Universities in Wales Institute of Classics and Ancient History Annual Conference (UWICAH)

Online and at Swansea University,
19 - 20 November 2022

About the Conference

Beginning in 2013, the Annual UWICAH conference gathers together graduate and early career research on all aspects of the ancient world and its reception in an informal and collegial environment focussed on discussion and exchange of ideas. The Universities in Wales Institute of Classics and Ancient History (UWICAH) involves the three departments in Wales whose work covers these areas: Cardiff, Lampeter, and Swansea. The hosting of the annual conference rotates among the three departments, each with a theme to focus discussion on a key issue or trend of particular importance each year:

2021: 'Communication and Interaction in the Ancient World and its Study' (Cardiff)
2020: 'Themes of Isolation in, and in the Study of, the Ancient World' (Lampeter)
2019: 'Narratives of Power' (Swansea)

The theme for this year's meeting, after much discussion, was chosen to be 'Interconnective Approaches to the Ancient World'. The organisers have felt that, especially in light of the position of the historical disciplines in current HE settings, there is a need to look outwards and build bridges between traditional disciplinary and methodological boundaries while maintaining, and developing, rigorous standards of scholarship. This may highlight the power and contribution of thought-provoking research which connects multiple realms to engage current and future needs outside of our work. Therefore, emphasising multi-disciplinary and collaborative approaches and methodologies, this conference aims to be a specific contribution to wider narratives of understanding social and political relations on different geographic, spatial, and temporal levels both inside and outside of academic research. For this reason, the programme is aimed at fostering cross-disciplinary discussion and has therefore explicitly avoided grouping papers based on discipline or time period. Rather, we hope to have grouped papers based on their ability to thematically overlap in interesting and challenging ways.

We, the organisers, hope this meeting begins and continues important conversations that continue beyond the weekend meeting, and hope you will join us in efforts towards 'Bridging the gaps'.

The Organising Committee

The Organisers

Jon Burroughs, after completing a degree in History and Art History at Latrobe University, came to Swansea to pursue PhD studies, where his research focuses on the use of precious metals in temple architecture and paraphernalia in pharaonic Egypt. He has lived and taught in Europe and Asia.

John Rogers is a PhD candidate in the Department of History, Heritage, and Classics at Swansea University. His research focuses on statehood theory and rulership ideology in early- mid-first millennium BCE Egypt, especially the Kushite and Saite dynasties (c.750-525 BCE). He has been involved with fieldwork in Egypt since 2017, and has co-organised several national and international conferences. He also likes a dram.

After a Bachelor's Degree in International Communication and a Master's Degree in Modern Italian Philology and in Teaching Italian as a Second Language, **Marika Strano** is now a second year PhD candidate in English Literature at Swansea University. Her thesis concerns the presence of the works of Giacomo Leopardi, the most famous Italian modern author, in James Joyce's masterpieces. Her interests range from English Literature to Italian, Irish, and Comparative literatures. She's currently working both on her thesis and on an essay about the reception of the Greek Myth in Giacomo Leopardi's work.

Elijah Vieira-Faira is a PhD candidate at Swansea where his research focuses on Seleucid kingship.

Olga Zapletniuk is a PhD candidate in Egyptology at Swansea University. Her research is focusing on the role of Egyptian queens in military history. She received a PhD degree in History at Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University and has published several studies on the reign of Akhenaten before coming to Swansea.

The organisers may be reached at **uwicah2022@gmail.com** for any questions or information.

The Venue

Council Chamber, Singleton Abbey

Today the administrative and postgraduate research building for Swansea University, Singleton Abbey was the historical seat of the Vivian family. However, the original version of the building, an octagonal neo-classical villa called 'Marino', was built in 1784 for Edward King, Collector of His Majesty's Customs in Swansea.

In 1809, John Vivian, from Truro, Cornwall, founded the Hafod Copper-works just outside of Swansea. His son, John Henry Vivian, leased Marino and then purchased it in 1817. He enlarged the house into a mansion reflecting his wealth and reputation, and by 1837 Singleton Abbey as it looks today was recognisable. The name of the building was changed from Marino to 'Singleton Abbey' in 1832.

The Council chamber, originally the Dining-room for the Vivians and fitted in an Elizabethan style, regular hosts university and national meetings and conferences.

Watercolour of Marino, undated; three of the eight sides survive
(Swansea Museum)

Getting here

Singleton Park Campus is set in mature parkland and botanical gardens, overlooking Swansea Bay beach, and is easily reached by public transport or car.

By Car

Travelling west on the M4 leave the motorway at junction 42 and follow signs for Swansea on the A483 (Fabian Way). On crossing the River Tawe the A483 becomes the A4067. Continue west along this road, passing Sainsbury's Superstore on the left-hand side of the road. After approximately 1.5 miles there is a footbridge over the road. The University's main entrance lies just before the footbridge and is controlled by traffic lights. As you approach the lights, keep to the right-hand lane and prepare to turn right into the University.

Parking on campus is limited, therefore the University recommends visitors park on the Recreation Ground on Mumbles road, which adjoins the campus via a short walk through Singleton Park. Alternatively, there are large Park-and-Ride sites at Port Tennant and on the A483 east of Swansea, at Landore, on the A4067 north of the city. All sites are open from 7.00 am until 7.00 pm, Monday to Saturday.

By Public Transport

A number of buses run to and from the university campuses. These include First Cymru's number 8, 9, and 10 campus to campus services, and a number of AT services. Please note that the conference is taking place on **Singleton Campus**. Many buses run directly from the train station and/or Swansea Bus station.

The two bus stops on the Singleton Park Campus are located outside Fulton House, is the main building you see when you arrive on campus. Bus stop locations can be seen on the campus map overleaf. If you are heading in the City Centre direction, you can catch the 8 or 3A from the stop directly outside Fulton House (east side of building). If you are heading to Uplands/Brynmill *etc.* you will need to get the number 10 from the stop located on the other side (east side of the Grove Building).

If you need to catch any of the other local services that do not come onto campus, there are bus stops out on the main road in front of the campus.

For more details go to the FirstBus website or download the First Bus App, or alternatively you can use Traveline Cymru's MyUniJourney Planner. Alternatively, please feel free to get in touch with your arrival and departure details and we will be more than happy to assist.

On the day, from Fulton house (building 17), make your way down the 'mall' towards Singleton Abbey (building 2); you will be greeted by one of the organisers and directed to the Council chamber.

Swansea University Campus

Key

Buildings

1	Finance Building
2	Singleton Abbey
2.1	Singleton Abbey, Stable Block
3	Keir Hardie Building
4	James Callaghan Building
5	Law Library
6	Mosque
7	Library and Information Centre
8.1	Faraday Building
8.2	Faraday Tower
8.3	Talbot Building
9	Wallace Building
9.4	Margam Building
11.1	Glyndŵr Building
11.2	Vivian Tower
11.3	Sports Science Motion Laboratory
12	Grove Building
13	Grove Building Extension
14	Richard Price Building
15	Amy Dillwyn Building
16	Haldane Building
17	Fulton House
18	Union House
19.2	Energy Centre
24	Digital Technium
31	Taliesin Annexe
32	Taliesin Arts Centre
32.1	Egypt Centre
33	Institute of Life Science 1
34	Llŷr Building
36	Institute of Life Science 2 / Centre for NanoHealth
40	Porters' Traffic Control Lodge

Student Residences

19.1	Kilvey
20	Preseli
21	Cefn Bryn
21.2, 21.3	Rhossili
22	Penmaen
23	Horton
25	Oxwich
26	Langland
27	Caswell

Academic Areas

11.1	Adult Continuing Education
4	American Studies
34	AquaCulture
9, 9.4, 11.2	Biological Sciences
16	Business
11.2	Childhood Studies
3	Classics, Ancient History & Egyptology
8.1, 8.2	Computer Science
11.2	Criminology
3	Cymraeg/Welsh
14	Economics
8.1, 8.2	Engineering
3	English
3	French
9	Geography
3	German
11.1	Health Science
3	Hispanic Studies
4	History
3	Italian
14	Law
8.3	Mathematics
3	Media and Communication Studies
12, 33	Medicine
11.2	Physics
4	Politics and International Relations
11.2	Psychology
11.2	Social Policy / Work
11.2, 11.3	Sports Science
4	War and Society

Services / Facilities

2.1	Academic Registry
2	Admissions Office
2	Alumni Office
32	Art Gallery
32	Bank
17, 18, 32	Bars
32	Bookshop
17, 18, 32	Cash Points
17	Catering Office
7	Careers and Employability
2	Central Administration
17	Chaplaincy Centre
17	Conference Office
30	Crèche / Nursery
23	Dental Surgery
3.1	Disability/Special Requirements Office
13	Disability Office - Assessment and Training Centre
17	Discovery - Student Volunteering
32.1	Egypt Centre
18	Estates Department
1	Finance Department
2	Human Resources
2.1	International Development Office
3.1	International Student Advisory Service
5	Law Library
7	Library and Information Centre
2	Marketing
3	Media Resources
17	Health Centre
3.1	Money Advice & Support Office
6	Mosque
22	Occupational Health & Emergency Centre
17	Post Office
2.1	Postgraduate Office
17	Refectory
8.2	Department of Research and Innovation
22	Residential Services
17, 18	Shops
13	Staff Development Unit
23	Student Counselling Service
3.1	Student Support Services
18	Students' Union
32	Theatre (Taliesin)
15	Transcription Centre
17	Travel Shop
23	Wellbeing Services

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Programme

Saturday, 19 November

9.00-9.15 Registration

9.15-9.30 Opening remarks and presentation of 2019 volume

9.30 – 11.00 Panel 1: Gender [Chair: Marika Strano]

Sexual Deviance and Metamorphosis in Greek Myth *Alex Macfarlane, Birmingham*

The Roman witch: The intersectionality of magic, ethnicity, and gender in Ovid's Metamorphoses (online presentation) *Antonia Aluko, University College London*

(Re)Shaping the surface: Critical Phenomenology, Affect, and Subversion in modern interpretations of Epic poetry (online presentation) *Alexandra Meghji, University College London*

11.00 – 11.30 Coffee Break

11.30-13.30 Panel 2: Movement (Online presentations to the conference) [Chair: Jon Burroughs]

Animals in a foreign land: An interdisciplinary approach to understanding early interconnections between Egypt and the Levant *Eleutério Abreu De Sousa, Macquarie University*

Craftsmen as agents in Late Bronze Age Mesopotamia *Yu Song, New York University, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World*

Mapping production and procurement of resin in the Eastern Mediterranean Late Bronze Age (in-person) *Catherine Bishop, University of Liverpool*

13.30 – 14.30 Lunch

14.30 – 16.00 Panel 3: The landscape and the local [Chair: John Rogers]

Between the mountains and the sea: A connective approach to Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Crete *Dominic Pollard, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World*

Ninety-citied Crete: Localism, alterity, and poetic authority in the Odyssey *Frances Pickworth, University of Bristol*

Athena and Trophonius: The use of religious sites in constructing Boeotia *George Allen, University of Liverpool*

*c.*16.00 onwards: Introduction to the Egypt Centre and Handling Session

Sunday, 20 November

10.00-11.30 Panel 4: Creating Knowledge and practising ritual (online presentations to the conference) [Chair: Olga Zapletniuk]

Constellations of Knowledge: Religion as a science in ancient Egypt *Elizabeth Leaning, University of Auckland*

The impact of foreign religion on Roman civic identities: Astrological power *Joel Curzon, Cardiff University*

Towards a theory of ritual in Late Bronze Age Crete: How do we discern and identify ritual actions? *Anastasia Vergaki, Irish Institute of Hellenic Studies*

11.30-12.00 Coffee Break

12.00 – 13.30: Panel 5: Intra- and Inter-cultural translations [Chair: Elijah Vieira-Faria]

'The people universally were pleased': The reception of the Behistun inscription and Acheamenid propaganda among Yahwists *Gad Barnea, University of Haifa*

Untranslatability and the case of Ptolemaic priestly decrees *Giulia Tonon, University of Liverpool*

Pliny's perception of North Africa: An extension of Rome or foreign lands? *Lucas Amaya, PPGLC/UFRJ, ATRIUM/UFMS, Durham University*

Taking notes on the wall: The case of *Verg. Aen.* 2, 1, '*conticuere omnes*' (online presentation) Maria Camilla Mastriani, University of Naples Federico II / Sorbonne

13.30-14.30: Lunch

14.30 – 16.00: Panel 6: Construction and corrosion of politics [Chair: John Rogers]

On the cusp of the Hellenistic era: The Carian *poleis* and the satrap Asander *Oliver Clarke, University of Oxford*

Re-evaluating Seleucid Numismatic evidence: Defaced coinage and resistance in the Seleucid Empire *Elijah Vieira-Faria, Swansea University*

16.00-16.30 Coffee and closing round-table

*c.*17.00 Closing remarks

All are invited for dinner after the close of the conference

Abstracts

Athena and Trophonius: The use of religious sites in constructing Boeotia

George Allen
University of Liverpool

The development of local identities in a wider context have been extensively studied in recent years (e.g. Beck 2020, Thonemann 2015, Dignas and Audley-Miller 2020). The constant renegotiation of identity in Boeotia can be most clearly seen in the changing use of Boeotia cult sites. This paper will focus on two in particular: Athena Itonia near Alalcomenae and the Oracle of Trophonius at Lebadea. In each case, we can see the emergence of a local cult site, determined by geography. Subsequent use (both practical and political), along with the emergence of local myths surrounding these sites highlights the emergence of several understandings of the geography and politics of Boeotia. The geographical, cultural, political, and religious lenses for understanding the use of these cult sites in Boeotia over the period of c.800 BCE – 100CE demonstrates the non-linear process of renegotiation of these sites in order to offer links between sites within Boeotia. This paper will focus on two interconnected aspects of these sites: the political use, and mythological understanding of these sites, both by the Boeotians as well as by others. In comparing the development of the mythologies surrounding these two sites, I will examine the role which political expediency played in the deliberate renegotiation of common myths of these two cult sites, and the subsequent impact that this had on their use in forming social, religious and cultural identities in Boeotia, as well as how they were used by other non-Boeotian groups.

Beck, H. 2020. Localism and the Ancient Greek City-State, London, University of Chicago Press. Dignas, B., Audley-Miller, L. (eds.) 2020. Wandering Myths. Transcultural Uses of Myth in the Ancient World, Boston: De Gruyter.
Thonemann, P. 2015 The Hellenistic World: Using Coins as Sources Cambridge Cambridge University Press.

The Roman witch: The intersectionality of magic, ethnicity, and gender in Ovid's Metamorphoses

Antonia Aluko
University College London

Witchcraft in the Imperial Roman imagination inspires horror, clearly seen in its treatment within Ovid's Metamorphoses. Witches are often described as ethnically 'other' due to their magic, geographical origins or being characterised as a distinct group illustrating witchcraft as a form of ethnicity itself. Hence, within these Latin texts, witches are more than women with supernatural abilities but 'othered' individuals with a complex identity, history, and culture. Textually, these women's identities lie at the intersections of geographical, social, and sexual margins allowing them to be discriminated against by the reader and we are invited to experience their alienation.

Medea (Met.7) and Circe in (Met.14) are exempla of the dangers of witchcraft; misogynistic language and characterisation connect their ethnicity to barbarism. We can locate and explore women with intersectional experiences in the Metamorphoses, find a seemingly misogynistic discriminatory discourse on a complex identity and how it figures in the genre of epic. Furthermore, a study into these Ovidian witches, differing from Greek characterisations, could perceive the social geography of Imperial Rome, rejected facets of a person's identity and how this identity was received by the elite, Roman man.

Intersectionality, conceived by Black feminists (*e.g.*, Lorde 1984 and Crenshaw 1989) who experienced racism and misogyny, can examine the characterisation of fictional witches with multiple aspects to their identities. Kristeva (1982) offers that the intersectional in crossing multiple different identities correlate with the abject in breaking social boundaries. The Roman witch is intersectional and abject through her complex identity in lying outside the social hierarchy of Rome.

Ovid's witches are rejected by men, only occupying space as infamous anecdotes signifying the dangers of unchecked female power. In analysing their literary intersectional identities and matching it against the social identity of contemporary Imperial Roman witches, we can reconfigure their position in the social hierarchy.

Pliny's perception of North Africa: An extension of Rome or foreign lands?

Lucas Amaya
PPGLC/UFRJ, ATRIUM/UFMS, Durham University

We, postmodern Western citizens, are destined to anachronism. When we look back at our history, in order to change our present, we see blurred scenes that point back to ourselves: we perceive our prejudices, dilemmas, and social and political desires in societies that are different in several aspects. If not previously advised, we will justify our actions through an unreal far and gone past we made up. Accordingly, we can better understand our past by reading it laboriously and gathering information in many and diverse sources. In this seminar, we propose to examine the letters written by Pliny the Younger that talk about or refer to North Africa, the letters II.11, III.7,III.9, VI.34, VII.27, and IX.33. We intend to investigate the vocabulary, subject matters and persons Pliny uses when referring to the African part of the Roman Empire. Pliny was a prominent senator that came from the north of Italy. However, the presumed audience of his letters is the Roman Elite. Consequently, the contexts in which Pliny refers to African elements, such as persons, governors, animals and landscapes, can tell us much about what Romans thought to be the north of Africa. From there, we expect to review the Ancient Roman perception of Africa and its people and how distant it is to the image Christian Europe would paint centuries later.

‘The people universally were pleased’: The reception of the Behistun inscription and Acheamenid propaganda among Yahwists

Gad Barnea
University of Haifa

The Behistun (Bisotun/Bisitun) inscription of Darius I (DB), from 520–519 BCE, is certainly the most important Achaemenid royal inscription. This tri-lingual creation—written in Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian-Akkadian—was energetically promulgated throughout the empire. It was not merely a piece of propaganda, but an outright manifesto—expressing, in engaging literary fashion, Darius I’s religious, moral and philosophical worldview, his vision for the empire and his version of history. The magnitude of the impact of these texts (since each version is somewhat different)—and especially the Aramaic version which was the one that was disseminated across the empire—on the literature of the peoples it came into contact with, cannot be exaggerated. Darius boasted that “this inscription was sent by me everywhere among the provinces. The people universally were pleased” (DB IV:92)—and this indeed seems to have been the case. It, or certain portions of it, seems to have enjoyed a particularly warm reception among Yahwists. A fragmented and fascinating Aramaic version of DB was found in the possession of the Yahwistic community on the island of Elephantine. Remarkably, a paraphrase of a certain paragraph of this inscription also plays a key role in an Aramaic scroll from Qumran (4Q550)—containing an Judeo-Persian court-legend—of which I am currently preparing a critical edition for publication. It, therefore, should not be surprising to find its imprints in the biblical text as well. The proposed paper studies the reception of this inscription—and related Achaemenid inscriptions—in the ancient word, among Greek, Egyptian and Yahwistic cultures, and the manner in which imperial literature underwent both assimilation and polemics.

Mapping production and procurement of resin in the Eastern Mediterranean Late Bronze Age

Catherine Bishop
University of Liverpool

Resin played an important role in the ancient world, seen in both domestic and religious contexts across the Eastern Mediterranean landscape. I aim to identify the botanical origins of these resins and their subsequent harvesting and trade in the Late Bronze Age. This research will, in turn, answer questions surrounding the variation within resin use of different Eastern Mediterranean cultures, as well as bringing to light wider trade networks throughout the area. There have already been studies on Near Eastern and Arabian resins and their use, yet research has rarely encompassed the full geographical area involved in resin procurement for civilisations such as the Babylonians and Egyptians. The outlined research traces the origins of various resin types through to their use as incense. In order to undertake this research, I utilise archaeological, textual, and pictorial evidence, including accounts, product labels, and tomb paintings. The proposed research will lead to a much more thorough understanding of the procurement of different resin types, providing an interdisciplinary perspective on the value and use of resins in different cultures of the ancient world.

On the cusp of the Hellenistic era: The Carian poleis and the satrap Asander

Oliver Clarke
University of Oxford

Asander was appointed satrap of Caria after Alexander's death in 323 BC. Alone of the regions of western Asia minor, where the Persian Empire blended into the Aegean world, the Achaemenids had entrusted Caria in the Fourth Century to local Carian men and women. These Hecatomnids straddled, successfully, the geographic and cultural boundaries of the region: they were Carians, under Persian imperial rule, who in turn ruled Greeks and Carians who lived both in poleis and outside them. On monuments, on coinage and on inscriptions we see how the Hecatomnids crafted their own method of ruling, and how the cities themselves proactively communicated with their rulers. This was not just a simple fusion of the cultures that bounded Caria to east and west, but its own expression, that brought local traditions together with influences from all sides.

Asander's rule was very short, coming to an end at the hands of Antigonus in 313, caught between more powerful Successors, leaving behind no dynasty of his own. Despite his short years as satrap, a series of civic inscriptions provide the clearest evidence for his influence on the relationship between polis and satrap when the Hellenistic world was being born. From Amyzon and Latmos in Caria, and from over the Aegean in Athens, he appears as successor to Hecatomnid rule, but also as an innovator. The relationship between ruler and ruled cities was shifting as satrapal rule developed into the new Hellenistic competition. The impetus for innovation did not come only from the Macedonian satrap, but from below, visible in the decrees composed by the cities. Their experience of earlier rulers left them well-placed to navigate the rapidly evolving Hellenistic age, as Caria remained a border zone, but one oriented in new directions, as the Mediterranean was divided uncertainly by Alexander's Successors.

The impact of foreign religion on Roman civic identities: Astrological power

Joel Curzon
Cardiff University

This paper will aim to give a brief overview of two models of religion that have been utilised in scholarship concerning Roman religion: the civic and market models. Members of the aristocracy generated religious power by creating boundaries as to what was, and was not, acceptable. For the purposes of this paper, astrology will be used as a case study. There is a disconnect between what people like Cicero write and the reality of what was happening in the city around them. In *De Divinatione*, astrologers, amongst others, are heavily criticised. Nevertheless, Cicero's peers, such as Nigidius Figulus, and leading politicians, like Sulla, were actively interested in astrology and other methods of divination that traditionally fell outside of what is permitted in the civic model. Even Cicero had some form of interest in astrology, as shown by the *Aratea*. Therefore, members of the elite could construct public and private identities that differed from each other.

Furthermore, there is considerable evidence that astrologers and other diviners formed a key part of the religious life of ordinary citizens in the city. The expulsions mentioned by Valerius Maximus, in combination with the views put forward in other aristocratic sources, suggest that astrologers had a key role in non-elite religion and could be selected as part of the market model. They provided access to religious power that was not available to normal people in the state religion. These ideas can also be applied to a wide variety of other forms of divination, such as sortition.

Therefore, astrology is just one example that demonstrates that, despite aristocratic concern, a form of divination found across the Mediterranean was a key tool in forming religious identities for both aristocrats and ordinary citizens. The failure of the Senate to expel astrologers and other street diviners draws into question the extent of elite control over religious processes. This can be used as a starting point to show the limitations of the civic model.

Animals in a foreign land: An interdisciplinary approach to understanding early interconnections between Egypt and the Levant

Eleutério Abreu De Sousa
Macquarie University

The presence of interconnections between Egypt and the Levant during the 3rd millennium BCE is well known. Archaeological evidence from both regions demonstrates that interregional exchange involved material goods as well as ideas during this time. The transport of goods and ideas was possible via a variety of land and sea passages, chiefly the Way of Horus. Although much is known about the material imports of both regions, the level which animals and ideas of animal management were involved in this interregional exchange is unknown. This paper aims to shed light on the involvement of animals in the Interregional exchange route between Egypt and the Levant. The study adopts a multidisciplinary approach that examines historical sources, archaeological data, and bioarchaeological isotopic methods to better understand the movement of animals in the ancient Near East at the advent of complex societal development.

Constellations of Knowledge: Religion as a science in ancient Egypt

Elizabeth Leaning
University of Auckland

The ancient Egyptian language has no distinguishable word for religion, or for science. The closest translation for both would be *rḫ*, meaning to know, to be aware of, or to learn. Both the religious structures and scientific corpus of ancient Egypt were considered to be an understanding of the natural world, and were essentially indistinguishable from one another. Hays (2011) made it clear that the distinction between temple and private knowledge was marked by literacy – attained through education and economic power. However, this presentation considers how temple and private knowledge functioned in the case of the knowledge being observable, rather than written. Temple and private knowledge have largely been conceptualised as purely "occult" by traditional western academia, so this talk aims to discuss this knowledge while incorporating the ancient Egyptian scientific-religious understanding of the natural world, through an archaeoastronomical lens.
It draws on prior research by Almansa-Villatoro, Magli and Porceddu et al., who have all suggested that scientific elements be considered when discussing ancient Egyptian religion. Using methods of archaeoastronomy – the interdisciplinary study of ancient astronomy – this talk focuses on the case study of the understandings of the night sky present in temple and private religion. Through these, it challenges western definitions of "science" and "religion" as they are imposed on an ancient Egyptian worldview. It considers how mythic-religious, spiritual-allegorical, and quantifiable-scientific conceptions of the night sky interconnect to form "constellations of knowledge", and how the science of stars and stones can be used to deconstruct colonial definitions of science and religion.

Hays, Harold, "The Death of the Democratisation of the Afterlife." In Old Kingdom: New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750-2150 BC. Nigel Strudwick & Helen Strudwick (Eds.), 115-130. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011.

Sexual Deviance and Metamorphosis in Greek Myth

Alex Macfarlane
University of Birmingham

This paper aims to explore the relationship between 'improper' sexual behaviour or sexual relations and punishment via metamorphosis. This interplays with the history of viewing sexuality (especially that of women) as related with monstrosity. Rather controversially, perhaps, the theme of punishment for sexual activity connects with contemporary feminist issues around the world – particularly in terms of exertion of political control via sexuality. Along these lines, Conservative MP Danny Kruger has been quoted saying he disagrees that "women have an absolute right of bodily autonomy" when referring to very recent events in the USA. The right to self-determination is one that affects marginalised identities internationally. The bodily autonomy of metamorphic mythical women is surrendered through total bodily alteration. Moreover, it is pertinent to explore how metamorphic gods use their transformational nature to their benefit, in order to pursue sexual encounters and sire children. For example, Zeus is recorded as engaging sexually in a non-human form a number of times. This will be compared to the metamorphosis as punishment for women in terms of patterns of subjugation. A variety of examples following this particular form will be explored to demonstrate the formula of metamorphosis as a result of sexual deviance. This will cover well-known characters such as Medusa, Io, and Scylla. These examples, in the spirit of multidisciplinary study, will be studied through both Greek literature and art. This will allow the specific terminology and iconography of the mediums in which they appear to be considered. The use of metamorphosis as a tool for sexual conquest and a punishment for sexual acts demonstrates the ways in which myth parallels perceptions of morality in everyday life, both for the ancient Greeks and people today.

Taking notes on the wall: The case of *Verg. Aen.* 2, 1, '*conticuere omnes*'

Maria Camilla Mastriani
University of Naples Federico II / Sorbonne

The Pompeian graffiti signed CIL 4191 reads: *Contiquere omnes*. The phrase is taken from the first verse of the second book of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Ancient sources and modern studies give clear information on the use of Virgil among the fundamental reference *auctores* for the teaching and learning of Latin. The Latin of Vergil was first studied at the school of the *grammaticus*, since it provided a model of linguistic correctness. A linguistic-grammatical analysis of the inscription provides further food for thought. The use of the verbal form *conticuere* itself, for example, can be traced back to the world of school, in particular to the lessons of the *grammaticus*. Moreover, the studies on the archaeology of Pompeian graffiti help complete the picture. The position occupied by the title CIL IV 4191 inside the house of Albucius Celsus ('House of the Silver Wedding'), in fact, fits into the context of a space dedicated to teaching.

The study of the history and function of this graffiti can benefit from the contribution of different methodologies. The comparison between the sources related to the use of Virgil as school *auctor*/*auctoritas*, the analysis of the language and the grammatical structure of the graffiti and its epigraphic-archaeological characteristics concur to support the hypothesis of a 'scholastic' genesis of the inscription, which can be interpreted as a note engraved on the wall by/for the students.

(Re)Shaping the surface: Critical Phenomenology, Affect, and Subversion in modern interpretations of Epic poetry

Alexandra Meghji
University College London

How can the modern scholar disinter the consciousness of the Other in ancient literature? This interdisciplinary paper advocates for critical phenomenology as a subversive and critical lens through which to read the Homeric Epics with attention to minoritarian subjectivity, embodiment, and voice. Engaging with feminist theory, literary criticism, and reception studies, I ask how Homeric space, culture, and violence map onto Epic bodies, and how phenomenology can help critics amplify the experiences and perceptions of the narrative's more marginalised characters.

In this paper, I make two arguments. I firstly argue, following Sara Ahmed, Judith Butler, and Iris Marion Young, for a symbiosis between phenomenology, *i.e.* the school of thought which is concerned with the structures of individual consciousness, and feminist and queer theories. Phenomenology, I argue, lends itself fruitfully to feminist criticism because it offers the vocabulary and methodology by which to explore the experience of the feminine (and more widely non-normative) subject under patriarchy. I also consider the synergy between phenomenology, literature, and classical reception, citing their shared aim of exploring individual perception and being-in-the-world.

My second argument is that critical phenomenology helps 'give voice' to marginalised Epic subjects by exploring consciousness in all its dimensions. I show that a phenomenological methodology can explore the enfleshed, psychological, and spatiotemporal aspects of Otherness in the Epics, and that reading 'through' the phenomenological consciousness opens up exciting interpretive possibilities. I argue that phenomenology helps attend not only to the latent or muffled voices of minoritarian subjects in Homer, but also allows the subaltern to speak through embodiment, affect, and the carriage of the marginalized body through the Homeric world. In this attention to embodiment, voices, time, and space, I argue that a holistic and phenomenological method of reading is subversive, dissident, and critical.

Ninety-citied Crete: Localism, alterity, and poetic authority in the *Odyssey*

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This paper argues that the description of Crete at *Od.*19.172-7, a unique Homeric concession to Greek multiculturalism and linguistic diversity, should be understood as a statement of poetic authority by the *Odyssey* over competing, localised poetic traditions for which the island acts as a narrative centrepoint. Here Odysseus, beginning his third 'Cretan tale' to Penelope, claims that Crete is inhabited by five different ethnic groups whose languages are intermingled with one another. The passage is often approached from an historical angle (*e.g.* Finley 1978, Russo 1992, Burkert 2001), while literary analyses tend to focus on Odysseus' immediate agenda (*e.g.* Ross 2005); its metapoetic function, however, has attracted little comment. It has been suggested that the Cretan tales represent epichoric poetic traditions in which Crete is prominent (*e.g.* Nagy 1990, Kelly 2008, Tsagalis 2012); Odysseus' description of Crete, I argue, offers a clue to how the Odyssey treats these non-Homeric traditions. Adopting a cross-disciplinary approach that draws on insights from network theory and the history of knowledge, I posit that the *Odyssey* projects onto Crete the 'alterity' of localised traditions. By illustrating its linguistic and ethnic diversity, the poem insinuates Crete's unsuitability for the generation of panhellenic kleos, which relies on a shared language and genealogical system; any poetic tradition centred around such diversity must, like the Cretan tales themselves, be internally inconsistent, and thus untrue. The *Odyssey*, then, presents Crete as an unreliable and hyper-localised narrative and poetic-performative centre that is unable to generate and circulate lasting kleos. In rendering it peripheral, the *Odyssey* not only discredits Crete as a locus of poetic production but constructs by implication an artificially homogenised poetic-performative centre for its own reception. I conclude that examining a text's manipulation of perceptions of localism may yield valuable insights into its agenda.

Between the mountains and the sea: A connective approach to Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Crete

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The Late Bronze Age (LBA) and Early Iron Age (EIA) on Crete were periods of significant cultural change, involving the decline of the so-called 'Minoan' palaces on the one hand and the emergence of the earliest poleis or city-states on the other. These two periods, however, have historically been studied, theorised, and written about quite separately. This situation has in recent years begun to change, with efforts towards reconciliation of the once disparate disciplines of Aegean prehistory and Classical archaeology. Yet, such a reconciliation requires novel theoretical and methodological approaches that can bridge formerly misaligned scholarly agendas and provide more coherent, interdisciplinary frameworks for conceptualising historical change across this important timeframe.

This presentation outlines one such approach, developed as part of my doctoral research, and focussed particularly on the interrelationships between human communities and their lived environments, particularly with regard to settlement patterning, mobility, connectivity and interaction over multiple scales. Attention is drawn to the ways in which the physical landscape of Crete – its topography, lithology and ecology – have intersected with human concerns with subsistence, communication, and territoriality, while two regional case studies of settlement change over the LBA and EIA demonstrate the diverse strategies and responses adopted by different communities in both a synchronic and diachronic context. Variations in the nature and degree of connectivity and interaction between communities on Crete in the LBA and EIA are related to evidence for changes in economy, social organisation, and even religious practice.

It is suggested that changes in the networks of movement and interaction which developed at multiple scales interconnecting communities of the LBA and EIA – at all times rooted in the affordances of the Cretan landscape – offers a fruitful, dynamic means of bridging the traditionally perceived disjuncture between the final palaces and the later city-states.

Craftsmen as agents in Late Bronze Age Mesopotamia

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This study focuses on the movement of craftsmen during the Late Bronze Age, which is an era marked by continuous international communication. Besides artefects, the movement of personnel also suggests the influence of international contact. Among them, craftsman is a noteworthy example. Craftsmen participated in the production of luxury goods and answered to the request of skilled workers. However, the study of craftsmen is rare due to the fragmentary documentation and the difficulty of investigating ancient social groups.

To fill this gap, my research question is how craftsmen played the role of agents in the interplay of "great powers" (the brotherhood of the powerful empires). Whether they moved across borders willingly (such as run-away and commercially) or unwillingly (such as dispatched by the kings, arrested and detained), their activities indeed reflected the entangled international relations. The most innovative aspect of this paper is using the theory of agency, which has deep theoretical roots in philosophy and sociology. What this paper seeks to provide is a nuanced insight into "agency" in the context of Late Bronze Age Mesopotamia. To deal with this question, I use cases of craftsmen from the Archives of Mari, the Amarna Letters and texts from Ugarit.

Based on the evidence, my conclusion is that the craftsmen were skilled labours, agents of technology, and resources in the international negotiation. In the context of agency and the Late Bronze Age, craftsmen are significant in transmitting political and economic information. More essentially, the case of craftsmen reminds us of the possibility of applying social theory to ancient studies, especially in the field of social groups and international mobility.

Untranslatability and the case of Ptolemaic priestly decrees

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The text corpus of Ptolemaic priestly decrees dates to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, when the Ptolemies ruled Egypt following the death of Alexander the Great. They are political and administrative documents composed in Greek, hieroglyphs and demotic. Their distinctive trilingual nature reflects the polyglot, multicultural features of the historical period and the need to communicate with a varied audience. Each script mirrors its social influence. The inclusion of Greek is a constant reminder of Greek rule over the country. Hieroglyphs represent the pharaonic power, supported by the priesthood which the Ptolemies looked to please and control. Demotic, elevated from its mainly bureaucratic functions, meets the need to communicate with elite Egyptians throughout the country.

Thus, the concept of translation, viewed as a form of intra and intercultural communication, becomes key to the discussion of the decrees and their composition. This paper brings into play a much-debated topic in the history of translation: the notion of untranslatability. According to Scottish philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre (Relativism, Power, and Philosophy 1985: 383) "some degree of partial untranslatability marks the relationship of every language to every other."

Focusing on the interaction between the Egyptian and Greek languages, I discuss cases of lexical and cultural voids present in the corpus. The aim is to identify the strategies (including borrowing, calque, loanwords compensation and paraphrase) employed in the elaborate deconstruction-reconstruction process by which the message made it adequately through to the audience.

Towards a theory of ritual in Late Bronze Age Crete: How do we discern and identify ritual actions?

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The problem observed in the attempt to identify ritual actions, lies in the fact that Aegeanists remained trapped in their erroneous endeavor to reveal beliefs and reconstruct religious rituals. The insatiable desire of archaeologists to suggest "impressive" and/or "innovative" ideas, thus the interpretation of excavation findings as indications strictly for religious and in general cosmological expressions of the people in prehistoric Aegean, often resulted to arbitrary conclusions. Ritual is a complicated action, thus frustrating and hectic when it comes to its theoretical analysis. This is why there is either lack of interest or unfounded suggestions by archaeologists. Therefore, the present study endeavors to approach ritual in prehistoric Crete by standing in the middle between the uninterested and the over-reconstructed interpretations regarding ritual, dealing with the term as a social aspect which may offer indications concerning social organization in the Late Bronze Age.

In more detail, by implementing a contextual examination of the archaeological data from several settlements across Crete, it is argued that the detection of patterns of symbolic actions in the communities under study is possible. Under a bottom-up perspective, their contribution to the formation of a specific model of social organization may be identified. In more detail, the impact of domestic rituals on establishing social ties and rules, which govern social order or disorder will be discussed. Moreover, the discerning of those characteristics that distinguish private from public/collective rituals is a key issue of the present work, whilst it is also worth to be mentioned that distinguishing ritual objects from those being used in everyday life is one of its main objectives as well. Finally, a new definition on ritual, which applies on Minoan archaeology, will be suggested.

Re-evaluating Seleucid Numismatic evidence: Defaced coinage and resistance in the Seleucid Empire

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Scholarship on the history of empires has increasingly focused on how subject peoples, both as communities and individuals, interacted with their rulers (*e.g.*, Noy 2001, Newsinger 2006, Liebmann 2011). However, limited evidence and a focus on how the Seleucids themselves understood their territory means that such questions have not traditionally been explored in Seleucid scholarship, though this is a trend which has begun to change in recent years (*e.g.*, Kosmin 2018). In this paper, I show how defaced numismatics can be a valuable resource to fill this gap and demonstrate how some inhabitants of the empire responded to the Seleucids.

This paper argues the defacement of Seleucid coinage can be used to identify acts of resistance or support for the Seleucid administration. I will suggest that the defacement on Seleucid coinage can be sub-categorised as generalised, iconographical, or individualistic. Dividing the defacement like this enables me not only to define more clearly the damage depicted, but also to contextualise it within the history / traditions of the Seleucids' subject peoples. For instance, I highlight how the importance of the diadem to dynasties in Hellenistic iconography, the nature of blinding as a divine punishment for Greeks, and the mutilation of the face under Achaemenid Persia may have affected the ways in which Seleucid coinage was defaced. In doing so, this paper will demonstrate that contextualising the ideologically driven damage to Seleucid coinage with appropriate traditions can enable us to identify potential acts of individual resistance / support to the Seleucid administration.