highly pitiable situation, at least for some members of the elite.

Luca Beltramini

University of Padua

DEFINING MOS MAIORUM: CONFLICTING PERSPECTIVES ON OLD AGE IN LIVY'S AB URBE CONDITA LIBRI

Livy's nostalgic and conservative perspective on Roman history has always been underlined by scholars, who rightly pointed out the important role played by old age in his ethical-historiographical programme. According to traditional Roman mentality, Livy often represents elders as strict guardians of morality and keepers of ancient customs that young people must conform to (see e.g. Soverini 1995, 239-258; Chaplin 2000, 108-131). Some well-known episodes, however, show a more nuanced and complex view on the role of old age in the society, suggesting his will of problematising elder people's extreme severity. The paper will deal with the dispute between the dictator of 325 BCE Papirius Cursor and his *magister equitum* Fabius Rullianus, who engaged in battle against his superior's orders (8.30.1-36.12). Cursor decides to sentence Rullianus to death, claiming that this punishment is dictated *by mos maiorum*; his claim, however, is challenged by another – and possibly even more authoritative – representative of the ancient customs: Fabius Ambustus, Rullianus' old father, who offers a radically different perspective on the best way to enforce discipline among young people and, in doing so, refers to a 'real' or 'more ancient' Roman *mos*. By opposing these perspectives, Livy shapes the dispute as a critical moment of definition of what *mos maiorum* really is and how legitimate elder people's

claims about it are. The issue had obvious resonance in Augustus' age, when a renewed "pact between generations" was seen as a mean to overcome the disruptive consequences of the civil wars.

Borja Méndez Santiago

Universidad de Oviedo

VEJEZ Y DISCAPACIDAD EN LAS VIDAS PARALELAS DE PLUTARCO. UN PRIMER ACERCAMIENTO

Esta comunicación pretende erigirse en una primera aproximación al concepto de vejez en la obra de Plutarco. Debido a la enorme extensión de la misma limitaremos nuestra atención aquí solo a las *Vidas Paralelas*, y únicamente a aquellos ejemplos que nos permitan analizar la intersección entre vejez y discapacidad. Entre los mismos prestaremos especial atención a la situación de Cayo Mario, que con más de 65 años de edad y mermado por algún tipo de discapacidad no identificable, trató de mantener su cuerpo lo más vigoroso posible de cara a poder conseguir su ansiado séptimo consulado. Los distintos ejemplos que iremos abordando nos permitirán, por ejemplo, ofrecer respuestas provisionales a cuestiones como las siguientes: ¿Cuándo consideraba Plutarco una discapacidad inhabilitante para el ejercicio de un cargo público? ¿Es correcto que un anciano discapacitado persista en su ambición de acaparar puestos y responsabilidades? ¿Lleva la discapacidad aparejada una especie de estigma social o, por el contrario, se trata de circunstancias que deben ser atribuidas solamente al azar?

Sara Casamayor Mancisidor

Investigadora independiente

AGEING WITH CHRONIC PAIN IN FRONTO'S LETTERS

This paper deals with the experience of ageing with chronic pain in imperial Rome through the letters of Fronto (2nd century AD). The rhetorician's missives are first-person narratives of a gout sufferer, and thereby a privileged source to approach chronic pain in Antiquity. Fronto's allusions to his condition started around AD 139 when he wrote about an elbow pain that had not soothed as expected. Gout accompanied him during the rest of his maturity and old age: in the following letters he mentioned pain in the knees, feet, neck, head, fingers and groins, as well as episodes of cold, diarrhea, sore throat, respiratory distress, and other unidentified pathologies. Thus, this paper highlights the value of Fronto's correspondence as a source on ageing with an incurable pathology that caused constant pain. It also analyzes how gout conditioned Fronto's interactions with time, space, people, and his own body, addressing the professional and lay medical practices, the social context, and the emotions related to the suffering of chronic pain in imperial Rome, and specifically to the one which happened in old age.

Jurgen R. Gatt

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AGEING AND DISEASE IN ON THE SACRED DISEASE

The Hippocratic physicians seem to have paid little attention to the physiological changes associated with old age and, in Finley's and Garland's opinion, to have neglected the elderly almost completely. One snippet of the *Aphorisms*, which lists the diseases of the elderly, seems to the fullest extent of their engagement with 'geriatrics'. Even those who are optimistic enough to label Hippocrates the father of the discipline for just these clinical observations, balk at attributing to him a theory of aging. In the central sections of *On the Sacred Disease*, however, we find just such a theory, rudimentary though it is. Here, the author elucidates differences in the manifestations and frequency of epilepsy in three age groups: children, individuals above twenty, and the elderly. Though the arbitrariness of 'twenty' as the age demarcating adults from children points to operative socio-political concerns, the author endeavours to explain this division in terms of an imagined physiology of aging. Adulthood, then, is characterized by an abundance of hot blood which counteracts and overpowers the pathological effects of downpours of cold phlegm, namely seizures. The aged body, on the other hand, sees a diminution in the volume, concentration, and heat of blood, leaving the victim vulnerable to vicissitudes of these phlegmatic down-fluxes. Old age, in other words, is imagined to be a diminution not merely in heat, but also in the resultant ability to regulate one's own body and to mitigate the effects of illness-provoking humours.

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LESS THAN IDEAL: AN EXAMINATION OF ROMAN VERISTIC PORTRAITURE

Within the canon of Roman portraiture, there exists the stalwart and ubiquitous assertion of idealized, youthful bodies incongruously paired with the stoic wisdom of age in the heroic nudes of the second and first centuries BCE. In drive to find something uniquely "Roman," scholarship has been quick to judge these statues and quicker to discard them as a given, eschewing their artistic context and ancient discussion of the body and aging. This paper approaches these statues from a formalist perspective in conjunction with anatomical data on the physiology of aging, artistic *comparanda*, ancient sources, and art historical treatises on nudity, disability, and the body. In doing so, it finds that these sculptures are distinctly Roman- yet not in the way scholarship has viewed them. Instead, they incorporate the contemporary focus on the real, rather than the ideal; merging the heroic nude body with physiological indicators of the aging process, thereby reflecting upon the culture in which they were created. A culture that places preeminence of the body and age as an important indicator of identity and status. A culture in which legal arguments saw invectives on physical characteristics lobbed at political rivals. A culture in which the insistence on and preoccupation with the body, particularly as outward indicator of inward goodness, insinuated itself into the material culture. Therefore, Roman

veristic heroes were less an unnatural amalgamation of mismatched age attempting to replicate Greek canon and more a blurring of the ideals and values in the cultural milieu of the late Roman.

PANEL 08. RETHINKING THE CLASSICS: NOVELTIES ON GREEK TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Panel Conveners

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CECHUC

DIGITAL HUMANITIES AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE CLASSICS: A CASE STUDY OF GREEK TEXTUAL CRITICISM

In this paper, I aim to discuss the methodology and results of a project of a new edition of Tzetzes' *Allegories of the Iliad* which is being developed by four researchers of the CECHUC in an online basis with recourse to online or digital resources and quite simple online tools. This project, which was initially a pilot for an online course of Greek Textual Criticism, began during the first lockdown imposed by the COVID 19 pandemic. Due to the restrictions of the lockdown, travelling abroad to foreign libraries to access the manuscripts, meeting the other members of the project personally to discuss the evolution of the project was simply not possible. As such, new methods had to be created. After a discussion of the Digital Humanities Theory and a consideration of what online and digital tools can offer in the field of the Classics in terms of opening the access to manuscripts and other relevant resources to a wider range of academics worldwide, I will then take the case study of the Allegories' Project to address the methodology applied in editing an ancient text digitally (that is, with very limited use of material supports such as paper) and by a group of people working in the same file remotely and simultaneously.

Keywords: Greek Textual criticism, manuscripts, digital humanities, John Tzetzes, Allegories of the Iliad

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CECHUC

TOWARDS A NEW EDITION OF TZETZES' ALLEGORIES OF THE ILIAD: TWO UNEDITED THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS

Within a wider project that intends to analyze the entire textual transmission of Tzetzes' *Allegories of the Iliad* and offer a new edition of that poem, our paper focus on the two oldest manuscripts that transmit it (**D** and **E**), both from the end of the thirteenth century

and never before considered in any edition or critical apparatus of the work. After a preliminary collation of selected parts of the work, the appreciation of these codices' variants seems to unveil the existence of two (or even more) larger recensions of the poem, not many years after Tzetzes' years of composition.

Keywords: Greek Textual criticism, manuscripts, John Tzetzes, Allegories of the Iliad

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CECHUC

DIACHRONY OF GREEK LANGUAGE IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF TZETZES' ALLEGORIES OF THE ILIAD

The focus of this paper concerns two seemingly unrelated topics: the diachronic development of the pronunciation of Greek and the textual transmission of Tzetzes' *Allegories of the Iliad*. Basing on the reference work *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione dialogus* of Erasmus (1528) and the evidences of various scholars, the history of Greek language pronunciation will be briefly reconstituted. In a second stage, examples of textual variants due to pronunciation will be listed (according the International Phonetic Alphabet), such as iotacisms, with an analysis of the most significant ones. Finally, an attempt will be made to scrutinize the *editiones antiquiores*.

Keywords: Greek Textual criticism, manuscripts, Greek pronunciation, John Tzetzes, Allegories of the Iliad

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CECHUC

SEARCHING FOR A FAMILY: A FIRST ATTEMPT OF A STEMMA FOR TZETZES' ALLEGORIES OF THE ILIAD

Subsequent to a new and ongoing collation of the prooemium of Tzetzes' *Allegories of the Iliad*, in this paper, I aim to analyze the relations of the main manuscripts used and essay a stemma for this text. The list for the manuscripts' transmission and tradition for this text has not yet been made but I will provide some brief explanations on the manuscripts' discussed and several examples for two possible big families for this text, AET and FGHa, by comparing unique readings or conjunctive errors, omissions or additions, and other cases where there are relevant readings. I will not be giving a full account for all manuscripts because that is an ongoing work on the subject of the manuscript transmission for this text. Nonetheless a stemma has been attempted by Pietro Leone (1968) for other texts of Tzetes, namely the *Historiae*, and I will essay to correlate that stemma with this new attempt.

Keywords: Greek Textual criticism, manuscripts, stemmata, John Tzetzes, *Allegories of the Iliad*

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ON THE HANDWRITTEN TRANSMISSION OF THE MYTHOGRAPHERS *Περὶ ἀπίστων*: TOWARDS A NEW EDITION OF THE ANONYMOUS *DE INCREDIBILIBUS*

En 1902, Nicola Festa publicaba en la *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* su edición de los *Περὶ ἀπίστων* de Paléfato, de Heráclito y de la compilación anónima que él denominó “*Excerpta vaticana*” (*Mythographi graeci*, III, 2). Sin embargo, nuestras investigaciones sobre la transmisión de estos tratados han revelado la existencia de un nutrido grupo de manuscritos no colacionados por el estudioso italiano (en concreto, 10 de Paléfato, 9 del Anónimo y 1 de Heráclito). Los nuevos testimonios ofrecen la oportunidad de revisar el texto de estas obras, una tarea que parece especialmente necesaria en el caso de Heráclito y el opúsculo anónimo, ambos editados por Festa a partir del único códice que conocía, el *Vaticanus gr.* 305. Por ello, en nuestra contribución, tras exponer las principales novedades que atañen a los tres *Περὶ ἀπίστων*, centraremos nuestro interés en las concernientes al texto del Anónimo en vistas a su edición.

Keywords: *Περὶ ἀπίστων/De incredibilibus* (Palaephatus, Heraclitus and Anonymus), handwritten transmission, new edition.

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RE-EVALUATING THE TRADITION OF PSEUDO-PHOCYLIDES’ *SENTENCES*

This paper focuses on the bipartite tradition of Pseudo-Phocylides’ *Sentences*, particularly on the branch of its eldest witness, the 10th cent. codex Parisinus Suppl.Gr.388. I argue that the still neglected proximity between its two branches – both coming from Constantinople – helps explain their mutual contamination. Following an erroneous palaeographical scrutiny, the Parisinus has long been regarded as an Italo-Greek piece, whose branch (‘A’) has been thought to circulate in Southern Italy. Conversely, according to latest studies, the Parisinus and branch A are to be considered from Constantinople, as well as its other branch (‘B’). The closeness between branches A and B is also evident by high contamination between their respective witnesses: (1) the Parisinus shows B-variants; (2) the 13th cent. codex Laurentianus Plut.32.16, copied by Maximus Planudes and belonging to branch B, shows several of the Parisinus’ variants. Moreover, (3) all the *recentiores*, which were produced in Constantinople, show A-variants. In the misleading background of “Western” origin of the Parisinus’ branch, it is hard to justify interaction between those branches supposed to be so far from each other. Hence, the claim of Pseudo-Phocylides’ last editor, Pascale Derron (1986): (1) the Laurentianus Plut.32.16 must have been contaminated by Planudes, who imported A-variants from his trip to Italy in 1296; (2) Eastern *recentiores* descend from the contaminated Laurentianus, the only Constantinopolitan manuscript able to transmit “Western” variants to them. Nevertheless, Derron’s analysis cannot explain (1) why several *recentiores* present A-variants absent on the Laurentianus; (2) why the Parisinus shows B-variants. Therefore, I will challenge the tradition of Pseu-

do-Phocylides' *Sentences* in light of the Eastern origin of both its branches.

Keywords: Pseudo-Phocylides' *Sentences*, Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 388, Laurentianus Plut. 32.16, Maximus Planudes, contamination, Southern Italy, codices recentiores

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ANONYMOUS BYZANTINE VERSE FABLES: RENOVATING AESOP IN THE SHAPE OF DODECASYLLABLE

In the wide tradition of Aesopic fables, there are families of manuscripts, the *recensiones* – in number of five according to Chambry's edition (Paris 1925-1926). In three of these *recensiones*, namely in the Vindobonensis, the Bodleiana and the mixta (2nd, 4th and 5th), some prose fables have been paraphrased in the Byzantine verse, the dodecasyllable. The Byzantine redactions of the Aesopic fables have been edited as “variants” of the prose ones in the whole Aesopic edition of Chambry – but these dodecasyllable fables are an evident attempt made by Byzantine scholars (or scribes?) to renovate and versify the Aesopic materials, in a way to be suitable to Byzantine poetic taste. The dodecasyllable fables are at any rate anonymous, and this process of paraphrasing from prose to verse fables has its *raison d'être* in the didactic and moralistic purpose – feature not so uncommon in Byzantine literature and scholarship. Even if most of the dodecasyllable fables are linked to the Aesopic *recensiones* and they consist in paraphrases of extant prose fables, some are very peculiar and unique, for example the fables on the ms. Vat. gr. 777 (14th century), that is the largest Aesopic manuscript with his ca. 240 fables. In this Vaticanus, some fables are paraphrased version of other *recensiones*, but still we can find dodecasyllable fables not attested elsewhere. The paraphrased fables in dodecasyllable are a clear example of how to renew a classic text, and how Aesop and his tradition of fables underwent a process of moralization over the centuries.

Keywords: Byzantine fables, Aesopic tradition, dodecasyllable, fables' anthologies, Byzantine manuscripts, Vat. gr. 777, metaphor in verse, moralization of Aesop

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“PSI COM6 3: A NEW AESCHYLEAN FRAGMENT?”

PSI Com6 3 is a small fragment preserved at Oxyrhynchus, comprehending 20 lines of a tragic text, some of them certainly lyric, whose contents appear to deal with Jason, as the presence of his name at line 6 would reveal. It may well therefore be ascribed to a play with Argonauts' subject connections, but there are few considerable points to include this fragment into the Aeschylean plays on Argonauts tetralogy. However, the palaeographical standpoint seems not to exclude an attribution to Aeschylus. In fact, it is possible to compare the handwriting of this papyrus to the hand of P.Oxy. XVIII 2161 and PSI XI 1209, which are ascribed to Aeschylus on linguistic evidence. On the grounds of these elements, the handwriting has been recognized by Conte (2019) as belonging to the scribe #A3: all

the fragments are indeed strikingly similar, the size of *scriptio* and *ductus* show slight variations among the abovementioned fragments; moreover, the text at all measurable left margins slopes leftward about 3-4 degrees. Thanks to palaeographical criteria, we could likely consider PSI Com6 3 as an Aeschylean fragment, even if little can be said with assurance about the content. A new edition of the papyrus with translation and commentary, which is conducted on palaeographical analysis, could thus be useful to associate PSI Com6 3 with Aeschylus and a specific play.

Keywords: Aeschylean papyri, tragedy, palaeography, scribe #A3, new edition

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READING SOPHOCLES THROUGH THE EYES OF A BYZANTINE SCHOLAR: TEXT AND CONTEXT OF THE SCHOLIA RECENTIORA TO ANTIGONE

In the last few years many studies re-evaluated the philological practices of the Byzantine scholars, mainly Thomas Magister and Demetrios Triklinios. Nevertheless, modern editions of Byzantine commentaries to relevant classical authors are still missing. In order to underline the importance of new critical editions of Byzantine scholia I propose to talk about an ongoing editorial project on the scholia *recentiora* to Sophocles' *Antigone*. The latest edition available for *Antigone* is the one by Dindorf (1852), incomplete in terms of contents and insufficient in terms of methodology. A new examination of the sixteen extant manuscripts that preserve the *scholia* and the interlinear glosses – a scholarly tradition so far overlooked by modern editors –, gives the opportunity to understand how Byzantine scholars perceived classical poetic texts and how they taught and explained them to students: in fact, Byzantine scholia were used in the secondary school in order to increase the active use of the Greek language of the classical period and to collect Attic expressions. Their interest concerns another aspect: the wide circulation of Byzantine commentaries in Europe was linked to the revival of the Greek studies in the Italian Renaissance. The palaeographical study of these manuscripts often provides information in order to define more accurately the circle of scholars who owned them and the circulation of the Sophoclean texts in the Italian Renaissance. I will discuss two main points: 1) the content and the context of the scholia to *Antigone*, with examples of edition, 2) some relevant aspects of the manuscript tradition.

Keywords: Byzantine philology, Palaeologan scholars, Sophocles, *Antigone*, *scholia recentiora*, manuscript tradition

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COMMENTING FRAGMENTARY DRAMA: THE CASE OF MENANDRIAN COMIC FRAGMENTS

The comedies of Menander, the most prominent author of Athenian New Comedy, were brought back to light in the 20th century as a result of some spectacular papyrological discoveries. These stimulated the interest of scholars and led to a rapidly increasing number of

publications over the years on Menander's plays and their rich iconographic tradition. The number of excellent commentaries on the best-preserved Menander comedies is constantly increasing, with valuable work also being produced on fragmentary plays. There has not been any recent full treatment, however, on the smaller fragmentary plays of Menander. Apart from the new editions with translations by Arnott (LOEB) and Blanchard (Budé), relatively little interpretative work has been published on these plays over the last two decades. The field is still dominated by the interpretations of older generations of scholars, including Körte, Handley and Webster. The proposed paper will present the ongoing work of two commentaries on Menandrian fragmentary plays, which deal with the textual, linguistic, and pictorial evidence of 84 Menandrian fragments, re-examining the papyri for new readings while incorporating the rich body of recent scholarship on New Comedy. The two commentaries are: a) *Menander: Achaioi-Theophoroumene* (fr. 89-169 K.-A.): Translation-Commentary, *Fragmenta Comica* series, vol. 24.4; b) *Menander's Heros and Theophoroumene*: Edition-Translation-Commentary, *Texte und Kommentare* series, De Gruyter.

The paper aims to show the need for new critical editions of the comedies of Menander, as well as translation and commentary, in light of recent papyrological and archaeological findings.

Keywords: New Comedy, Menander, papyri fragments, commenting on fragmentary drama.

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"SOME TEXTUAL NOTES ON AESCH. FR. 60 R"

Among the fragmentary plays of Aeschylus, the *Lycurgeia* has been attributed a prominent importance by scholars of all ages, for it has been unanimously recognized as the literary archetype of Dionysian tetralogy which Euripides was inspired by in composing his *Bacchae*. Nevertheless, editing its extant fragments often demands a remarkable effort, either for problems related to the quotational technique employed by their *testimonia* or for the corruptions their manuscript tradition has endured all along the centuries. In this respect, one of the fragments (Aesch. fr. 60 R., teste Σ vetTr

Ar. Av. 276 a-b, p. 49 Holwerda + Sud. μ 1301 Adler) belonging to *Edonians*, the first play of the tetralogy, turned out to be particularly arduous to edit because of the apparently unhealable textual corruptions it is affected by (which is why Radt prints the second half of the extant line between *cruces desperationis*). Beginning from the textual assessment adopted by Radt in his edition (*TrGF* III 181), the main purpose of my paper will thus be trying to shed new light on the editorial issues affecting this fragment, by offering both a fresh collation of the variant readings reported in Aristophanes' manuscripts and a meticulous examination of the most relevant conjectures made by Aeschylean editors. I will therefore propose a newly established critical text for this fragment, in the attempt to demonstrate how a more accurate evaluation of the manuscript tradition of the Aristophanic *scholia* and its internal stemmatic relationships might prove beneficial to restore the (allegedly) genuine Aeschylean text.

Keywords: Aeschylus, *Edonians*, Textual Criticism, Manuscripts, Editorial Technique

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ALCIDAMAS' ENCOMIA: A REASSESSMENT OF THE SOURCES

Alcidamas' *Encomia* are now lost. All we know about them comes from a few ancient sources that scholars have interpreted in different ways – there is disagreement even about how many and which encomia Alcidamas actually wrote. But the prominent role played by Alcidamas in the intellectual landscape of Classical Greece, and of the encomium within epideictic oratory, indicate the importance of these works to our understanding of Classical rhetoric and the need for a new reassessment of the sources.

This paper suggests that the only encomia, among those mentioned in the sources, that can be safely attributed to Alcidamas are the *Encomium of Nais* and the *Encomium of Death*. Based on a testimony by Cicero (*Tusculan Disputations* 1.116), this study proposes a reconstruction of the general argument and structure of the Encomium of Death and suggests that a couplet attributed to another work by Alcidamas (the *Museum*) might have featured in the Encomium of Death as well. Furthermore, this paper considers a textually disputed passage by Menander Rhetor (3.346.9-18), and suggests, against some editors, that it should not be taken as evidence for further works by Alcidamas (*Encomium of Poverty* and/or *Encomium of Proteus the Dog*).

Scarce and controversial though the witnesses may be, it is still possible to try and piece them together in order to gain a fuller appreciation of Alcidamas' *Encomia*, works that certainly had an impact on the literature, oratory, and education of the Greek Classical age.

Keywords: Alcidamas, encomium, epideictic oratory, lost works, Menander Rhetor, Cicero.

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DIVISION IN THE THEOGONIDEAN MANUSCRIPTS: A NEW PERSPECTIVE

The *Theognidea* is the largest extant body of poetry from the Greek archaic symposium and is, for that very reason, of fundamental importance. In dividing this 1 400-line corpus into poetic units, editors have largely applied implicit, subjective standards and their editions display no consensus on what the actual poems are. Surprisingly, in choosing poem boundaries these editors have failed to consult the four surviving manuscripts that mark poem divisions. These manuscripts are remarkable in that they exhibit textually independent but broadly converging judgment in constituting poems that are larger on average than those printed in modern editions. For this reason, the manuscripts arguably offer a different way of viewing and reading the *Theognidea*, and their testimony should not be overlooked by modern scholars.

This paper examines in depth the contribution of these manuscripts to the problem of poem division in the *Theognidea*. The divisions exhibited by the manuscripts vary widely: each of them represents a coherent, independent approach to dividing the corpus into poetic units. I will show that these divisions are the result of independent editorial practice, not of the vagaries of transmission, and that attention to the transmitted divisions

illuminates the essential nature and social function of this corpus of sympotic elegiac poetry. While no one manuscript offers a definitive articulation of the text, they share a fundamentally different approach to the task of dividing the corpus that sharply calls into question the assumptions of modern scholarship.

Keywords: Elegy, *Theognidea*, Greek Lyric, Symposium, Editorial Practice, Manuscripts.

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HISTORY OF TRANSMISSION AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM: THE CASE OF GALEN'S *DE ANTIDOTIS*

Many Galenic works have been already edited in the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* and Guillaume Budé series, but his work in two books *On Antidotes* (περὶ ἀντιδότηων, *De Antidotis*), a fundamental source for Galen's pharmacological (and in particular toxicological) thought and practices, still lacks a critical edition. My ongoing research aims to produce a first critical edition of book I of *De Antidotis*, including a study of its manuscript transmission and a literary and historical introduction to the work. In this paper I intend to discuss some problems related to the main witnesses to the text (P. Lond. Lit. 169 + PBodl MS gr. class. G 69; MSS Laurentianus 74,5; Marcianus gr. Z. 281; Hauniensis 225), their relations, and their scribes (namely Ioannikios and his anonymous colleague B, Georgios Alexandrou, and Petros Hypselas). The aforementioned manuscript sources do not present signatures and the identification of their scribes is based on palaeographical evidence (that I shall discuss in the paper). Importantly, the transmission of *De Antidotis* demonstrates the validity of the rule *recentiores non deteriores*, as two of the fundamental witnesses to the text, Marc. gr. 281 and Haun. 225, were copied during Humanism. I will also show and discuss selected passages from book I which present peculiar textual and linguistic problems.

Keywords: Critical edition, Galen, *De Antidotis*, Laur. 74,5, Marc. gr. 281, Haun. 225.

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THE SOURCES OF THE RECOVERED GREEK MANUSCRIPT BH UCM 22: ABOUT MACCABEES II

Thanks to the recovering tasks recently performed by Carlos Martins de Jesus and Felipe Hernández Muñoz, it is already possible to access to almost everything that is left from the Greek manuscript UCM 22 (sixteenth century, in the holdings of the Historical Library of the Complutense University), for a long time considered lost during Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). This paper studies three passages from the book of *Maccabees*, annotated by the Cretan Marcus Musurus, and compares them with the ones from in another Biblical manuscript, also annotated by Musurus (the Lond. Add 10968, beginning of the sixteenth century), with the probable model of both (the Marc. 5 = 68 Rahlfs, fifteenth century), the latest's model (Marc. 16 = 731 Rahlfs, thirteenth century), other Venetian *Marciani* that copy the book (Marc. 1, 2, and 4), and both with the Polyglot (1517) and the Aldine (1518) editions of the *Septuagint*. Textual collation of these materials shall enlighten the rela-

tions they are entwisted in and provide new data on the polemic subject of these editions' manuscript sources.

Keywords: Bible, Septuaginta, Aldine Bible, Polyglot Bible, UCM 22, recovery

PANEL 09. LAYOUT AND MATERIALITY OF WRITING IN ANCIENT DOCUMENTS. FROM THE ARCHAIC PERIOD TO LATE ANTIQUITY: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

Panel Conveners

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REENGRAVED WORDS: PATTERNS AND LAYOUTS

The aim of my paper is to discuss if and how subsequent epigraphical versions of the same inscription betray a formal influence from the original text. Reengraving older documents is not an anomalous practice in Greek epigraphy, especially from the fourth century onwards. There are many different reasons for this practice: generally, the poor state of preservation of archaic and late-archaic inscriptions may have made the reengraving necessary in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Sometimes, in addition or alternatively to a conservative purpose, inscriptions are reengraved, even at short intervals from the first engraving, because they assume new meanings, change their original place of display and are re-functionalised within new texts (e.g. *IChoix Delphes* 30, where an archaic inscription on rock from Panopeus was reabsorbed in wider regulations and reengraved on the famous stone of Labyads at Delphi).

Beyond the content, scholars focused mainly on dialectal and alphabetical transformations from the original versions to the more recent ones. These alterations were probably perceived by the engraver as essential for the current legibility of the document. However, in other cases the former ‘style’ of engraving is reproduced because it is authoritative. But what about the layout? Is there any formal feature, like line layout, word wrapping, vacat etc., which is preserved during the reengraving? In order to answer these questions, I would like to analyse cases of reengraving on the same stone, e.g.: *Syll.*³ 4 (honours for Manes son of Medikes, from Cyzicus), *IG* I³ 1508 (the stele of Phanodicus, from Sigeion) etc., where consistency between different versions is ensured also by sharing the same support.

Keywords: Reengraving, honorific decrees, original/copy, display.

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THE ATTIC FUNERARY FAMILY-TREE STELES: 'FORECAST' MISE EN PAGE AND COMMUNICATIVE INTENTIONS

Classical Attica has produced a very peculiar type of grave markers, which scholars define as family-tree steles. It is a phenomenon connected mainly to the Fourth century familiar *periboloi*, where these inscriptions generally occupied a highly visible position in the center of the facade. These monuments, which are usually distinguished by their considerable prominence and height, were intended to bear the names of all the occupants of the burial plot. The order of the names in the list, however, was not random nor was limited to respecting the chronological sequence of the deaths, but aimed at faithfully reproducing the succession of generations, thus taking on the appearance of a real stemma. Therefore, the *mise en page* was carefully planned. The paper intends to draw attention to this type of inscriptions and investigate the reasons for the layout strategy adopted. It was obviously dictated by precise communicative intentions.

Keywords: Classical Attica, grave markers, burial plots, funerary *periboloi*, funerary inscriptions, family-tree steles.

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THE EVOLUTION OF LAYOUT IN CYRENAEAN OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS (4TH-2ND CENT. BC)

For over thirteen centuries (ca. 620 BC – AD 644), people from Cyrene have been inscribing thousands of Greek texts on stone and other durable materials. However – in spite of the hundreds of funerary and honorary texts – only a few official documents survive today and they mostly date from the fourth to the second century BC. My presentation will focus in particular on the accounts of local magistrates known as the *damiergoi*. These 37 fragmentary documents cover over two centuries of the city's history. Thus, their analysis will shed light on how the layout of official documents changed throughout the Hellenistic period. Special attention will be devoted to aspects such as:

- The use of *paragraphoi*;
- The introduction of columnar registration;
- The evolution of numeral notation, from acrophonic to alphabetical;
- The introduction of abbreviations for measure units and special goods.

I will then broaden my approach in order to include other official documents from the region, such as civic decrees and dossiers of letters by Ptolemaic officials. Through this analysis and comparison with similar documents from other areas of the Greek world, I will then try to determine if and to what extent external factors might have influenced or caused any changes in the layout of Cyrenaean official documents. From this point of view, special attention will be dedicated to the troubled relations between Cyrene and Ptolemaic Egypt during the fourth and third century BC and their consequences.

Keywords: Cyrene, Hellenism, layout, official documents, accounts, *paragraphoi*

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SHAPING AN EPIGRAPHICAL DOSSIER IN MAGNESIA ON THE MAEANDER: THE LEUKOPHRYENA 'ARCHIVE'

The paper aims at addressing different aspects of the materiality and layout of the *Leukophryena* epigraphical dossier inscribed in the agora of Magnesia on the Maeander (*I. Magnesia* 16-87 = Rigsby, *Asyilia* nos. 66-131). Composed during the last decade of the 3rd century BC to commemorate the establishment of new panhellenic games for Artemis Leukophryene and to celebrate the wide acceptance of Magnesia's inviolability, the *Leukophryena* 'archive' represents a stimulating context where to investigate multiple strategies of display adopted by the local stonemasons. First of all, I will explore the relation between formats and typologies of the documents hosted in the dossier (mostly royal letters and decrees passed by *poleis* or *κοινά*, but also a chronicle of the stages that led to the institution of the new festival and a 'sacred history'). This also entails a consideration of issues of *mise en page* and other devices of layout, such as the variation in size of the letters, rubrication and the use of titles and appended lists. Is it possible to find parallels to the Magnesians choice of the formats? Were the Magnesians influenced by the contemporary epigraphic habit of the cities they got in touch with? Secondly, a thorough and systematic analysis of the several lectional signs used in the various documents will be carried out. To what extent did they fulfill an ornamental function? Were they intended to facilitate the documents readability? In addressing this issue, I will attempt to understand whether the intense use of these signs might reflect the practice of contemporary archival documents.

Keywords: Magnesia on the Maeander, Epigraphic dossier, Artemis Leukophryene, Leukophryena, Asyilia

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ON THE WRITING *μεγάλοις γράμμασιν* OF THE PUBLISHED ROYAL ORDINANCES: A NEW ATTESTATION?

A very recent contribution (E. Rosamilia, *Ricerche ellenistiche* 1 [2020], pp. 125-152), has examined the dispositions included in ancient Greek decrees and other official documents about the characteristics of the letters to be employed in publishing them: a group of these dispositions concerns the letter size. As for Egypt, P.Hib. I 29, a damaged papyrus dated about 265 BC, containing royal ordinances about tax farming, is so far the only attestation of this kind of provision. In this paper, I will discuss a fragmentary passage of P.Rev., the famous papyrus of the royal ordinances of Ptolemy Philadelphus (259/258 BC) about tax farming, and I will suggest a new supplement that would offer a further attestation of this provision. On the basis of this supplement, I will re-discuss the occurrence in P.Hib. I 29 and I will try to demonstrate that, judging from the surviving witnesses from Egypt, the writing *μεγάλοις γράμμασιν* was typically required for the layout of royal ordi-

nances. It has been already explained that the aim of this kind of layout was to improve the readability of the inscribed texts in order to make them accessible to a wider public: in support of this statement, I will focus on the practice of bilingual writing of the ordinances, which was another way to let everyone understand them.

Keywords: publishing of royal ordinances, Ptolemaic Egypt, letter size, readability, P.Rev., P.Hib. I 29

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MONUMENTAL TRANSFORMATIONS: READING COPIES OF DOCUMENTS AT APHRODISIAS

Were monumental copies of documents meant to be read or to accessed in the same way as original documents? Epigraphers and paleographers seldom have the “original” version of a document or manuscript, so our ability to gauge the transformation between text and monument can be limited. A key factor in understanding the role of monumental documents is a consideration of why and for what purpose a “copy” was made. The experience of reading a monument in an urban landscape was profoundly different; this is reflected in the both the physicality and presentation of the writing. An analysis of these factors requires a consideration of both the context of reading and the how visual cues were used to create a recognisable framework for the reader.

Case studies of “same text” or “copy” inscriptions in Aphrodisias have shown that sharing a same or similar text does not always result in a similar inscription (Cf. Graham 2017 and 2018 on the role of visual cues in “copies” of monumental inscriptions at Aphrodisias). This case study will compare two “copies” of the same letter from Hadrian to the people of Aphrodisias (A&R Document 15 and *I.Aph* 11.414), which were set up at different places and time, with different roles in the urban landscape. Analysis will focus on how the context of reading and the use of visual cues (spaces, lettering, decorations, margins, capitulation) impact the perception of monumental writing. How does one read the imagery of a monumental document, and how might changes to layout and the appearance of writing reflect a different audience, context and function? This paper will demonstrate how the physicality and layout of monumental document play a primary (not secondary/peripheral) role in its perception and meaning.

Keywords: Official inscriptions, multiple copies, Roman Aphrodisias, visual cues.

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LAYOUTS OF INSCRIBED GREEK DOSSIERS: ‘IMITATIO PAPYRI’ AND THE RISE OF THE CODEX

The origins and logic of the layouts of inscribed Greek documents have been a matter of recent debate (Meyer 2016, 2017). Faraguna (2020) has convincingly demonstrated that many features of inscriptions, such as *paragraphoi* and a columnar format, can be traced back to papyrological prototypes. In this paper (20 minutes), I take a *longue durée* look

at inscribed dossiers in Asia Minor. First, I examine Hellenistic dossiers at sites such as Priene, Labraunda, and Magnesia on the Maeander. The correspondence of papyrological and epigraphic practice is confirmed yet problematized through the consideration of a specific writing-bearer, the antae of temples. Moving into the early imperial period, inscribed documents, such as the *Res Gestae* at Ankara, became more ‘user-friendly’ through the addition of long headings even as the text itself continues to be written in discrete columns with *ekthesis* on wall space. By the third century CE, however, the ‘Archive Wall’ at Aphrodisias broke dramatically from earlier practice. The most important documents are set apart on the wall through a centered layout and a large heading (Kokkinia 2016). Late antique dossiers departed even more boldly from papyrological practice: at Mylasa, the 480 CE *Forma generalis* is written in lengthy lines of 4.5m on the podium of a temple, while at Kasai (Pamphylia), three documents related to the military are inscribed in long lines on the exterior of a curved church apse (Feissel 1994 and 2016). I argue that these changes from the third century onwards are related to the development of the codex, c. 100-200 CE. Because flipping through pages of a codex did not allow for a one to one transferal of text layout from book to wall, as was possible for papyri, the concept of ‘text’ became more abstracted in this period and allowed stone carvers to experiment with different formats of document display. The rise of the codex resulted in the unchaining of epigraphy from papyrological habits.

Keywords: Inscribed dossiers, layout evolution, Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor, papyri, codex, publication practices.

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THE THIN LINE BETWEEN MISE EN PAGE AND MISE EN ABYME. VISUAL STRATAGEMS IN THE LAYOUT OF MULTIPLE LETTERS ON PAPYRUS

Although the letter is probably the most intensively studied genre in papyrology, the material and visual aspects have so far received less attention. That said, things have recently started to change and there is an evident, increasing interest in these features and their correlation with texts, as shown by Antonia Sarri’s recent monograph (*Material Aspects of Letter Writing in the Graeco-Roman World*, Berlin/Boston, 2018). This valuable work has contributed to filling partly the gap for the Graeco-Roman period; however, the extension and the variety of the documentation lend themselves to analysis under different perspectives. Through this paper, I aim to examine a limited corpus of documents, that is multiple letters written on the same papyrus, and to investigate the relations between the texts, the layout(s), and the correspondents. In fact, as multiple letters usually come from different senders to the same individual, or from one person to different addressees, it is possible to link the documents to close circles or families. This written practice would allow the senders to save paper and time, since letters could easily encounter delays or never make it to their final destination; but not only: cultural reasons might also have been involved in the choice, as suggested by the layout itself. Multiple letters are either vertically arranged

one after another, or visually combined in order to be displayed as a single letter, so that the *mise en page* trespasses on a *mise en abyme*. The revision of SB III 7244 (Arsinoites?, mid III CE), the only case of a quadruple letter, will offer the starting point for reviewing the layout of this group of texts, as well as examining the reasons behind their particular graphic disposition.

Keywords: Letter writing, papyri, multiple letters, layout, Roman Egypt

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LAYOUT AND SCRIPT IN ROMAN WILLS FROM EGYPT

Roman wills as a documentary typology are universally acknowledged to be strongly connected to a specific format and material: the so-called *tabulae testamenti*. Therefore, testaments on papyrus are generally considered as copies included in the protocol of opening. Yet a further distinction can sometimes be made between copies of official or private nature, taking into account –in addition to the language(s) of the document– the writing surface (*recto* or *verso*), the use of layout strategies as ekthesis, eisthesis and vacua, and the presence of interpunctuation, abbreviations, corrections or lectional signs. This paper will analyse Latin, Greek and bilingual mancipatory wills from Egypt, focusing on texts written on papyrus, in order to detect to what extent these characteristics can be considered clues for understanding the official or private nature of the documents.

Keywords: Mancipatory wills, papyri, copies versus originals, layout, abbreviations, Roman Egypt

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ABBREVIATIONS IN GREEK DOCUMENTARY TEXTS. THE CASE OF THE APIONS ARCHIVE

Abbreviations are one of the least researched phenomena of Greek handwriting. Until now, the practice of shortening words has been treated mainly with a practical aim, as scholars have been mostly interested in offering reference manuals to editors. As regards papyrological sources, a sharp distinction was drawn between literary and nonliterary texts: the research on documents was mainly centered on abbreviations used until the 4th century AD and their systematization.

In the light of this, the first aim of this paper is to go beyond this approach and analyze the practices regarding abbreviations in documents of Late Antique Egypt. More precisely, the focus will be on the abbreviation patterns in the well-known archive of the Apions family. This archive offers a set of documents written in a delimited area of Egypt (the Arsinoites), between the 5th and the first half of the 7th century.

A palaeographic and diplomatic perspective will be adopted. This paper will take into account the types of words normally shortened and the techniques scribes used for abbreviations, with special attention to abbreviation signs. The second step will be to check

whether the typology/function of a document (letters, contracts, lists, etc.) or the position of a word in the document itself affects the use of certain abbreviations. The possibility that physical and aesthetic reasons define the use of abbreviations, in terms of position, frequency and techniques, will be also taken into account.

Keywords: Abbreviations, documentary papyri, Late Antique Egypt, archive of the Apions

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THE DOT, THE STROKE AND THE SLASH. ABBREVIATING WORDS IN LATIN DOCUMENTS BEFORE MIDDLE AGES

Systems of abbreviations in Latin written products have been so far investigated with a strong focus on literary texts and/or medieval manuscripts, mainly referring to textual criticism or diplomatic studies. A comprehensive account of the situation in documents – be they on papyrus, *ostrakon* or tablet – is still in being. The main obstacles are the slim remains of Latin or bilingual Latin-Greek documents before the 7th AD; the little knowledge or interest in them; and the chaotic situation of abbreviating signs, symbols and other paratextual devices in those documents. Different textual typologies in Latin documentary culture seem to require different abbreviating ways: military lists will employ medial dots before and after some words, whereas letters will alternate between dots, short strokes, or dots above the letters; the *interpunctum* appears to switch between its original function connected to *divisio verborum* to a purely abbreviating device, before disappearing in 2nd AD and re-surfacing in the 4th; Late Antique chanceries deploy a score of new signs of unknown origin. The relations between Greek documentary abbreviations has never been systematically studied.

This paper presents a preliminary survey of the abbreviation devices in Latin documents between 1st BC and 7th AD. The signs will be described and catalogued according to their chronological range, the textual typology and the letter(s) or word(s) they are associated with. By picking some case studies, it will discuss the origin and the scope of signs; the connection with other graphic systems; the influence of bureaucratic standardization; and the degree of custom and personal taste beyond abbreviating choices.

Keywords: Abbreviations, Latin documents, medial dots (*interpunctum*), abbreviating practices, Roman and Late antique periods

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BETWEEN SHAPING AND FRAMING: THE TABULA ANSATA IN MAGICAL TEXTS/AMULETS AND 'PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE'

The *tabula ansata* was often used during the Roman Period to frame disparate kinds of texts. This makes it difficult to identify a common function for the format besides its

widespread popularity and frequent use for public display.

This paper analyses the use of the *tabula ansata* within two separate, but related typologies of documents which are both of a more private than public nature: Graeco-Egyptian magical texts/amulets and ‘prayers for justice’ (petitions to divine entities, broadly spread through the Graeco-Roman World, recently distinguished from the *defixiones* mainly because of their juridical connotation). In both these categories there are examples of artefacts in the shape of a *tabula ansata* (e.g. metallic or wood tablets)—i.e. this format corresponds to the materiality of the object— and examples in which the *tabula* appears as a drawing framing a section of the text (e.g. on papyrus or metallic tablets)—i.e. this format is employed as a graphic device.

Considering that the latter treatment of the *tabula* is more frequent in magical texts/amulets and attested also on magical gems, the question arises whether it has a special ‘magical’ function. If so, can a similar function be found in the ‘prayers for justice’? And what about the cases in which the *tabula* is the shape of the artefact itself? Can the two different usages of this format in the two ‘private’ typologies of documents be connected with the attestations of the *tabula* in epigraphic, or other, ‘public’ sources? And, more importantly, can they shed light on the nature of the documents themselves?

Keywords: *Tabula ansata*, magical texts, prayers for justice, framing, Roman Egypt

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LISTING PEOPLE ON OSTRACA IN MONS CLAUDIANUS: LAYOUT, MATERIALITY AND PARALLELS

Eastern Desert has provided a large amount of Greek (mainly) and Latin evidence, almost all ostraca. A significant part of them were devoted to a single aim: listing people involved in mining or military activities. Six selected ostraca (five Greek and one Latin) are here compared with other similar texts regardless of their provenance and their writing material. The purpose is assessing – in case of this textual typology – to which extent material aspects influence scribal practice, especially layout elements. Results are twofold. On the one hand, a general uniformity can be noted, for the same textual typology tends to feature the same layout pattern independently from both material (writing support) and social factors (language and origin). This is evident in the analysis of the columnar and the half-columnar layouts, in the ‘four-name pattern’ of the guard lists, in the correspondence between Greek and Latin formulae (ἐξ ὧν and *ex eis*; Latin numerals in Greek texts). On the other hand, the size and the surface of the ostraca can influence scribal practice, thus leading to peculiarities that can be classified either as ‘occasional’ or ‘structural’. In the first case, layout differs in few points from the model. In the second case, the writing surface influences the whole layout: this is made evident by the regular use of shorter sequences and – under a strictly palaeographical viewpoint – by the absence in Latin lists of the duplex manus.

Keywords: layout, materiality, ostraca, scribal practice, lists, Mons Claudianus

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STANDARDIZING HISTORIC AND GENERAL INSCRIPTIONS ON LATE ROMAN FUNCTIONAL OBJECTS

Glass openwork vessels are an ideal case study with which to investigate standardization on late Roman inscribed form and content. Although typically omitted from discussions of Roman writing, repeated inscriptions point to a consistent layout on this class of functional vessel. Openwork vessels were either carved entirely in glass, precious stones, or a combination of metal and glass. However, in part due to the preservation of two unfinished glass fragments, more is known concerning the process of designing the inscription and geometric patterning on glass openwork vessels. The focus of this paper is on the high degree of standardization found on late Roman glass inscriptions and geometric patterning. Consistencies within each element suggest standardization was motivated by more than legibility.

Although there can be no doubt that on certain ancient Greek documents readability was a driving force in uniformity, the largely non-documentary nature of these inscribed functional objects suggest an alternative motivation driving standardization. Their transliterated inscriptions may have resulted in cursory reading of these three-dimensional inscriptions. Experience with familiar, often repeated inscribed content and limited accessibility to all sides of a vessel at once may have driven seriality. This paper's contribution lies in its focus on what late Roman standardization meant and looked like focusing on the central case study of openwork vessels and interdisciplinary conversations about ancient production. The central research question is: What do carved objects, on which vestiges of working processes are preserved, contribute to debates concerning standardization of inscribed writing?

Keywords: Functional objects, glass, historic, late Roman, layout, non-documentary, openwork, standardization, transliteration

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CROSSING ABBREVIATIONS, MONOGRAMS, AND SYMBOLS: PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE REPRESENTATION OF “CHI-RO,” “STAUROGRAM,” AND “STAUROS” IN THE GREEK PAPYRI FROM EGYPT

“Chi-rho” Ϡ is universally known as the Christian monogram, composed of the first two letters of the name Χριστός. In ancient times, it was flanked by other common signs, “staurogram” Ϡ and “stauros” †, both connected to Jesus' Holy Cross. An analysis of the development of such signs in the papyrological documentation from Hellenistic, Roman, and Late-Antique Egypt allows for tracking the everyday use of these writing strategies from their pre-Christian origins. Indeed, while “stauros” is overwhelmingly employed in late documents to put the texts under God's protection, the other two developed peculiarly. Both were born in Ptolemaic cursive handwritings as simple monograms, abbreviating words beginning with χρ- and τρ- respectively, or characteristically containing those

letters (e.g. $\chi\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota}\rho$ and its compounds). Remarkably, as time went by and Christianity arose, most of the words previously abbreviated with the said monograms moved to abbreviations by suspension (i.e. with the final letters truncated, e.g. $\chi\rho/$), clearly in order to avoid confusion with the new Christian marks. Accordingly, the latter went beyond their linguistic role of abbreviations, and became pure symbols pointing to the very concept of Christianity. Interestingly, only one field retained “chi-rho” as non-Christian abbreviation: namely, medicine – in this case too, the monogram very often lost its linguistic role (monogram for $\chi\rho\tilde{\omega}$ “use”) to become a graphical symbol of medical recipes. The paper will discuss all these complex interrelations, trying to trace a semiographic history of the connection between writing strategies, symbolic thought, and the materiality of the written texts.

Keywords: Papyri, Christian monogram, Stavrogram, abbreviations, Late Antique Egypt.

PANEL 10. LITERARY CRITICISM IN ANCIENT HISTORIOGRAPHY

Panel Conveners

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MARCIAN OF HERACLEA BETWEEN HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE AND LITERARY CRITICISM

Marcian of Heraclaea is a Greek author of the 4th century AD, mostly known as an epitomizer of ancient geographical works. He summarized in one book Artemidorus' *Geography* and wrote an epitome of the *Periplous* composed by Menippus of Pergamon. In the prefatory section of this latter work, Marcian talks about all the books he has previously read. He mentions many ancient geographers by name and criticize them. In this paper, this part of Marcian's text will be carefully examined, mainly focusing on two different features. In the first place, the philological and literary lexicon employed by the author will be discussed at length. In the second place, the key role played by historical knowledge in Marcian's literary analysis will be highlighted. This highly educated geographer assigns an extraordinary importance to chronological relationship between different authors. That leads him to analyze the works of his predecessors not only on a literary ground but also on a historical one. This can be shown from his interpretation of Pseudo-Skylax's *Periplous*, a text that Marcianus found anonymous and interpreted as a work of the Persian admiral Skylax of Caryand (6th cent. BC), mainly taking into account his flaws and interpreting them as a sign of the antiquity of the text.

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AGONISTIC INTERTEXTUALITY AND AUTHORIAL RIVALRY IN THUCYDIDES

This research is a work in progress that examines controversies between Fifth-century Greek historians. Traditionally, scholars have approached this subject to “solve” controversies and find the “better version” or to evidence the development of historical methodology through Herodotus' refutation of theories about the Nile river, or his narration of Hecataeus being humiliated by Egyptians priests (Her. 2.15-23, 2.143), or yet the agonistic tone of Thucydides against rival writers in his *Methodology* and Hellenicus' chronological system (Thuc. 1.20-23, 1.97, 5.20). However, the awareness that authorial definition by contrast had a role in the formation of Classical tradition brought a new dimension to the subject. L. Bertelli (*Hecataeus: from Genealogy to Historiography*, 2001) introduced the notion of agonistic intertextuality from J. Assmann theories about hypoleptic discourse,

and C. Condilo (*Agonistic Intertextuality: Herodotus' Engagement with Hecataeus on genealogies*, 2017) used the same notion to understand Herodotus engagement with Hecataeus. These views can reveal how the controversies were fundamental in the development of a shared and competitive frame of textual communication that connects authorities, texts, and claims of truth and accuracy.

So, the focus of this presentation is Thucydides' agonistic intertextuality and authorial rivalry in the *Methodology* (Thuc. 1.20-23) and his engagement against Hellanicus (1.97, 5.20). Which rhetorical strategies are used against rivals? How these polemics connect authors, texts, and claims of truth and accuracy? Of course, my focus is not on the accuracy of different ancient chronological systems but rather ask about how Thucydides' agonistic approach of Hellanicus intended to drain his reputation and establishes Thucydides' authority within tradition.

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STAGING POETRY, WRITING HISTORY: ARCHILOCHUS AND SOLON IN HERODOTUS' BOOK 1

My paper examines the place of lyric poetry (to be understood in the wider sense that encompasses elegy and iambus) in the first thirty chapters of the *Histories*, where Herodotus names Archilochus, Arion and Solon. I shall focus on the first and last of these three mentions. Herodotus' reference to Archilochus' poetry (1.12) is usually considered to be an interpolation, or regarded as incidental. However, support for its authenticity and salience can be found in the very content and wording of the poem that Herodotus is likely to be alluding to, fr. 19 W2: the speaker's stance on wealth and power in the poem in fact conspicuously foreshadows Solon's in the shortly ensuing dialogue with Croesus (1.29-34). This encounter has paradigmatic implications for the *Histories* as a whole: though here Herodotus doesn't draw attention to Solon's status as a poet (contrast 5.113), Solon's corpus still underlies the Herodotean character, and, as comparison with other 'sages' in the narrative suggests, his exceptional stature rests, at least partially, on his being a poetic voice. The pattern of 'learning through suffering' that underpins the story of Croesus (1.207) amounts to a historiographical counterpart to epinician and dramatic examples, themselves stemming from a combination of Hesiodic and Solonian formulations; even the Herodotean Solon's story of Cleobis and Biton finds a prominent antecedent in a Pindaric fragmentary ode (fr. 2-3 S-M). My paper thus explores how and why does Herodotus subsume and 'stage' or 'dramatize' in his narrative preceding poetic traditions to construct historical meaning.

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LITERARY SELF-CRITICISM IN AGATHIAS' HISTORIES

Agathias of Myrina's passion for literature is no secret: lawyer by necessity, during his life he also wrote and edited poetry (the *Cycle*) and embarked on the major task of writing contemporary history. In those circumstances, the scarcity of allusions to his own literary taste in the five books composing the *Histories* may take the reader by surprise. None of the authors he mentions is ever assessed in literary terms, with the exception of a surprisingly neutral and falsely detached reference to Nonnus (*Hist.* 4.23.5) and few words of praise for Paul the Silentiary (*Hist.* 5.9.7). Interestingly enough, this lack of literary criticism is counterbalanced by some remarkable passages of literary *self-criticism*, where Agathias feels the need to explain his choices and justify his flaws as an historian, especially when comparing himself with his celebrated predecessor Procopius of Caesarea (see esp. *Hist. Praef.* 11-13; 3.1; 4.26.4). In this paper I will explain Agathias' *self-criticism* precisely as a result of his feelings of awe in relation to the historical genre, overshadowed as he was by the substantial figure of Procopius as celebrated champion of classicism. Adding to this picture the evidence provided by other sixth-century historians, for example passages from Menander the Protector (fr. 14.2 Blockley) and Evagrius Scholasticus (4.12; 19 Bidez-Parmentier), I aim to demonstrate how Procopius' model shaped and influenced his successors in a way which prompted them to *literary self-criticism*.

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DATARE Omero CON Omero. LA DATAZIONE DEL POETA NEI CHRONIKÁ DI APOLLODORO

Of the greatest poet in Greece was eagerly discussed not only the homeland, but also the date (the ancient debate is reconstructed in the well-known essay by E. Rhode). According to Apollodorus (2nd cent. BC), Aristarchus' disciple and author of the *Chronicles*, a very influential chronographic work, Homer' *floruit* is certain: 240 years after the fall of Troy (i.e. 940 BC: *FGrHist* 244 F63a). The reasons that led him to this choice, different from Aristarchus (1044 = Ionian migration), are less certain. Apollodorus probably followed the Ephorean tradition, according to which Homer received a visit from Lycurgus – who, in turn, is datable thanks to the royal dynasty to which he belongs (*FGrHist* 244 F63b). However, it is striking that Apollodorus does not seem to follow his usual internal method, learned from his teacher (and summarized in the well-known motto “clarifying Homer from Homer”), method which consists in deducing from the Poet himself what belongs to the heroic or Homeric age.

In my opinion Apollodorus did follow this method: Homer was subsequent to events he mentioned, prior to those he was silent on. Jacoby was sceptical about the possibility of recovering the Homeric passages considered by the grammarian; Rhode instead has pointed out some. Following the latter, in my opinion a new balance can be attempted:

– after 1104 (Dorian invasion): Homer knows it not so much for the presence of Tlapolemos in Rhodes (*Il.* 2.653ff.), as for that of the Dorians in Crete (*Od.* 19.177) and for the 100

cities in the same island (*Il.* 2.656);

- after 1004 (Ionian migration): allusion to Panionia (*Il.* 20.403-4) and to a Ionian Samos, from which Samothrace (*Il.* 13.12) must be distinguished; mention of Miletos (*Il.* 2.868);
- Homer betrays the Ionian origin when he shows hatred for Carians, defined “speaking a barbarian speech” (*Il.* 2.867), and Cimmerians (*Od.* 11.14ff.): both invaded Ionia;
- before 776 (Ol.1.1): the Poet does not know the Olympics (discussed *Il.* 11.698ff.);
- before 7th century (colonization of Pontus): Homer does not know the Pontus; he mentions the inner Paphlagonia, but not the coastal one (*Il.* 2.851-5);

Therefore, Apollodoros does not deny his method: the grammarian accepts the precise Ephorean dating because it is placed in the temporal range which can be deduced from Homer himself. Apollodoros’ *Chronicles* can be given the description Jacoby assigned to other works of the grammarian, namely that of being a magnificent Homeric “interpretatorische Leistung”.

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PRINCIPES LITTERATI: POWER AND POETRY IN SUETONIUS’ LIFE

Among ancient history writers, Suetonius has been detected as the one in whose imperial biographies, the *Lives of the Caesars*, the far highest and most diverse number of literary (poetic) quotations from both Greek and Latin texts is to be found (27 quotes from eleven poets, according to Dueck, *Poetic Citations in Latin Prose Works of Historiography and Biography*, 2009). If on the one hand the learnedness of Suetonius the literate – and, of course, the literary critic: a *scholasticus*, as Pliny tags him (epist. 1.24.4) – does not surprise us, it is nonetheless worth going one step beyond the statistics in considering what makes the presence of literature in the Caesars so unique. Following the path traced by some recent studies (cf. esp. T. Power’s many notes and short discussions on single passages; an overall interpretation is offered by Mitchell, *Literary Quotation as Literary Performance in Suetonius*, 2005), I would argue that the ultimate significance of Suetonian explicit quotations, which are mostly mentioned as the emperors’ (fictional?) direct utterances, is given by the fact that the biographer inevitably leads the reader to an act of literary criticism by subtly challenging his knowledge of the quoted text – a knowledge that is in many cases supposed to integrate the biographical account, or at least to enrich it, insofar as the quotation often underscores a statement of imperial power dynamics. In my paper, I would collect examples of Suetonius’ acute interplay between literature and history, with a special focus on Homeric and Virgilian lines throughout the work.

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UNDERSTANDING VARIATION IN HISTORIOGRAPHY WITH DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

The split nature of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' corpus leaves us, theoretically, in an enviable position. Rather than having to piece together views on historiography from prefatory and programmatic statements and from his criticisms of other historians, we may turn to his literary critical works.

However, this approach should not replace a holistic reading of the Dionysian corpus, which may yield further nuance. The figure of Dionysius as literary critic of rhetoric is complemented by the Dionysius who saw his fellow historians – Polybius above all – as likeminded critical souls in the analysis of the historiographical method and narratology. Nowhere is this clearer than in the Dionysian approach to variation (*poikilia*), especially as it pertains to material distribution and digression. Simply put, *poikilia* is variation for the alleviation of monotony and for the sake of beautiful arrangement.

There are two primary principles to comprehending structural *poikilia*. Firstly, how does a text balance coherence and variation? Secondly, how is the material be divided and distributed? Traditionally, approaches have framed the issue of arrangement as a battle between 'time' and 'space', i.e. chronology and geography. However, Dionysius' rejection of myth and of geographic expansiveness in his history nuances his view of *poikilia* in his literary critical works.

By considering Dionysius' critical works – on Isocrates above all – and those of his historiographical predecessors, I will argue that Dionysius produces a deliberately self-limiting form of digressive variation, one that impacts on his approach to geographic and chronographic material in his own Roman history.

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JOSEPHUS' AGAINST APION AND POLEMIC IN ANCIENT GREEK HISTORIOGRAPHY

The first portion of Flavius Josephus' *Contra Apionem* (§§ 1.1-68), an apologia of Judaism published between AD 93 and 96, is dedicated to the fallacies of the Greek historiographical tradition and the superiority of non-Greek historiography. The opening section offers extremely interesting considerations on a number of topics: the beginnings of writing among the Greeks, the historical value of epic poetry (esp. Homer and Hesiod), truth in historiography, the importance of style for ancient historians, the absence of Greek record keeping, the attack on bookish writers that have not witnessed events or visited the sites of important battles. Josephus also names many ancient historians and logographers in order to criticize their methods and the result of their efforts: Acusilaus, Pherecydes, Herodotus, Hellanicus, Thucydides, Philistus, the Atthidographers, etc. However, even if polemic permeates the whole *Against Apion*, it is also evident that Josephus relied on the same Greek historians he ventures to criticize. For example, he uses expressions that are typically Herodotean, and concepts that derive directly from Thucydides

and Polybius. In other words, Josephus is part of the same Greek tradition he is trying to undermine.

Scholarly interest for the works of Flavius Josephus has been usually centred around Jewish history and the relationship with Rome, while the *Contra Apionem* has only sporadically attracted students of Greek historiography. The aim of this paper is to reconsider Flavius Josephus' *Contra Apionem* through the lens of polemic and explore the functions of ancient Greek literature in his rhetorical strategies.

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ARTEM CRITICAM EXERCERE: THE ROLE OF LITERATURE IN FENESTELLA'S HISTORIOGRAPHY

From the origins to the late antiquity, literature has often been at the heart of several Latin works. However, it is especially during the Tiberian Age that this trend becomes prominent, thanks to the contribution of the princeps Tiberius himself.

This tendency also affects historiography: Velleius Paterculus frequently introduces literary issues in his *Ad Marcum Vinicium libri duo*, and the same does Fenestella in his *Annales*. Even though Fenestella's works have mostly gone lost, we now have a number of fragments characterized by a remarkable content variation.

Among these, there are five quotations containing literary and paraliterary information, such as chronology, biography or references to other authors' works (see fr. 9, 17, 20, 22, 23 Peter).

We have no information concerning the link between these literary issues and the historiographic narration: for this reason, scholars have hypothesized that Fenestella not only wrote the *Annales* but also some philological and grammatical works.

On this basis, the central aim of this paper is the reconstruction of the role played by literature in Fenestella's *Annales*. Firstly, a survey on the literary issues in Tiberian historiography will be carried out. Secondly, the most remarkable passages taken from Fenestella's work will be collected and analysed, in order to retrieve the literary issues he was interested in. Finally, an evaluation on the role played by literature in Fenestella's work will be provided on the basis of their belonging to the *Annales* or to an hypothetical grammatical work.

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HERODOTUS BIOGRAPHER OF POETS: THE CASE OF ALCAEUS OF MYTILENE

In 5.95 Herodotus counterbalances the biased portrait of the tyrant Periander of Corinth, derived from Socles' speech (5.92), recalling the tyrant's arbitration in the war between Mytilenaeans and Athenians over Sigeum. Although he knows several episodes of this war, the Halicarnassian highlights only one: the courageous Lesbian poet Alcaeus fled from the battlefield leaving his weapons behind and the Athenians exhibited them in

Athena's temple at Sigeum. The historiographer alludes here to a poem by Alcaeus, giving it a biographical interpretation (Fr. 56). In this paper, I aim to explore how Herodotus approaches Alcaeus' figure and poetry. To this end, I focus my analysis on three main aspects, namely: the broad context of the episode within the *Histories*; the reasons why Herodotus chooses this particular war story over equally well-spread others, like Pittacus of Mytilene's futile victory in single combat over the Athenian Olympic victor Phrynon (Plut. *De Herod. malig.* 15; Diog. Laert. 1.4.74; Eus. *Chron.* Olym. 43.2); and, last but not least, the similarities and differences that can be observed between the Herodotean account and Alcaeus' fragment. On the basis of the obtained data, I expect to conclude that the Halicarnassian evokes Alcaeus' bad experience at war to illustrate the scale of the conflict and, hence, Periander's success as a mediator. The anecdote also allows him to enhance his narrative prestige by presenting himself as a highly cultivated author.

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TRACING HERODOTUS, THE IONIAN LOGOGRAPHERS, AND A PANHELLENIC CHARACTER IN RHIANUS OF CRETE

My research focuses on the Hellenistic epic poet and grammarian Rhianus of Crete (second half of the third century BC) who is widely known for his ethnographical poetry (*Achaica*, *Eliaca*, *Thessalica*, and *Messenica*). The narrator frequently adopts the tone of an ethnographer, who notes with great interest the moral customs of peoples described in his works. For example, in the *Achaica* (fr. 12 P.) the narrator mentions that the Atlantes normally do not see dreams. The longer extant fragments of Rhianus' ethnographical poems depict events and historical narratives for each place as the products of scientific research. This suggests that Rhianus was either an eye-witness of his stories or he based them on sources which are unfortunately not attested due to the fragmentary nature of his works, in contrast with, for example, Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*. The narrator-ethnographer seems to identify distinct features of the ethnics he narrates in the Thessalian catalogue; for instance, he describes the Molossian Ceraines (fr. 30 P.) as ὄτρηρούς "fast", the Elinoi (fr. 34 P.) are called ἀυχήμετες "proud", "boastful" and the Omphalieis (fr. 31 P.) are called ἀμόμους ["perfect", a word playing with the Thessalian ethnic Ἄμμοι (fr. 35) P.]. From this, we can observe the critical approach of Rhianus' narrator, who probably mentioned his sources and former narratives, mainly of Herodotus and the Ionian logographers, from which he composes his own narrative. One of the privileges of Rhianus' ethnographical epics, similarly to Apollonius Rhodius, is that the combination and harmony of various journeys are traced back to earlier mythographers, historiographers and recent scientific sources, such as the reference to the Libyan ethnic in the *Achaica* (fr. 12 P.) as a way of justifying mythically the Greek presence in North Africa. In conclusion, I will try to show that Rhianus of Crete also recalls Apollonius' Panhellenic character inherited by Herodotus, since Rhianus, as with Apollonius, connects the legendary times with his own day, through aetiologies and ethnographical stories; the combination of the historical,

ethnographical and literary-mythical sources with the central stories of Rhianus' epics makes them a vital part of Greek history as well. Pausanias chooses Rhianus as his source for the fourth book of his *periegesis* in Messenia, saying: 'a historiographer is turned into an epic poet and the opposite' (cf. J.J. Clauss [2000], p. 28).

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LUCIAN'S DIALOGUE WITH HESIOD BETWEEN PHILOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND SATIRE

Lucian's short *Dialogue with Hesiod* is a humorous attempt to solve an interpretive difficulty by consulting the poet himself. The narrator's (Lycinus') question (ἀπορία, §3) centres on *Th.* 32: although Hesiod had claimed that the Muses inspired him to sing τὰ τ' ἐσόμενα πρό τ' ἔόντα his works contain no prophecies. Indeed, ancient scholarship grappled with this question: for Σ Hes. *Th.* 32 Hesiod intended that poetry is somehow similar to divination, adding that singing τὰ τ' ἐσόμενα is properly used of a μάντις.

Hesiod's λύσις takes the form of an ἀπολογία that resembles the composite nature of several scholia. The poet begins with an allusion to the Platonic *Ion* (§4 'I could claim that all that which I sang belonged to the Muses rather to myself . . .') which Lycinus picks up at §9 in ring-composition. The core of Hesiod's ἀπολογία strings together three arguments: (i) 'hair-splitting' has no place when discussing poetry (cf. Σ Ariston. *Il.* 8.475-6; Σ *Arg. Eur. Or.*); (ii) poets often compose verses for the sake of εὐφωνία rather than focusing on meaning (cf. Crates' theory of euphony); (iii) poets possess τὴν ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν ἐξουσίαν (poetic licence). Interestingly, both poetic licence and 'straw-splitting' (σκινδαλάμους, §5) have their origins in Comedy's linguistic and literary discourse (*Diph. fr.* 29 K-A; *Ar. Nub.* 129-30, *Ran.* 819), before being integrated in mainstream literary criticism. Finally, the question-and-answer format is typical of the way difficulties detected in a text are addressed (cf. works with ἀπορήματα/ζητήματα in their title; cf. λύνειν . . . τὰς ἀπορίας, §3), and is used by Lucian also at *Verae Historiae* 2.20. There, the narrator interrogates Homer on famous ζητήματα which the poet resolves for him, with the result that ψυχρολογία is imputed on Zenodotus and Aristarchus who denied Homer the authorship of certain verses (cf. *Dialogue* §5).

All in all, Lucian creates a gem whereby he deftly puts literary criticism to use in the satire against philologists, thus echoing similar attacks found in scoptic epigram (e.g., *AP* 11.20, 140, 321, 322, 347, 354).

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LITERATURE AND LITERARY CRITICISM IN LATE HELLENISTIC BIOGRAPHY

It is well known that literature and literary criticism played an important role in ancient biography, especially in biographies of writers and thinkers. Literature, for example, was used as a biographical source (the so-called method of Chamaeleon), whereas critical

methods were sometimes employed to assess the authorship of literary works.

Modern studies of Hellenistic biography and its relationship with literature mostly focus on works dating to the third and second century BC (e.g., Hermippus and Satyrus). While recent research is shedding new light on the philosophical-biographical works by the first-century BC Epicurean writer Philodemus of Gadara, first-century BC biographies that are preserved in fragments transmitted by later authors have not received sufficient attention so far, due to a lack of modern editions of the relevant fragments.

The aim of this paper is to explore the place of literature and literary criticism in first-century BC Greek biography preserved in fragments. On the basis of various fragments of late Hellenistic biographers, such as Demetrius of Magnesia, Diocles of Magnesia, Apollonius of Tyrus, Nicias of Nicaea, and Amphicrates of Athens, I will assess the various ways in which these biographers dealt with literature and literary criticism. First, literature was used as a biographical source. Second, some authors of philosophical biographies quoted literary texts in order to defend their philosophical views. Finally, some biographers employed critical methods that seem to have served as a prelude to the literary criticism of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, sometimes even anticipating modern views concerning the authorship of famous literary works.

PANEL 11. HEROES AND ANTI-HEROES: MERIT AND SHAME IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

Panel Conveners

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HERAKLES THE HERO, HERAKLES THE SLAVE

Much has been written about Herakles' enslavement to Omphale, particularly regarding his masculinity. In many accounts, Omphale requires Herakles to assume feminine clothing and tasks, and scholars have investigated to what extent Herakles' status is degraded, or at least complicated, by these feminine signifiers. The prevailing opinion is that even in feminine clothing, Herakles can still assert his essential masculinity (Cyrino 1998, Llewellyn-Jones 2005). Another question remains unaddressed: how Herakles' slave status degrades or complicates his status as a hero and free citizen. In antiquity, slavery was a real threat that could befall free citizens, either through legal processes (e.g. debt slavery), or as a consequence of war. Slavery, when it befell formerly free citizens, was seen as a tragedy with lasting consequences, because of the stigma attached to enslavement, and the trauma an enslaved person could suffer (Hunt 2011). When classical authors discuss Herakles' status as a former slave, they traditionally present his servitude as a source of shame. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, it is said that Herakles sacked an entire city as revenge on those responsible for his enslavement to Omphale; in the *Odyssey*, Herakles' shade laments the fact that during his life he was enslaved to a man inferior to himself (namely Eurystheus). Roman elegists (notably Propertius and Ovid) conspicuously reverse this convention by depicting Herakles' enslavement with the same comic irreverence with which they depict his cross-dressing. Although complicated consequences attached to real-life slaves, Roman elegists depict Herakles as escaping these consequences via his heroic status.

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STRENGTH AND BOLDNESS IN THE HEROIC HELLENISTIC WORLD

We pretend to study the presence of some concepts of the Homeric heroic world in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes. In the Homeric epic, by overcoming the various obstacles and fighting, the heroes show boldness (*tharsos*), physical strength and tenacity (*alke*, *sthenos* and *kratos*). All these qualities are present in the Hellenistic epic, but the path is new. Firstly, in this new world, women take place alongside with men, in equal strength and boldness: we see it in the crime of Lemnian women (A.R.1.820) and when the poet mentions Medea's tenacity to help her sister (A.R.3.716).

Furthermore, we assist to the fading of the *menos*, a Homeric heroic energy, which has more than one hundred occurrences in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In the eleven passages where it occurs in the *Argonautica*, *menos* belongs mainly to the gods, nature and animals, and it never reveals itself in Jason, although Aeetes announces that he would test it in the hero (A.R. 3.407). By including this concept, Apollonius is aware of its almost disappearance in the literature of the 5th century BC.

Finally, the topic of gods' impact in increasing the hero's excellence is developed differently. Although Zeus infuses *menos* in Zetes and Calais (2,275), Athena in Argo (2,613) and Hera instils *tharsos* in Alceus (3,866), Medeia's *pharmaka* stand out as the only mean to grant *alke*, *sthenos* and *kratos*. The princess actually knows and the moment of the fight confirms that, without these, Jason would never overcome the bulls.

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'APPEASING A VENGEFUL HERO'. A CASE OF NECROPOLITICS IN CLASSICAL GREECE

According to ancient Greek belief, heroes could be very vengeful beings, which could potentially cause a lot of harm if not worshipped properly. A dead *heros* demanded adoration, and one of the ways in which he made those demands heard was by sending a plague (gr. *loimos*) to a said community. There are several cases, especially from the first half of the 5th century BC, in which a Greek *polis* reacted by establishing a cult for the hero in question, which was supposed to soothe his wrath and serve as a remedy for the plague he had caused. The literary sources for these events are certain myths and legends found in the works of various ancient authors, most notably Herodotus and Pausanias. It is noticeable – despite the relatively heterogenous background of the individuals being so heroized – that many of these hero cults revolve around former Olympic victors and/or soldiers. The aim of this lecture is to give an overview on how and why these cults were created, the (historical) figures which were worshipped in this way, and the function of these cults for the community in which they were being practiced. The findings presented will be exemplified using excerpts from the ancient literary sources.

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OTHER GREEKS, OTHER HEROES?

In *The Works and the Days*, Hesiod relates the succession of five generations of mortals, including the heroes, which correspond to the fourth generation, before the iron men. Although there is controversy over the linear decay of the five generations, we can agree that Hesiod's generation of heroes is superior in deeds and honors to those who work hard during the day, reason why the poet wishes he had died before or born after this time. However, as Vernant notes ("The Hesiodic Myth of the Races. Essay of Structural Analysis." *Myth and Thought among the Greeks*. 1973. p. 55), there is ambiguity in Hesiod's fifth generation of workers. It is not one but two. The ambiguity of this race, already pointed out at the same poem in the distinction between the two Fights, and made explicit in the episode of Prometheus and Pandora, lies in the fact that for the generation of iron goods and evils are mixed. Thus its apocalyptic end, predicted by Hesiod, is only one of its possibilities. There is a way of life for the iron man, for the bread-eating man, for the one who is marked by the necessity of labor, who is just, excellent and happy. So, the purpose of the poem would be to admonish Perses, the poet's brother, to live this way. Can we therefore think of a heroic, honorable and distinct way of being a farmer? According to Hanson (*The Other Greeks; The Family Farm and Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization*. 1995. p. 6), between the seventh and fourth centuries BC, sixty-five to ninety-five percent of all citizens in most city-states were peasants. The author states that the values and achievements of the *pólis*, as a fundamental institution of Western culture, are not well understood unless we take into account the way of life, work ennoblement, the pursuit of moderation and the sense of measure developed by these citizens. Hesiod is one of the witnesses the author lists to defend his thesis. The aim of this presentation is to reexamine *The Works and the Days*, based on this hypothesis, trying to understand if and how the praise to the work in the field made by the poet from Beotia can be thought as a model of distinction, excellence and happiness, alternative to the aristocratic and warrior heroic model.

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AGAMEMNON: FROM HOMER TO EURIPIDES

The change that Agamemnon experiences in the *Iphigenia Aulidensis* of Euripides with respect to the epic Agamemnon has already been studied. On the other hand attention has not been paid to the Agamemnon of *Hecuba*, which has been almost automatically assimilated to that of *Iphigenia Aulidensis*. We believe that a more detailed study allows us better understand his characterization and the author's purpose.

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ACHILLES IN *ILIAD* 18 AND 19: THE HERO AS A HYBRID FIGURE?

This presentation aims to explore Achilles' characterization in *Iliad* 18 and 19 by focusing in the following moments that distinguish this warrior among his most eminent peers in the poem: his unarmed "epiphany" in front of the Achaean wall, accompanied by Athena; his decision to slaughter Trojan prisoners in Patroclus' funeral; and the debate with Agamemnon and Odysseus about the immediate resumption of combat. Its main purpose is to define if and how these moments interact to construct the hero as a hybrid figure (the expression goes back to J. S. Clay discussion of Hesiod) between the divine and human realms, or in a more specific way to differentiate Achilles among Trojan and Achaean warriors.

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A HERO SURRENDERED TO LOVE: HERACLES IN THEOCRITUS'S *IDYLL* 13

In his *Idyll* 13, Theocritus tells us about Heracles' passion for Hilas, an overwhelming feeling that leads him to forget the purpose of the expedition he had undertaken to Colchis. The aim of this paper is to analyse how the Alexandrian poet absorbed the elements of the tradition linked to the epic hero and reworked them in favour of his literary intentions, which involved, first and foremost, the construction of a figure in keeping with the sensibility of the third century BC.

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PETRONIUS' *SATYRICON*: SWINGING IDENTITIES AND SWINGING PARADIGMS

In inter-generational relations, a basic obligation of an adult generation is to ensure that the younger members of the community have access to their cultural heritage, thus having the opportunity to benefit from it but also to contribute to its enrichment. In this dialogical process, the past also assumes a formative role, insofar as good examples of the olden days can be raised to the heights of a model to imitate or — to say it in another way — to the post of a reference hero whose conduct is perceived by others as a source of inspiration. This *aemulatio* of a previous paradigm is deeply rooted in tradition, and already in the *Odyssey* (1.298-302), Athena in disguise suggests to Telemachus to seek news about Ulysses, thus indicating a way to find glory, just as before him the model Orestes had done, by avenging the murder of his father. Moreover, the Homeric Poems would end up becoming the paradigm *par excellence*, in which a whole set of assorted paradigms (both heroic and anti-heroic) could be found and elected either as guiding figures or as bad examples to be avoided. Education through the paradigm is, therefore, a valid training strategy, although the models to be imitated may change over time, especially in moments of identarian turmoil,

when a “paradigm shift” is quite often sought and needed. Reference models are not only featured as heroic individuals, but can also appear in the form of groups of people who represent, metonymically, a certain type of values, as faithful depositors of an ethical profile and of a guiding behavior. This kind of status may be reached by figures such as elders, priests and educators who, particularly in times of disorderly behavior, may (*theoretically*) act as a guide and bulwark of good manners and appropriate conduct. In this ground, Petronius’ *Satyricon* is a particularly vivid work, as it portrays an atmosphere of deception, in which dishonesty and trickery constitute a constant threat. It is against this backdrop of crisis and confusion of values that we propose to study representatives of those “reference groups” and the way they may symbolize (or simply perform) a heroic picture of a reference past that no longer matches their petty interests of the present.

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FEMALE VARIATIONS ON THE TRADITIONAL IDEA OF HEROISM IN EURIPIDES

As regards the theme of heroism in Euripides’ tragedies, scholars have mostly focused on male characters, who are commonly judged as degraded heroes, according to the traditional idea of heroism emerging from the archaic culture. On the contrary, little attention has been paid to Euripides’ extension of the heroic dignity to categories of characters who were traditionally excluded from the heroic world. In particular, in this paper I will take into consideration how Euripides applied the traditional heroic lexicon and motifs to female characters. Starting from the paper *Le lit, la guerre* by Loraux (1981), by means of a survey across various plays of his – not only those preserved entirely, but also many of those preserved fragmentarily – I will highlight how the tragedian reworked such typical features in order to adapt them to women: hence, a heroic woman will be the wife who stays faithful to his husband and respects silently her submissive position in the household, the mother who is ready to sacrifice her life so as to save her children or the sister who does the same for her brothers, the young girl who prefers death over servitude; on the contrary, an antiheroic woman will be the one who goes against such behavioural models and makes use of δόλοι and λόγοι. In particular, I will underline how female characters repeatedly use words like κλέος or ἀρετή, actually giving proof of a female variation on the traditional idea of heroism.

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HOW THE CONSUL M. ATILIUS REGULUS OVERCAME THE SHAME OF CAPTURE AND BECAME A HERO

The story of how Regulus, when a prisoner of the Carthaginians, denounced to the Senate a prisoner exchange from which he personally would have benefited and then kept his word to his Carthaginian captors to return to Africa and face a certain death

by torture has gripped the imagination of living and ancient historians alike as well as many Neo-classical artists. Regulus had invaded Africa and defeated Carthage, but offered very harsh surrender terms. Carthage fought on and defeated him in the Battle of Bagradas River (Battle of Tunes) in 255, capturing him alive. The dishonor to his family that a Roman consul had been captured alive was an almost unheard of disgrace, and yet Regulus became the most inspirational hero of the Roman Republic, beyond more deserving candidates such as Lucretia, Cincinnatus, Fabius Cunctator, or Scipio Africanus. Someone invented the posthumous story that Regulus, a lowly prisoner, correctly persuaded the Senate not to come to terms with the hated enemy but to fight on to total victory at great cost to himself, because he was a true Roman, despite appearances and the whim of fate that made him a slave.

For Polybius and his sources, the historical Regulus was an example of how the mighty have fallen. Later historians, such as Livy and Florus, used the Regulus story to validate Rome's path to Empire. Poets such as Horace and Silius Italicus saw in Regulus the old fashioned virtues which made Rome great. Philosophers such as Cicero and Seneca drew inspiration in their own moral crises from his integrity in the face of torture. However, the story is not at all historical, but fiction that over time changed in purpose from honoring the memory of an undeserving, arrogant bully to promoting Roman integrity. Quite unintentionally, the torture element at the climax ran away with the story until a new theme or purpose emerged from the Regulus tale: in a paraphrase of Cato the Elder, Carthage had to be destroyed, because the Carthaginian people were so monstrous they abused a man of great integrity and virtue.

The lionization of Regulus happened through no glorious action of his own part but took place after his death, entirely beyond the historical Regulus's wishes or control. Historians and poets invented and then expanded the story of his heroic self-sacrifice to higher and greater heights, making him a martyr for integrity and honor. The legendary Regulus broke one sacred promise to prevent his homeland from a terrible mistake and kept a second sacred promise, rather than allow the *patria* to suffer the displeasure of the gods, all the while knowing he would in turn suffer the cruelest of tortures a treacherous and vile enemy could devise. That act matched and exceeded Mucius Scaevola with his hand in the fire and Mettius Curtius leaping into the chasm as Rome's greatest treasure because Regulus knew he faced a slow and horrible death by torture.

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WHO IS AN ANTI-HERO IN HOMERIC POETRY?

We dispose of a lot of ancient and modern definition about the Epic Hero. From Toohey (1992), Callen King (1987; 2009), Gill (1996) up to Nagy (2005), between others, but it is not easy to define what is an anti-hero, because not even we can understand hero or anti-hero as really opposite sides in Homeric Poetry. The personality of a Greek epic hero is so complex that we need to explore which are the qualities and features of him analyzing

also what we don't consider a heroic conduct. We propose reflect about the heroic/anti-heroic acts in two episodes: on the one hand, the episode of *Iliad* II, among Odysseus and Thersites, on the other hand the episode of *Odyssey* 18, among Odysseus and Iros. Our goal is to look for the type of inferences related to heroism or anti-heroism, that we could obtain comparing both episodes, which show a crisis in a vertical sense, with a type of gender crisis among a group of male characters and one single female character, as the conflict which involves Penelope and the suitors.

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"I HAVE SUFFERED EVEN AS ODYSSEUS..." - THE (ANTI-)HEROIZATION OF THE POETIC I IN *CORPUS THEOGNIDEUM*, vv. 1123-1128

Corpus Theognideum, the largest anthology of archaic elegiac poetry, until the 80s was often presented as a late and inconsistent compilation of various authors. However, a methodological change that had taken place over recent years and the transfer of the focal point to the context of oral communication has led to the formulation a new paradigm for the authenticity of this text: in this perspective *Theognidea* is treated as a testimony of open poetic tradition, transmitted orally through the performance; furthermore, Theognis as a *persona loquens* becomes more than just a hypothetical writer or a permanent point of reference for the next performers of this tradition: he is a "semi-mythical" figure, manifested and dramatized through the text itself.

The purpose of my talk is to show how the instance of the author consists in *Theognidea* a coherent and innovative poetic strategy. Unlike in other examples of archaic elegy, "Theognis" is presented not only as a pattern of virtue – an example of wisdom and moderation, – but also as a bankrupt, expelled from his *polis*, embittered and full of revenge, despised even by Kyrnos, the addressee of the poem. The starting point will be the elegy 1123-1128, known already in antiquity (see papyrus Oxy.5265 published in 2016). Some references to *Odyssey*, included in this fragment, will be an opportunity to undertake intertextual analysis focused on the figure of "poetic *ego*" and the question of how the Theognidean tradition by using the Odysseus' myth is oscillating between heroization and "anti-heroic" creation.

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ORESTES AS HERO: THE DESINTEGRATION OF A PARADIGM

Orestes, Agamemnon's son and avenger of his father's death, is presented in the *Odyssey* as the example young Telemachus must bear in mind. This initial image, in which the Prince of Argos emerges as a solid *paradeigma*, is far apart from the abandoned Orestes, sick, delirious, almost a human rag, that we find in Euripides' tragedy named after the young brother of Electra. Between that first point and the later one, different versions of a similar *muthos* continuously show how tenuous and uncertain is the line that divides heroism

and praise from reproach and shame. And perhaps no other character seems, like Orestes, inhabit both sides of that line – always with the natural discomfort of those who have not yet truly found their place. Over time, from play to play, each time we meet Clytemnestra's son we see him face – with increasing difficulty – the obligation to live up to the paradigm that, in Homer, sets the inaugural lines of his character.

An analysis of this young man's presence in *Choephoroi*, *Eumenides*, both Electras and *Orestes* (without neglecting other plays in which he is also present) will show us a hero who, besides facing the tremendous difficulties of an almost unbearable task, is above all – and in a progressively more visible way – in torn confrontation with himself. The text of the plays will show us some eloquent moments of that battle.

After discussing how, in Greek literature, Orestes increasingly wears with discomfort the hero's suit, we will show briefly how something similar may be found in some contemporary Portuguese examples that deal with Orestes' myth (from authors as Ruben A., David Mourão-Ferreira, Hélia Correia or Tiago Rodrigues): here too we see how unfitted as hero Orestes still is, as if time – and the successive recreations of the myth – could only contribute to confirm and intensify the permanent emptying of a once paradigmatic hero.

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PATTERNS OF HEROES AND VILLAINS FROM THE *LIVES OF CAESARS* OF SUETONIUS

The aim of this paper is, on the one hand, to try to understand how the protagonists of the Suetonius' *Lives* are formed from rhetorical models of heroes or antiheroes according to tragic or comic *topoi*. On the other hand, we seek to verify how the characters of *Lives* become paradigms of behavior to imitate or reject according to an imperial ideal.

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HOW TO MAKE A HERO OUT OF SOCRATES

The trajectory that leads Socrates from the condition of a corruptor of young citizens (an anti-hero) to that of a victim of the *polis*' injustice (a hero or near-martyr) could possibly be rebuilt from a detailed analysis of several ancient prosecution and defense documents related to this historical figure. In this paper, an attempt will be made to reconstitute a part of this trajectory out of the most influent of those documents, namely, Plato's *Apology of Socrates*, a work that transforms Socrates into a fictitious character engaged in explaining why he will fail to save his own life; and, considering that the text was written after the death of the historical Socrates, it explains why he actually failed to avoid death. Furthermore, it is a work capable of transforming this failure into the most deliberate and heroic of Socrates' gestures, the one that can prove the authenticity of his philosophical life as well as the most adequate to crown it. In order to accomplish this reconstitution, a detailed examination of one of the central procedures of this text will be made, consisting in a comparison

of Socrates to the most unambiguous of the heroes of the Trojan War, Achilles, a comparison that will both approach and distance the two characters. When Socrates mentions the “beautiful death” of Achilles in the passage 28b5-d5 of the *Apology* and when he suggests comparing his situation to that of the hero, the author Plato proposes an important strategy of (auto)justification of the philosopher-defendant. Such a defense-strategy, as expected, is pervaded by topics of rhetoric, justice and philosophy, as well as it decisively contributes to the transformation of the Socratic image.

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SER OU NÃO SER: O ÍON DE EURÍPIDES ENTRE A HONRA E A VERGONHA

Atenas vivia um momento particularmente crítico, sacudida pela derrota frente aos siracusanos, quando Eurípides levou aos palcos Íon. A peça gira em torno da identidade do herói Íon. O poeta mobiliza diversos espaços para tecer sua trama. Da gruta de Atenas ao templo de Apolo, em Delfos, conhecemos e nos familiarizamos um pouco mais com as duas póleis. Mas é para o altar em frente ao templo de Apolo que dirigimos nosso olhar, quando Íon vive um dos momentos mais tensos de sua trajetória, posto entre a honra e a vergonha. Eis o que pretendemos discutir. Ele está diante da mulher que tentou matá-lo e se posta como suplicante no altar. Como o herói deve agir ante a sacralidade do altar e o império da lei? Manter a honra conquistada frente à comunidade ou sustentar a vergonha de macular o espaço que fora sua casa até então? É a própria felicidade do herói que está em questão. Acreditamos que a leitura que Íon faz do ambiente à sua volta (co)orienta sua ação e salvaguarda seu futuro. Tomamos o conceito de ambiente construído do arquiteto norte americano Amos Rapoport. O autor enfatiza o efeito do meio sobre o homem, a importância dos símbolos no modo como ele percebe, avalia e molda seu ambiente; meio que exerce agência sobre o usuário, podendo limitar e orientar seu comportamento.

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THE HERO MENELAOS: WARRIOR AND HUSBAND

As a warrior and husband - or, if we like, a warrior for love - Menelaos has always been, throughout time, ‘the hero in the background’. In the military hierarchy, even though the great campaign of his life had for motive his offended honor, it did not touch him the supreme command of the defense of his pride, but the submission to the authority of Agamemnon. In the ‘domestic hierarchy’, Helena would have another ascendant based on a feminine *arete* - that of beauty and seduction -, but also that which the determination and finesse of spirit determine.

Thus, already in the epic, but above all in the tragedy, Menelaos is able to accept his eternal weakness, on the battlefield, as in the difficult management of the palace of Sparta.

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ORESTES AS TRAGIC CHARACTER IN TWO PLAYS OF EURIPIDES (*ELECTRA* AND *ORESTES*)

Various critics have stressed out ‘untragic’ features on the characterization of Orestes in two later plays of Euripides which deal with the mythic revenge of the murder of Agamemnon (*Electra* and *Orestes*). The tragic conventions demanded that Orestes should be the killer of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, but Euripides characterization of the figure of the avenger in each play is apparently disconcerting and exciting.

The question of the heroic traits of Orestes has tend to divide scholars, with some emphasising the character anti-heroic of the his *dramatis personae* in this ‘sequel’ plays. The main goal of this study is to discuss how Euripides constructed deliberately a new type of tragic character, more sophisticated and eccentric rather realistic or Individualized, to play a surprising role in a famous story of revenge already seen by the audience of the Theatre of Dionysus.

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HEROES AND ANTIHEROES: THE DICHOTOMOUS VISION OF THE CHARACTERS IN GREEK LITERARY THEORY

Having turned the heroes, the characters of traditional Greek legends, into literary characters, Greek thought developed a dichotomous view of them in their conception of art as representation, as mimesis of ‘reality’. In our contribution we intend to approach some of these basic notions of literary theory and criticism of antiquity, starting with Aristotle.

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THE PROTECTIVE FIGURES. KINGS AND DAIMONES: THE HEROIC MARKS OF CUSTODY IN HESIOD

The project of our work consists in thinking about the dimension of the myth in Hesiod as a product of the human spirit, from what we can consider an ethno-mythic-poetics as a way of anthropological installation and the capacity of the myth as an operator of sense. From this theoretical position, we want to recover a certain philosophical attitude inscribed in his concern for the historical reality in which he is inserted, in front of a future full of darkness.

From there we propose, in a first moment, the treatment of two figures inscribed in a daytime lineage, of positive valency, from which some line of optimism can be thought in front of the state of things and from the heroic horizon. The figure of the king gives us back a plexus of identity marks, according to the philosophical-philological tool, which allow us to consider the function of sovereignty as the emblematic dimension where two notions that support the present work converge, protection and care, seen from a heroic perspective. In a second moment, we will take a look at the myth of the Ages to capture the poet-phi-

losopher's pessimistic vision, starting from the threat of an a-cosmic character that the progressive anthropological degradation provokes. Within this framework, and within the agonistic scheme that the *hybris-sophrosyne* tension inscribes throughout the work, we will analyze the marks of the *daimones* turned into Zeus' political allies in the arduous task of preserving the *kosmos*, from his dimension as guarantor of justice. Once again, we revisit the same topics, protection and care, now under the responsibility of the *daimones* in solidarity with the king, under the same heroic dimension as an identity mark.

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FROM ZERO TO HERO: BODY AND HERO CULT IN *OEDIPUS AT COLONUS*

In this paper I will analyse Oedipus' body image and cult in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*. In this play, Oedipus, sent into exile, arrives with the help of his daughter at Colonus, where an oracle had predicted he would die. There, his tomb will be sacred, and Oedipus will become a tutelary hero of Attica.

The portrayal of Oedipus' body is decisive in the course of events: the character is a blind elderly man, who arrives at Colonus with a miserable appearance and carries pollution (*miasma*) for his past crimes. Nevertheless, the closer Oedipus gets to his death, the more he starts to partake in heroic power and to overcome his human condition, and when his transition to the afterlife is complete, so does his transition to hero.

The consequences of this heroic status can be viewed in a dualistic way, being a blessing to Athenians and a burden to Thebans. This takes form in Oedipus' deadly curses to Creon and Polynices, and also in his prophecy of a future war between Athens and Thebes, which can recall historical events from the late Peloponnesian war. These and other elements can be contextualized within the ancient traditions about Oedipus' death and cult, and will illustrate how Sophocles could have staged elements of the Attic landscape and Oedipus' cult which may have been known to his audience.

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THE LYING KING: A ROLE MODEL FOR ANTI-HEROIC LEADERSHIP IN HOMER'S *ODYSSEY*

In this paper, I argue that the one characteristic that enables the *Odyssey's* eponymous hero to come out of his ordeal victorious is the ability to lie (Walcot 1977; Emlyn-Jones 1986). Through skillful and deliberate dissembling, Odysseus is not only able to face and overcome the challenges of his world and the world of his imagination (West 2005; Lane Fox 2009; Audley-Miller and Dignas 2018), he is also the lying role model for his wife and son (Woodard 2007; Blankenburg 2018).

Close reading of the *Odyssey's* key passages, Odysseus' lying tales, evidences the successfulness of this specific capacity: as a secondary narrator, Odysseus proves able to manipulate both the internal and the external audience. A guest at the Phaeacians' table, Odysseus invents

adventures to both please and lure his hosts (Parry 1994; Grethlein 2017). Home on Ithaca, he works his way back to his household and his kingship through dissembling, exactly as the goddess Athena and the soul of the deceased Greek leader Agamemnon urge him to do. Considered from a socio-economic outlook on what Odysseus stands to lose or gain, analysis of his exact words will show the effectiveness of this type of leadership. Reception of Odysseus and the *Odyssey*, from fifth-century Attic drama to 2004 blockbuster *Troy*, equally, and intuitively, appreciates the telling of false tales as a heroic trait of excellence. Whereas ancient reception of the *Odyssey* focused on the dark side of Odysseus' dissembling, more recent reception works once again celebrate the merits of the art of lying.

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THE CARICATURE OF HEROISM: HERO AND ANTI-HERO IN *THE FROGS*

The image of the hero shaped by warrior virtues has prevailed for centuries. The Homeric model is followed and praised, and tradition has crystallized it. Heracles embodies the ideals that epic poetry glorified, and is an example of heroism to be imitated and praised. In *Frogs*, Aristophanes, aware of Heracles' conventional portrayal, of his physical features, places this hero before a deforming mirror, creating a kind of clone. Then Heracles, the epic hero, becomes a comical clown, deformed the distinctive features that make him unique in the landscape of classical heroism, and unfolding his personality. This whole process of subversion ensures the caricature of heroism.

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ON THE THEME OF A WHITE-FIGURE ATTIC LEKYTHOS: Κρότος—FROM THE INVENTION OF APPLAUSE TO CATASTERISM

Contrary to the satirical, disorderly, wild and uncivilized depictions of satyrs more generally in Graeco-Latin literature, Crotus (Κρότος), son of Pan and Eupheme, and a privileged companion of the Heliconian Muses, was known for his competent and peaceful nature. Appreciated for his speed in the woods, his intelligence in the arts, and his invention of applause when singing to the Muses was, at their request, deified by Zeus. Bypassing the mortal limits of the satyrs, he was transformed into the constellation Sagittarius, and was represented with a horse's lower body, because of his horse-like attributes, and with bow and arrows, due to his cunning and quickness as a hunter.

The few known literary references alluding to Crotus are accompanied by a practical absence of iconographic testimonies representing him. This circumstance justifies making known an Attic white-figure lekythos, currently in a private collection in Portugal. It is a

whole vessel, in the ATL Class, attributable to the Aischines / Tymbos workshop, dating from around 480 BCE. In the drawing there is a centaur-shaped satyr holding a bow and depicted in a running posture, probably alluding to his speed as a hunter. A review of the mythological notices provides new occasion for attributing the vase's decorative motif here to our first depiction of Crotus.

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THE SELF-HEROISATION OF SCIPIO AFRICANUS: ROMAN EMULATION OF HELLENISTIC HEROES IN THE 3RD CENTURY BC.

Scipio Africanus is considered one of Rome's most extraordinary generals and politicians, whose exploits, charisma, and innovative techniques for self-promotion enabled him to reach unparalleled prominence. However, the influence of Hellenistic culture on his image and identity has been greatly underestimated (Haywood 1933, Scullard 1930 and 1970, Gabriel 2008). The examples of Alexander the Great, who modelled himself as a Homeric hero, and his successors were important as precedents for Scipio. Not only this, but the century prior to Scipio's rise to prominence saw a string of remarkable honours at Rome which seem best understood with reference to Hellenistic heroes. Fabricius Luscinus (cos. 282, 278), a hero against the Samnites and Pyrrhus, was buried in the city for his outstanding merit like a Greek founder or saviour figure (Cic. Leg. 2.58; Plut. Mor. 282f-283a). This set the foundation for Scipio's self-heroisation, and from the outset of his career he presented himself with the virtues of a Hellenistic king or hero. Like Alexander, Scipio presented himself and was received as having special relationships with the gods, and he routinely emphasised his heroic nature for political benefit. This paper, then, seeks to re-examine the formation of Scipio Africanus' public image by applying new insights to the powerful discourse of Greek heroism and virtue that he inherited, embodied, and exploited.

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THE RELEVANCE OF 'FEAR' IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FIGURE OF ANDROMACHE

This paper proposes a comparative study of the figure of Andromache in different authors and texts of classical antiquity, exploring, from a diachronic perspective, the emotional and moral development of that character from the Homeric image of fragility and subservience to the profile that characterizes her with a determination capable of placing her as a worthy opponent to the artificial and rhetorical Ulysses.

PANEL 12. IMAGINING THE WORLD: MYTHOLOGY IN HUMAN CULTURES IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Panel Conveners

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AN EXEMPLAR WIFE. THE MYTHS OF EPONA AND EPPONINA IN THE ROMAN PERCEPTION

Many gods and heroes who are found in archaeological and epigraphic sources are rarely mentioned in literary works. This lack of mythical tales related to these figures makes it almost impossible for us to reconstruct their stories by. One of such cases is that of Epona, the gallo-roman horse goddess, attested in literary sources only seven times, and in none of these we can find references to her myth, with the exception of Pseudo-Plutarch (*Parall. Min.*, 29).

Even if Epona's myth is not found in literary sources, there are however some important references to a legendary character who, according to some scholars, could be the goddess herself: a heroine named Epponina (*Tac. Hist. IV, 67; Plut. Eroticon* 25). From the analysis of the texts that describe the heroine, and considering the debate about Epona's nature, I will try to establish the connection between the goddess and the heroine.

While accepting the hypothesis that the two are distinct figures, I will investigate the causes that led to the birth of Epponina's myth, the meaning this character had for the Roman readers, and how the barbaric nature of the figure was perceived by the Empire, influencing the creation of the myth itself. In this way, I will try to underline the values of a foreign goddess/heroine in the process of identity-building in the Roman world, at a time when this needed to be recognized as a cosmopolitan reality.

Keywords: Epona. Epponina, Hero cult, Heroine, Gallo-roman culture, Barbarian

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UNDERSTANDING MYTHICAL THINKING THROUGH MAGIC. MIRCEA ELIADE AND ERNESTO DE MARTINO, AFTER LUCIEN LÉVY-BRUHL

According to Eliade, the magical powers that yogis, shamans, mystics can acquire change the states of ordinary consciousness. Magic as a cultural fact or as an expression of religious experience can help understand myth and can be explained through ethnography (de Martino) or history of religions (Eliade).

Regarding the problem of magic, Eliade and de Martino started from Lévy-Bruhl. Although both criticized the validity of his conclusions, they did not challenge the reality of magical

powers but developed their theories of magic on the premise that facts exist as such and are meaningful in a mystic dimension. De Martino's ethnographical method consisted in overcoming two contrasting positions: the former brought magic closer to primitive animism; the latter, originating in esoteric Romanticism, interpreted magic as an archaic initiatory, occult practice, with its own "rationality". De Martino postulates the idea of a "culturally conditioned nature": traditional man does not recognize the unity of his personality, living with the anxiety of losing the "soul". Eliade criticized this theory in various ways. De Martino attributes to magic the role of defending the primitive community from anxiety causing the so-called "crisis of presence". De Martino's conclusions lead to the denial of the existence of a metaphysical structure of reality: spiritual agency exists only within a culturally conditioned primitive consciousness. Eliade challenges such a postulate, which dissolved the sacred into history. He contends that de Martino's "historical idealism" has similar characteristics to Evola's "magical idealism" and contests the purely "magical" character of such a historical reality.

Keywords: mythical thinking, magic, crisis of presence, negativity, power

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ANÁLISIS COMPARADO DE LA REPRESENTACIÓN DE LA MARGINALIDAD EN MITOS GRIEGOS Y ROMANOS

Haremos una interpretación interdisciplinar – histórica y antropológica – y comparativa de mitos griegos y romanos relacionados con la marginalidad (geográfica y social).

Por eso analizaremos 2 casos concretos – un griego (Bendis, Artemis, ... en el puerto del Pireo)² y un romano (Esculapio y las divinidades de la illa tiberina: Faunus, Veiovis, Bellona...). Realizaremos una síntesis y una comparación de estos casos, destacando sus similitudes pero también sus diferencias y especificidades en la manera de presentar o construir la marginalidad tanto en la iconografía (representación del imaginario simbólico relacionado con el mundo periférico, salvaje, fuera de normas, ...) como en la topografía (localización periférica de los templos de divinidades relacionadas con la alteridad, al mismo tiempo que una procesión les relaciona con el centro de la Atenas o su templo está duplicado en el centro de Roma). Al final, insistiremos en la necesidad de no limitarse al estudio de una divinidad por separado sino de analizar su relación con otras divinidades (funciones, territorios naturales, ...) que se puede detectar en el mito, la iconografía y la topografía: esta aproximación innovadora da resultados sorprendentes tanto para el Pireo y la illa tiberina, dos lugares periféricos pero relacionados con el centro y la identidad ateniense o romana.

Palabras claves: mito, identidad, marginalidad, topografía, iconografía, Bendis/Artemis, Pireo, Esculapio, illa tiberina.

² Ya he analizado anteriormente este caso en mi artículo "Bendis dite thrace, ou comment cré er une déesse des marges dans l'Athènes du Ve siècle?", in M. Oller, J. Pàmias, C. Varias (ed.), *Tierra, territorio y población en la Grecia antigua: aspectos institucionales y míticos*, vol. II, 2017, p. 147-164.

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CONICET – UNSAM

THE MYTH OF MODERN ECONOMICS

This presentation will analyse the valuative classification of metals and their analogies with parts of society in some classical authors, such as Plato, Hesiod, Pindar and Herodotus. This will be done with the intention of highlighting some characteristics that structure the concept of value (such as utility or necessity). Then, some central faces of Greek economic ideas will be reviewed in comparison with modern ones. Among other things, the focus will be on so-called Gresham's Law and its roots in Aristophanes comedy and on the illustrious debate between metalism and nominalism. We will show how some present economic assumptions are expressions or modulations of mythological formulas.

Keywords: Myth; Economics; Value; Metalism; Nominalism

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VIAGGI, APPRODI: DAL NILO ALL'EGEO, DAL RENO AL TIRRENO

There has been much discussion on translatability as an intrinsic characteristic of divinities belonging to polytheistic pantheons, starting with various interventions by the Egyptologist Jan Assmann. In a compendious essay that includes a series of typologies and classifications Assmann argues that during the three millennia of the great empires that preceded the Christian era religion was the promoter of “intercultural translatability”. A tendency to deny the possibility of translating divine names, however, existed in Egyptian culture and was then reinforced by Neoplatonic philosophers such as Iamblichus and the Platonizing Christian Origen. The firm conviction of the untranslatability of divine names was definitively affirmed with the triumph of the Jewish and Christian monotheisms. In this paper we examine some cases of translatability (Latin *interpretatio*) in the ancient Mediterranean milieu, especially Graeco-Roman and North European, arguing that the mechanisms of the *interpretatio* are determined by the function of the deity “translated” and not by an unlikely association in theological key. In particular, the concordant testimonies of Caesar and Tacitus show that the supreme god of both the Gauls and the Germans was assimilated to Mercurius, the Roman god of commerce and guardian of the roads. This is understandable only on the basis of the fact that the lands of Gaul and later Rhenish Germany were visited by wine and grain traders long before the invasion by the legions of Caesar. The negotiation of cultural difference was carried out by *negotiatores*, tradesmen and businessmen expert in commerce and other traffics.

Keywords: translatability; *interpretatio*; polytheism; deities; Mercurius.

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EL TRABAJO Y EL SALARIO EN LA MITOLOGÍA. APOLO Y POSEIDÓN “TRABAJADORES” Y EL TRABAJO “SOCIAL” EN LA EPOPEYA DE GILGAMESH COMO CASOS DE ESTUDIO

Por la naturaleza, omnicomprendiva de la mitología, religión y filosofía, en la antigüedad, mitos, libros sagrados y ensayos filosóficos trataban también importantes temas relacionados con la economía y la sociedad. es el caso de la *Iliada* y la *Epopeya de Gilgamesh*, en donde se pueden observar preocupaciones económicas como el trabajo y salario. En esta ponencia mi objetivo es interpretar, desde una perspectiva económica, algunos pasajes de historias contenidas en dos grandes poemas épicos, con el fin de establecer una relación más amplia entre la mitología y economía. Mi análisis se enfocará en presentar algunos hechos sobresalientes, como el trabajo como esclavitud, el trabajo como castigo y el trabajo realizado por una causa común (= el trabajo social), además de abordar el tema del salario, dado que este es el principal diferenciador entre los diferentes tipos de trabajos que encontramos en nuestros mitos. Finalmente, se realizará una pequeña comparación con los conceptos económicos actuales propuestos por algunos de los grandes filósofos y economistas, como Adam Smith, Karl Marx y Max Weber.

Palabras clave: mitología, economía, trabajo, salario, dioses

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ON THE TRAIL OF THE DIVINE: MYTHS AND NAMES OF GOD IN THE HORIZON OF TRANSLATION

Hans Blumenberg said that myths are always in reception, that in them there is no *arché*, an absolute beginning, and therefore, in the absence of the matrix, they manifest themselves as potentially infinite series of mutations, transformations, metamorphoses, and translations. Translating the names of God is indeed no different from affirming the infinite metamorphic translatability of the myth.

The contribution aims to explore, on this theoretical background, and on the horizon of some historical-religious figures, the theme of hermeneutics of the translation of the names of God, starting in particular from the reading that Jan Assmann made of this subject. In this direction, I will move from the theses of the German Egyptologist, who places this practice first of all in ancient cosmotheisms, and recognizes that the advent of exclusive monotheisms has put it into crisis, relegating it to dead things as a form of execrable idolatry. After an analysis of the Mesopotamian religious culture, I will explore the Greco-Roman cultural space, which offers essential examples of religious translation and, finally, a concrete experience of translatability rooted in a monotheism such as the Islam of the Mughal Indian prince Dara Shikoh.

Keywords: myth, hermeneutics of translation, hermeneutics of difference, cosmotheism, monotheism, Mughal, Dara Shikoh

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FROM THE GODS TO KEYNES: ECONOMIC THEORIES IN THE ATRAHASIS

The Atrahasis (2^o millennium B.C.) is one of the oldest and best known myth of Mesopotamian traditions. Famous for the story of the universal flood, which later became part of the biblical tradition, it is a complex myth and develops several themes. Some have a clear economic matrix, since the gods have to solve fundamental questions for society: work, overpopulation and production. In this study, I will comment on these economic aspects present in the myth, following two guidelines: on the one hand, the mythological-literary analysis, through the comparison with other mythological traditions and, on the other hand, the economic one. Concerning this, in order to support with real data the story told in the myth, I will look at the economic situation of Mesopotamia and the ancient Mediterranean and, also, I will contrast the solutions proposed by the gods in the Atrahasis with some theories elaborated by famous economists, e.g. A. Smith (“the invisible hand”), T. Malthus (overpopulation) and J. Keynes (“the animal spirit”). The purpose of my study is to contribute, through a comparative and interdisciplinary interpretation, that can highlight the fundamental role of myths in every aspects of life, to the investigation into the economy of the ancient world, a field that still lacks specific studies.

Keywords: myth; economics; comparison; Mesopotamia; Greece; overpopulation; Malthus; polytheism

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THE FARMER AND THE MYTH OF THE GOOD MAN, REALITY OR IDEOLOGY? ARCHETYPES FOR TRADITIONAL ABSTRACT LANGUAGE IN THE ROMAN ‘AGRICOLA INSTRUCTIONS’

Farming dependence had an intrinsic influence on the cultural matrix of the entire Mediterranean region, regulating daily activities and influencing the conceptualization of the surrounding cosmos. The individual’s way of seeing the world reflects abstract thought, which inevitably is the basis for linguistic creativity and the language of communication. This study aims to analyse the way prejudices, based on common sense, are constructed and maintained in a specific cultural context which extends beyond literary expression. It identifies possible traces of traditional Roman thought embedded in a pre-historical matrix, in order to understand how the allegorical images are constructed and the traditional bias takes shape. In that sense, signs of meaning are used to identify a prototyped image of the farmer and to try to distinguish between the idealized image working for political interests and the traditional symbol based on empirical experience and cultural realities.

Keywords: symbolic language, ancient literature, Rome, popular culture, linguistic thought, ancient agriculture, river basin

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IL MITO GLOBALIZZATO: REINTERPRETAZIONE DELLA DEA TLAZOLTÉOTL NELL'OPERA MITAD DEL CAMINO (1994) DI SILVIA GRUNER NEL CONTESTO DEL FENOMENO MIGRATORIO CONTEMPORANEO NELLA FRONTIERA TRA MESSICO E STATI UNITI

Nel vasto panorama dell'arte contemporanea legata alla reinterpretazione del mito, esso è stato messo in relazione con tematiche socio-politiche di stridente attualità, tra cui l'emergenza umanitaria prodotta dalla gestione dei flussi migratori. Alcune opere recenti hanno tentato di legare l'iconografia localmente ereditata dal mito con questa recente problematica globale. L'artista messicana Silvia Gruner (1959) figura tra gli artisti contemporanei che più hanno cercato di dare nuova vitalità alla mitologia mesoamericana attraverso una rilettura materiale e concettuale spesso legata a tematiche sociali, politiche e di genere. L'installazione *site-specific La Mitad del Camino* (1994) rappresenta un caso esemplare in tal senso: se, da un lato, vi si può leggere un'allusione alla ricorrente ambiguità interpretativa occidentale rispetto alle figure e narrazioni della mitologia del Messico Antico, dall'altro, reinterpreta l'iconografia di una delle più importanti divinità femminili del pantheon mesoamericano, Tlazoltéotl, inserendone una riproduzione seriale in parte del muro di frontiera della città di Tijuana. Dea purificatrice, protettrice delle partorienti, Tlazoltéotl è posta in relazione all'ideale rigenerazione implicita nel passaggio migratorio della frontiera. Tlazoltéotl, diviene, in quest'opera, mezzo di denuncia e auspicio di purificazione dai peccati sociali e politici della frontiera contemporanea e spunto per una vasta riflessione identitaria, tanto locale quanto globale.

Keywords: contemporary art; border art; Tlazoltéotl; Mexico; migration;

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SYMBOLIC DEATH IN MYTHO-RITUAL PRACTICES OF THE MUSLIM SAINTS VENERATION IN CENTRAL ASIA

This study focuses on a specific group of local Central Asian saints called *goyib* that means 'the one who disappeared'. These saints cult is recorded in various places of the Muslim world, but it does not fit into the common definitions that usually treat the cult of saints as honoring the graves of real people who distinguished themselves by selfless service to Allah during their lifetime and received sanctity after death. *Goyibs* are mythological characters, as evidenced by some features of mytho-ritual practices associated with them. The sacred centers of these saints are not graves, but places where they miraculously disappear underground or inside some other natural object. Allegedly, the saints did not die but disappeared and will one day reappear in this world. Yet traces of their symbolic death are present in the form of imitations of tombs at their holy sites (mazar). This study, involving a comparative analysis of the phenomenon in a broad geographical and chronological context, reveals parallels in other cultural traditions such as the cults of characters of the classical pantheons. Based on my own field materials collected in Central Asia, I

will develop the thesis about the pre-Islamic roots of this phenomenon, genetically elevating it to the mythological archetypes of deities, whose images were transformed in the process of Islamization into images of local Muslim saints.

Keywords: cult of saints in Islam, pre-Islamic traditions, veneration of natural objects, symbolic death, Central Asia

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THE POSTHUMOUS FATE OF ACHILLES AND OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

The main aim of my paper will be the analysis of the posthumous fate of the paradigmatic Greek hero of the Trojan War, Achilles. In Homer's *Iliad*, Achilles had the choice between a long but inglorious life and a short terrestrial existence but filled with everlasting glory. He chose the latter instead of the former, despite the repeated warnings, first by his immortal mother, the goddess Thetis, and then by his marvelous steed Xanthus, which drew his war chariot and was suddenly endowed with human voice, warning him that he went to his doom if he ever chose to face Hector in combat and kill him, thus avenging the death of Patroclus. Because, after the death of Hector in his fateful duel with Achilles, will soon follow Achilles' own death; this fact will be also foretold by the dying Hector to Achilles, saying to him that soon the god Apollo (by the arrow shot from Alexander Paris' bow) will kill Achilles before the *Skaean* Gates of Troy. After the events sung by the *Iliad*, Achilles will face violent death, in the known way: an arrow shot from Paris' bow and guided by the solar god Apollo (the Olympian god of sun's light, of healing, music, and archery) pierced Achilles' only vulnerable point (namely one of his heels) of his body steeled in fire and hardened in the waters of the Styx by his mother Thetis. In the *Odyssey*, in the *Nekyia* (the evoking of the souls of the departed, in the 11th Song of the *Odyssey*), Ulysses (Odysseus) evokes the souls of the dead, searching for the soul of the prophet Teiresias, and encounters among other souls from the Otherworld the soul of Achilles, who mourns his miserable existence in the netherworld, the dark realm of Hades and Persephone, saying that he would prefer to be a daily poor worker (*thetes*) in the land of the living than a king among the shadows of the dead people. The deceased Achilles of the *Odyssey* had a totally opposed opinion when compared with the living Achilles, who breathed the warlike air of the *Iliad*. However, after this sad episode, Greek mythology appears that it reserved a better fate to the mightiest warrior hero of the Achaeans: he (Achilles) appeared to have been united in wedlock after death with the beautiful Helen of Sparta and Troy, the daughter of Zeus and Lede and sister to the twins Castor and Polydeukes (Pollux) the sons of Zeus/Tyndar and Lede; Helen as maiden had been beloved and kidnapped by Theseus and then she became successively the wife of Menelaus, Paris, and Deiphobus, and then again of Menelaus in her mortal life. Achilles will find his final after life abode in the "White Island" of the Black Sea (the *Leuke* of the *Pontos Euxeinos/Pontus Euxinus*). This paper tries to analyze the successive transformations of Achilles in life and death, compared with his distant descendant on maternal lineage, Alexander of

Macedon, better known to us as Alexander the Great.

Keywords: Achilles, Alexander of Macedon/Alexander the Great, “Hero’s Journey”, Helen of Troy, *Dioskouroi*, White Island (*Leuke Nesos*), Black Sea (*Pontos Euxeinos*)

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THE TREE AND THE CROSS: MYTHICAL CONFLICTS AND HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN DRUIDISM AND CHRISTENDOM IN SAINT PATRICK’S PREACHING

Both in history and myth St Patrick is the holy man who converted Ireland to Christianity. His two only authentic writings surviving (*Epistola* and *Confessio*) constitute both the oldest ecclesiastical texts documenting the extraordinary that was the Christianization of Ireland and one of the most precious written sources of the activity of a missionary of the Church of Rome in non-Romanized regions. The purpose of this contribution is to offer a comparative and exegetical picture of the process that led Ireland to embrace the new religion through the preaching of St Patrick and the apostolic and pastoral strategies that allowed the involvement of the Hibernian Celts, most of them druidic and lordly local functions. In establishing relations with the priestly and princely élite, Patrick, although in his writings there is a recourse to the Scriptures, implements an original *reductio* of the “Pagan myth” to “Christian history”, which finds its peak when the saint reaches omphalic Tara in the presence of King Loegaire and his druids, with a recourse to symbolologies well-known to the History of Religion. Therefore, we will use, as a decisive tool, also those short compositions attributable to the environment of the Saint, known as *Lorica*, *Dicta Patricii*, *Liber Angeli*, *Audite omnes*, etc., which, with Patrick’s original writings, represent the sources of that precious corpus dedicated to Patrick around the 7th century by the Irish Muirchú and Tirechán (transmitted in the *Book of Armagh*) and which, altogether with *Bethada* (Irish “Lives” of Patrick), are central in this paper.

Keywords: Pagan Celtic Ireland, Early Christian Ireland, Druids, St Patrick, Comparative Religion

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MEANINGS AND SYMBOLISM OF THE WORD “PERUN”: FROM ANCIENT RUSSIAN CULTURE TO SOCIAL MEDIA.

The term “Perun”, referring to a divinity or a demon known throughout the Slavic world, and also outside it, appears for the first time in some sermons of ancient Russian origin and in the Tale of Bygone Years, known also as the Nestor’s Chronicle. Despite the progressive process of Christianization, the myth of Perun has never definitively disappeared and still recurs today in symbols and logotypes that recall power and nature at the same time. Our study traces the oldest ancient Slavic sources in which the name “Perun” appears, the probable etymology of the name, any connections with classical and patristic Greek

literature, the evolution of the myth of Perun in Slavic folklore and finally the current use of this name in audiovisual culture and marketing.

The study presents translations from ancient Russian sermons, from the ethnographic literature in the nineteenth century Slavic languages and an interpretation of the symbolism linked to the name “Perun” in the contemporary world, in order to offer a further comparison tool useful to the understanding of ancient and modern myths.

Keywords: Mythology, Slavic mythology, Patristic literature, Perun, Audiovisual culture, Marketing

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A VIOLAÇÃO DE MEDUSA. VÍTIMA DO DESTINO OU MERO MONSTRO?

Esta comunicação tem como objectivo apresentar e analisar o mito associado a Medusa, através da interdisciplinaridade, no que concerne ao tema da violação e violência sexual. A representação de Medusa, que ocupa um lugar de relevo, dentro da tradição mitológica, permite uma análise ao acontecimento da violação a que esteve exposta, verificar o seu percurso, as suas características, a dimensão do feminino e o seu eterno castigo, bem como de que forma está interligado com a sociedade. Para uma melhor compreensão do sucedido, o tema em causa será analisado com o apoio de outras ciências sociais e humanas, averiguando causas e efeitos, culpabilidade e reflexão social.

Medusa é culpada do seu destino e actos ou apenas vítima das circunstâncias e eventos a que esteve exposta?

Palavras-chave: Interdisciplinaridade; Medusa; Mitologia Grega; Violação; Violência.

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DIONISO MICENEO: RAPPRESENTAZIONE RITUALE DELLA MORTE NELL'ETÀ DEL BRONZO EGEO

During the recent excavations conducted in Chania, in a site belonging to the last phase of the Mycenaean domination of the palace (13th century BC), the remains of animal bones and human bones appeared: the latter belonging to the body of a young woman who, like the animals themselves, was dismembered³; these data imposed new reflections about a delicate question, concerning human sacrifice and the cult of Dionysus in the Aegean Bronze Age.

The Linear B tablet Gh3 was found in Chania: the text shows us the Mycenaean di-we and di-wo-nu-so (Zeus and Dionysus, in dative) as recipients, with di-wi-jo-de (“for the sanctuary of Zeus”); this is the clearest proof of the presence of Dionysus in the Mycenaean pantheon⁴.

³ M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki, “Sacrifices in LM IIIB: Early Kydonia Palatial Center”, *PASIPHAE* 9, 2015, pp. 27-42.

⁴ L. Godart, Y. Tzedakis, «Les nouveaux textes en linéaire B de la Canée», *Journal of philology and*

Diodorus⁵ may offer the starting point for considerations about the mythical stories that circulated in the Mediterranean during the Bronze Age:

the dismemberment of Osiris by Seth and the search for the corpse by Isis actually reflect mythemes that we find about Dionysus (dismembered by the Titans) and Demeter (in search of Persephone); these are myths that insist on the centrality of the return to life after a contact with death, and show the same association, in Greek and Egyptian cultures, between death and regeneration.

The question requires an analysis of archaeological and iconographic data dating back to the Aegean Bronze Age, in order to verify a possible parallelism between rituals belonging to the Egyptian culture and the first traces of cultic elements that will be the basis of the Orphic-Dionysiac mysteries.

Keywords: Dionysus, Mycenaean, Orphic, Mysteries, Sacrifice.

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COUNTER-INTUITIVE INFERENCES OF MYTHICAL REPRESENTATIONS IN TWO CASES OF STUDY: THE COSMOS OF HADES AND THE TRIPLE PARTITION OF THE SOUL IN GREEK RELIGION

In the eschatological architecture of Homeric poems the otherworldly journey of the dead apparently follows only one direction, resolving itself in the image of the «descent to Hades» to designate the end of life. In Hesiod, the twofold localization of Hades seems to be coordinated in unitary representation: the resultant image seems to be inspired by a conscious vision of the mutual interrelations between horizontal and vertical dimensions. Such a power to rotate representations (from a vertical plane to a horizontal one) could be interpreted as a feature of the mode of construction of a certain type of representations, testifying a «work of culture» that aims to face up to the ambivalence of anxiety-inducing contents.

In a passage from the IX book of Plato's *Republic* (588c), Socrates refers to that «image of the soul», shaped in the speech, «similar to one of those natural forms that myth has handed down to us were born in antiquity from many different shapes or appearances – such as Chimaira, Skylla, Kerberos and several others». By means of «imagery» or mythological figures well rooted in the collective imagination, Plato, literally shapes «in the speech» his own idea of the soul, such as Hesiod did in drawing his image of the cosmos of Hades: in both the two cases of study we have an interesting example of the paradoxical nature of mythical representations, able to be inspired to a counter-intuitive inference that is, in a last analysis, the *fulcrum* of the religious dimension in its doctrinal aspect.

Keywords: mythical imagery, paradoxical representations, counter-intuitive inference, work of culture, Hesiod's *Theogony*, Plato's *Republic*

classical education 69, 1991, pp. 129- 149.

⁵ Diodorus Siculus, *Historical library*, I, 23, 2; I, 96, 3.

PANEL 13. DISPLACING GREEK DRAMA IN THE MODERN WORLD

Panel Conveners

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INTERTEXTUALITY AND CLASSICAL RECEPTION STUDIES IN RENAISSANCE DRAMA: THE CASE OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY OEDIPUS

The past decades have witnessed an increased theoretical interest in debating what J. Kristeva first called ‘intertextuality’, a term coined in the 1960s and highlighting the relationship between different texts communicating and interacting with each other. Among classicists, G. B. Conte and, more recently, C. Martindale and C. Kallendorf recognized the neglected importance of the authorial subjectivity and increased attention to the role of an implied reader able to identify the intertextual references inside the text.

A recent resurgence of interest in classical reception studies – applied to Renaissance humanism – has been marked, in 2011, by the Berlin-based research group *Transformation der Antike* providing a renewed methodological framework. This theoretical approach aims at changing the terminology of and the critical view on what has been called ‘classical tradition’ or ‘classical reception’: the term used, ‘transformation’, along with the model of *allelipoiesis* (‘reciprocal creation’), describes the relationship of interdependency and reciprocity between the antiquity and Renaissance culture. Most of all, what this approach stresses is not the classical past (‘reference sphere’) but especially the receiving culture (‘reception sphere’), thus playing an active role in appropriating and reconstructing the past.

The aim of this paper is applying the ‘transformation theory’ to the reception of Classical drama in sixteenth-century Italy – throughout the interpretations of Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannus* in both theoretical treatises and dramatic adaptations – by using a new terminological framework to highlight the contributions made by Renaissance scholars, not merely due to passive transmission of ancient drama, but also to its active transformation. **Keywords:** Classical Reception Studies, Intertextuality, Renaissance humanism, ‘transformation theory’, early modern drama, Neo-Latin and vernacular tragedy, dramatic theory, translation theory

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« ... I FOSCHI PANNI CANGIO, E DESTO NEI COR PIÙ DOLCI AFFETTI». THE RECEPTION OF GREEK DRAMA INTO THE OPERATIC STAGE

It is worth noting that more than four hundred years of the operatic genre have produced thousands of works involving both Greek and Roman plots, characters, and themes. Late Renaissance Italian scholars who created the first operas tried to resort both to ancient Greek music theory and performative aspects of ancient Greek drama, theorized above all in Aristotle's *Poetics*: the result was a wholly new dramatic form. Nevertheless, in bringing opera to birth, it may be noted that the first operas to be staged around 1600, as *Dafni*, composed by Peri and Rinuccini, were based on Latin sources, like Ovid, and there is a reason to assume that during the Seventeenth century many librettists have drawn inspiration from both Latin and Mythographic sources, not from a specific Greek drama. As another example, Aureli's *Antigona delusa da Alceste* (1660) is based on Boccaccio's *Genealogiae* while the Eighteenth-century opera *Alceste*, composed in 1767 by Calzabigi and Gluck, was based on Euripides' *Alcestis* itself. Even Händel's *Hercules* (1744) was ingeniously adjusted by Thomas Broughton from Sophocles' *Trachiniae*.

This paper aims at investigating, through some examples, which sources the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century libretti were based on and how a Greek drama had to be modified, also to comply with the musical theatre conventions. Moreover, it will be highlighted how an ancient drama could have been differently interpreted, depending on the cultural and historical background, especially when it had to be re-worked for a different dramatic genre as the operatic one.

Keywords: Ancient Greek Drama, Classical Reception Studies, Theatre Studies, Musical Theatre, theatre conventions, opera, libretti.

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ETTORE ROMAGNOLI'S RECEPTION OF ANCIENT GREEK COMEDY BETWEEN PHILOLOGY AND THEATRICAL PRACTICE

At the beginning of the 20th Century, the translations of the entire heritage of ancient Greek poetry by the Italian scholar Ettore Romagnoli gained a great success among the audience, which also encountered the ancient dramas thanks to the performances directed by the translator himself. Besides this huge work of vulgarization, Romagnoli's studies and contributions on ancient Greek comedy were widely appreciated in the academic field, giving him the opportunity to start his career as University Professor in 1905.

The researches on Aristophanes' dramas and the fragments of other ancient comic authors lead Romagnoli to reconstruct the evolution of comedy from the ancient to the modern age: according to his opinion, comic performances have popular origins that influenced structures, characters, and situations of Greek comedy and in his study *Origini ed elementi della commedia d'Aristofane* (1905) he classified the features that could belong to the primitive farce, demonstrating how they survive also in the Italian Commedia dell'Arte. The aim of

the paper is to suggest how Romagnoli's interpretations on the evolution of comedy, albeit incorrect, affected his own productions of Aristophanes' *Clouds* (1911) and the original playwright *Il carro di Dioniso* (1919), using Commedia dell'Arte and other references from his academic studies in order to perform ancient Greek comedy.

Keywords: Ancient Drama Reception, Ancient Greek Comedy, Commedia dell'arte, Theatre, Performance Studies.

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ANTIGONE BY VALERIA PARRELLA: FOR A PROPER BURIAL OR FOR A LIFE WORTHY OF BEING LIVED?

The aim of my study is to highlight the relevance of the Sophocle's Antigone, analysing a modern version of it, written in 2012 by an Italian author, Valeria Parrella. In a timeless Thebes, which is also contemporary Italy, Antigone becomes the hero who gives voice to the voiceless, refocusing our attention on important themes, like euthanasia or being in prison. In order to illustrate how the myth is used to talk about today's society, it is necessary to link the specific characteristics of this text to the framework in which it is included. In this rewriting the proper burial that Antigone gives to her brother, Polynices, violating Creonte's ban, consists in the shut-off of machines which have kept alive him for thirteen years: for this reason it could be interesting to examine the legislation that was current when the work was written and later developments. Besides, Antigone's prison sentence becomes the occasion to investigate more broadly on the condition of jails. The opposition between state and moral law is still fundamental: in this version Antigone fights not only in ghénos' name but, in general, for life and her dignity. Antigone's message is also political: an invite to re-establish the status of citizen, nowadays too often disinterested in civic engagement. In light of these considerations, the main themes of my paper will be: death – also in the case of suicide – as act of liberation by a life unworthy of being lived, and recovery of civil dimension - typical of the classic tragedy – in order to get people more involved in community life.

Keywords: breath; euthanasia; prison; dignity; unconsciousness; justice; responsibility; limits.

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TIAGO RODRIGUES: FORGETTING AND RESCUE OR THE POWER OF MYTH IN SCENE

T. Rodrigues takes his trilogy *Ifigénia, Agamémnon, Electra* to the scene in 2015. An anonymous female choir echoes the millennial multiplicity of voices from the tragedy. Memory translates the relationship between the trilogy on stage and the tradition that rewrites the primordial tragedy. Euripides and Aeschylus combine as archetypes but give rise to an interpellation by the viewer that breaks the scenic illusion and brings tragedy and tradition to life. The metateatral discursive plan guides stage-spectator communication. By the

hand of Orestes, Electra is the real matricide. He will leave. He takes the blame with him to make his home as normal as possible.

Keywords: Ifigénia, Agamémnon, Electra, tradition, forgetfulness.

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BACCHANTES OF HELL - HOW TO SHOW AN ANCIENT FEAR ON THE CONTEMPORARY STAGE?

“THE TROJAN WOMEN” DIRECTED BY JAN KLATA

In my presentation, I would like to talk about the “choreography” and “expressions” of fear in *The Trojan Women* directed by Jan Klata in Wybrzeże Theatre in Gdańsk. (Date of premiere 8th September 2018.) As we well know: Euripides wrote a tragedy about what Homer in the *Iliad* failed to tell us: the morning after conquering Troy and how the victors dealt with their victims. How to show this scary story in a way that will affect modern viewers? During my presentation, I’ll focus on the selected scenes where fear „plays” the main role. (I am going to show the video with these scenes during my presentation.) F.e.: during the first scene, the Trojan Women ask: What will they do with us? Kill us on the spot? Take us away? All the chorus’s lines are spoken out together, but when the words are no longer sufficient, we reach for the exclamations of fear that have been preserved to our times in the ancient text. The actresses exclaim: φεῦ φεῦ, ὄττοτοτοτοτοτῆ, οἴμοι, πόποι. When working on these scenes we had to overstep our perception of the potential of the sounds which actresses can produce. We had to process them with acoustic machinery to create a “phonosphere of fear”. Another interesting example of fear is the scene when high above the heads of the audience, a corpse appears. Polydor a fearsome child, prophesizes what we are about to witness: the ghost of Achilles demands that the innocent girl (Polyxene) should be sacrificed at his grave. How to show her fear? She wasn’t taught how to behave in such situations. This is why her words are on the edge of fear and enormous courage. She tries to be brave (as her older brother – Hector), but fear is stronger than her... Please, find the trailer of the show below: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nLoVS56EVcc>

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THE CHILD-FRIENDLY GREEK TRAGEDY

Abstract: The speech is about the rewriting of Greek tragedy for small readers: why do Alcestis, Antigone, Medea, Phaedra, Oedipus, Tiresias and other characters live successfully again? Which narrations and characters succeed more in the publishing industry recently? Which are the contents and writing styles used? Which function does the recognition have? Which role do the images have? And, finally, which pragmatic skill does the reading of Greek tragedy develop?

The speech wants to reply to these questions, starting from what Gianni Rodari claimed in his *Grammatica della fantasia* (1973): the Italian writer invited to read again the tradi-

tion with an estranged point of view, with a «immature ear» and a «divergent thought», in order to get to the today-called pre-quel, sequel, spin-off. Are these products «wrong stories» compared to the tradition?

Or are these «immature» rewritings really successful? The recent cognitive narratology would reply saying that only the enactive mind – capable of developing new contents (Evan Thomson and Francisco J. Varela) – experiences the literary texts. And, this practical reading has a correspondance with the natural cognitive strategies of the reader (Monika Fludernik) who recognises himself in the fictional texts which are closer to his daily life and real interactions.

We will try to understand how things stand thanks to the examples taken from the Swedish Per Lysander and Suzanne Osten (*I figli di Medea*, 1975), the Indian Gita Wolf and Sirish Rao (*Antigone*, 2001) and the Italian Annamaria Piccioni (*Eschilo raccontato ai ragazzi*, 2014; *Euripide raccontato ai ragazzi*, 2017; *Sofocle raccontato ai ragazzi*, 2017) and Daniele Aristarco (*Non è mica una tragedia*, 2019).

Keywords: children literature; natural narratology; pragmatic skill; rewriting; surprise; Gianni Rodari

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MYTH AND DRAMA IN COIMBRA: THE PROJECT PI

The Project Pi is a voluntary project that proposes theatrical workshops to children within the scope of Greek mythology and theatre. Rather than a subject on a school, a group of volunteers go to Social Institutions and the Pediatric Hospital of Coimbra to narrate Greek and Roman myths, reflect upon them with children, practice a series of vocal, body and space exercises and finally make the children perform an improvised play of the myth. This paper aims to reflect and bring contribution on the implementation of Greek myth and drama among children, most of the time in a state of vulnerability.

Keywords: Project Pi, Greek mythology, therapeutic narrative.

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THE SILENT CHORUS IN EURIPIDES' *HIPPOLYTUS* BY THÍASOS

As a university theatre group, from the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of Coimbra's University, Thíasos has developed an interesting, gradual and very positive evolution since 1992.

In 2009-2010, Thíasos staged Euripides' *Hippolytus*, with just four women dedicating their rehearsals to reincarnate the 15 Trezenean women. They were the well of the tragedy secrets and the silent witnesses of Phaedra's impossible and dramatic love.

And that is why in this performance, Phaedra is the first appearing character (instead of Aphrodite of the original play), wearing a sensual red dress, dancing in the stage with voluptuous but madly movements, with a golden ribbon in her hand, with which she

dances, placing it around her neck, metaphorically announcing her death.

These golden ribbons, also used by the Chorus in the First Stasimon choreography (that we called “Dance of Madness”), will be the bound between the servants and the queen, symbolizing sexual love in their frenetic dance.

Keywords: Thíasos, Hippolytus, Phaedra, Chorus, performance.

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UM AMOR IMPIEDOSO

A presente comunicação toma como hipótese de leitura que o fetichismo está performatizado em uma fala de *Medeia*, tragédia de Eurípidés. O termo fetichismo, que integra a teoria freudiana e, também, o pensamento de Marx, foi apresentado como um conceito antropológico por Charles de Brosses. Segundo Rosalind Morris, “o termo ‘fetichismo’ funciona como o nome de um conceito para o que não é conceitual, uma lógica que envolve o que não é lógico, um gesto que se repete sem a reprodução e um substituto feito na ausência de equivalência”. Ao tomar a perspectiva de que aquilo que convencionamos chamar fetichismo fala do artifício e da sacralidade e, portanto, diz respeito ao mundo da arte e do sacrifício, propomos que no relato da morte de *Creonte* e *Gláucia*, o que se apreende é um modo *fetichista* de atribuição de valor a um objeto - os adornos enviados por *Medeia* - que estão envoltos em *feitisso*, a origem etimológica de fetichismo. Por que *Gláucia* não resiste aos presentes enviados por *Medeia*? Afinal, a princesa de Corinto cedeu a quê? A tragédia tantas vezes reescrita e encenada mostra, pela fala do *Mensageiro*, que o valor não é uma categoria econômica, mas uma forma social total como aponta Anselm Jappe, que tem como princípio a sensibilidade estética, aspecto para o fetiche tal como apresentado em Freud e Marx. Se em ambos figura a perspectiva racional-iluminista, parte do mundo da crença deixa seus rastros no atrito entre a cultura e a barbárie.

Palavras-chave: Artifício, Fetiche, Fetichismo, *Medeia*, Valor.

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THE CHARACTERS IN THE TRILOGY IFIGÉNIA, AGAMÉMNON, ELECTRA (IPHIGENIA, AGAMEMNON, ELECTRA)

Tiago Rodrigues bases his trilogy *Ifigénia, Agamémnon, Electra* (*Iphigenia, Agamemnon, Electra*), from 2015, on the works by Aeschylus (*Agamemnon*) and Euripides (*Iphigenia in Aulis, Electra*). In spite of his fidelity towards the original version, it is possible to find in his tragedies a different inspiration, imbued by contemporary concerns and world view.

This paper intends to analyse the characters both in the Greek poets and in Tiago Rodrigues’ plays, in order to enhance the different insights of the authors.

Keywords: Greek tragedy, contemporary tragedy, literary reception

PANEL 14. THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT MYTHS IN IBERIAN AND LATIN-AMERICAN CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

Panel Conveners

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LOS DIOS CONTRA DIOS: LA MITOLOGÍA CLÁSICA COMO METÁFORA DE LA DUDA EXISTENCIAL EN LA POESÍA ROMÁNTICA COLOMBIANA

La literatura surgida en plena ebullición del romanticismo en Latinoamérica – sobre todo en aquellos territorios que participaron de los movimientos de emancipación a principios del XIX – ofrece una visión crítica, en ocasiones feroz, que pone en cuestión gran parte del ideário tradicionalmente aceptado hasta el momento.

En el caso concreto de Colombia, la religiosidad se vuelve un tema muy problemático. El Dios de la cristiandad se encuentra cuestionado por la fuerza del positivismo e incluso el enciclopedismo que empapa las ideas liberales de la mayor parte de los poetas. El deseo de que esta duda encontrara un sustento intelectual potente llevó a muchos de sus representantes a apoyarse en los motivos mitológicos de la cultura clásica para reflejar esta frustración.

Esta comunicación pretende hacer un repaso por algunas de las figuras más relevantes de la poesía decimonónica colombiana, José Eusebio Caro, Rafael Pombo y José Asunción Silva, atendiendo de forma particular a su tratamiento de la mitología como soporte, símbolo y metáfora de su angustia existencial, así como a la poderosa influencia que su sensibilidad tendrá sobre el verso latinoamericano del siglo XX.

Isabel Araújo Branco

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O AMOR DE ARIADNA E MINOTAURO EM *LOS REYES*, DE JULIO CORTÁZAR

Muitos foram os autores hispano-americanos a escrever sobre a Europa, os europeus e as culturas europeias, muitas vezes numa mudança em relação à perspectiva mais tradicional, em que os europeus são os «outros», mas simultaneamente uma parte da sua origem. De facto, há um movimento profundo de comunicação entre a América Latina e a Europa, que resulta em produtos transculturais riquíssimos.

Um desses escritores é o argentino Julio Cortázar (1914-1984), que, apesar da sua nacionalidade, nasceu em Bruxelas e viveu em França largos anos. Tendo uma profunda experiência na Europa, Cortázar desenvolve um olhar sobre o outro a partir de dentro, mas

sem esquecer as suas origens hispano-americanas.

Mundialmente conhecido pelos seus contos e romances, Cortázar também escreveu poesia e teatro. Uma das suas peças, *Los reyes* (1949), é uma versão do mito do Minotauro com a particularidade de Ariadna estar apaixonada não por Teseu, mas pelo próprio Minotauro. A obra aborda questões como os jogos de poder, as vocações gloriosas, as motivações dos heróis, o amor e a inveja, o uso da força sem a aplicação do conhecimento, os medos e cobardias dos poderosos, a palavra como arma, o significado quotidiano dos mitos. A realidade transformada em mito e os mitos feitos realidade.

Nesta comunicação, pretendemos traçar um paralelo entre o mito grego e a versão de Cortázar, analisar as diferenças e semelhanças e entender o seu significado. Um dos aspectos a ressaltar é a estrutura da peça do argentino, que contrasta com a das tragédias gregas, conceptualizada por Aristóteles na sua *Poética*. Outra questão é a razão que leva um autor argentino do século XX a retomar este mito. Os comparatistas Álvaro Manuel Machado e Daniel-Henri Pageaux explicam que apenas se pode conceber o mito através de uma dimensão colectiva, enquanto na literatura o mito é necessariamente uma história contada por um determinado autor. A partir de um mito que também lhe é comum, fruto da divulgação durante séculos da civilização helénica e da sua profunda influência na sociedade ocidental, Cortázar não faz mais que Ésquilo, Sófocles ou Eurípides ao adoptar algo que considera parte da sua cultura e imaginário para o transformar em algo realmente seu.

Guillermo Aprile

Universidad del Salvador (Argentina)/Universidad de Salamanca

«NO ME CHAMUYÉS, ESCLARECIDO ULISEO»: FUNCIONES Y REESCRITURAS DEL MITO GRECORROMANO EN *LA VIRGEN CABEZA*, DE GABRIELA CABEZÓN CÁMARA

En la presente comunicación se analizará *La virgen cabeza* (2009), novela de la escritora argentina Gabriela Cabezón Cámara. Narra la historia de Cleopatra, una mujer trans que gracias a su poder de comunicarse con la Virgen organiza una peculiar comunidad religiosa en un barrio humilde de la periferia de Buenos Aires. El relato se destaca por su sofisticado (y por momentos desopilante) entramado de sincretismos culturales, en el que se superponen en un conjunto barroco la cultura popular argentina e internacional, el habla de sectores marginales y diferentes tradiciones y discursos literarios. Entre estos últimos, junto con la gauchesca argentina o la poesía española del Siglo de Oro, se destacan la épica homérica en particular, y el mito grecorromano en un sentido amplio.

En este trabajo, partiendo de las teorías de la recepción clásica, se analizará cómo se integran y qué funciones cumplen en el conjunto sincrético de la novela estos elementos que remiten a la mitología, la historia o la iconografía de Grecia y Roma. Se demostrará la capacidad que tienen estos aspectos del mundo clásico para configurar discursos alternativos (de la periferia, de la diversidad sexual, etc.) en la literatura argentina del siglo XXI.

Ana Isabel Correia Martins

CECH, FLUC

O MITO DE PENÉLOPE NA POESIA PORTUGUESA CONTEMPORÂNEA: A URDIDURA DE UM DESTINO ADIADO NO FEMININO

O mito de Penélope é profusamente difundido na contemporaneidade pelo seu potencial gerador e fecundo da Cultura e Identidade Europeias. A(s) releitura(s) e reescrita(s) do mito, no século XXI, questiona(m) os paradigmas heróicos, (re)desenha(m) novas configurações estético-literárias, inspira(m) outras reivindicações sociais e políticas. *Mutatis mutandis*, o *nostos* homérico converteu-se no encontro do indivíduo com os seus traumas, medos e falências, atomizou-o e consequentemente, Penélope, com todos os simbolismos que comporta, ressoa de forma fulgurante. A tecedeira continua a lançar mão de expedientes e estratégias, na sua demanda sisifista - fazer, desfazer e refazer – encontrando desta forma tempo para reivindicar mais autonomia e liberdade; deixa de ser objecto para se afirmar cada vez mais agente das suas próprias escolhas. A recepção destas matrizes homéricas não se opera de uma forma mimética ou acrítica, sem variações, mas mantém um *genus* (origem, génese) e um *ethos* (carácter) que nos definem e que nos são inalienáveis. A nossa análise incidirá sobre a poesia de quatro autoras portuguesas para que ouçamos essa(s) voz(es) despojada(s) de estereótipos e pretensões sociais, para que analisemos de forma desassombrada as notas de inconformismo do género feminino. Sophia de Mello Breyner, Adília Lopes, Maria Teresa Horta, Fiamma Hasse Pais Brandão revisitam os *loci communes* para os transporem e transgredirem, com total consciência do sentido histórico: essa percepção da pervivência do passado que se reinventa e metamorfoseia no presente. A ousadia *quasi* amazona de Penélope e a sua natureza arredia e insubmissa são o fio condutor da produção literária destas quatro mulheres, que se sentam em torno do mesmo tear mitológico.

PANEL 15. CLASSICAL ATHENIAN STATESMANSHIP AND THE SPECTER OF DEMAGOGY

Panel Conveners

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Michael McGlin (Temple University, Philadelphia)

Thomas Figueira

Rutgers University

COLLEGIALITY AND PRIMACY IN THE ATHENIAN STRATĒGIA

In both Herodotus and Athidography (as filtered through the biographies of Plutarch) prominent Athenian generals such as Themistokles, Kimon, Perikles, and even Alkibiades are portrayed as acting in the mode of generalissimos in making decisions almost exclusively. In Thucydides, for the most part we find that collective leadership is instead foregrounded. In the 1960s, M.H. Jameson attempted to explore the phenomenon of priority in the *stratēgia* by examining the diction in Thucydides of *dekatos autos* and related phrases. He was vigorously countered by K.J. Dover. Moreover, there are two interrelated inquiries that might be integrated in such an investigation: one is to understand how generals were elected in fifth-century Athens and the other to specify the significance of the *stratēgos autokratōr*. In this paper, I shall explore the existence of structural hierarchy among the board of Attic generals.

Aaron Hershkowitz

The Institute for Advanced Study

DEMAGOGUES AT THE DIONYSIA: THE SOCIO-POLITICAL ROLE OF OLD COMEDY

Old Comedy presents a wealth of detail about contemporary people and events in the late 5th and early 4th century BCE, as a result of which it is a critical source for reconstructing the history of that period. But Old Comedy, its poets, and its audience were not Epicureans on a hill, removed from the happenings about which they were laughing: the poets and the audience *were* the Athenian *dēmos*, and the plays were their own concerns. Scholars have long disagreed about both the political orientation of Old Comedy (and especially Aristophanes), and the impact of Old Comic plays on Athenian politics and society. This paper applies psychological, sociological, and philosophical theories of comedy to suggest a new way forward in this on-going debate.

Michael McGlin

Temple University

FINANCIAL LITERACY AND ATHENIAN DEMAGOGUERY: KLEON IN FIFTH-CENTURY ATHENS

This paper investigates the methods by which the fifth-century demagogue Kleon manipulated the financial (il)literacy of the Athenian *demos* in order to accomplish his political agenda. During the fifth century BCE, the Athenian *demos* witnessed the arrival and tabulation of *phoros* from the Delian league, voted for war expenditures from these funds, and could consult the annually published audits of these funds. Set against a background of democratic institutions that demanded rigorous transparency, and the abundance of accessible, published information, this paper asks how it was possible for the *demos* to be convinced of a demagogue's extreme financial vision or fears relating to the Athenian *arkhe*. This paper will analyze the surviving speeches and inscriptions relating to Kleon in order to determine what methods he deployed to convince the Athenian *demos* of his financial vision of the *arkhe*.

William Bubelis

Washington University in St. Louis

LYSIAS AND THE DEMAGOGUES: THE BEST OFFENSE IS DEFENSE

In the corpus of Lysias' surviving speeches and fragments, only two instances (25.9 and 27.10) would appear to offer anything promising with respect to his invocation of the term 'demagogue' and its cognates. What emerges from full consideration of the corpus is that even in the democracy restored in 403 Lysias encountered the phenomenon of those that he termed demagogues and their influence with the *demos* as a living political reality amidst the radical changes to Athenian political sociology then underway. Lysias provides vital evidence for a particular, contemporary construction of what that phenomenon was, namely, the use of the *demos*' constitutional power so as to achieve personal gain for oneself that was nonetheless detrimental to Athens' best interests. Lysias also reveals himself as a cautious and subtle, if nonetheless determined, opponent of it and those who would resuscitate it as a political practice. Care and nuance were necessary components of Lysias' political approach given the residual strength of oligarchic sentiment among at least a portion of the Athenian citizenry, even after 403, and due also to the continuing attraction that demagogues and their methods still possessed among others (27). While oligarchy may have seemed to many as the greater danger, Lysias re-cast both oligarchy and demagoguery as alike one another in origin, character, and effect and thus in speeches like 30 and 34 exhorted the Athenians to steer a more moderate course, one that was inherently more just and more conducive to Athens' best interests than either alternative.

Vittorio Saldutti

University of Naples Federico II

THE AFTERMATH OF THE REBELLION AT MYTILENE AND THE CRITICISM AGAINST DEMAGOGUES
 “And by Demeter and hope to die, I’ll prove you took a bribe from Mytilene of over forty minas!” (Aristoph. *Eq.* 834-6). This accusation, made in the *Knights* by the Sausage seller against Paphlagon, the alter ego of Cleon, has found, until today, no valid explanation. Thucydides describes at great length the role played by the demagogue in asking the execution of all adult males and the enslavement of women and children at the end of the unsuccessful revolt of the town three years before comedy’s act, a reconstruction that provides no ground for Aristophanes’ joke. A learned *scholion* to Lucian preserves a different tradition, which maybe goes back to Theopompus of Chios, narrating a secret agreement made by Cleon and some Mytilenaeans present at Athens in order to repeal the politician’s harsh proposal. This detailed narrative is not an autoschediastic interpretation of the *Knights*’ verses and probably both traditions, the Aristophanic and the “Theopompean”, are rooted in the same political milieu, the oligarchic criticism of Cleon based upon his style and behavior. The contrast between this version of the Mytilenaeen revolt and its aftermath, and Thucydides’ one – written as an afterthought several years after the events and more accurate in analyzing Cleon’s political proposals – could shed some light on the divisions inside the Athenian elite regarding the best way to criticize the demagogues and carry on the opposition against them.

Brian Rutishauser

Fresno City College

THE TIES THAT BIND: ATHENIAN ELITES AND TRADE WITH FOREIGN STATES

Several prominent Athenians established close political connections with Evagoras I of Cyprian Salamis in the late fifth/early fourth centuries BC, including Andokides and Konon. These connections coincided with the peak of Evagoras’ power in Cyprus and of his reputation at Athens. Ties of *xenia* in relation to oligarchy and demagoguery have been recently explored by Alfonso Moreno in terms of the grain supply of Athens. However, the commercial traffic between Athens and Cyprus at this time was not limited to grain. This paper will explore not only how Athenian politicians used ties of *xenia* and other links with monarchs to further their own agendas, but also how monarchs such as Evagoras I may have benefited from these same ties. The possible economic effects of these links will also be investigated.

Stefanie Däne

Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

NEW POLITICIANS OR A CHANGED POLITICAL SYSTEM?

Inspired by Thucydides' judgement on Pericles and his successors (2.65), the approach to Athenian demagogues has been dominated by the focus on individual politicians and their leadership personalities. In my paper, I would like to focus on the question of whether we are dealing with new types of leaders or leaders that just adapt to a changed political system and challenging problems at home and abroad. I would like to raise and answer this question by drawing on theories from political and social science (systems theory/leadership theory).

Loren J. Samons II

Boston University

"WAS PLUTARCH RIGHT ABOUT PERICLES?"

When composing his biography of Pericles, Plutarch faced a major difficulty. Two of his most admired authorities - Thucydides and Plato - seemed to have different opinions of the Athenian statesman. Plutarch solved this problem by dividing Pericles' career into two stages, a demagogic period followed by one of statesmanship. Although this solution has often been ignored or rejected by modern scholars, it deserves serious consideration, as does the possibility that Thucydides and Plato do not disagree as much as Plutarch believed.

PANEL 16. CASSITERIDES ISLANDS. REMOTENESS, MOBILITY AND TRADE IN THE ANCIENT NORTHWESTERN IBERIA

Panel Conveners

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Investigador Independente

BONSOR Y LAS CASITÉRIDES: LA EXPLORACIÓN ARQUEOLÓGICA DE LAS ISLAS SCILLY (1899 - 1902)

La exploración arqueológica que George Bonsor llevó a cabo en las islas Scilly a la búsqueda de las Casitérides (1899 – 1902) no ha sido investigada con suficiente profundidad en el contexto de la discusión sobre la localización de las islas del estaño mencionadas por los autores clásicos. Esto nos ha llevado a acometer la transcripción y el análisis crítico del manuscrito *An archaeological exploration of the Scilly Isles*, 1899 – 1900 y 1901 – 1902, centrándonos en los antecedentes de la exploración, los trabajos realizados en ella y la documentación que utilizó y generó Bonsor durante la misma. El presente trabajo tiene por objetivo principal dar a conocer los datos que la exploración arqueológica de las Sorlingas aportó al debate citado. Para ello, se realiza asimismo una puesta al día de la discusión desde el siglo XVI hasta 1902, y desde el siglo XX hasta la actualidad. Ante la ausencia de huellas de la presencia fenicia en las islas, así como por influencia de John Rhys y Salomon Reinach, el anglo-francés consideró a los celtas como los portadores del estaño a Occidente, y en la segunda mitad de la exploración descartó la identificación de las Casitérides con las islas Scilly. Cerraba así, y por primera vez con criterios arqueológicos, la que quizá fuera la línea de investigación central de este problema historiográfico, durante más de tres siglos abordado desde el punto de vista filológico.

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Max Luaces Ricardo Belizón (Universidad de Sevilla)

DES SALAISONS DE POISSONS MAURITANIENNES EN GRÈCE CLASSIQUE? DISCUSSIONS SUR LES DONNÉES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES DU «PUNIC AMPHORA BUILDING» DE CORINTHE ET LE PROJET GREPURE

Entre les années 1977 et 1979 une partie d'un édifice de l'ancienne ville de Corinthe fut fouillée, édifice dont la construction et l'utilisation ont été datés vers le Vème siècle av. J.-C. (Williams, 1978, 1979 et 1980). L'immeuble a été identifié comme un établissement consacré au déroulement d'activités commerciales, éventuellement comme un lieu dédié à la consommation de vins importés de très bonne qualité (illustré par une grande quantité d'amphores grecs, surtout de Chios) et de salaisons de poisson d'origine punique, arrivées de l'autre côté de la Méditerranée. Cette taverne, placée dans le cœur de l'ancienne cité, a été en fonctionnement jusqu'aux dernières années du Vème siècle avant notre ère. Les raisons de l'interruption des activités et de l'abandon de l'édifice n'ont pas été complètement éclaircies jusqu'à présent, mais pourraient avoir été liées à la Guerre du Péloponnèse et au blocus athénien des routes maritimes du Golfe de Corinthe.

La principale particularité de cet édifice tient dans l'énorme quantité d'amphores puniques fabriquées dans des villes occidentales du Méditerranée qui ont été mises au jour (Maniatis et al. 1984), ainsi que dans la présence de nombreux restes d'écaillés de thon. Ces données ichtyologiques invitent à envisager la consommation de filets de thon salés (*tari-chos*) en plus de vin de Chios. Par conséquent, il s'agit d'un endroit privilégié pour l'étude du commerce international du Vème siècle, et particulièrement pour celui des célèbres salaisons puniques provenant du détroit de Gibraltar, mentionnées par plusieurs auteurs grecs comme « gaditanes » (Hippocrate, Eupolis, Antiphanes, etc.).

Depuis l'année 2014 un nouveau projet a été mis en place, centré sur l'analyse de toute la documentation archéologique provenant du Punic Amphora Building à Corinthe, la majeure partie de ce mobilier étant inédit depuis les rapports préliminaires publiés à la fin des années 70. L'examen des amphores d'un point de vue typologique et archéométrique nous a permis de déterminer que les amphores consommées à Corinthe n'étaient pas uniquement des productions gaditanes. Au contraire, il semble que plus de la moitié des récipients qui transportaient les salaisons ont été fabriqués dans d'autres villes du « Cercle du Détroit », tant pour sa rive nord que pour sa rive méridionale. L'objectif de cette communication consiste donc à présenter les premiers résultats de cette étude des amphores de Corinthe, et de réfléchir sur la probable présence parmi elles de conteneurs à poisson fabriqués en Mauritanie.

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CONSIDÉRATIONS SUR LA DIFFUSION DES CÉRAMIQUES PEINTES MAURITANIENNES AU TRAVERS DES ROUTES MARITIMES ATLANTIQUES VERS LE NORD-OUEST DE LA PÉNINSULE IBÉRIQUE (V-III s. AV. J.-C.)

Les fouilles dirigées par Michel Ponsich à Kouass durant les années 60 du siècle dernier révélèrent, outre des amphores de transport de type punique, l'utilisation et la fabrication dans l'aire mauritanienne de divers types de céramiques peintes, produites entre les Vème et IIIème siècles av. J.-C., avec des décorations très caractéristiques. Dans les groupes de céramiques peintes ressortaient des exemplaires avec des anses horizontales, associées à des versions mauritaniennes de « cratères à colonnettes », à l'image des productions attiques de l'époque. D'autres exemples de ce type de céramique peinte, associés à des indices de fabrication locale, ont également été documentés dans plusieurs autres sites mauritaniens, tels que Banasa, Rirha ou Lixus, et dans les campagnes de fouilles récentes effectuées à Kouass. Il s'agit d'une forme céramique très caractéristique, qui paraît être liée, tant au niveau de sa forme que de sa décoration, aux *pithoi* de l'époque phénicienne archaïque, mais en introduisant des nouveautés très spécifiques qui donnent au groupe de la personnalité dans le panorama céramique de la Méditerranée occidentale. Il n'existe pas encore de parallèles dans le cas des répertoires des grands centres de la rive nord du détroit de Gibraltar, comme Gadir (baie de Cadix), Carteia (baie d'Algeciras) ou Málaga, où quelques formes grecques de transport et de vaisselle avaient pourtant été largement imitées. Sa consommation a été constatée dans le cas de la baie de Cadix, ce qui suggère l'existence d'un intense réseau maritime qui connectait Gadir et l'actuel nord du Maroc à l'époque préromaine.

Un nouveau projet de recherche (HAR2015-68310-P, *La Ruta de las Estrímnides, Comercio mediterráneo e interculturalidad en el noroeste de Iberia*), en cours depuis l'année 2016, est en train d'étudier ces routes atlantiques et la navigation vers la côte actuelle du Portugal et le nord-est péninsulaire. L'étude du mobilier préromain documenté dans les *oppida* de la Galice a permis de définir un cadre d'importations dans lequel le mobilier provenant des villes côtières de la région du détroit sont majoritaires, y compris pour les amphores, la vaisselle et les céramiques peintes des Vème et Ier s. av. J.-C. Parmi ce mobilier, on a détecté la présence d'abondants exemples de cruches peintes qui semblent correspondre aux typologies documentées à Kouass. Il apparaît comme probable que des produits mauritaniens aient été inclus dans ces routes vers les *Oestrímnios* comme des biens d'échanges. Nous présentons dans cette communication les résultats préliminaires du projet, en mettant l'accent sur la présence éventuelle de cette céramique peinte mauritanienne dans les Rías Baixas de la Galice, ainsi que sur l'étude de sa fonctionnalité dans ce contexte de la périphérie méditerranéenne et l'éventuelle interprétation de cette forme qui a pu être réalisée par les communautés locales.

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RELACIONES DE INTERCAMBIO CON EL MEDITERRÁNEO Y TRANSFORMACIÓN SOCIAL EN LAS SOCIEDADES DE LOS CASTROS: UNA VISIÓN CONTEXTUAL

En 1991 J. Naveiro describía las relaciones con el Mediterráneo anteriores al s. II a.C. como una fase de “intercambios puntuales, pero con cierta regularidad, en las zonas costeras más accesibles y tramos inferiores de los ríos más importantes”. Casi tres décadas después, el volumen de materiales prerromanos procedentes del mundo púnico se ha incrementado considerablemente, pero las conclusiones obtenidas en la primera gran síntesis sobre las relaciones de intercambio del noroeste peninsular siguen vigentes en su esencia.

En esta comunicación afrontamos una revisión de los contextos arqueológicos, poniendo especial atención en los materiales identificados en niveles de ocupación anteriores al s. II a.C. Nuestro objetivo es valorar el modo en que los intercambios con el Mediterráneo y el Círculo del Estrecho actúan dentro de la estructura social de las comunidades de los castros. Y entender cómo los primeros contactos ocasionales y aislados afectan –o no– a la organización segmentaria y a las formas de producción locales, en comparación con la transformación que supone el desembarco de Roma en la Península Ibérica en el final de la República.

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“NOR DO I HAVE ANY KNOWLEDGE OF TIN ISLANDS, WHERE OUR TIN IS BROUGHT FROM” (HDT. 3.115): THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE CASSITERIDES ISLANDS, 1586-2019

In the 5th century BC, Herodotus wrote about the Cassiterides Islands, providing a vague location for them. In this paper we examine the modern reception of literary sources that mentioned this ancient landscape. The exegesis of these texts, as well as political and nationalistic interests, lead scholars to locate these islands in the Scilly Islands (UK) or in Galicia (Spain), among other locations. We provide an insight into the main works from W. Camden (1586) to the *Estrimnides* Project (2016-2018).

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LAS ISLAS CASITÉRIDES Y LA GEOGRAFÍA DE LOS RECURSOS EN LA LITERATURA GRIEGA ARCAICA/ THE CASSITERIDES ISLANDS AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF RESOURCES IN ARCHAIC GREEK LITERATURE

The aim of this paper is to re-examine the depiction of the Cassiterides Islands in Greek Literature. The Place name Cassiterides (Tin Islands) is mentioned for the first time in Herodotus' Histories (5th Century BC). This author does not provide a precise location, but later texts locate these islands in front of the Northwestern Iberia's coast. In this paper we analyse the possible sources of acquaintance about these territories in the Archaic period, within the context of a "Geography of the Resources".

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BRACARA AUGUSTA, CAPITAL CONVENTUAL E CENTRO DE DINAMIZAÇÃO ECONÓMICA A PRINCÍPIOS DO IMPÉRIO

De fundação augustana, entre 15-13 aC, Bracara Augusta é uma das três capitais conventuais do Noroeste peninsular e desempenhou importante papel de dinamização territorial e económica desde os seus alvares. Enquanto cidade nova, irá funcionar como centro de atração populacional, não só indígena, mas também forânea, nomeadamente de negociadores que sabemos instalados na primeira metade do século I d. C. Alguma da população autóctone afigura-se oriunda de assentamentos fortificados pré-existentes na região, tendo dado forte contributo ao crescimento e dinamismo urbano, decerto igualmente impulsionado pelo dinamismo económico catalisado pelos grandes comerciantes. O posicionamento geográfico urbe, de relativa proximidade às rotas marítimas e no centro de importante rede de estradas, estabelecendo conexões entre a Lusitânia e a extremidade ocidental da Citerior terá contribuído para essa proeminência. As fontes epigráficas, a que daremos especial atenção nesta abordagem, são de fulcral importância para vislumbrar este processo de crescimento urbano, atração populacional e dinamismo económico. **Palavras chave:** Noroeste peninsular; Bracara Augusta; epigrafia; economia; Alto Império

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THE COMMERCIAL TRADE OF GADIR DURING THE V-IV CENTURIES B.C.: A REVIEW OF THE AMPHORIC MATERIAL

Following the interesting results of the Project titled "The Oestrymnides Route. Mediterranean Commerce and Interculturality in Northwestern Iberia" (HAR2015-68310-P, 2016 – 2018), the aim of this paper is to review the distribution in the Atlantic region of the Iberian Peninsula of a particular typology of amphoric material, the T-11210 and the

T-12110 (Torres 1995). These materials are produced in Gadir, one of the most important colonies near the Straits of Gibraltar, and they are considered a very reliable indicator of the expansion of the trade of salted tuna. During the V-IV centuries B.C., the punic cities in the south of the Iberian Peninsula began a massive reconstruction of their economy and gave a big impulse to the maritime expeditions. Among them, Gadir projected itself in the Atlantic sea, reaching the “extreme west”, with the main purpose to consolidate its influence upon this area to trade its products and to find new resources of metals. During the XX century, the T11210 and T-12110 were mostly known in the Atlantic area of Spain, North Africa and in the Mediterranean basin, while the last researches have shown the presence of these amphorae in the Algarve region, the Coruña bay and the Galicia region, among others. Through these items we can reconstruct the maritime trade followed by the punic in that period, which can be useful to understand the dynamics of the contacts between the Atlantic communities and Mediterranean traders.

Keywords: Iron age, amphorae, punic trade, shipwreck, maritime archaeology, Gadir

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SCENTS FOR THE UNKNOWN. TRADE OF PERFUMES IN THE ATLANTIC IN THE LATE IRON AGE

The use of aromatic substances was relatively frequent in many aspects of the daily life for the communities of the Iberian Peninsula in the Second Iron Age (both in the north and the south), particularly in relation to religious and funerary practices. These products were intensely traded in the Mediterranean and also shipped to the Atlantic commercial networks with the impulse of the Punic exploratory navigations. This contribution focuses on a comprehensive review of the distribution towards the Atlantic area of diverse items used to contain perfumes or ointments. These aromatic products were usually packaged in glass or ceramic containers that were marketed throughout the Mediterranean area. These containers will be the main case study considered in this paper, since they are the almost only group of remains preserved in the archaeological record of this trade in aromatic essences. Several sites in this area are examined, also including those located on the Galician coast. These ‘castro culture’ sites recently provided some interesting finds that are the evidence of a significant trade route that Phoenicians from the southwest Iberia used at least since the 5th century BC onwards, linked to the exploitation of tin and the arrival to the northwest of perfume flasks and unguentaria.

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EXTENDING SEAWAYS TO THE NORTHWESTERN IBERIA: PHOENICIAN TRADE INTO THE TIN ISLANDS

The archaeological evidence allows us to argue that the northwestern coast of Iberia correspond to the place mentioned by the ancient writers to which the Phoenicians navigated in order to trade and obtain tin; that is to say, the so-called Cassiterides. From the end of the Early Iron Age on, the processes of interaction between western Phoenician agents and the local communities in this remote region of the Atlantic became increasingly more intensive. As a result, not only a wide range of goods were exchanged, but also issues such as technological know-how and material symbolism were shared and assumed, encouraging processes of socio-material hybridization in this context of mobility of people, objects and ideas. This paper aims to analyze this remote but connected seascape in the broader background of interactions and transformations of the whole western Iberia.

Keywords: Phoenician; Punic; trade; northwestern; Atlantic façade;

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EL COMERCIO DE ÁNFORAS TURDETANAS EN EL BAJO GUADIANA Y SU DISTRIBUCIÓN HACIA EL INTERIOR LUSITANO

Los estudios realizados en los últimos años sobre el comercio de productos púnicos y turdetanos en la fachada occidental de la Península, y en concreto en la costa Noroeste, a finales de la Edad del Hierro han aportado nuevas evidencias sobre el papel de las rías y estuarios atlánticos como vías de penetración y distribución de mercancías hacia las comunidades que habitaban en el interior de estas regiones. Ello es aún más evidente en el estuario del Guadiana, que debió conformar el límite occidental de Turdetania, funcionando más como un espacio de transición con las comunidades que habitaban los territorios que constituirán posteriormente el sur de la Lusitania romana que como una frontera estática. En este caso, el puerto de Mértola, último punto hasta que era posible la navegación fluvial en este último río, se convirtió en un nodo de comunicaciones, permitiendo la introducción de los productos importados hacia el interior del Alentejo a través de las rutas terrestres. Este papel se intensifica tras la conquista romana, tanto por el mantenimiento de la red comercial establecida por los fenicios años atrás en las costas atlánticas, y controlada todavía por la metrópolis gadirita, como por el establecimiento de campamentos militares y contingentes itálicos en los nuevos territorios ocupados y pacificados tras las Guerras Lusitanas. El objetivo de esta contribución es analizar la comercialización de ánforas turdetanas en el Bajo Guadiana a través de los datos procedentes de las excavaciones realizadas en Mértola y de otros establecimientos intermedios que jalonan el curso de este río, así como el alcance de dicho comercio en los territorios que se extienden hacia el interior de ambas orillas entre los siglos V y I a.C.

PANEL 17. THE RECEPTION OF THE CLASSICS: INTERTEXTUALITY AND TRANSLATION

Panel Conveners

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ETNOGRAFIA E AUTORIDADE NAS EPÍSTOLAS DO EXÍLIO DE OVÍDIO E SÊNECA

Neste trabalho, propomos analisar a descrição etnográfica e geográfica apresentada por Ovídio nos *Tristia* e nas *Epistulae ex Ponto*, centrando a discussão no aspecto intertextual da construção ovidiana do Ponto e a forma em que ela serve de modelo intertextual para a construção de Córsega apresentada por Sêneca em suas epístolas. Nesta cadeia de alusões intertextuais, nos interessa destacar a construção do eu poético ovidiano como autoridade no tratamento do sofrimento do exílio, especificamente, no que diz a representação do local de relegação. Em primeiro lugar, oferecemos diferentes observações sobre a já muito comentada intertextualidade entre *Tr.* 3.10 e a descrição da Cítia oferecida por Virgílio em *G.* 3. 349-383. Argumentamos que as diferenças entre uma e outra descrição atendem à construção de um discurso de tons etnográficos, autorizado pelo recurso da autópsia, i. e. a capacidade de ver por si mesmo, que oferece a Ovídio o direito de “corrigir” o poeta anterior. Em segundo lugar, examinaremos os trechos das epístolas de Sêneca em que se descreve uma Córsega “tomitana”, comprovando assim a autoridade ovidiana e sua influência na posteridade. Por último, apresentaremos breve reflexão sobre Ovídio em seu papel de *auctor*, que revisa, corrige e estabelece o significado de sua obra, negociando sua recepção com seus potenciais leitores.

Palavras-chave: Ovídio; Sêneca; exílio; etnografia; autoridade; intertextualidade; recepção.

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A PRESENÇA DOS *TRISTIA* EM CASTRO ALVES

A produção do exílio ovidiano em muito influenciou obras pósteras sobre a temática. O autor é considerado, segundo estudiosos como Claassen (2009); Ingleheart (2011), o grande influenciador e precursor da poesia do exílio no Ocidente, muito embora a temática já esteja presente em autores anteriores a ele. Não seria, portanto, inesperada a presença de suas obras do exílio dentre os autores do Romantismo brasileiro, cuja temática do exílio se faz tão presente. Castro Alves é um desses autores em que podemos observar em

suas poesias a presença da imagem do exílio ovidiano, representado como um momento desfavorável à atividade poética, considerando a discussão de fundo sobre o próprio fazer poético e as condições de produção do livro em questão, bem como da *persona* do exilado. Nesta apresentação, portanto, pretendemos mostrar a presença da obra *Tristia* na composição de alguns dos poemas de *Espumas Flutuantes*, único livro publicado pelo autor em vida em 1870. Para tanto, analisaremos o poema que abre o referido livro de Castro Alves, denominado *Dedicatória*, em que o autor, aos moldes do que faz Ovídio nas primeiras elegias dos livros I, III, IV e V dos *Tristia*, personifica seu livro, tratando-o como um filho. Embora a temática desse livro castroalviano não faça referência ao exílio, observamos que o eu poético se coloca como um exilado, um proscrito e um precito, como todo gênio romântico.

Palavras-chave: Ovídio; *Tristia*; Castro Alves; *Espumas Flutuantes*; recepção.

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RECEPÇÃO DOS CLÁSSICOS EM MACHADO DE ASSIS: ECOS HOMÉRICOS DE HELENA E PENÉLOPE NA CARACTERIZAÇÃO DE CAPITU

A produção literária de Machado de Assis dispõe, como já amiúde assinalado (Brandão 2001/2), de uma notável presença intertextual da Grécia Arcaica, incluindo referências diretas aos poemas homéricos como o capítulo “Musa, canta...” de *Esau e Jacó*. Ainda pouco explorada é a relação entre as personagens homéricas Helena e Penélope e a machadiana Capitu de *Dom Casmurro*, as quais são envolvidas pelos mesmos motivos da (in) fidelidade, ambiguidade, dissimulação e sedução. Ainda que por motivos distintos, são três personagens elusivas: nada ou pouco é informado ao receptor sobre o que elas, de fato, pensam e desejam. Esta apresentação visa contribuir para os estudos da recepção de Homero no Brasil ao analisar a memória das personagens gregas na caracterização da brasileira. Tomam-se como fundamento os estudos de recepção (Hardwick 2003) e a noção de intertextualidade (Fowler 1997 e Allen 2000). Procura-se não somente identificar semelhanças superficiais entre as personagens a partir dos enredos dos quais participam, mas também examinar quais os significados implicados nas relações intertextuais observadas e quais contribuições eles refletem para a leitura das obras investigadas, de modo a constatar, também, como a presença clássica é elaborada na literatura machadiana. Fundamental é o modelo de recepção que o próprio Machado revela a seu receptor no capítulo XVII de seu romance, intitulado “Os vermes”: para escrever uma monografia sobre um tema que recua ainda mais que as tradições judaica e clássica de seu ponto de partida, o protagonista consulta os vermes que roeram suas possíveis fontes, mas obtém apenas o silêncio.

Palavras-chave: intertextualidade; recepção; Machado de Assis; Homero; Helena; Penélope; Capitu; *Dom Casmurro*.

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CATULLUS' CLODIA, BRAZILIAN VERSION

Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis is considered one of the greatest, if not the greatest, writers of Brazil. His production includes all literary styles: short stories, poetry, romances, journalistic texts, crônicas (“chronicle”, a unique Brazilian style of text) and theatre. This paper will analyse the clear influence of the Classics in a poem that belongs to one of the poetry books by Machado, *Ocidentais* (“Westerners”). This book was produced by Machado in the mature years of his career, and for that its poetry is considered a less naïve kind of poetry. The poem in question is entitled *Clódia*, and in it Machado uses echoes of Catullus and Sappho to give life to a Lyric-I that tells us the story of a Roman woman who is a “she-wolf”: a devourer of lovers. Machado re-writes the story of the poems of Catullus to his beloved Lesbia in a long, blank versed poem.

Keywords: Machado de Assis; Catullus; Sappho; Poetry; Classical reception.

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QUANDO A RECEPÇÃO CLÁSSICA GERA QUESTÕES LINGUÍSTICAS DE TRADUÇÃO

Propomos uma investigação que se estabelece na intersecção de perspectivas propostas para o painel. Consideramos tanto o uso intertextual de textos gregos por parte de João Guimarães Rosa quanto a natureza da apropriação destes textos, através da sintaxe, lexicografia e morfologia de outras línguas. Este processo de apropriação faz do autor brasileiro um tradutor cultural de estruturas linguísticas. Por outro lado, as apropriações comentadas se colocam como problemas e desafios de grande impacto para os tradutores de Guimarães Rosa, instaurando uma encruzilhada para os estudiosos de sua obra. Discutiremos, ainda, especificamente, a pluralização do pronome indefinido “que”, no grego antigo τί (*tí*), neutro do pronome interrogativo τίς; (*tís?*, “who?”), um caso de *tmese* e outros recursos pontuais de léxico, atentando para a colocação adjetival e a formação vocabular.

Palavras-chave: encruzilhada linguística; intertextualidade estrutural; adjetivos; criação literária.

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ALEXANDER THE GREAT AS A MODERN GREEK EPIC HERO: THE MULTI-LAYERED TRADITION OF KYRIAKOS ZACHARENAKIS' *EPOS ALEXANDROU*

The aim of this paper is to present the peculiarities of the literary remaking of Alexander the Great in Kyriakos Zacharenakis' *Epos Alexandrou* (Athens, 2008) and to reflect on the political and cultural impact that the poet wanted his *Epos* to have in Modern Greece. The *Epos Alexandrou* is written in iambic decapentasyllable, a verse that belongs to the Cretan

tradition of *demotic* songs and dates back to the Byzantine period. As a modern Cretan poet, Zacharenakis had the ability to combine the style of Cretan literature with ancient historical sources, such as Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander*, which the poet points to as his main source, Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, and Diodorus' book XVII. The *Epos Alexander* has a didactic, cultural-political value: notwithstanding Alexander's failed homecoming to Macedon in northern Greece, it makes of the Macedonian an exemplary Hellenic leader and a means to reassert Macedon's Greekness. In fact, the *Epos* was published in 2008, when Greece put its veto on the candidacy of the Republic of North Macedonia as a NATO member. However, Zacharenakis also aims at reaching for a larger, international, audience, and he dedicates his *Epos* to everyone who can read Greek, building on the Greek folk reception of Alexander as the hero who spread the Hellenic language to the entire *oecumene* and unified all people from West to East. Therefore, the goal of Zacharenakis' epic-Alexander was not his *nostos* but the Hellenisation of the entire world.

Keywords: Alexander the Great; Macedon; Hellenicity; Arrian; Modern Greek Epics.

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A ENEIDA NA CANTATA DE DIDO DE CORREIA GARÇÃO

Moldada às especificidades do hexâmetro datílico, a matéria amorosa desenvolvida no quarto canto da *Eneida* de Virgílio respalda-se numa seleção vocabular rigorosa, intertextualidade e caracterização versátil dos personagens para infiltrar, na epopeia, os matizes lírico-elegíacos e trágicos de que se reveste o enredo à medida que o envolvimento entre Dido e Eneias avança para o desfecho. O caminho traçado por Elisa nesse poema percorre os cantos 1, 4 e 6. No século XVIII, quando as cantatas se tornaram moda em Portugal, o poeta neoclássico Pedro António Correia Garção expôs o flagelo interno da rainha no percurso formulado por Virgílio. Do desespero com a partida do amado à chegada aos Infernos, o trajeto da fenícia apresenta-se de forma trágica na Cantata de Dido. A desventura da rainha acomoda-se a esse tipo de composição apta às ocasiões fúnebres que acometiam a alta estirpe portuguesa. Sob a perspectiva formal, o hexâmetro da epopeia, na Cantata, cede lugar ao decassílabo entremeado de hexassílabo e tetrassílabo. Correia Garção sucedeu na adaptação da matéria elegíaco-amorosa com conotações trágicas explorada por Virgílio a um gênero poético que a Antiguidade desconheceu. Assim, nessa comunicação, confrontar-se-ão os dois poemas à luz do modo como se dá a seleção lexical, a caracterização dos personagens e a escolha das estruturas métricas a fim de discutir os princípios que sustentam essa *imitatio* seletiva empreendida pelo poeta português.

Palavras-chave: epopeia; Virgílio; cantata; elegia; drama; Garção.

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IFIGÊNIA E ELECTRA: DUAS TRAGÉDIAS CLÁSSICAS DE UM ÁRCADE PORTUGUÊS

Francisco Dias Gomes (1745-1795) foi um árcaide insigne, membro da Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa, um dos homens mais eruditos da sua época. Na publicação denominada *Obras Poéticas* (1799) realizada pela tipografia da Academia real das Ciências, indicam-se duas tragédias da sua autoria, já anteriormente impressas *Ifigénia* (1798) e *Electra* (1799). Tal como em França, Itália e Espanha, motivos histórico-culturais incrementaram em terras lusas o interesse quer pela tradução quer pela imitação e adaptação de tragédias gregas. As duas tragédias de Francisco Dias Gomes (republicadas há pouco pela Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra) não obtiveram ao longo dos tempos o vivo apreço que mereciam, não tendo sido indicadas em trabalhos de referência da História do Teatro Português. Urge verificar as relações intertextuais com os originais gregos. Disso daremos conta.

Palavras-chave: Arcádia Lusitana; Electra; Francisco Dias Gomes; Ifigénia; Neoclassicismo.

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BOCCACCIO, SÉRVIO E O GÊNERO BUCÓLICO

Em sua *Epístola 23* (ca. 1374), o autor italiano Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–75) propõe-se a explicar os conteúdos alegóricos por trás de seu *Buccolicum carmen* (1362–63). Em princípio, essa epístola seria uma resposta ao frade agostiniano Martino da Signa (m. 1387), que supostamente teria solicitado a Boccaccio uma explicação acerca dos títulos e personagens de suas dezesseis églogas neolatinas (cf. *Ep.* 23.3). Antes de comentar cada uma de suas composições, porém, Boccaccio faz um breve *excursus* sobre o gênero bucólico e aponta como seus principais representantes Teócrito, Virgílio e Petrarca (*Ep.* 23.1). Destes três poetas, Boccaccio revela a da Signa ter escolhido como modelo de imitação Virgílio, que em suas *Bucólicas* fez um uso moderado de alegorias, ao passo que Teócrito foi completamente literal e Petrarca excessivamente alegórico em seus respectivos poemas pastoris (*Ep.* 23.1-2). Ao estruturar o seu *excursus* dessa forma, Boccaccio adapta os argumentos apresentados pelo gramático Mauro Sérvio Honorato (séculos IV-V EC) em seu comentário às *Bucólicas* de Virgílio (cf. *ad Buc.*, pr.1.30–6). Tal ponto parece ter passado despercebido aos estudiosos e estudiosas de Boccaccio, que geralmente enfocam as similaridades entre a mencionada carta boccacciana e a epístola *Familiar 10.4* de Petrarca. Em minha comunicação, portanto, pretendo analisar os intertextos entre o *excursus* bucólico boccacciano e o comentário serviano, além de discutir a relação de Boccaccio com Sérvio mais amplamente e a influência deste na composição do *Buccolicum carmen*.

Palavras-chave: Giovanni Boccaccio; Sérvio; Virgílio; gênero bucólico; alegoria.

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DWARVES ON THE SHOULDERS OF A GIANT. THE VERNACULAR HOMER OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

In the Sixteenth century, eight vernacular translations of the *Iliad* were produced in Italy, spanning from the early 1540s to the 1580s. Not a small number *per se*. But, of these eight, two were left unprinted, five were only partial and drastically so, and the only complete one was only printed posthumously, by a very marginal press. Furthermore, only two in this group of translators had an established literary reputation. Five were minor figures at best; and one is totally unheard of, apart from his Homeric attempt. In the meantime, vernacular translation of ancient poems flourished in Italy, with some of the best Italian humanists and scholars of the time trying their hand at it, ever enlarging the Italian audience for Virgil, Ovid, Statius and many more. This paper will investigate the reasons behind the conspicuous and protracted lack of engagement of the Italian literary milieu with Homer through the lens of this very little known cluster of vernacular translations. In their collective failure, we can find by contrast an outline of what audiences at the time would have expected from a poem on the *War of Troy*. By way of contrasting these texts with the only successful attempt at divulging the *Iliad* to a wider audience (Dolce's *L'Achille et l'Enea*, 1570), it will be clear that only a heavily romanticized and therefore "unfaithful" *Iliad* could appeal to a Renaissance audience that had been for centuries accustomed to the legends of Troy relying on Latin sources.

Keywords: Homer; *Iliad*; Italian poetry; Renaissance; Vernacular Translation; Troy.

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PAULUS SILENTIARIUS: THE EPIGRAMMIST BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

Over the last thirty years a huge debate has arisen on the origin and influence of the 78 epigrams of the Greek Anthology ascribed to Paulus Silentiarius: did the Justinian officer have a direct knowledge of the Latin authors that he seems to imitate so much (particularly due to the fact that in the 6th century A.D. Latin was the official language of the Eastern Roman Empire) or was it mediated by Hellenistic production in Greek language (which would thus constitute a common source for both the Latin elegiac and the Byzantine poets of the Agathias' circle)? To answer such a question, however, it is necessary to go deeper in the study of the birth and evolution of a poetic genre as the elegy. Paulus Silentiarius could, in fact, be the key to interpreting the *vexata quaestio* which has involved scholars like Leo, Jacoby, Day, Fedeli for more than a century and which still continues to represent a magmatic ground within Greek and Latin philological studies. The aim of this work is therefore to approach this diatribe by analysing some epigrams (Paul.Sil. AP 5.248 = 53 Vians., Paul.Sil. AP 10.15 = 25 Vians., Paul.Sil. AP 5.217 = 39 Vians., Paul.Sil. AP 5.275 = 62 Vians.) and their linguistic, lexical and thematic similarities with Latin authors like Horace, Ovid and Propertius, in

order to provide an updated and original contribution to the issue, starting from the current bibliography (the studies of De Stefani, Yardley and Zanetto, for instance).

Keywords: Paulus Silentiarius; Epigrams; Latin literature; Byzantine literature; Greek poetry; intertextuality; elegy.

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O INTERTEXTO NA CONSTRUÇÃO DO HUMOR NOS EPIGRAMAS DE MARCIAL

Como todo e qualquer texto, os epigramas de Marcial dialogam com uma infinidade de outros textos, cujas vozes assimilam e incorporam em seu tecido textual, de forma a se enriquecerem com novos e interessantes significados. Dentre esses efeitos de sentido possibilitados pelo intertexto está a produção de humor ou comicidade. Nesta comunicação, através do exame de alguns poemas de Marcial e dos intertextos neles presentes, mostraremos como ele explora a intertextualidade com as obras de outros autores para a construção da agudeza final de seus epigramas.

Palavras-chave: Marcial; epigrama; intertextualidade; humor; comicidade.

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INTERTEXTUALIDADE E MEMÓRIA POÉTICA NO *PERVIGILIVM VENERIS*

Esta apresentação propõe uma análise intertextual do poema intitulado *Peruigilium Veneris*. Esse poema, cuja autoria segue incógnita até hoje, foi escrito, provavelmente, entre os séculos II e IV da nossa era e permaneceu desconhecido durante toda a Idade Média e parte do período humanista. A breve obra descreve a chegada da primavera e o poder da deusa Vênus que, com sua força geradora de vida, faz o mundo renascer nessa estação. Considerando essa descrição que muito se assemelha ao elogio da primavera contido no livro 2 das *Geórgicas* de Virgílio, buscaremos identificar os diálogos intertextuais entre os dois poemas, analisando os efeitos de sentido gerados pela interação entre eles. Nosso principal objetivo é revelar como o *Pervigilium* participa de um movimento de manutenção da memória poética virgílica. Isto é, ao aludir, referenciar e imitar Virgílio, o poema colabora para garantir sua permanência dentro de uma tradição literária. A partir dessa análise, poderemos entender de que maneira Virgílio era lido e interpretado no final da Antiguidade, bem como será possível esboçar como se deu a recepção dos textos clássicos na literatura do latim tardio e como o cânone e os modelos literários latinos foram selecionados e editados até chegarem à contemporaneidade. Para sustentar nossa análise, tomaremos como base os trabalhos que aplicam as teorias da intertextualidade aos estudos clássicos, como Pasquali (1968), Vasconcellos (2001) e Prata (2002 e 2007). Da mesma forma, nos guiaremos pelos estudos de Conte (1996) sobre memória poética.

Palavras-chave: intertextualidade; memória poética; latim tardio; Virgílio; recepção.

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AETNA EM DIÁLOGO COM VIRGÍLIO

Nesta comunicação, apresentamos contatos entre o poema *Aetna* – o qual se tem preferido datar na segunda metade do séc. I d.C. – e a obra de Virgílio, no tocante à *Eneida* e às *Geórgicas*. De início, podemos dizer que se divisa o diálogo de *Aetna* com Virgílio em duas frentes distintas: a primeira delas, a que chamamos “estrutural”, faz com que esse poema didático se aproxime, sobretudo, da porção das *Geórgicas* constituída pelos livros III a IV. Com efeito, o próêmio de *Aetna*, com sua estratégia de apresentar o tema da obra, ou seja, as erupções do monte Etna, como algo preferível às “vãs” fabulações dos poetas míticos deve ao começo de *Geórgicas* III, no qual assuntos fabulosos também foram “eliminados” dos horizontes de Virgílio (DI GIOVINE, 1992, p. 661 *et seq.*). Similarmente, há semelhanças entre o término de *Geórgicas* IV com um relato mítico – sobre Aristeu e Orfeu – e o “fecho” de *Aetna* com a narrativa lendária sobre os dois *pii fratres* de Catânia (VOLK, 2005, p. 80). O segundo modo de considerarmos o diálogo entre *Aetna* e Virgílio refere-se, do ponto de vista “intertextual” (VASCONCELLOS, 2001), ao fato de certas porções do poema vulcanológico – v. 260 *et seq.* e v. 602-644 – proporem prováveis reavaliações críticas das visões de mundo encontráveis, por exemplo, nas *Geórgicas* e até no canto II da *Eneida*. Assim, esperamos argumentar, não só como pacífico modelo o poeta de *Aetna* teve Virgílio, mas ainda ao modo de um ponto de partida para estruturar criticamente sua obra e ideias.

Palavras-chave: poesia didática; estrutura; intertextualidade; visões de mundo.

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UMA TRADUÇÃO POÉTICA DA ENEIDA NO SÉCULO XIX: LIMA LEITÃO E A EPOPEIA VIRGILIANA

Coordenamos há mais de uma década, no Brasil, o projeto Odorico Mendes, que publicou edições anotadas e comentadas desse brasileiro do século XIX. Atualmente, debruçamo-nos sobre um tradutor português também do século XIX cuja tradução apresenta muitos pontos de contato com a de Odorico Mendes: ambos traduziram todo Virgílio e revelam intenção de renovar a língua pela cunhagem de neologismos, a busca da concisão, o emprego de arcaísmos, os ecos camonianos, entre outras características comuns. Destacamos a “estrangeirização” do português, isto é, sua latinização (mais intensa num, menos no outro, é verdade), e, sobretudo, a intenção explícita de traduzir poeticamente. Nesta comunicação, centraremos o foco na *Eneida* de Lima Leitão, ilustrando as características acima mencionadas e apontando um aspecto mais controverso de seu projeto tradutório: cunhagem de locuções e, por vezes, versos inteiros que não têm equivalentes no original. Pretende-se, assim, dar uma contribuição à história da recepção dos clássicos latinos em língua portuguesa por meio de sua tradução.

Palavras-chave: tradução poética; Lima Leitão; *Eneida*; Virgílio; Odorico Mendes.

PANEL 18. ITINERANCE AND MEMORY. IMAGES IN ANCIENT GREECE: MULTI-TEMPORALITY, CULTURAL AGENTS AND VISUAL AGENDAS

Panel Conveners

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HASTA EL FIN DEL MUNDO: IMÁGENES DE GORGONA EN ITALIA CENTRAL DURANTE EL SIGLO VI A.C.

Las relaciones comerciales y artísticas entre Etruria y la antigua Grecia tuvieron un impacto enorme en el ámbito artístico. Los etruscos no sólo se hicieron enterrar con enseres procedentes de Grecia, especialmente las cerámicas áticas, sino que también produjeron ellos mismos imágenes y objetos que, desde los primeros estudios histórico-artísticos sobre dicho asunto, señalaron las concomitancias con formas e iconografías de origen helénico. Una de esas influencias está relacionada con el motivo de la Gorgona y sus derivaciones en felinos, especialmente las panteras, durante los siglos VII y VI a.C. Tomando como punto de referencia el célebre Carro de Monteleone (segundo cuarto del siglo VI a.C., Metropolitan Museum de Nueva York), las pinturas en la Tumba de las Panteras (Tarquinia, finales del siglo VII a.C.), así como ejemplos de antefijas en templos etruscos, se estudiarán las correspondencias, así como las peculiaridades locales, del motivo de la Gorgona en el ámbito etrusco. Ahora bien, este diálogo no se limita exclusivamente al entorno de Etruria. Dentro de esta red de correspondencias en la presentación se incluirán también algunas de las primeras manifestaciones visuales de la antigua Roma, que dialogan directamente con el arte etrusco y, por tanto, indirectamente con el griego arcaico. Gorgonas encontradas en la Regia y en el depósito del Lapis Niger, así como la decoración del Templo I en San Omobono, confirman la efectividad de este repertorio visual y de sus implicaciones religiosas, políticas y sociales en la Península Itálica con un sentido probablemente muy similar al de la cultura en la cual se originó.

Palabras clave: Gorgona, Italia central, panteras, prestigio, redes, agencia, arte etrusco, arte arcaico griego, arte romano, periodo orientalizante.

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ASPECTS OF MEMORIES AND IDENTITIES IN THE SOUTHERN BLACK SEA. FUNERARY STELES FROM HERACLEA PONTICA, TIOS AND AMASTRIS

The present paper focuses on three Greek cities of the Southern Black Sea and attempts to unfold some of the ways these communities were shaping their memories and identities in the interconnected context of the Roman empire. Funerary steles are set up to preserve the memory and selective aspects of the identity of the deceased. What could the study of these steles reveal for the living whilst intended for the dead? The steles in question present features of a widely shared pictorial vocabulary, which was in turn adapted to fit the sociohistorical context of the communities. Steles with reliefs of civilian men, restrained or “progressive” women and married couples, are some of the imageries to be analyzed. In which ways may have these images been affected by great connectivity and cultural interaction? It will be argued that imageries as such were part of larger processes related to the constant formation and negotiation of cultural memory and identity. Funerary steles did not simply reflect aspects of memories and identities but perhaps were to play an active role in shaping those.

Keywords: Roman period, funerary steles, Black Sea, cultural memory and identity.

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ATHENIAN IMAGES OF THE DELIAN PAST: EMBLEMS, INDICES AND COLLECTIVE MEMORIES OF DELOS

From the mid-5th BCE century, Athens exerted an increasingly hegemonic hold on the religious and social life of Delos. In this context, the various theōric delegations dispatched to the island by Athens are indicated as a means by which its authority on the island was displayed and legitimized. Central to this was the role of collective memory, in both its communicative and cultural forms, which retroactively projected Athenian influence Delos back to its very foundations. This paper, in line with the recent work of Hölscher, will consider how antique cultic statues and images of the islands mnemotopography, reinforced the notion of Athenian power on Delos. Statues of Aphrodite, Apollo and Eileithyia, present in both Attic and Delos, were recognized as emanating from exchanges in prototypical theōriai, something that was evidenced in their visually archaic nature. As such, I shall consider these objects as facilitating the inscription of Athens-centric cultural memories into the literal and religious landscape of Delos within their cultic consumption. I shall also examine how the dedication of a bronze palm tree by the general Nikias during the penteteric Delia of 421/17, indicates a visual appropriation of the sanctuaries mnemotopography, and its impact on local Delian communicative memory. Finally I will consider how the monumental changes enacted on the most famous religious object of the Delian sanctuary, the keraton altar, created a visual exclusivity for those that engaged with recalling the most pronounce Athenian memory on Delos; the victorious geranos dance of Theseus.

Keywords: Delos, Collective Memory, Material Indices, Visual Emblems.

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“(IN) MOVILIDAD HERMAICA”: ¿DE ARCADIA AL ÁTICA Y DEL ÁTICA AL RESTO DE GRECIA? ORIGEN, DIFUSIÓN Y CONTEXTOS VISUALES DE LA HERMA.

La tipología estatuaria conocida como herma era una imagen muy presente en la vida diaria de un antiguo griego debido a que se podía erigir en las inmediaciones o delante de distintos lugares del paisaje urbano y rural como: gimnasios, casas privadas, santuarios, puertas, caminos, fronteras, encrucijadas o en el ágora. Esta gran variedad de contextos hace de la inmóvil y rígida herma un monumento cambiante, maleable, cuyo significado y funciones podrían variar en relación a su ubicación. En cuanto a su origen, Herodoto (II, 51.1-2) sitúa a los pelasgos como los creadores de la imagen de la herma en tanto que representación de Hermes, posiblemente vinculada al gran culto del que el dios gozó en Arcadia, su tierra natal. Mientras que serían los atenienses (Herodoto II, 51.1-2; Pausanias IV, 33.3) aquellos que, al convivir con pelasgos, heredarían y consolidarían la imagen de la herma bajo su forma cuadrada característica (τετραγωνος), difundiéndola por todo el territorio ático y a nivel panhelénico. De haberse dado tal itinerario en la creación de las hermas, surgen algunas cuestiones importantes que plantearse en relación a la percepción y función que tanto los arcadios como los atenienses dieron a esta imagen, así como el significado con el que éstos últimos le vistieron dependiendo de los diferentes contextos visuales, y si éste ha cambiado desde su origen primigenio hasta su generalizada colocación a lo largo de todo el territorio ático y heleno.

Palabras clave: hermas; Hermes; cultura visual; Atenas; Arcadia; movilidad; estatua; imagen de culto.

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A NEW NARRATIVE FOR FEMALE TERRACOTTA FIGURINES IN ARCHAIC SICILY?

Female terracotta figurines, protomes and busts are among the most important artistic legacies in Western Greece and are always associated with Greek religious beliefs, in most cases Demeter and Kore. Especially in the coastal cities of Sicily, female statuettes developed in archaic times as mass goods into favourite votive offerings. The figurative terracottas were probably first imported in large quantities into the Western Greek colonies around the middle of the 6th century BC and later produced there. From the advanced 6th century onwards, corresponding votive objects also appeared in inland cult sites of the local population and were thus integrated into a new cultural world. In classical narrative conventions, these objects are ethnically interpreted and associated with a Greek religious belief. They are seen as material manifestations of a Hellenization of indigenous communities. The lecture aims to question this interpretation and to discuss the fluid social life of these objects. It will investigate the question to what extent these itinerant Greek images have received a new meaning and narrative in the environment of the local population, which corresponds to the needs of the recipients. The study takes a local view

on the Greek objects and asks for the new formation and (re)negotiation of their politics of value. To what extent do these itinerant images based on a Greek visual culture lead to a change in use and meaning in local contexts? How are these figures embedded in a local culture of remembrance and connected to local memory building that has largely detached itself from the Greek symbolic content?

Keywords: female terracotta figurines, archaic Sicily, politics of value, local communities, local appropriation, semantic change

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ARCHITECTURE AND ICONOGRAPHY AS MEMORIAL STRATEGIES IN CLASSICAL SOUTHEASTERN ITALY

The interrelation between architectural structures and tombs in indigenous Archaic/Classical southeastern Italy was very close, so frequently that this practice cannot be regarded as a type of “deviant” burial. From the 4th century BC onwards, chamber-tombs and small cult buildings occur frequently. Almost contemporaneously, tomb markers of aedicula shape are attested on the “Naïskosvasen”, some three decades before according architectural structures are evidenced at Athens and Taranto. It thus seems debatable whether the southern Italian naiskos was developed from framed grave stelai. The scenes were especially popular among vase painters working at indigenous north-Apulian sites like Canosa. The paradoxical scenario emerges that naiskoi are frequently attested iconographically where they are not attested as buildings, while at Taranto where built naiskoi are attested, such vases are almost absent. Although it has been assumed that the painted naiskoi served as substitutes for real ones, it is striking that they would have been popular in an area where no native tradition of similar structures existed before. However, sometimes the painted naiskoi show a very simple architecture. These might be identified with the remains of rather humble structures that were frequently placed on top of tombs. It will be discussed whether the placement of the dead under such a structure carries conceptions about questions regarding permanent versus seasonal residence, repeated frequentation and remembrance, especially within an environment that was likely characterized by indigenous and partly mobile, transhumant communities.

Keywords: Burial, memory, grave marker, architecture, naiskos, iconography

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MATERIAL CULTURE AND PAPYRI IN GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT: REUSING, REPAIRING, LIVING TWICE

If the primary aim of papyrological studies has always been – and must continue to be – the painstaking reconstruction of a coherent text, it is also true that there is a significant upward trend in studying ancient written sources with a view to their textual materiality and contextualisation. It is an unfortunate fact that, especially in their early Oxyrhynchus

chus publications, Grenfell and Hunt have not provided any kind of data about the original location of the papyri they excavated. Documents, subliterate and literary pieces have been ordered and later stored according to the type, rather than provenance, without systematic references to the archaeological context of their findspots. After their manufacturing process, papyri rolls were handled daily, stored in a slip case or book box for transport, frantically moved from one place to another, until they reached public libraries or private book collections. And before ending up as waste paper, some of them happened to be suitable for repair, restoration and strengthening of other bookrolls. This must have been the case of P. Oxy. XI 1367, originally containing the Heraclides' epitome of several treatises by Hermippus of Smyrne (On Lawgivers, On the Seven Sages, On Pythagoras), then used to reinforce P. Oxy. X 1248, carrying a copy of Plato's *Politicus*. These material features combined with the unjustly overlooked detail that the two mentioned papyri came from the same mound of their roughly contemporary P. Oxy. X 1241 offer new and challenging perspectives on the tradition of the text itself.

Keywords: papyrus lifecycle, mobility, ancient book repairs, textual materiality, material culture, contextualisation, P. Oxy. XI 1367, P. Oxy. X 1248, P. Oxy. X 1241

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REPRESENTAÇÕES MONSTRUOSAS DE SCYLA COMPARTILHADAS ENTRE GREGOS E ETRUSCOS

Na tradição homérica Scyla é um *πέλωρ κακόν* (monstro atroz) (*Odisseia*, XII, v. 87) e sua “característica” destruidora é enfatizada nos versos dos aedos, contudo há pouca menção de sua aparência ou forma. Os artesãos gregos e etruscos estiveram livres para construir uma cultura visual, dando destaque à monstruosidade de Scyla. Propomos analisar as imagens de Scyla considerando os contextos de uso do objeto (vaso ou artefato), sua circulação e os sentidos/significados disseminados. O material visual elencado permite trabalhar com trocas e assimilações entre as duas culturas do Mediterrâneo Antigo.

Palavras-chave: Scyla; Monstro; Gregos; Etruscos; Imagens.

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MODELOS ICONOGRÁFICOS ÁTICOS EN LAS IMÁGENES ETRUSCAS DE BAÑO FEMENINO

La temática del baño femenino surge a lo largo del siglo VI a.C. en la iconografía vascular griega, desarrollándose especialmente en la ática durante el siglo V y IV a.C. Con el tiempo, el comercio marítimo griego permitió la llegada de vasos cerámicos presididos por imágenes de bañistas y, en consecuencia, sus modelos iconográficos y compositivos, a otros territorios como la Etruria prerromana. En un primer momento, a principios del siglo V a.C., los artesanos etruscos recibieron la iconografía y, luego, se apropiaron de ella y la adoptaron produciendo, de esta manera, un imaginario visual propio entorno al baño femenino. De hecho, dentro del repertorio visual etrusco poseemos imágenes que

copian de forma deliberada modelos compositivos de originales áticos anteriores o casi coetáneos, pero que, a su vez, transmiten una personalidad y un gusto propio. Un proceso que plantea la necesaria existencia de un tráfico de plantillas pictóricas o de cartones con dibujos, bocetos o esbozos que acabarían en el seno de los talleres etruscos, inspirando a sus pintores. La cuestión que se plantea es si dichas imágenes, tanto las áticas exportadas a Etruria como las etruscas, adoptarían una lectura griega o si la narrativa visual tomaría una lectura iconográfica propia, es decir, una interpretatio etrusca.

Palabras claves: iconografía griega, imaginario visual etrusco, baño femenino, modelos áticos, plantillas pictóricas.

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LAS CRATERAS ÁTICAS COMO KEIMELIA: PROCESOS DE CONSTRUCCIÓN DE UNA IDENTIDAD MÍTICA

La presencia de cerámica griega en contextos funerarios en el sureste de la península ibérica es un tema con una dilatada y variada fortuna crítica en el ámbito historiográfico español y europeo. Durante la última década los límites metodológicos de los estudios visuales han ampliado el abanico de posibilidades a la hora de enfrentarnos a estos objetos: la agencia, la interacción cultural, la visión del espectador, el rol de la memoria o la dramatización de un estatus social determinado, son algunos de los temas que hoy en día focalizan las discusiones académicas. Nuestro objetivo será tratar de esclarecer la naturaleza de las crateras áticas y de sus programas iconográficos como *keimelia*: esto es, como objetos atesorados portadores de memoria entre los iberos, en un proceso de revitalización del linaje y del estatus social.

Palabras clave: crateras áticas, *keimelia*, identidad, memoria, narración visual.

PANEL 19. O QUE É A FELICIDADE? DA EUDAIMONIA AO WELLNESS

Panel Conveners

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THE SYMBOLIC ARCHEOLOGY OF HAPPINESS: HOMER

Attributed since Antiquity to Homer's authorship, and modernly recognised also as the result of the slow creative elaboration of generations of *oidoi*, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* articulate in an enigmatic poetic plot, based on their traditional nature, threads of mythical and historical realities that modern archaeological researches have confirmed. Focused on the elementary theme of conflict, sometimes understood as a confrontation of collective identities, sometimes as a clash of individual personalities, both poems use the narrative framework – mythical and historical – of the Trojan War.

The ancient Greek worldview believed that this would have been the setting chosen to relieve, through an unprecedented war offensive, the excessive weight of the earth, granted as a temporary home to men by the gods. Driven by their own impulses, and often coerced by external forces, to seize a lot that was not meant for them, the unfortunate ones unleash on the earth, with their faults and miseries, the crises that precipitate them towards ruin, and define, by contrast to the eternal bliss of the gods, the irrevocable frontier of their limitations as mortals.

Within this peculiar framework, it seemed particularly suggestive to propose as a first angle of approach to the theme of (un)happiness the two Homeric Poems, the first literary documents of the West, and fundamental pillars of European cultural worldview since antiquity. It is, therefore, through the detailed analysis of the lexical fields of happiness, and their expressive universe, that we propose to try the exercise of its symbolic archeology.

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OLYMPIC GAMES AND PURSUIT OF ARETE, A PATH TO HAPPINESS IN ANCIENT GREECE

Created in Ancient Greece, in the 8th century BC, the Olympic Games – which in their contemporary revival are already in the XXXII Olympiad –, constitute one of the most visible marks of the Hellenic heritage and convey a deep and perennial symbolism. In fact, this sporting event brought to our times the symbolic value of the prize awarded

to the winners, who, competing only for honour and glory, also projected them on their hometown, as described by Plutarch. Indeed, at the end of the archaic Greek era, the great human ideal to be achieved by the citizen of the Polis was physical and moral excellence, translated into the famous expression *kalós kaí agathós* (καλός καί ἀγαθός). This paradigm of integral education was debated throughout the classical era in Greece, namely by Plato and Aristotle. And in it we find one of the fundamental concepts of this ambience: the cult of *arete* (ἀρετή), to which every Greek man aspired as a means of overcoming his mortal condition. Although Happiness was, in principle, only accessible to immortals, the “worthy deeds” of humans led to it, thus surpassing their *moira* (μοῖρα), so often identified with earthly misfortune.

On the other hand, it is also possible to transform the fragile and unhappy human being into a hero at the end of his life, elevating him above mortals, through a kind of redemption, an event that can be seen in the tragedy *Oedipus at Colonus*.

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HAPPINESS AS A LIVED EXPERIENCE: QUALITATIVE STUDY WITH FOCUS GROUPS WITH ADULTS AND OLDER ADULTS

In recent decades, in the field of Psychology and Psychiatry, we have registered a growing interest in the theme of happiness, in contrast to the focus, predominant during the 20th century, on the study of pathological affective states, which has led us to know more about negative emotional states and less about what makes people happy. In the specific field of Psychology, Positive Psychology emerged, with the purpose of studying the positive aspects of the Human Being in a logic of promoting the development and preventing disease. Studies on this topic, in the national and international context, mirrored its complexity and centuries-old difficulties in other areas of knowledge: from the difficulty in defining it, due to its proximity to concepts such as quality of life, well-being, etc.; to the multiplicity of perspectives – cognitive-emotional, hedonic, eudemonic, environmental.

From the exploration of these concepts and perspectives in the context of the preparation of the dissertation in Psychology, we have been developing a qualitative empirical study using focus groups with adults (aged between 30 and 35 years and 60 and 65 years), and elderly adults (between 75 and 85 years old), in order to understand the importance and meaning of happiness in these populations as a lived experience; and, from the reports and life experiences, to explore the implications for the lives of different groups of participants.

The focus groups are based on the collection of data through the interaction between the group members during the discussion of specific themes or issues, and constitute an important resource to understand the construction of the perceptions, attitudes and representations of social groups. In this way, we intend to overcome the limitations pointed to some studies in this area, which assume a predominantly quantitative and

individualistic nature, being conducted mainly with adolescents and young adults. We are currently conducting the pilot application of the open interviews to be applied to the focus groups for their validation. After being collected, data will be analysed using consensual qualitative analysis.

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HAPPINESS IN TIMES OF CRISIS

The theme of happiness is omnipresent in the philosophical thought of Classical Antiquity. In fact, it occupies a central place in Aristotelian ethics, but also in Epicureanism, Stoicism, and Neoplatonism. Each of these philosophical approaches proposes a different conception of happiness as the goal of the human being, without evading the possibility that life's difficulties prevent human beings from reaching a happy life. The purpose of this communication is, precisely, to analyse the concept of happiness of these three authors from Antiquity – namely Aristotle, Seneca and Marcus Aurelius –, discussing, at the same time, how each author faces the impact of unforeseen and unfortunate events on an individual's happiness. The strategies suggested by each author will also be analysed and compared so that each person can persevere in the pursuit of happiness, even in the face of difficulties and misfortunes. The results of this analysis will then be applied to the pandemic crisis we are currently experiencing.

Carla Pinto Cardoso e Fernanda Moura Pinto

Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais, CEFH e Universidad de Deusto (Bilbao)

THE HAPPIEST TOURIST DESTINATIONS IN THE WORLD: WHAT DO THEY 'SELL' AND HOW DO THEY 'SELL' HAPPINESS?

If the pursuit of happiness has lived through the entire history of humankind, perhaps never as today has this demand become such a profitable business. There are many economic activities that have been able to exploit the desire to be happy to sell their products, especially when these are not limited to meeting basic needs, but are sources of leisure and pleasure, as it is the case with touristic products. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of tourism manages to take this trend to another level, when it starts to attribute to the product itself, in a kind of personification, a state of soul that will infect those who consume it. We are talking about the “happiest tourist destinations in the world”.

In the current research, in addition to surveying the state of the art on the relationship between happiness and tourism, the “happiest destinations in the world” will be used as a case study. After identifying the countries, considered by the United Nations in its World Happiness Report to be “the happiest in the world”, as well as the indicators used to classify them as such, it is intended to analyse the marketing strategies adopted for the communication and promotion of these places as tourist destinations; thus presenting a

set of practices on happiness in tourism that can inspire other destinations to promote happiness as a factor of competitiveness, always with a view to improving not only the level of satisfaction of people with the life they have, but above all, the quality of life of tourists and the population in general and, consequently, of the relationship between visitors and local communities.

Fabrizia Raguso

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HAPPINESS FROM A PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE: GIFT ETHICS AND THE RELATIONAL FOUNDATION OF PERSONALITY

Happiness is not just a desire, often chimerical, that accompanies the human being between the avoidance of suffering, the need to adapt to reality and the pursuit of the “good life”. It has also become, based on various theoretical models, an object of systematic study by several psychologists and human sciences specialists. For our part, starting from the relational perspective of human development and the structure of personality (L’Abbate), we intend to understand how the ethics of gift (Godbout) is an intrinsic need of human beings, to develop their own potential and to attain, not just a passive adaptation to the reality of the context in which they are inserted or to their historical circumstances, but also to consider themselves happy and find their deepest sense of life (Frankl).

Our communication will focus on a state of the art review based on the contribution of the mentioned authors..

João Manuel Duque

Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Faculdade de Teologia, CITER e CEFH

FRIENDSHIP AND DIGITAL HUMANISM

Based on a suggestion by Milad Doueihi, in his notable work *Pour un humanisme numérique* (Paris: Seuil, 2011), this communication aims to explore the meaning of a re-reading of two classical texts on friendship, for the new context of friendship developed in digital environments, namely on Facebook, and its relationship with the happiness of its users. The texts referred to and read now from this perspective are the Book VIII of Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* and Cicero’s *De amicitia*. The intention is to assess the extent to which the characteristics of friendship presented there, namely as regards their contribution to the happiness of humans, are maintained or not, in the same way or transformed, in the context of digital environments.

José Cândido Oliveira Martins

Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais, CEFH

TOWARDS A PHILOSOPHY OF HAPPINESS IN CAMILO CASTELO BRANCO: RELIGION OF LOVE OR CHIMERA OF UNHAPPY PEOPLE?

In the extensive fictional work of Camilo Castelo Branco, reflections abound on the concept of happiness, placed both in the narrative voices and in the characters. In the Camillian lexicon, “happiness” is really one of the most obsessive words and concepts. It can even be said that the fictional universe of the author of *Onde Está a Felicidade?* (*Where is Happiness?*), *A Queda dum Anjo* (*The Fall of an Angel*), *Doze Casamentos Felizes* (*Twelve Happy Marriages*) and *Novelas do Minho* (*Novels of Minho*) – from passionate novel to humorous narrative – is not conceivable without the omnipresence, explicit or indirect, of this fundamental theme.

Based on a circumscribed corpus of the production of this prominent author of the 19th century, with works from different stages of his aesthetic and literary evolution, we intend to investigate some of the dominant images, thoughts and reasonings around this structuring theme, thus attempting to establish a philosophy of Camillian happiness, in relation to other related topics – passion, love and marriage; but also money and social position; and, of course, values, destiny and religion.

José Cândido Oliveira Martins e Fernanda Moura Pinto

Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais, CEFH e Universidad de Deusto (Bilbao)

DE-CONSTRUCTIONS OF HAPPINESS IN CONTEMPORARY PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

Contemporary Portuguese literary writing addresses the theme of happiness in a unique way, considerably influenced by some relevant trends of current thought (from Z. Bauman to G. Lipovetsky), but without forgetting the always active classical heritage. Indeed, the current worldview is dominated by trends as diverse as the crisis of religions and other great narratives and the ethical vacuum, hedonism and consumerism, the fragility and fleetingness of relationships and affective ties, which inspire a paradoxical happiness, as accessible as it is unreachable.

In this context, with a greater or lesser dose of critical spirit and even humor, some revisiting of the theme or “disease” of happiness in contemporary Portuguese writing are permeated by the aforementioned spirit of the time. However, they also do not ignore the sources of ancient classical thought, going back directly or indirectly to the legacy of Greek philosophy. This is the case of the writings of the authors Paulo José Miranda and Mário de Carvalho, among others.

José Carlos Lopes de Miranda

Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais, CLEPUL

“UTI ET FRUI”, AUGUSTINIAN HAPPINESS IN THE RIGHT RELATIONSHIP WITH BEING AND BEINGS

The Augustinian motto *ama et fac quod vis* is (perhaps too) well known. Indeed, the precept supposes an *ordo amoris* (*The City of God*, 15, 22). The love in question classifies essentially a natural order in which it plays the role of *pondus animae* and only in that order it is a source of happiness. A pleasant enjoyment of the Being (*gaudium*) in the definitive horizon, happiness becomes, in the horizon of time, the enjoyment (*frui*) of personal beings, which belong to the order of the ends, through the use (*uti*) of worldly beings (*De Trinitate*, 10, 10, 13) which are of the order of the means. From this right relationship of each moral subject with the beings, comes social happiness in the horizon of history, *Pax*, which is precisely the tranquility of that order (*The City of God*, 19, 13).

José Manuel Martins Lopes

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THE DESIRE IN THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES OF ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA AND THE EDUCATION FOR HAPPINESS.

The sources of the education of the Society of Jesus are the person of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, the *modus Parisiensis*, the *Ratio Studiorum* and the *General Congregations*. Based on these sources, the Society of Jesus has been trying to materialize its way of being and operating in education, which is made through a symbiosis with the peculiarity of its spirituality.

The Society of Jesus, through its spirituality and educational activities, keeps trying, in a permanent dialogue – which is intended in fidelity and creativity – with its sources, to accompany, question, respond and prevent the challenges that the world is constantly posing. In this context, documents at the level of the universal Society have been coming to light, such as the *The Characteristics of Jesuit Education, Ignatian Pedagogy - A Practical Approach*, or, more recently, *Jesuit Colleges: A living tradition in the 21st century* - a continuous exercise of discernment.

In our contribution to this Conference, we seek, based on the *Spiritual Exercises*, to show how the desires that inhabit the human being, if “worked” for a “free” freedom, can make man a better, more divine being. For Ignatius, desires are not to be eliminated or to avoid, but a challenge, an opportunity for the human being, in the exercise of his responsibility, to become more of a person. Basically, for Ignatius, talking about desires is entering the mystery of the pursuit of who the human being is; through them, man, without fear, will be able to know himself better and restructure himself, taking care more consciously of his life towards quality action in the world. Talking about the world of desires in human beings is telling of fragility and greatness. Desires are neutral until the moment man, freely, makes them life in his life and in the lives of others. There is a great distance between wishing and wanting; and that has a lot to do with how happiness can be understood as a way of being and operating in the world.

M^a José Ferreira Lopes e João Carlos Onofre Pinto

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REMEMBERING IN ORDER TO LIVE: SENECA (*AD MARCIAM DE CONSOLATIONE*) AND THE THERAPEUTIC USE OF PHILOSOPHY FOR THE RECOVERY OF LOST HAPPINESS

In his much debated work *Ad Marciam de Consolatione* (c. 40), a still “young” Seneca offers to his recipient a consolation on three levels, in order to overcome her deep and persistent mourning for the death of a son. The first one, more within the reach of Marcia and any other human, is based on a *metriopatheia* of Aristotelian outlines, a close example of which is the behaviour of Livia, Augustus’ wife, following the loss of her youngest son, the illustrious general Drusus. A woman devoted to public service and endowed with a strong personality, Livia sought and found in the stoic philosopher Arius Didimus, spiritual advisor to the *Princeps*, the necessary help to rediscover her lost happiness – above all, a state of equanimity in the face of Fortune’s arbitrariness.

In this communication, the analysis of Seneca’s text (1st part) will lead us to a broader view (2nd part), that is, to its framing in one of the great contributions of Antiquity – Philosophy, understood here not only as a theoretical knowledge about the reality of things, but also as a way of leading life wisely towards happiness. It will then be seen that Seneca’s work constitutes an important expression of philosophy as a critical therapy for the happiness attainable by humans in their earthly existence. This perspective has crossed the centuries to the present (cf. Heidegger, Wittgenstein and Foucault) and continues to offer a relevant contribution to the current discussions on happiness.

Maria Luísa Magalhães

Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais, CEFH

BEING HAPPY, PLAYING: IMAGES OF HAPPINESS IN ADVERTISING CONTEXT OF TELEVISION CONSUMPTION

This communication addresses some aspects of the advertising presentation of toys in a television context, namely those that are linked to the search for happiness obtained either through the free imitation of adult contexts in daily life, or through the recreation of fantastic contexts, capable of bestowing the child “powers” that will lead to successive victories and, consequently, to happy moments related to personal success (Brougère, 2004). The activity of playing is among those that are most concerned with providing happy moments, if not pure happiness, to the person who plays.

In childhood, playing is free, without rules, depending only on the child’s will and creativity, individually or in groups (Huizinga, 1938). Currently, in developed countries, especially in the area of knowledge dedicated to strategic communication, childhood faces the media environment on several fronts of exposure: television, internet, cinema are some of the means that are articulated to promote, on the one hand, the consumption of the objects created to serve as instruments for children’s play [toys]; on the other hand, to disseminate and explore game models associated with the same game (Pinto, 1998).

In this area of knowledge, advertising activity is where there are the most clear appeals to the possibility of achieving happiness, of obtaining success, beauty, satisfaction and, mainly, fun, enjoyment, fruition and reaching imaginary worlds where the aggression and heartbreak and defeat that are frequent in the real world are repelled (Magalhães, 2015).

A content analysis for a sample of television commercials about toys for children will be presented. In this analysis, the arguments used to give advertised objects the ability to provide happiness to the child audience will be exposed, stressing that these are, after all, the adult arguments for postponing contact with Reality (Magalhães, 2018). In this postponement there is the will to pursue the dream, happiness, joy, success, beauty, among other desires that are part of the adult imagination. It is a generous desire to offer moments of pure happiness through the suggestion of persistent consumption of toys – suggesting that in these moments a part of the human condition can also be found: the one where adult happiness depends on the smiles of children.

**PANEL 20. COGNITIVE APPROACHES, PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION:
LANGUAGE, EMOTIONS, PERCEPTION AND RITUAL**

Panel Conveners

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Maria Chriti

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ARISTOTLE ON THE RECEPTION OF LANGUAGE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

Cognitive linguistics combines cognitive sciences with linguistics and concentrates on what happens in the human mind during the production and reception of language. Given that this specific field is still in process of development as a set of approaches than a theory with strictly prescribed methods and principles, it is understandable that it often overlaps with psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics and sociolinguistics, since it has been defined as the investigation of the relation between language and socio-physical experience. These approaches emphasize concepts and meanings as related to language.

In the present survey an attempt is made to examine Aristotle's approach to the reception of language through the tenses of cognitive linguistics. In *On Interpretation* Aristotle formulates his views on the perception of vocal sounds, a text that has not yet been sufficiently appreciated for the history of linguistics. When he defines 'name' (*onoma*) and 'verb' (*rhêma*) he explains in an almost parenthetical way the meaning of signify by describing the activity of the mental part of the soul of both the speaker and the receiver during a linguistic act. Thus, he points out that "a verb is a name in the sense of 'meaningful utterance', because the individual who utters it arrests his intellect and the listener stands still" (*On Interpretation* 16b 18-19). This is the first ancient Greek philosophical text and probably the only one with an account of what happens in the mind of a speaker who utters and a listener who perceives a meaningful linguistic utterance. It is of high interest to examine the concept of 'standing still' in Aristotle's treatment as designated by the verb *êremêsen*, an attempt which is based on the ways that this specific verb seems to be used in the other Aristotelian treatises, so as to trace the way that the philosopher treats the boundaries between perception and conceptualization.

Keywords: Aristotle, language reception, meaningful

David Wilson

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PAUSANIAS AND POLYGNOTOS'S DELPHI PAINTINGS: A COGNITIVE APPROACH

Pausanias devotes seven chapters of Book X of his *Description of Greece* to describing in detail two large composite paintings which covered all four walls of the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi: Polygnotos's *Iliupersis* and *Nekyia*. This text is more detailed than any other element of his description of Delphi, which itself is one of the three pillars of his carefully structured work. Maybe the nature of the paintings explains his comprehensive interest. Although no traces of them survive, I argue in this contribution that Polygnotos's paintings were more than just decorative and that they were religious/ritual installations. Using insights from cognitive psychology (abstract neuropsychological studies, 'religion-by-proxy' studies and 'authentic religion studies'), involving concepts of Absorption, Dissociation, Suggestion and Autosuggestion, I develop a hypothesis that they may have functioned as aids to epiphanic experience, analogous to that associated with modern Christian evangelical and Loyolan spiritual exercises. This hypothesis is then tested against the ancient historical, archaeological and textual evidence, which shows that the analogy may well stand. In the context of *theoria* at the festivals and oracle at Delphi, four critical cognitive features of such spiritual exercises are shown to be applicable to Polygnotos's paintings. The implications of this are significant, not just for the understanding of classical painting, but of the operation of the sanctuary at Delphi and indeed of Pausanias's motivations in writing his *Description*.

Keywords: Pausanias, Polygnotos, Delphi, Theoria, Epiphany, Absorption

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REBIRTH AND TRANSFORMATION. CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY AND EMPEDOCLES' METEMPSYCHOSIS

In this paper, I will use CMT to explore Empedocles' doctrine of metempsychosis and his conceptualization of individual identity. From a modern point of view, doctrines of metempsychosis convey the idea of the wandering or journeying of the soul, which outlives the death of the body and migrates into another body. This metaphor use draws attention to the notion of an immortal entity in us that represents our true self in contrast to the mortal body. Yet this betrays a Christian adaptation of Plato's influential ideas about the soul. Therefore, it can be asked to what extent this Platonising metaphor use renders justice to Empedocles' doctrine of metempsychosis.

I will show that Empedocles' doctrine of metempsychosis exploits a metaphoric scenario that draws particular attention to the body and its transformations, rather than to the wanderings of a persisting entity or soul working through rebirths. In other words, Empedocles' idea of rebirth is closer to a metamorphosis than to a metempsychosis. This ensured the marginalization of the soul in his fragments. In fact, while believing in the persistence of individual identity upon death, Empedocles felt no need to develop a theory

of soul as the seat of the person or to argue for the relationship between the souls and its rebirths; that is, to define the relationship between embodied and disembodied personality. My conclusion is that metempsychosis does not require a complex notion of soul in contrast to the body, but presupposes the belief in the person's post-mortem existence—a conception that, as will be shown, Empedocles could already find in traditional epic tales. **Keywords:** Empedocles; Rebirth; Metempsychosis; Transformation; Metamorphosis; Individual identity; Soul

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REJECTING THE MUSE: ATHEISM, WRITING, AND CONSCIOUSNESS IN ANCIENT GREECE

Despite the adoption of the alphabet in ancient Greece in the mid-8th century BCE, Greeks granted greater cultural authority to oral tradition over written material. Writing was only considered an ancillary, mnemonic technology that aided information recall. Early Greek poets never claim to “write” their poetry, implying that, like the Homeric bards of pre-literate Greece, they composed their works orally through divine inspiration from the Muses even though they carefully composed their verses by writing them. Following the Pre-Socratic philosophers who investigated existence and Being, the first self-proclaimed “writers” of Greek were the historians Hecataeus of Miletus and Herodotus. They broke sacred tradition, irreverently rejecting the Muses despite discussing both foreign and domestic religion and myth among other subjects. We explore how the Greek historians' 1) self-declaration as writers using the first-person verbal forms of *graphō*, 2) their rejection of the Muses, and 3) their decision to primarily discuss information obtained through observation (autopsy) demonstrates that they connected the act of writing with conscious memory and the production of conscious knowledge. “Undeclared” writers, like archaic poets, sought to maintain their connection to Homeric oral tradition by invoking the muse which, we suggest, should be categorized as producing non-conscious knowledge. We apply Kellogg's Cognitive Theory of Writing to show that the Central Executive Function which cognitive scientists theorize mediates the physical act of writing, knowledge-crafting, and conscious activity is applicable here. This paper provides a new perspective on the ancient Greek historians' writing process as a defiantly atheistic and “conscious” act.

Key terms: Oral tradition, Kellogg's cognitive writing theory, consciousness, critical thinking, writing, inspiration, Central Executive Function

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MIMESIS, EMBODIED COGNITION AND THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE GERANOS DANCE

Among the various theōric delegations sent by Athens to Delos, the annual commemoration of Theseus' landing on the island represents the most vividly illustrated with regards to its ritual content and execution. Here, a choir representing the youths (ἠθέοι) of the original adventure replicated a distinct dance, the *geranos*, which itself mimicked the layout of the Cretan labyrinth. This paper will analyse passages of Callimachus' *Hymn to De/os* and Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*, alongside relevant epigraphic and archaeological material in considering how the sensorial and cognitive parameters of performing this dance, would enable forms of socially cohesive collective memory. In doing so I shall follow Beim's suggestion that any examination of collective mnemotechnics consider the interaction between institutional objects and socially disseminated cognitive schema. The *geranos* provides us with a fertile example of this interaction with Greek religious action. While being aligned with Larson's conclusion that the rigid application of Harvey Whitehouse's religious modesto the study of Greek ritual is unhelpful, I shall comment on how aspects of the dance would produce both episodic and semantic memories. This approach will be distinctly informed by employing the conclusions of Schj0dt regarding sensory deprivation and depletion in ritual experience. The use of darkness, light, exterior and internal settings as well as the aspects of mimesis and mnemotopography that framed this ritual, indicates the intersecting manner in which this distinct rite would impact its embodied, cognitive, experience.

Keywords: Sensory deprivation, embodied cognition, cognitive schema, collective memory, Delos

Silvia Vergara Recreo

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BETRAYAL OF THE POLIS AND THE GODS: (IR)RELIGIOUS PERSUASION THROUGHOUT LYCURGUS' AGAINST LEOCRATES

This work aims to examine one of the most persuasive weapons found in Lycurgus' *Against Leocrates*: the (ir)religious vocabulary. By a lexical approach, we want to emphasize how popular and religious thoughts embedded in Athenian daily life allowed the orators to manipulate those expressions for their judicial purposes. With them, they could discredit the opponent politically and portray him as somebody who threatened the well-being of the community. In this way, Lycurgus not only accused Leocrates of betraying his fellow citizens, but also the polis divinities. Throughout his speech, he shows Leocrates as an enemy of the gods, civic cults and traditions. Thus, the study of (ir)religious vocabulary is significant if we want to understand how orators were able to make fit these notions into their speeches for persuasive aims.

Besides irreligiosity, there are other ways of invective in this speech. On the one hand,

Against Leocrates shows a strong connection between religion and politics through expressions highlighting the crimes committed by Leocrates, which had harmed both the civic and religious realms of the polis. On the other hand, Lycurgus coordinates and juxtaposes irreligious vocabulary with negative terms to portray his rival as an immoral and disrespectful character. Finally, these mechanisms are intensified by rhetorical topoi in accordance to forensic oratory conventions. So, the second aim of this proposal is to verify the combination of irreligious vocabulary with abuse terms and rhetorical topoi, used to portray the opponent negatively and arise antipathy of the audience.

Keywords: Irreligiosity; Lycurgus; Oratory; Politics; Rhetoric

Jacob L. Mackey

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COGNITION AND METACOGNITION. ROMAN VS. CHRISTIAN CULTURES OF BELIEF BELIEF IS OFTEN ASSUMED BY SCHOLARS OF ANCIENT RELIGION TO BE A CONCEPT. FF THE CONCEPT OF *Belief* is often assumed by scholars of ancient religion to be a *concept*. If the *concept* of *belief* is not found in a given culture, then *belief* will not be found there, either. Thus, Needham, in his 1972 book, *Belief, Language, and Experience*, wrote as follows: “The *concept* of belief is an historical product” (p. 41) Needham has been followed by historians of ancient religion and many other scholars.

I propose that the theory of *belief-as-a-concept* and the deductions it inspires are mistakes. The corrective is to distinguish carefully between *cognition*—the mental capacity for *belief*—and *metacognition*, in this case, *concepts of belief*. On this view, *belief* as a kind of mental state has no history, except an evolutionary one. It is just a biological fact about *Homo sapiens*, like digestion and opposable thumbs. But *concepts* of belief certainly do have histories. Concepts and their histories depend for their very existence upon a human cognitive skill that has hitherto not been sufficiently appreciated by belief’s historicizers: *metacognition*.⁶

Metacognition is our ability to cognize our own cognition, to think and talk about our own thinking (and our own thinking about our own thinking), to take our own thought as an object of thought. It allows us to develop and, via language, to transmit concepts of belief. These concepts of belief are really nothing more than distinct sets of *beliefs about belief*. To have a concept of belief thus presupposes a more primitive capacity, to wit, the capacity to believe.

The Latin lexicon for mental phenomena perrn itted Romans to develop metacognitive discourses about cognition and traditions of metacognitive discourse about cognition. I propose that it is in *different traditions of metacognitive discourse about belief* that the true differences between Roman and Christian belief reside. Roman Christians “believed

⁶ For metacognition, see Frith 2012 and Proust 2013.

in belief.”⁷ They believed that belief was crucial for salvation. Hence orthodoxy and an investment in creeds. Traditional Romans did not “believe in belief” as a source of religious value in and of itself. This is not to say that they did not metacognitively reflect upon and wove over their own beliefs. They had belief and beliefs, but believed differently about belief than the later Christians did.

Kyriakoula Tzortzopoulou

King’s College London

EMOTION CONCEPTS IN 4TH-CENTURY CHRISTIAN TEXTS UNDER THE MICROSCOPE OF THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY

Over the last decade, outstanding studies have shown that the application of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to the study of emotions in ancient texts provides us with a deeper insight into the emotion concepts of Antiquity. According to that theory, metaphor constitutes an essential mechanism of thinking about our emotional experiences and, consequentially, the study of metaphorical language is an effective way to understand how our mind represents and processes such experiences. My aim in this paper is to explore how CMT could be applied to 4th-century Christian discourses on anger and envy, found on texts that have not yet been approached from this angle.

By examining specific passages drawn from homiletic and exegetical works of the Cappadocian Fathers (Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa), I will first investigate whether and how the detection and disclosure of the concepts that underlie metaphors might cast light on the Christian Fathers’ conceptualization of emotions. Does the metaphorical way in which those authors present their ideas on emotions just reflect the acceptance of widespread concepts within Greco-Roman culture or does Christian ideology and scriptural authority provide extra association and nuances to the classical imagery used? Furthermore, does the employment of the CMT on those texts illustrate the cognitive role of metaphors in the process of preaching and prescribing an ideal affective life? My approach will, thus, raise the question of whether metaphors used by the Christian authors provided their recipients with fresh insights and new ways of thinking about their emotional experiences.

Keywords: Christian Fathers, anger, envy, emotion concepts, metaphors, conceptual theory

⁷ Dennett, D., *Breaking the Spell: Religion as a Natural Phenomenon*, 2006: 200ff.

Gregory Membrez

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COGNITIVE SCIENCE AND ANCIENT PHILOSOPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS TEXTS: A TURNING POINT?

In 1980, some 40 years ago, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson published their seminal book *Metaphors We Live By* which outlined their conceptual metaphor theory, which was based on cognitive science, just then emerging. To say the least, the results of this publication have been far reaching. One can find application of it to politics, education, literature, language learning and there have even been studies of conceptual metaphorical mapping in animals. In many ways Lakoff and Johnson's work has brought forth not only conceptual metaphor theory but cognitive science itself as important for studies in humanities; however, its acceptance as a theory relevant to the study of the ancient world has been met with much reluctance. Proof of this is the fact that this panel on the application of cognitive science to ancient philosophical and religious texts the first of its kind.

We are then faced with questions of how to legitimize the application of cognitive science to the study of philosophical and religious texts. Where do we place it? Does it bring forth any conclusions that could not have been reached without the application of cognitive science? I argue that the understanding of how the human mind works, as informed by cognitive science, gives the scholar working on the ancient world a more precise way of organizing the data, thus yielding a more accurate understanding of the conceptual framework within which the ancient world operated; it is a powerful tool in weeding out those looming anachronisms which often blind us to understanding the ancient world in its own terms.

PANEL 21. NATURE, KNOWLEDGE AND ETHICS IN EPICUREANISM

Panel Conveners

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VILIFYING EPICUREAN WOMEN: HETAIRAI, LEONTION AND THE LIFE OF THE SAGE

Inheriting conceptions about “womanhood” from the Classical Greek Age, the Hellenist period was no kinder to women. Women of higher social status were circumscribed solely to a private sphere, for the most part, the *oikos*. Education, politics, the legal, and economic realms were foreclosed to most women, with very few exceptions. *Hetairai*, commonly understood as higher class courtesans, could become economically independent, free to pursue education and to move in the public sphere of Athens. Epicureans were one of the rare schools of thought who welcomed women into their ranks, along with slaves and metics. According to the Epicurean doctrine all human beings could and should pursue the way of the ‘sage’, dedicating their lives to a simple and wise existence where *ataraxia* (tranquility of the mind) and *aponia* (absence of pain) where in an equilibrium, bringing about a desired sense of self-sufficiency. Therefore, the logical consequence of epicurean metaphysics and ethics is precisely that all (including those with no juridical or political roles) could access the knowledge into the way of the *Sophós*. Women in the *Kepos*, such as Leontion, where to some extent vilified or equated as *hetairai*. It is no surprise such, as *hetairai* and epicurean women, even if in different circumstances, possessed a degree of *autárkeia* denied to other women. This paper explores this relationship and tension, as the lives of these women seem to intersect in the search self-sufficiency in an era that constrained and repressed women into a lesser societal role.

Keywords: Epicureans; Hellenistic women; *Hetairai*; Leontion; ethics; *sophós*; *autárkeia*

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O EPICURISMO DE LORENZO VALLA / LORENZO VALLA'S EPICUREANISM

O humanista romano Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) foi responsável pela escrita de uma das obras mais polêmicas do *quattrocento* italiano: o diálogo *De Voluptate* de 1431. Trata-se de uma defesa da ética epicurista por oposição à moral estoica, encenada como um debate entre o orador florentino, Leonardo Bruni e o poeta panormitano (original de Palermo ou

Panormum), Antonio Beccadelli. Ambientada quase em sua totalidade nos jardins da casa de Beccadelli, representante do lado epicurista, o diálogo ambiciona recuperar a malograda concepção de prazer como guia e *télos* da vida, apropriado, com justiça, a valores cristãos. Escrita quase trinta anos depois da descoberta do poema epicurista de Lucrécio, *De Rerum Naturae*, por seu arqui-inimigo Poggio Bracciolini, a obra constitui-se como a mais densa e completa defesa da ética do filósofo de Samos, codificada pela visão de um cristão ardoroso do Renascimento. Tendo sido alvo de críticas bastante duras, chegando até a intervenção de um processo inquisitorial contra o autor, cerca de doze anos depois da primeira publicação da obra, e a entrada da mesma no *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, esta comunicação pretende apresentar as principais teses do diálogo *Do Prazer*, mal compreendido e rechaçado na história da literatura e do pensamento modernos, bem como a sua relação com a concepção retórica de Lorenzo Valla.

Keywords: Valla; Lorenzo; Epicurismo; Ética; Retórica; Renascimento.

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LIBERA VOLUNTAS E CLINAMEN EM LUCRÉCIO

Em Lucrécio, a *libera voluntas* dos seres vivos parece ser explicada pela declinação (*clinamen*), um movimento ocasional e fortuito dos átomos em sua queda livre e retilínea no vazio, inacessível à experiência. Trata-se de uma cinética complexa, espontânea e sem causa anterior. O equivalente grego do termo latino seria a *parenklisis*, embora jamais tenha sido encontrada nos textos remanescentes do próprio Epicuro. O desvio acontece em um momento incerto (*incerto tempore*) e em lugar impreciso (*incertisque locis*), quando os átomos desviam um pouco (*spatio depellere paulum*), não mais que um mínimo (*nec plus quam minimum*). A declinação investe-se de importância na presente pesquisa, a fim de aprofundar o conhecimento da noção de liberdade em Lucrécio, a relação com outros conceitos correlatos (*anima e voluptas*).

Keywords: Lucrécio; *clinamen*; declinação; epicurismo; *libera voluntas*.

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NOTITIA: LUCRETIUS AND MIDDLE PLATONISTS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF KNOWLEDGE

Prolepsis play a strategic, though hotly debated, role in Epicurus' epistemology. The objective of this paper is not to put prolepsis under scrutiny as such. Rather, what I intend to consider is the relationship between the *prolepsis* and a particular elaboration of the Platonic "theory of ideas" to be found in Middle Platonic literature: that elaboration which "gave birth", so to speak, to the *ennoiai*. According to Middle Platonic literature, *ennoiai* are the inner traces of the Forms that we have had the opportunity to contemplate before our corporeal birth; the presence in us of such "traces" enables us to know even while our soul is being incorporated. Now: even though Plato's legacy in Epicurus' epistemology

has been recently examined (and more than once), a valuable testimony, Lucretius, has been surprisingly neglected. The importance of this testimony is notable, and it resides in the polemical overtone of Lucretius' account. As I read him, Lucretius testifies to the polemical debate on the possibility of knowledge that occurred between Epicureans and Platonics. In other words, what is most intriguing in Lucretius' exploitation of the terms *notitia/notities* (the Latin translation of both *prolepsis* and *ennoia*) is the polemical context where they happen to be used. Whenever Lucretius seriously and technically deals with the Epicurean *prolepsis* (i.e. with *notitia/notities*), he happens to discuss and criticise also pieces of Platonic (or Middle Platonic) philosophy - i.e. the role played by *ennoiai*. Particularly, it is the Middle Platonic conception of *ennoiai* as the a priori condition of possibility of knowledge that Lucretius intends to refute, whenever he discusses the concept of *notitia/notities*. Sure enough, all this should not surprise us. Given that both the Platonic *ennoiai* and the Epicurean *prolepseis* were usually rendered in Latin with the same term *notitiae*, Lucretius thought it necessary to put forward a new semantics for the term. And in order to reach such an objective - i.e. to appropriate the very word *notitia* and to turn it into a fully Epicurean piece of language -, he had to refute the Platonic innatism. That is why the arguments elaborated on this matter by Lucretius deserve deeper insight, since they shed light on both Lucretius' and the Middle Platonic epistemology. All this will be carefully considered in this paper.

Keywords: *notitia; ennoiai; prolepseis; epicureanism; Lucretius.*

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WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO “DIE”? THE VIEW FROM FORMAL SYNTAX

Yan (2014) summarizes the Epicurean conclusion regarding death as: (1) Death is “nothing” to human beings: death does not harm a human being. I show that death-related predicates like die are ambiguous between selecting for a patient (i.e. a participant who is affected) or a non-patient experiencer (e.g. agent), and that arguments for or against (1) must address this ambiguity. Intransitive verbs like die fall into two classes (Burzio 1986): (i) those whose only argument corresponds semantically to a patient role, e.g. appear, arrive, spread, which may optionally take a semantically empty subject, as in There spread a cloud of dust, There arrived a man and (ii) those whose only argument corresponds to a non-patient (agent/experiencer), e.g. cough, dance; these verbs may take a cognate object: He danced (the tango). The Epicurean view (1) is a conception of death/dying as an event(uality) with no affected/harmed patient, like coughing or dancing. Indeed, die aligns syntactically with the non-patient-selecting linguistic correlates of these processes: He danced (the tango), He died (a painless death). However, die is unique in also patterning with verbs that do select a semantic patient: There died/arrived a great many people, vs. * There danced a great many people. Proposals concerning must make explicit their denotations of predicates like to die within their argumentation, otherwise they beg the question of whether dying affects individuals in assuming a denotation that selects only

for an affected patient (or only for a non-patient).

Keywords: death, syntax, grammar, ambiguity, philosophy of language.

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A RECEPÇÃO DO PRECEITO EPICURISTA DE «VIVER ESCONDIDO», Λάθε βιώσας (LATHE BIŌSAS): EM FERNANDO PESSOA E NA ACTUALIDADE.

Plutarco, na crítica que faz ao Epicurismo, menciona (Plutarco, *De Latenter Vivendo*, 1128c) a expressão Λάθε βιώσας (*Lathe Biōsas*) que viria a sintetizar a controversa postura epicurista de “viver escondido” ou “viver na obscuridade”.

Será fascinante analisar, na perspectiva da recepção da tradição epicurista na contemporaneidade, essa injunção. Para isso, proceder-se-á, num primeiro momento, à análise desse preceito no peculiar epicurismo de Fernando Pessoa, no dealbar do século XX, e depois, mostrando que ainda é uma reflexão actual nos dias de hoje, analisar-se-ão os impactos, relevância e desafios que o “viver escondido” ainda tem nas primeiras décadas do século XXI.

Keywords: Epicuro; Plutarco; Fernando Pessoa; Recepção; *Lathe Biōsas*.

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LUCRECE REACHS MODERNITY : THE BODIN’S REFUSAL OF WITCHCRAFT

In the poem *De rerum natura* (Book I), Lucrece (96? – 50? b.C) pinpoint a deep critic on paganism regarding some religion’s practices. His drive concerns moral, saying, paganism breaks moral rules since motivated by dreadful feelings that leads to criminal actions. This argument begins with a thesis concerning physics, saying, that these mistaken paganism’s practices are due to unknowledge about how nature works. Crossing the centuries, this argument seems to had reached one of the most important renaissance philosopher. Jean Bodin (1529/30-1596) published (1581, *La demonomanie des sorcières*) a central work about how identify and condemn witches. In fact, many sixteenth and seventeenth centuries philosophers considered this subject, as Montaigne (1533-1592) and the preacher Glanvill (1636-1680), a leading figure on the Royal Society. Taking into account the diversity of arguments about witchcraft during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the sceptic answer doesn’t seems to be the best answer that would lead to truth. Considering the influence that the *De Rerum natura* had joined with modern philosophy, this paper proposes to compare these arguments in order to clarify Bodin’s main sources. Another branch that must be included is the Cicero’s work, *De natura deorum* (45 b.C), that employed the same argument from Lucrece. In this way, epicureanism and scepticism were found together in modernity in the rebuttal of religious criminal worship, such as those practiced by witches and, then, against paganism.

Keywords: Lucrèce ; Bodin; witchcraft ; religion; nature ; moral.

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CRISTIANESIMO COME RIFIUTO DELL'IDENTITÀ PAGANA

Oggi il concetto di identità è essenziale, in quanto è il risultato di un lungo processo che ha portato l'uomo al centro di tutto. Ognuno si sente unico, essenzialmente un "io" di fronte al "non io", e l'identità, così come i documenti che la attestano, è l'insieme delle caratteristiche che ci attribuiamo che permettono di distinguerci e, allo stesso tempo, renderci riconoscibili di fronte alla massa. Perdere la propria identità è, infatti, sinonimo di morte e chi vuole farlo è intenzionato a scomparire e diventare qualcun'altro. Ci si chiede quali siano le dinamiche che portano alla costituzione di una nuova identità, non solo quella del singolo, ma anche della collettività. Agli inizi del IV sec. d.C. il cristianesimo, ormai ampiamente diffuso in tutti gli strati sociali, si avvia a diventare la religione ufficiale: gli uomini si trovano a metà tra cultura pagana e cristiana. L'adesione degli individui alle prime comunità cristiane, descritte da Luciano di Samosata, sembra, come messo in evidenza dal sofista, rappresentare il rifiuto della tradizione romana e la perdita dell'identità pagana, quella vita "peccaminosa" descritta da Sant'Agostino nelle *Confessiones*. L'uomo finisce per identificare se stesso come il buon cristiano, spostando l'interesse dal mondo oggettivo alla propria interiorità.

Keywords: Luciano di Samosata; Sant'Agostino; cristianesimo; paganesimo; identità.

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SOBRE A PHYSIOLOGIA NO ÂMBITO DA PRAGMATEIA EPICURISTA

Trata-se de evidenciar o papel da transmissão do saber acerca da *physiologia* através das Cartas e compêndios. Para tanto, serão levados em consideração dois aspectos da *pragmateia* construída por Epicuro: o estilo epistolar e aforismático, por um lado; o uso da linguagem simples e direta, por outro.

Keywords: Epicuro; *physiologia*; *pragmateia*; Epístolas; aforismos.

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EPICURISMO E EXERCITAÇÃO MORAL EM MONTAIGNE

Entendemos ser possível entrever múltiplos mapas de acesso ao epicurismo dos *Ensaio*s de Montaigne, entre eles destacamos a via que agrega temas sobre ética e aqueles de viés antropológico. Trata-se de questões reunidas sobre as lentes da ampla tópica da pluralidade (de mundos, de culturas, de costumes) e, sobretudo, da vinculação alma e corpo e seus desdobramentos nas abordagens relacionadas às paixões e aos ajuizamentos morais. Para nosso objetivo sobressaem dois tópicos que consideramos firmar a recepção do epicurismo na ética montaigniana: 1. o exercício que proporciona a adequação dos desejos e o vínculo entre o prazer e a virtude; e 2. o imediato efeito da exercitação filosófica para

a vida. Do epicurismo nos interessa os aspectos que repercutem na prática filosófica montaigniana em seu viés formativo e moral e o quanto essa prática pode corresponder à interpretação hadotiana da filosofia helenística, isto é, a filosofia como uma maneira de viver e como prática que se conquista por exercícios intelectuais. Conjecturamos que Montaigne propõe uma “maneira” de elaboração do ajuizamento moral que se mantém em diálogo com o que ele mesmo denomina de “verdadeira filosofia”; esta, por sua vez, é acionada não somente por uma matéria, ou seja, um tema, um acontecimento ou uma doutrina filosófica, mas também por um modo de entender o próprio filosofar, que, em certa medida, se aproxima da terapêutica das paixões epicurista identificada por P. Hadot. **Keywords:** Montaigne; epicurismo; ajuizamento moral; Hadot; exercícios intelectuais.

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EPICURUS AGAINST EPISTĒMĒ

This paper defends Asmis' claim, against objections by Fine, that Epicurus didn't acknowledge any condition superior to true belief in accordance with experience. While both agree Epicurus calls beliefs formed in accordance with experience *gnōsis*, Fine argues Epicurus recognized a further condition of reason, wisdom, with greater epistemic value than *gnōsis*. Fine's evidence is that Epicurus seems to think one makes cognitive improvements by memorizing the *Authoritative Beliefs*. But the memorization of doctrines is a preventative cure against the reintroduction of false beliefs, not a means to reach deeper insights about the world. I then argue that in limiting his epistemological aims to *gnōsis* Epicurus rejected a state of reason that affords insight beyond experience, which Plato called *epistēmē*. Epicurus' position can be contextualized in relation to Theaetetus' second definition of *epistēmē* as true belief: he denies *epistēmē* is true belief, but only because true beliefs (those formed in accordance with experience) is the best we can get. Further, I argue we can see the traces of Epicurus' reading of *Theaetetus* in his talk of experience “counter-witnessing” the non-evident. This forensic language borrows from the jury case by which Socrates rejected the second definition. For Epicurus, the condition of a jury receiving testimony from an eyewitness both is and is like the condition of reason receiving evidence from experience. This helps explain, in turn, his recommendation of acquiring true beliefs through testimony, e.g. by memorizing the *Authoritative Beliefs*.

Keywords: knowledge; true belief; testimony; experience; Plato.

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LA IGNORANCIA CRUEL DEL FILÓSOFO: ÉPICURO Y EL PENSAMIENTO ANARQUISTA EN ESPAÑA

El epicureísmo ha constituido un revulsivo recurrente en el pensamiento político contemporáneo, como referente del eudemonismo, materialismo y laicismo, con una presencia destacada en la Ilustración radical y diversas corrientes socialistas. Esta comunicación

analiza algunos ejemplos de su recepción anarquista, fundamentalmente a través de la *La Revista Blanca* (1898-1936), editada por la familia Montseny-Mañé y principal medio de comunicación español del anarquismo en su versión más teórica e intelectualista. En general, la actitud de los autores libertarios hacia Epicuro resultó ambivalente. Por encima de todo, valoraron su insistencia en el bienestar del ser humano como prioridad ética, poniéndola en relación con su crítica a la religión como agente coercitivo y su cuestionamiento de la metafísica como elucubración alienante de las élites. No obstante, el epicureísmo también fue atacado por dos razones fundamentales: por un lado, se advirtió del riesgo que conllevaba su dimensión sensualista en lo concerniente a la degeneración de la conducta personal y social; por otro, rechazaron su aparente desconexión con la realidad inmediata y la acción política, utilizándolo como un símbolo del hedonismo egoísta propio del individualismo burgués. Esas contradicciones ayudan a comprender la complejidad de la recepción de la filosofía antigua en la base intelectual de los movimientos socialistas. Más concretamente, la recepción de las ideas de Epicuro (inseparable de la reflexión sobre otras doctrinas antiguas, en especial el aristotelismo y el estoicismo) nos habla acerca del posicionamiento heterogéneo e hipercrítico del anarquismo respecto de la Historia del pensamiento occidental.

Keywords: recepción; ética; epicureísmo; eudemonismo; anarquismo; Federico Urales; Federica Montseny.

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THE WISE MAN AND THE SEA: EPICUREANS ON SEA STORMS, SHIPWRECK, AND τύχη

The idea that the sea is a dangerous and alien element in which one is at the mercy of higher powers, is deeply imbedded in Mediterranean culture, and has many parallels in Greek and Roman literature. From an Epicurean point of view, however, such higher powers belong to the realm of irrational beliefs which could threaten one's ἀταραξία. What counts in Epicureanism is the rational calculus (νήφων λογισμός) of all factors in order to minimize the influence of τύχη on one's endeavors. Yet, it seems that even the Epicureans considered the sea a treacherous environment, and sea-faring a dangerous business (Lucr. DRN V, 999-1006). In De morte 32ff., Philodemus argues that, although it is foolish to believe that dying at sea is particularly bad, travelling by sea for unnecessary affairs is to be avoided. In fr. 71– NF 214 + fr. 72–fr. 70, Diogenes of Oenoanda recounts the story of Niceratus, who almost died during a sea voyage. He ascribes this unfortunate turn of events to a failure to minimize the agency of chance, for which he blames Niceratus' friends, who foolishly sent him on his errand. In this paper, I aim to demonstrate the extreme importance of the Epicurean rational calculus concerning the issue of travel by sea, traditionally the province of divine providence. Moreover, I shall demonstrate that the failure of Niceratus' friends to correctly apply the principle of νήφων λογισμός, is a serious violation of Epicurean doctrine, which threatens several core values of the School's ethics.

Keywords: Diogenes of Oenoanda; Philodemus; the sea; Ethics; calculus; τύχη.

PANEL 22. ANCIENT NECROPOLITICS: POLITICIZING DEATH AND THE DEAD IN ANCIENT GREECE

Panel Conveners

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Osman Balkan (Keynote Speaker)

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SOVEREIGN POWER, NECROPOLITICS, AND THE LIMITS OF THE HUMAN

Timothy Shea (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA)

Eleanna Prevedorou (M. H. Wiener Laboratory, ASCSA, Greece / Center for Bioarchaeological Research, School of Human Evolution and Social Change, Arizona State University, USA)

Jane E. Buikstra (Center for Bioarchaeological Research, School of Human Evolution and Social Change, Arizona State University, USA)

THE MASS GRAVES AND CEMETERY AT PHALERON: CEMETERIES AS MANIFESTATIONS OF NECROPOLITICS IN ARCHAIC ATHENS

Between 2012 and 2016, a series of mass burials were excavated near the ancient harbor of Phaleron in Athens, part of a larger necropolis dating to the Archaic period. As reported by Chryssoulaki (2019, 2020), in the largest mass grave adult men in general good health had stood or kneeled while they were executed, still shackled and bound to one another. Instead of removing the iron shackles from the dead men's hands, those performing the mass burials deliberately left their hands shackled and dragged the bodies into the trench—prisoners in death as in life. We argue that the treatment of the individuals at Phaleron represents a powerful necropolitical act inflicted on these corpses that fits what Bargu describes as a “dishonoring, disciplining, and punishment of the living through the utilization of the dead as postmortem objects of sites of violence” (Bargu 2016). We also use Foucauldian notions of state racism, central to necropolitical studies, to demonstrate the ways in which residents of Athens differentiated between subgroups of the population in the funerary landscape. While the elite buried within permanent family plots where family memory could be recreated and reperformed with each subsequent burial, disenfranchised peoples, including immigrants, non-citizen residents, freedmen, freedwomen, and slaves would bury members of their marginalized communities within informal cemeteries that developed in less desirable areas of the city and its environs. In this paper we situate the mass burials and their wider cemetery context of Phaleron into the necropolitical structure of Archaic Athenian cemeteries.

Keywords: bioarchaeology, mass graves, Archaic period, Athens

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ODYSSEUS' CORPSES: NECROPOLITICS AND HOMER'S *ODYSSEY*

Per Achille Mbembe's "Necropolitics," "the ultimate expression of sovereignty resides, for the most part, in the power and the capacity to dictate who may live and who must die" (Mbembe 2003: 11). This expression of sovereign power over human bodies extends beyond death to include control over corpses and their rights to be mourned, interred, etc. Such imposition of political power over the dead reaches back to Homer with Achilles' abuse (and later return) of Hector's body in the *Iliad*. Taking Homer as an origin for necropolitics in Greek literature, I read Odysseus and Telemachus' purge of the suitors, slave women, and Melanthius in *Odyssey* 22 as an expression of biopower and their treatment of corpses as a necropolitical claim to sovereignty. In stark contrast to the effort and care Odysseus earlier takes to perform funeral rights for Elpenor, the bodies of the suitors and Odysseus' maligned slaves receive far less respect. The suitors' bodies are abandoned outside for reclamation if and when word reaches a loved one, Melanthius is mutilated, and, in my reading, the fate of the domestic slaves prefigures the reflections of Arendt and Agamben on concentration camps. Within the biopolitical order, the paradox of sovereignty extends to slavery: much as the sovereign operates both within and above the law, slaves are inscribed within the law yet excluded from political life (cf. Mbembe 2003: 21). At play, I argue, is not only vengeance but also an emphatic political performance as Odysseus reclaims his kingship and his *oikos*.

Keywords: Homer, *Odyssey*, sovereignty, necropolitics, biopolitics, corpse abuse, slavery

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RESISTING NECROPOLITICS IN SOPHOCLES' *ANTIGONE*

In his *Necropolitics*, Achille Mbembe posits necropower as the power to create *deathworlds*, "new and unique forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to living conditions that confer upon them the status of the *living dead*" (2019: 92; cf. 2003: 40). Necropolitics controls mortality by deciding who can live and who must die. This paper treats Antigone's tomb as a death-world, a sort of "walled state" (Brown 2014) in which Creon immures his niece as a living dead. In this death-world, I argue, we witness three acts of resistance to Creon's necropolitics: Antigone's suicide, Haemon's ritualistic marriage to Antigone, and his suicide. By deciding how and that they die, Antigone and Haemon mitigate or usurp Creon's necropower, becoming in the process "willful subjects" (Ahmed 2014); and by ritualistically marrying the dead Antigone, Haemon thwarts his father's wish to have Death "break his marriage off" (575) and deprives Death, the Ur-wielder of necropower, of a virgin bride. The tomb is thus transformed from spatialized necropower to a container of two married suicides. This reading, I suggest, has implications for Haemon's political subjectivity in *Antigone* and for Mbembe's pessimistic necropolitics.

Keywords: necropower, death-world, tomb, suicide, marriage

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NON-LIVABLE LIFE, NON-GRIEVABLE DEATH: THE NECROPOLITICAL TREATMENT OF AJAX'S LIFE AND DEATH

The most famous unburied body in Sophoclean tragedy is that of Polyneices in *Antigone*, which thus makes it the most obvious candidate for exploring necropolitical violence exerted on a body considered non grievable (Butler 2006, 2009). The 'splendour' of *Antigone*, however, blurs our 'vision' and makes us disregard the fact that the body which is utterly maltreated, both alive and dead, is Ajax's of the play bearing his name.

Ajax begins with the striking image of a cruel Athena, present on stage albeit invisible to other characters, who is determined to continue ridiculing and humiliating Ajax by making him prey to such delusion of mind that leads him to his demise. Another striking picture is painted by the hunting imagery that opens the play, with Ajax being the hunted animal, and Odysseus the hunter. I will argue in this paper that Ajax is depicted in the Prologue of the play as a targeted individual, a 'lesser' human being which is cruelly hunted by the goddess Athena, and finally ensnared and led to kill himself. The scene of smeared-with-blood Ajax later collapsing on a pile of dead animals, himself in the state of a 'living dead', corroborates the equation. This cruelty of the goddess has greatly puzzled scholars so far, for it is hardly attested in any other literary source. I suggest that Athena (personifying the Athenian state) may be seen as the state power that dismisses dissident individuals as 'living dead', or as 'material' to be disposed of (Butler 2009; Balkan 2019; Özdemir & Özyürek 2019). The necropolitical power exerted over the living body of Ajax continues after his death. His body becomes the "postmortem object and site of violence" (Bargu 2016), where the sovereign policies of the Atreidae are applied; in order to intimidate, control and discipline the living the Atreidae ought to leave the body unburied for further humiliation and desecration. I will also argue that the burial, which is finally (but reluctantly) allowed, is performed hastily and non ceremonially, so that even this rudimentary ritual becomes devoid of its symbolic force.

Keywords: Greek tragedy, non-burial, disposable person, dissident individual, sovereignty, necropolitical power, desecration, ungrievable death

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THE NON-BURIAL AT THEBES: ATTIC TRAGEDY AND THE ATHENIAN APPARATUS OF DEATH
Euripides' *Suppliant Women* revolves around an act of necropolitical violence (Bargu 2016): Creon's refusal to allow the retrieval and burial of the Argives who attacked Thebes under the leadership of Adrastus in order to help Polyneikes get his share of the throne in his native city. To avert this cruel act, Adrastus, the mothers of the Argive war leaders and the sons of the latter arrive as suppliants at Eleusis, asking for Athens' intervention on their behalf. Despite his initial refusal, Theseus, the king of Athens, is eventually persuaded to help and after a military confrontation between the Athenian and the Theban armies,

the Argive dead are free to recover and bury. The burial they receive, however, exceeds expectations. The lot of soldiers is tended by Theseus himself and buried at Eleutherae, near the battlefield, and the Seven (actually the five) are transferred to Eleusis, cremated and lamented. Adrastus even delivers a funeral oration. Thus, the entire scene acquires the form of a civic ritual which the Athenian audience would recognize: the annual honorific public burial of Athenian war dead at Kerameikos.

In my contribution to this panel, I draw examples from *Suppliant Women* and other tragedies of the Theban saga (Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*, Sophocles' *Antigone* and Euripides' *Phoenician Women*) in order to argue that all these burial rites and decrees regarding the fate of dead soldiers, which are dramatic reflections of real-life ones, belong to what I call the Athenian death apparatus (i.e. the Foucauldian *dispositif*; Foucault 1980 [1977], 194-198). Part of this apparatus is a set of necropolitical practices, like withholding burial rites altogether. The ultimate purpose of this death apparatus, which targeted both the living and the dead, was to protect and preserve the democratic regime, reproduce the ideology of the *polis* but also reproduce and consolidate the Athenian hegemonic ideology and rule by constructing citizens appropriate for these purposes. It is my contention that arguing for the existence of such an apparatus is a way to give coherence to a set of at first glance unrelated laws and funerary practices.

Keywords: Greek tragedy, death apparatus (*dispositif*), necropolitics, war dead, traitors, public burial, funeral oration, funerary legislation

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WHAT HAPPENED TO THE ATHENIAN DEAD AT DELION (424 BCE)? EURIPIDES, THUCYDIDES, AND THE TWO FACES OF NECROPOLITICS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY BCE

The paper aims at reassessing the chronology of Euripides' *Suppliant Women* and at undermining its potential use as proof of 'necropolitics' in the aftermath of the battle of Delion (424 BCE). The Athenian recovery of the Argive heroes fallen against Thebes belonged to the patriotic core of Athenian selfpresentation: its presence in the *epitaphios logos* and the depiction on the *Stoa Poikile* in the half of the Fifth Century BCE document the central place of this myth in Athens. Scholarship has thus been eager to accept that Euripides' treatment of the episode in his *Suppliant Women* constitutes a chronological hint to date the tragedy after the battle of Delion (424 BCE). During that clash, the Boiotians refused to immediately grant the recovery of the Athenian corpses: Thucydides (4.97-99) reports in indirect speech the contacts between the Boiotians and the Athenians in the aftermath of the battle. Far from being a likely historical antecedent, the many differences between the narratives cannot represent a proof that Euripides echoed Thucydides. The two parties held different views on the necropower of the Athenian dead. Yet, of relevance for both armies was the legal possessor of the battlefield, more than the treatment of the corpses. As a comparison with the other sources on the battle will prove, the *Suppliant Women* still echo a rhetorical use of the fallen

corpses, in contrast with the actual attitude of the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War. **Keywords:** Euripides, Thucydides, Delion, Peloponnesian War, Boiotians, Necropower, *epitaphios logos*

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THE *DEMOS* AS MOTHER AND FATHER - THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE ATHENIAN STATE BURIAL

The institution of the Athenian state burial for the war dead is best attested by Thucydides's sentences (2.34) that precede Perikles's famous funeral speech. What Thucydides describes in this chapter as a *patrios nomos* – the laying-out of the dead, the lament, the praising, the construction of a *sema*, and the focus of the commemoration – had in fact been the traditional duty and privilege of the dead's kin. The ceremony of the burial and the rituals of commemoration had demonstrated the agency and the choices of the families, with heavy involvement of the dead's female relatives. After the Kleisthenic reforms of 508/7 BCE, at a time still disputed, the *demoi* decided to appropriate the responsibility of burying and commemorating (!) the war dead collectively and *demotia*, in a ceremony organized by the *demoi*, in a space defined by the *demoi* and with monuments and inscriptions designed by the *demoi*. With this step, the *demoi* – that is, the state, embodied by the Athenian citizens – usurped the mothers' and fathers', sisters' and brothers' traditional privilege to bury and to commemorate the dead in the way they chose and considered adequate, and it monopolized the right to define (and to eternalize) the identity of the dead – as members of their *phylai*, not as part of their families!

This paper traces the steps that led from the mass burial of the war dead on or near the battle field, organized by the *demoi*, to the decision (decisive in my view) to take the war dead home and bury them outside the city gates in collective tombs with monuments – monuments that, curiously, and in stark contrast to previous practice, remained without images. Until ca. 430 BCE, these *demotia mnemata* were the only monumental stone memorials for the dead; private tombs had only modest markers made of wood, probably without any images either. By highlighting the war dead and making them the sole recipients of impressive monuments, the *demoi* demonstrated who were considered valuable members of the community (cf. Thuc. 2.41.5; 43.4): those who were willing to risk (and eventually lose) their lives for the polis (regardless whether their commitment resulted in victory or defeat). (And at the end of his speech, Thuc. 2.44.3 appeals to the audience to beget more children, as reinforcement and a security for the polis!).

The paper discusses the implications of the *demoi*'s appropriation of duties that, traditionally, had been the tasks of the families, and it offers a short forecast of what can be regarded as attempts to cope with this new sovereignty over the dead and over their commemoration.

Keywords: Athens, state burial, commemoration, public and private, grave monument

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CLASSICAL ATHENS AND ITS MENTAL INFRASTRUCTURE OF REMEMBRANCE

How did classical, and democratic Athens remember the fallen? Rhetoric and ritual combined into a public event, repeated every year for the latest war dead, and forging an indelible connection between them, their predecessors in myth and history, and their living Athenian compatriots.

The war dead were exalted and made into ideal citizens: their life and their death served their *polis*; their identification with the democratic constitution of Athens was total (or so the funeral orations claimed). The fallen and their memory became the central link between the gods, the land of Attica, the dead ancestors, the living citizens and the Athenian constitution. In the act of remembering the fallen – named casualties and Unknown Warrior alike – democratic Athens constituted itself and set up an ideal image of itself as a citizen body, an institutional frame and an ideology.

And indeed the Athenian fallen received highest accolades as war dead and citizens. Yet, being applauded and remembered as a group, they lost most of their individuality – the *polis* took over responsibilities and rights that traditionally belonged to the family of the dead person: their personal achievements, the wealth of a family or a distinct, diverse ideological flourish in the memory of an individual Athenian were practically abolished. The equality that Athenian democracy valued and foregrounded, that was expressed in votes and jury duty, as in the drawing of lots for many positions, applied also in the equal memory accorded to all the war dead – one line of inscription on the state memorial.

Official memorialisation accorded an equal share of hero status to many, limited the opportunities for self-representation of the wealthier ones and actively denied the existence of any other *raison-d'être* but democratic Athens.

In a process that began with the Persian Wars, the *polis* appropriated rights and obligations that had earlier rested within the family. This generated a tension, inherent in said appropriation of the fallen citizen warriors' bodies and their memories by the state, that can be interpreted not only in reference to scholarship on ancient Athens (Nicole Loraux, *The Invention of Athens. The Funeral Oration in the Classical City*, 1981; Nathan T. Arrington, *Ashes, Images and Memories. The Presence of the War Dead in Fifth-Century Athens*, 2015), but also in dialogue with models and concepts developed by other disciplines, in particular Hannah Arendt (*The Human Condition / Vita activa* (1958); Samuel Scheffler (*Death and the Afterlife*, 2016) and Francis Fukuyama (*Identity*, 2018).

Keywords: remembrance, public-private in Classical Athens, war dead, *demosion sema*, mental infrastructure, *epitaphios logos*, democracy, ideology

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TWO ARE BETTER THAN ONE: SECOND GRAVES FOR WAR DEAD IN FIFTH-CENTURY ATHENS

Death, thanatologists often state, is the “Great Equalizer.” A simple stroll to a cemetery may prove them wrong; true, we are all destined to die. However, the last honors, tombstones, and epitaphs manifest as much socio-economic inequality in death as in life. The rising Athenian democracy attempted to root out this discrimination by: A) imposing new regulations on funerals, and B) initiating a custom of repatriating the war dead and bury them *en masse* at public expense. As a result, private grave markers dated from ca. 490-430 are abruptly missing in archeology. According to the prevalent assumption in scholarship, since the city monopolized the commemoration of the war dead, family tombs became illegitimate.

The presented paper challenges this perception, suggesting that families never fully conceded their privileges. Instead, they have continuously erected cenotaphs as an addition to the polyandron. Scholars, e.g. Christoph Clairmont, argued *ex silentio*; notwithstanding, Greek funerary customs did not mandate a marker, let alone one that consisted of durable materials. The absence of findings, therefore, is inadequate to attest to a dramatic change in the mortuary practices. Furthermore, second tombs were typical in the Greek world, as households set up an empty grave for their fallen kin who was buried in a mass grave. Families were expected to honor fallen relatives privately, regardless of any public obsequies. Those tombs were part of Greek tradition as well as of the appropriate religious mortuary rites.

Keywords: Death, Burial, Cenotaphs, War Dead, Democratic Athens, Class Conflict

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THE POLITICAL DEATH: THE PUBLIC FUNERAL FOR THE WAR DEAD IN DEMOCRATIC ATHENS

In a prominent passage of his work, Thucydides (2,34) describes the Athenian funeral ceremony for the war dead. Among the most spectacular facets of the ritual is that it was performed only once a year. As fragments of the monuments with inscribed lists of the fallen show, this was the case even if the casualties were brought back at various points in time from different battle sites throughout the Mediterranean. Scholars unanimously hold that the ritual persisted in this unique form until the late fourth century, when Athens' autonomy and direct democracy vanished. However, on the basis of a thorough investigation of the accessible original remains of the grave monuments and the relevant literary sources, I argue that we need to adjust our models: The material evidence for this idiosyncratic once-a-year-burial of the fallen Athenians is restricted to the six decades from the mid-460s to the end of the Peloponnesian War, with only one further instance in 394. It is highly likely that the once-a-year mode of the Athenian public funeral basically ended with the Athenian supremacy at the end of the fifth century. The consequences are far reaching: The public burial rites provided one of the most important ideological plat-

forms for asserting Athens' unity of power and democracy. A better understanding of how the Athenians dealt with their fallen fellow citizens, how the public funeral rites changed over time, and how a range of classical authors used literary explorations into the funeral speeches to address questions of power and democracy has profound ramifications on how we read the classical Athenian democracy at large. The paper thus develops a new understanding of a central aspect of classical Athenian history.

Keywords: Athens, War, Public Funeral, Power, Democracy

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HONOUR, SHAME, AND CIVIC IDENTITY: THE ATHENIAN CELEBRATION OF THE WAR DEAD

Based on a recent new edition of *IG I³ 1147*, this paper discusses both this document and the wider context of the public celebration of the war casualties in Classical Athens. While technical epigraphic aspects are briefly discussed, the paper focuses prominently on historical, social, and political issues: the cultural context of the casualty lists, their underlying ideology, and the possible motives for their disappearance.

The first section of the paper quickly presents new photographs and autoptic readings of *IG I³ 1147*. The second, most extensive section moves from these observations to discuss recurring, peculiar thematic features of the casualty lists. By comparing the epigraphic and the literary evidence, the paper highlights the significant bias of the latter in regard to the social and political role of commanders and soldiers, the civic identity of the Athenian citizen and non-citizen corpus, as well as the status of the Athenian military within the wider contemporary social discourse.

These features suggest a state-promoted civic unity and cohesion with clear (necro-)political implications: despite some recent objections, the Athenian celebration of the war dead, while not perfectly egalitarian, definitely emerges as much more inclusive than the rigid scenario commonly found in literary sources and often adopted by modern assumptions. The ideology of the casualty lists expressed the honour of those who performed their duty, the shame of those who failed to, and the shared identity of the Athenian civic body. This view presents remarkable parallels with the attested examples of 'social rehabilitation' and inclusion of marginalized communities in military contexts during the 20th and 21st centuries.

Keywords: Casualty lists, Classical Athens, celebration of the war dead, honour, shame, recognition, civic identity, inclusivity, Athenian society, military history

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THE DROWNED AND THE EXPOSED. THE MISTREATMENT OF THE DEAD PHOCIANS AND THE THIRD SACRED WAR

According to Diodorus Siculus, in the aftermath of the battle of Crocus Fields, Philip II ordered the exposure of the dead body of Onomarchus and the mass-drowning into the sea of about 3000 Phocian mercenaries as a punishment for their impiety (16, 35, 5-6; 61, 2). The custom of mistreating the dead or dying bodies was not new to Greek collective imaginary and was strictly related to the anthropological concept of impurity. However, the war event can be also analysed by a semiotic point of view, considering that the display of the leader's corpse by hanging (or by crucifixion) and the disposal of the soldiers' dead bodies into the sea heavily reorientated individual and collective emotions, psychological reactions, and forms of commemoration of the battle in the public domain. This contribution argues that the account of Diodorus is to be considered within the wider framework of the different interpretations of the Phocian's defeat that were shaped at Athens in the year following the end of the Third Sacred War by both the pro-Macedonian and the pro-Phocians circles with opposite propagandist aims. The politicization of death and mistreatment of the Phocians' dead bodies mark the intent to legitimize Philip's political authority over Greece and, simultaneously, to marginalize the concurrent narrative of the Phocians' fate. It does not seem to be accidental that Demosthenes omits any references to the bodily penalties which were perpetrated on the dead Phocians since their *asebeia* is an objective embarrassment in his effort to justify the alliance between Athens and Phocis.

Keywords: Phocis, Phocians, Philip, Athens, Diodorus, Demosthenes

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NECROPOLITICS IN HELLENISTIC RHODES: THE CASE OF THE KOINA

An established aspect of the history of archaeology diachronically is research pursuing the justification of social and political phenomena under a very limited, material-driven scope. Luckily, we have mostly moved beyond this paradigm, yet this monothematic approach remains popular in the interpretation of archaeological material. How can the theoretical concept of necropolitics – mainstreamed by Achille Mbembe in 2003 – be applied in modern archaeological research and discourse, and how can funerary archaeology in particular contribute to larger political and social discussions on choice and freedom in death? This paper presents a contextual approach to necropolitics in Hellenistic Rhodes. The focus is a case study associated with the *koina* (associations) of foreigners and their burial provisions. As exemplified from inscriptions and other archaeological evidence, non-Rhodians did not have the same freedom in death as Rhodians. To what extent – however – have these provisions shaped their individual and collective approach to death and bereavement? A closer examination of the tombs and the funerary monuments associated with these *koina* will enable us to reflect on fundamental biopolitical aspects such

as individual and collective choice over death and dying within the socioeconomic setting of Hellenistic Rhodes.

Keywords: ancient necropolitics, biopolitics, funerary archaeology, death and bereavement, Hellenistic Rhodes.

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THE EMPEROR JULIAN AND THE POLITICS OF DEATH

Struggles over religion were avowedly necropolitical in late antiquity, yet have not yet been addressed as such by scholarship. The fourth century Greek east witnessed explicit conflict between reformers, both pagan and Christian, over the place of the dead, as rival religious figures sought to commemorate their own deceased forebears and control the wider public discourse around them. This paper will elucidate how such battles were pivotal in the life and reign of the emperor Julian. Julian attempted to disrupt Christian cult practices and sites concerned with the dead, removing the bones of the martyr Babylas from the grounds of the temple of Apollo at Daphne and prohibiting outright the procession of saints' bones through city streets. He was consciously committed to avoiding new martyrdoms by outright persecution, successfully enough to arouse the ire of Christian contemporaries. Yet his measures not merely pragmatic attempts to disrupt cult practices, but also reflected deep traditional and Neoplatonic beliefs about the polluting effects that the physical remains of the dead might have on personal and civic health. Spiritual as well as pragmatic concerns thus dictated the presence, visibility and activity of the dead in public space. And Julian's own life would be entwined with the practices he sought to erase: remembered as both a maker of martyrs and as their victim (his death later attributed to the intercession of St. Mercurius), his reign ironically helped cement a Christian necropolitical vision as a core feature of Greco-Roman identity in centuries to come.

Keywords: Emperor Julian, Hero-worship, Saints' cults, paganism, Christianity, Late Antiquity

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A NECROPOLITICS OF POSTHUMAN BODIES? YORGOS LANTHIMOS' *THE LOBSTER* (2015) AND *THE KILLING OF A SACRED DEER* (2017)

In this paper, I explore a question that follows on the emergence of 'necropolitics' in context of 'posthumanism.' Posthumanism reveals how claims about 'human nature' are ideological and often anti-historical: going farther than postmodern/ist explorings of simple unified 'subjectivity,' posthumanism draws critical historical attention to cultural constructions of, above all, 'the [sc. (normative) human] body.' In this context, if necropolitics has been framed as furthering 'biopolitics,' then something is, as it were, buried there: for the opposite of bio- or 'life-politics' is 'death-politics,' i.e.,

thanato-politics. In light of that possibility, emergent emphasis on *necro*-politics may be read as attempting the critical-historical return of that which is perhaps most often repressed—namely, *nekros* or *dead body*. From this posthumanist perspective, necropolitics exposes the constructedness of a cultural tradition's definition of 'life' by asking: When is a body—when is somebody—meaningfully 'dead'?

To consider that question in this paper, I focus on examples of classical reception—itsself a freighted encounter with something no longer 'living'—in a genre devoted to what is dead but will not stay gone: supernatural horror. My main examples are two films by Yorgos Lanthimos: *The Lobster* (2015), evoking Plato's 'allegory of the cave' amidst Sophoclean tragedy to expose the deathliness of superficially life-affirming romantic comedy; and *The Killing of a Sacred Deer* (2017), recalling the myth of Iphigenia in ritualized sacrifice of innocence as *nemesis* for unwitting *hubris*. These films dramatize a posthumanist necropolitics in the conflicts between incommensurable systems of understanding—i.e., defining—'the body.' With systems like matchmaking and technoscientific medicine generating information but not knowledge, bodies are not *simply* or *discretely* 'living' or 'dead' but are rather sites of complex remainder and spillover, resisting definition and, so, revealing the artificiality of such categorizations.

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THE POLITICAL 'VOICE' OF POLYDORUS' CORPSE IN EURIPIDES' *HECUBA*

Although many of the deaths are portrayed outside of the theatrical space, through poetic descriptions and lyric lamentations, the staging of death is an issue which is fundamental to theatrical practice in ancient Greek tragedy. The aesthetic of the dead body produces a powerful effect on the perspective of the audience, depending on its varying representations in different performances of ancient Greek drama. An especially revealing example is the appearance of Polydorus in Euripides' *Hecuba*. Polydorus is present in the theatrical landscape twice. Initially he appears on stage as a spectre, and then as a veiled corpse carried by the attendants of Hecuba's serving woman and remaining on stage until the very end of the play. Disposed to dehumanizing practices and a violent exclusion by the king of Thrace Polymestor, the exposed dead body of Polydorus, lingering between the world of the dead and the living, demands burial. It is an attempt to maintain his right to be part of a civilized society, the ideological framework of the ancient Greek world trying to impose the moral order of a civic institution on a barbaric landscape. This paper aims to investigate the semiotics of the lifeless body of Polydorus in Euripides' *Hecuba*. On the threshold between a mortal body and an eternal soul, Polydorus is in a state of transition. Through its silence and immobility, it seems to claim what rightfully entitled to. Hecuba defends the social and religious prescriptions of ancient Greek civilization by turning the unwept and unburied body of her son to a political corpse.

Keywords: staging of death, unburied body, political corpse, semiotic, Polydorus, silence, spectre, barbaric land

