RYLEIGH ADAMS	'Pompey's Eastern Settlements: Considerations and Consequences'
	During the mid to late Republic, Rome's reach became so vast that the second century BC Greek historian Polybius described Rome's success as "an achievement without parallel in human history" (Polybius, Histories 1.1). The expansion Polybius witnessed was only the beginning. By 44 BC, the year Brutus and the co-conspirators famously assassinated Julius Caesar, Rome's empire was politically, economically, and socially diverse, and faced increasing internal and external pressure to manage the provinces effectively. Despite the significant impact of Rome's expansion on provincial populations, modern scholarship focuses largely on events in Rome. Political and social tension caused by clashes between the populares and optimates factions, and competition between ambitious individuals who upset traditional power balances, have held the attention of scholarship for the past two thousand years. We know little about the provincial experience as a result. Uncovering the wider impact of Roman provincial management requires looking beyond the Romano-centric narrative. Using Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus' eastern settlements as a case study, I examine the significance of Pompey's settlements from a provincial perspective and consider in detail the economic, political, and social ramifications of Roman imperial expansion and provincial management. Pompey forever altered the lives of the peoples he brought under Roman rule as provincials. In this paper I demonstrate that studying the consequences resulting from his settlements is valuable for our future studies about Pompey, Rome, and the effects of imperialism more broadly. References: 1. A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration* (Milton Park 1993). 2. R. Seager, *Pompey the Great* (Oxford 2002). 3. A. N. Sherwin-White, 'Lucullus, Pompey and the East', in J. A. Crook, A. Lintott and E. Rawson (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History Vol. 9* (Cambridge 1994) 229-273.
BRYANT AHRENBERG	'The Two Narratives of Themistocles: Ostracism, Bribery, and the Hero of Salamis'
	The works of Herodotus, Plutarch, and Thucydides on Themistocles simultaneously weave a tale of Greece's saviour (the hero narrative), and one that used bribery, Persian connections, and political turmoil (the opponent narrative) together to boast of his accomplishments while reminding the reader of the evils which allowed for them to happen. While many studies have been written in regards to the political atmosphere of fifth century Athens, there is still a wide gap in the scholarship which examines the effect this had on the way in which history was recorded and how it would influence later historians from Plutarch to the modern day. With these factors in mind, this paper will determine the political influence of both narratives of Themistocles, explain why these elements exist, and finally why Themistocles' political use of ostracism to gain his prestige was left out of the accounts of even his most ardent critics. This study critically examines the ancient texts while utilising modern day archaeological evidence to fill in the gaps, allowing us to question whether these narratives are truly what we should be

basing our understanding of Themistocles on, and what false claims can tell us about politics and society in the fifth century.

References:

1. Forsdyke, Sara. "Exile, Ostracism, and the Athenian Democracy." Classical Antiquity 19, no. 2 (2000): 232-263.
2. Lehmann, G. A. "Der Ostrakismos-Entscheid in Athen: Von Kleisthenes zur Aera des Themistokles." Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 41 (1981): 85-99.
3. Siewert, P. Ostrakismos-Testimonien I: Die Zeugnisse Antiker Autoren, der Inschriften und Ostraka über das Athenische Scherbengericht aus Vorhellenistischer Zeit. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiger Verlag, 2002.

EDWARD ARMSTRONG	'Religion and Disaster in Thucydides' *History*'

For a history concerned with war and politics, claiming to be 'τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες' (not mythical), Thucydides' *History* is remarkably full of religious themes. Defeats and disasters, with which the *History* abounds, are repeatedly surrounded by a notable concentration of religious language. The religious dimension of Thucydides' *History* has been debated at length, with continuing disagreement about the portrayal of religion. Marinatos (1981), Jordan (1986), and Rahe (2017) championed the significant role of religion, showing that the deterioration of religious practice, including its misuse during the war, was a concern for Thucydides. However. Hornblower (1992) revealed that Thucydides' content tends to pragmatic concerns, greatly limiting the role of religion. To further understand religion in the *History*, I investigate the interplay of religion and disaster, using the Plataean siege (Thuc.2.71-18) and trial (Thuc. 3.52-68) as a paradigmatic example. I argue that, faced with imminent disaster, religion is invoked as a rhetorical instrument of defence by the speakers, rather than a pious entreaty. Religion is portrayed tragically because it is pragmatically useless in the Plataean situation. Finley (1938) and Macleod (1983) explicated the influence on Thucydides' account of tragedies contemporary with him, showing consistency of religious portrayal. In a similar mode, I draw parallels between religious themes in the Plataean affair, and both Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Suppliants*. This paper demonstrates that religion was used as a political tool. It also emphasises the instrumentality of tragic themes for writing about religion during the Peloponnesian War.

References:

1. J. H. Finley, 'Euripides and Thucydides'. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 49 (1938) 23-26
2. S. Hornblower, 'The Religious Dimension to the Peloponnesian War, or, What Thucydides Does Not Tell Us', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 94 (1992) 169-197
3. B. Jordan. 'Religion in Thucydides', *Transactions o.f the American Philological Association* (1974-) 1 16 (1986) 119-147
4. Macleod, C. Thucydides and Tragedy. *Collected Essays* (Clarendon Press 1983) 140-158.
5. N. Marinatos, 'Thucydides and Religion' *Hain* 129 (1981).
6. P. Rahe" 'Religion, Politics. and Piety', in R. Balot, S. Forsdyke, E. Foster (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Thucydides* (Oxford Handbooks 2017) 427-442.

KARA BRAITHWAITE-WESTOBY	'Epameinondas the Revolutionary General?'
	In 371 B.C. the Theban general, Epameinondas, at the helm of a combined Boeotian force, successfully routed the Spartans at the plain of Leuctra. Ever since, the battle has been considered an important landmark in the history of warfare, particularly since it was the first time that the Spartans had been defeated by an inferior army in a large-scale engagement. However, more recently it has been argued that all of the tactics that were employed at the battle were unoriginal; therefore, no such innovation can be claimed (Hanson 1988, 190-207). As a result scholars have since remained largely silent on the matter with one exception (Buckler 2003, 293 n. 56), which was later refuted (Hanson 2010, 114 n. 7). The purpose of this paper is to reassess the novelty of the tactics used at the battle of Leuctra in order to determine the extent to which the battle was a landmark in the development of hoplite warfare in the fourth century B.C. References: 1. Hanson, V. D. 'Epameinondas, the Battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.), and the "Revolution" in Greek Battle Tactics', *Classical Antiquity* 7. 1988. 190-207. 2. Buckler, J. *Aegean Greece in the Fourth Century BC*. Leiden: Brill, 2003. 3. Hanson, V. D. 'Epaminondas the Theban and the Doctrine of Preemptive War', in *Makers of Ancient Strategy: From the Persian Wars to the Fall of Rome*. ed. V. D. Hanson. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.
SINEAD BRENNAN-McMAHON	'Expurgating the *tribas* from Victorian editions and commentaries of Martial's *Epigrams*'
	Although Martial's Epigrams were tremendously popular in nineteenth-century Britain, they were heavily censored. Their Martial was not our Martial: editors and translators censored a variety of topics in the corpus but the female erotic and same-sex poems were hit particularly hard. The act of removing offensive material from Martial's corpus is not exclusive to Victorian Britain, and has been a feature of Martial's manuscript tradition since as far back as we have record. Yet the study of expurgating ancient texts has only recently taken shape. Scholars have addressed the expurgation of 'homosexuality' to some extent, but there are very few resources on the expurgation of Martial, and none on the expurgation of Martial's female same-sex poems in the editions. In this paper, I will address this gap in the scholarship and present a systematic account of the expurgation, based on my comprehensive data from all the editions and commentaries published since 1800. I will explain how nineteenth and twentieth century editors and commentators frequently removed poems that referenced the *tribas* or female same-sex desire more generally, and minimised their presence in the paratextual material of the commentaries. I will demonstrate that the female same-sex poems are expurgated at a much higher rate than any other type of poem, a conclusion which expands our understanding of Classical Reception in the 1800s, which was a major period in Martial's afterlife.

	1. S. Harrison and C. Stray (eds.), *Expurgating the Classics: Editing Out in Greek and Latin* (London 2012). 2. T.J. Leary, 'Modifying Martial in Nineteenth Century Britain', in S. Harrison and C. Stray (eds.), *Expurgating the Classics: Editing Out in Greek and Latin* (London 2012) 127-42. 3. C.A. Williams, 'Too Gross for Our Present Notions of Propriety: Roman Homosexuality in Two Nineteenth-Century Translations of Martial's Epigrams' in J. Ingleheart (ed.) *Ancient Rome and the Construction of Modern Homosexual Identities*. (Oxford 2015) 288-306.
THOMAS CAIN	'An Unparalleled Parallel: transgressions of gender roles in Livy's presentation of the rape of the Sabine women'
	Livy's early history of Rome has previously been branded as analogous and anachronistic (such as Ogilvie,1965). However, recent developments in scholarship (such as: Stem, 2007; Brown, 1995) have offered revised analyses of the *Ab Urbe Condita* which have begun a gradual rehabilitation of Livy's early work. This paper aims to build upon this process through presenting an alternative analysis of Livy's account of the life of Romulus. Specific focus will be placed on the rape of the Sabine women. Intriguingly, when compared to other accounts, Livy's demonstrates a characterisation of the Sabine women that results in a transgression of normative gender boundaries. Livy uniquely elevates the role of the Sabine women to construct characters who have a direct, lasting, and perhaps even positive impact on the development of Rome. Moreover, the Sabine episode can be illustrated to be part of larger set of stories within the *Ab Urbe Condita* which present a strikingly repetitive structure of violence towards women. Through utilising a combination of three methodological processes—the quellenforschung approach, rhetorical thematic approach, and comparative analysis approach-- this paper will investigate this structure. Subsequently, the potential motives behind Livy's construction of his specific narrative will be developed and discussed; a narrative which utilises women as a literacy tool in an intriguing and possibly even unique style. Overall this paper aims to provide a novel approach to analysing Livy's presentation of the Sabine episode, offering an analytical framework through which to study the first pentad of the *Ab Urbe Condita*. References: 1. R. Brown, 'Livy's Sabine Women and the Ideal of Concordia', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 125 (1995) http://www.jstor.org/stable/284357 (accessed 27 April 2018) 2. R. Ogilvie. *A Commentary on Livy: Books 1-5* (Oxford, 1965) 3. R. Stem. 'The Exemplary Lessons of Livy's Romulus', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 137 (2007) http://www.jstor.org/stable/4543321 (accessed 27 April 2018)
TYLA CASCAES	'Modern Receptions of Caesar and their Ancient Origins'
	A major hurdle encountered when investigating modern receptions of Julius Caesar is the complex and often contradictory nature of his political and cultural representations. How many Caesars are there? Through this paper, I will argue that ancient receptions of Caesar have largely conditioned modern portrayals of Rome's most formidable Dictator. Two distinct categories of reception – one

positive and one negative – can be identified in the years following his assassination. Caesar was presented as either a model political leader or as a quintessential tyrant. These approaches were employed respectively by Caesar's successors and assassins, the former stressing their connections to Caesar, the latter emphasising Caesar's faults in an attempt to justify the righteousness of their cause. Modern receptions fall loosely within these categories. Individuals such as Napoleon III and Benito Mussolini placed emphasis on their similarities to Caesar in order to bolster their claim to power, following the example set by Augustus and Mark Antony. In contrast, one could be criticised for being a Caesar-like figure. Orson Welles' markedly Fascist production of *Julius Caesar* in 1937 featured an on-stage Caesar who bore undeniable similarities to Mussolini. This is one poignant example of the use of Caesar in popular culture to diminish an opponent. These two approaches, which derive from ancient receptions of Julius Caesar, are exceedingly useful in deciphering contradictory modern portrayals of Caesar.

References:
1. A.J. Pomeroy (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Greece and Rome On Screen* (Wiley Blackwell 2009)
2. J. Ripley, *Julius Caesar on Stage in England and America, 1599-1973* (Cambridge 1980)
3. M. Wyke, *Caesar: A Life in Western Culture* (University of Chicago Press 2008)

EMILY CHAMBERS — 'Where There's a Will, There's a Way'

The last will and testament of a Roman citizen was popularly held to reflect the true character of the testator (Pliny 8.18.1). Lucian went so far as to criticise the Romans for "only tell[ing] the truth once in their lives, in their will" (Nig. 30). Such a strong belief in the sincerity of the will ensured that it became a bastion of free speech under Empire, long after such freedom of speech had been curtailed. Surprisingly little has been written on outspokenness in Roman wills, besides Keenan (1987). Champlin's seminal work, Final Judgements (1991), only focuses on free speech incidentally. This paper starts to fill this gap. By examining four cases under Tiberius and Nero, I shall demonstrate the variety of subversive acts made possible by the will. Champlin has identified three ways in which testators pass negative judgements on the living. I will argue that these modes of expression (omission, disinheritance, and abuse) also apply to subversive speech acts against the emperor. Moreover, viewing the emperor as the patron to all eminent Romans will assist in demonstrating the subversive nature of these case-studies. The extent to which a testator could expect to avoid retribution for their act of defiance was strongly influenced by the emperor's attitude towards inheritances generally. 'Bad' emperors took any excuse to gain financially from a will (Rogers, 1947). Ultimately, the testator had a choice: to speak freely as one final show of noble character; or remain silent and protect the will from the emperor's interference.

References:
1. E. Champlin, Final Judgements: Duty and Emotion in Roman Wills, 200 BC – AD 250 (Berkeley 1991)
2. J. Keenan, 'Tacitus, Roman Wills and Political Freedom', BASP 24 (1987) 1-8
3. R.S Rogers, 'The Roman Emperors as Heirs and Legatees', TAPA 78 (1947) 140-158

MAREE CLEGG	**'Recut Roman Portrait Busts: *Damnatio Memoriae* and Eighteenth-Century Collectors'**
	In recent years there has been a growing understanding that many Roman Imperial portrait busts were recut, and this has been attributed to *damnatio memoriae*, the eradication of an unpopular Emperor's deeds and images. But portrait busts were also recut during the eighteenth century, to meet the demand of wealthy and erudite collectors. Scholarship has focussed mainly on ancient alteration, yet portrait busts from the collection of Englishman Charles Townley (1737 – 1805) demonstrate the prevalence of this practice in the eighteenth century. Not only were ancient portraits recut to represent a different individual, in some cases portraits were sculpted during that time period and artificially aged to appear ancient, thus obfuscating potential research. Using examples from Townley's collection, this paper demonstrates how recut or non-ancient portraits can be identified, and discusses the issues raised for both scholars of the ancient world and the eighteenth-century. References: Pollini, John, and William Storage. "Computer Technology and Three-Dimensional Models in Determining the Recutting of Roman Portraits: The Getty Augustus." *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone: Proceedings of the IX Association for the Study of Marbles and Other Stones in Antiquty (ASMOSIA)*, 2012, 31–37. Prusac, Marina. *From Face to Face: Recarving of Roman Portraits and the Late-Antique Portrait Arts*. 2nd ed. Monumenta Graeca et Romana 18. Leiden: Brill, 2016. Varner, Eric R. *Mutilation and Transformation: Damnatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004.
ROBERT DRUMMOND	
ISABELLE DUROE	**'Monsters and Meaning in Statius' *Thebaid*'**
	In the early stages of his *Thebaid*, Statius presents graphic descriptions of three female monsters: in book 1 the Fury Tisiphone, and the hybrid snake-woman Apollo sends against Argos; and in book 2 the Theban Sphinx. Tisiphone's role as the embodiment of Theban *furor*, and the dominant power behind the action of the text is well established in Statian scholarship, however the two monsters who succeed her in the poem have received comparatively little attention from critics. Apollo's *monstrum* and the Theban Sphinx are incorporated into the epic in narrative digressions that recount traditional combat-myths in which female monsters are defeated by male heroes, who (however briefly) reimpose masculine reason and order. This paper will argue that these hybrid, seemingly marginal creatures appear in the text not only to portend the violent horrors about to unfold, and signify the chthonic powers that dominate the epic, but also to embody physical and behavioural transgression and disorder, giving these troubling themes a particularly feminine edge which connects with a broader anxiety in the epic, relating to reproduction and regression, and the spreading sickness of the Theban family. This paper provides a focussed examination of these monsters, utilising aspects of the developing field of monster studies (in particular viewing monsters as cultural constructs, and gendered

nightmare-fantasies), as a guide in unpacking their importance within Statius' epic universe, and the effect they have on our understanding of the poem's protagonists.

References:
1. D. Lowe, *Monsters and Monstrosity in Augustan Poetry* (Ann Arbor 2015)
2. M. McAuley, *Reproducing Rome: Motherhood in Virgil, Ovid, Seneca and Statius. Oxford Studies in Classical Literature and Gender Theory* (Oxford and New York 2016)
3. A. Keith, 'Medusa, Python, and Poine in Argive Religious Ritual', in A. Augoustakis (ed.), *Ritual and Religion in Flavian Epic* (Oxford and New York 2013)

ZOE HENRY	''A Sinner Like Me': Viewing early medieval punishment through the lens of Mātauranga Māori'
	"Fundamental to understanding is to know that Māori culture is a culture of relationships … with everything and everyone in Te Ao Marama." (Porter, 2010) "'when someone sins against his neighbour in mortal sin, he offends three persons; God, the Church, and the neighbour'. (Mansfield, 1995)

Punishment in the early medieval world can be considered a popular form of entertainment for the masses. However, the process of punishment can reveal a great deal more about the early medieval world, particularly the relationships that made Christianity much more appealing and accessible. The relationship between the laity and clergy needs further analysis as it is evident this had a greater impact on the success of Christianity and the creation of local Christian identities. After all, the underlying intention of punishment in the early medieval period was to promote inclusion rather than exclusion, and to maintain the integrity of the community. Without the laity or relationships that made this community, the church could not survive. This presentation will examine the use of *Matāuranga Māori* within this study as a way of uncovering this intimate relationship and its contribution to the successful development of local Christian communities. |

REUBEN HUTCHINSON-WONG	'Organising Old Kingdom Bodies: a spatial study of cemeteries during the Old Kingdom to identify Egyptian memory, identity, and landscape' (Poster presentation)
	As death was a preoccupation of the ancient Egyptians, they had to ensure the body was preserved for the Afterlife. Cemeteries became a physical manifestation of this preoccupation with death and they functioned to (re)create Egyptian memory, identity, and landscape. This poster aims to consider the applicability of Richards's (2005) Middle Kingdom methodology on cemeteries to the Old Kingdom context, through a comparison of a cemetery located close to Memphis, the administrative centre, and one from the provinces. Two databases will be created to tease out information about cemetery patterning in order to consider the overall applicability of her methods and identify what these patterns may mean. It is hoped that this research can identify the extent of the king's influence on Old Kingdom cemetery formation given his social, economic, and political centrality in society but also if there were any other actors or factors which may have participated in their creation. It is further hoped that this investigation will point out Old Kingdom memory, identity, and landscape through cemetery patterning, e.g. clustering, to indicate that

these concepts played, and to what level they played, an important role in ancient Egyptian society.

References:
1. J. Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, (Cambridge 2005).
2. A.M. Roth, 'Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organization of Pyramids, Tomds, and Cemeteries', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 30 (1993) 33-55.
3. R. van Walsem, ''Meaningful places': Pragmatics from Ancient Egypt to Modern Times: a Diachronic and Cross-Cultural Approach', in *Site-seeing: Places in Culrure, Time and Space*, (Leiden 2006) 111-146.

VINKO KERR-HARRIS	'"Let Them Drink Cleanskin": Alcohol and the Construction of Social Hierarchies in the Minoan Bronze Age'

Throughout antiquity, societal "elites" sought to exploit technologies, practices, and commodities as tools to consolidate and maintain their pre-eminence within their communities. The prevalence of alcohol, its production and consumption, in early societies was often ubiquitous with attempts to manipulate the structure of societies by elites. Such phenomena are evident in the Bronze Age Aegean. Minoan society, from its relatively egalitarian beginnings in the late-Neolithic and early Prepalatial periods, adopts an increasingly stratified and hierarchical trajectory following the emergence of the palatial economies during the early Second Millennium BCE. Wine, ever-synonymous with the Aegean, was long the staple beverage and social lubricant of Crete. A significant change occurred, however, with the importation of a foreign brewing technology and it's product during the Minoan Protopalatial Period, namely, beer. The fermented-hop beverage had originated in the Nile Valley, and was imported to Crete during a time of intensive contact between the two regions; the same period in which Minoan society embarked upon an increasingly top-down trajectory.

This paper will examine one aspect of the development of palatial Minoan society, and consider whether the changes in consumption culture and increasing social stratification may have been influenced by foreign precedents. Might Minoan elites also have imported pharaonic mechanisms of social control, such as beverage hierarchies and the conspicuous use of prestige items at organised mass-consumption events? Building upon recent reappraisals of Minoan material and ritual culture, there is new evidence to suggest that inter-regional exchange during the Aegean Bronze Age influenced Minoan societal development.

References:
1. W. Vivian Davies & L. Schofield (eds.) "Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC". (London, 1995)
2. A. Karetsou, N. Andreadaki-Vlazaki & N. Papadakis, (eds.) "Crete – Egypt: Three thousand years of cultural links". (Heraklion, 2000)
3. Y. Hamilakis, "Food Technologies/Technologies of the Body: The Social Context of Wine and Oil Production and Consumption in Bronze Age Crete", World Archaeology 31:1 (1999) 38-54.

ALEXANDRA KUJANPAA	'Constructing Continuity: The Role of the Child Augustae Aelia Pulcheria and Justa Grata Honoria'

Traditionally, the title of Augusta was granted to the wife of an emperor after she bore him an imperial child. Though this was the norm, there are a few notable outliers to this tradition. The most famous of these were Aelia Pulcheria and Justa Grata Honoria. The former was the elder sister of Eastern Emperor Theodosius II and elevated in 414 AD shortly after she devoted herself to God through a vow of perpetual virginity at age 15. Her cousin and elder sister of the Western Emperor Valentinian III, Honoria was elevated concurrently or shortly after her brother's elevation in 425 AD when she was just seven or eight. Thus, this paper seeks to examine the purpose of their elevations, which deviated drastically from traditional Roman norms. Divided into two sections, I will argue that both Pulcheria and Honoria were elevated to represent the image of a traditional imperial couple with their child emperor brothers, Theodosius II and Valentinian III respectively. Moreover, I will argue that through their elevation both families were able to construct an image of continuity and traditionalism, despite their obvious youth.

References:
1. McEvoy, M. 2013. *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367-455*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2. Bury, J. B. 1919. 'Justa Grata Honoria,' *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 9: 1-13
3. Holum, K. G. 1982. *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

ZIMING LIU	'Transgressing Cultural Boundaries and Constructing Postcolonial Identities – Exploring Classical Reception in New Zealand through *The Odyssey of Captain Cook*'

Understanding the place of Classics within a culturally complex postcolonial world is an arduous task, and one that is further complicated in a diverse and developing nation such as New Zealand. Although its existence is brief and its literary and artistic histories are briefer, several fascinating receptions of the ancient world have nevertheless manifested within contemporary New Zealand. Perhaps the most unique example of this is Christchurch artist Marian Maguire, whose synthesis of images from Greek vase painting, colonial depictions of New Zealand, and Māori motifs in her artwork creates what she dubs a "trialogue" of perspectives. Through this process, not only does her work reshape and re-examine the foundational and quasi-mythological history of the country, but more remarkably, these thoughtful images invite the viewer to actively participate in their interpretation. Her 2005 collection *The Odyssey of Captain Cook* is one of many examples, as she reimagines the voyage of the *Endeavour* through the distinct iconographies of Ancient Greece, colonial Britain, and indigenous Māori – a meeting which challenges traditional narratives, subverts existing expectations, and as a result, generates new meanings distinct to a postcolonial New Zealand context. Maguire's works are therefore significant on a national and cultural level, but also serve as striking examples of Classical reception in and of themselves.

References:
1. Goff, B. (ed.). (2005). *Classics and Colonialism*. London: Duckworth
2. Hardwick, L. (2007). 'Postcolonial Studies', in Kalldendorf, C. (ed.). *A Companion to the Classical Tradition*. New Jersey: Wiley, 312-328.
3. Burton, D., Perris, S., Tatum, J. (eds.). (2017). *Athens to Aotearoa: Greece and Rome in New Zealand Literature and Society*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

KATIE LOGAN	'"Sulpicia's all dressed up for you": The Construction of the Sulpician Persona in [Tibullus] 3.8'
	The Sulpician corpus ([Tib] 3.8-18) comprises a group of eleven Roman love elegies describing the relationship between Sulpicia and a man whom she calls Cerinthus. Most scholars now agree that at least some of these poems were written by Sulpicia herself, making her one of the few surviving female Roman poets. However, scholarship has often overlooked the interpretative possibilities of reading all of these poems together as a cohesive collection. This paper focuses on the first poem in the sequence (3.8) – specifically the ways in which it constructs a particular character, the 'Sulpician persona'. My approach is reader-centric, considering the specific contexts that readers might bring to the poem. Approaching 3.8 for the first time, readers familiar with standard elegiac tropes are led to view 3.8 as a programmatic poem for a collection of male-authored elegy, and Sulpicia as a typical elegiac *puella*. However, when the reader returns to 3.8 after reading the entire Sulpician corpus, this new context creates a very different perspective on Sulpicia's character. Combining these two readings allows for a fuller understanding of the Sulpician persona: an adaptable character who can play the roles of elegiac *puella*, poet and noblewoman alike. References: 1. Keith, Alison. 2006. 'Critical Trends in Interpreting Sulpicia.' *The Classical World*, vol. 100, no. 1: 3-10. 2. Flaschenriem, Barbara L. 1999. 'Sulpicia and the Rhetoric of Disclosure.' *Classical Philology*, vol. 94, no. 1: 36-54. 3. Milnor, Kristina. 2002. 'Sulpicia's (Corpo)reality: Elegy, Authorship, and the Body in [Tibullus] 3.13.' *Classical Antiquity*, vol. 21, no. 2: 259-82.
NATALIE LOOYER	'Odysseus, Aristotle and heroic one-upmanship in Homer's *Iliad*'
	In several episodes throughout Homer's *Iliad*, Odysseus both voluntarily associates himself with, and is narratively compared to, less heroic comrades for the benefit of his own self-aggrandisement and genuine heroic *kleos* (glory). And while most Homeric heroes receive either *kleos* or a *nostos* (homecoming), Odysseus is unusual in his acquisition of both. Viewing Odysseus as a fitting representative of Aristotle's theories of persuasion in the *Rhetoric* and *ethos* (character) in the *Nichomachean Ethics* can provide understanding for Odysseus' *kleos*- and *nostos*-worthy heroism. In several key episodes of the *Iliad*, Odysseus exploits his own unconventional heroic qualities while utilising his persuasive speech and reputed *ethos* in acts of comic trickery over another of his comrades to bolster his own heroism. These heroic deviations and episodes of comic trickery over such comrades as Menelaus, Thersites and Oilean Ajax demonstrate Odysseus' ability to survive for a *nostos*, while his more conventional acts of heroism amid these acts of comic trickery ensure his right to *kleos*. References: 1. Knudsen, R. *Homeric Speech and the Origins of Rhetoric* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014). 2. Montiglio, S. *From Villain to Hero: Odysseus in Ancient Thought* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2011). 3. Stanford, W.B. *The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954).

BETH LORD	'Saints and Soothsayers: Early Christian Perceptions of Women Using and Practicing Medicine in Gaul'
	How were many women who practiced medicine condemned as 'servants of Satan' or witches, while others were celebrated by the Christian Church and even went on to become saints in early Christian Gaul? This paper seeks to provide an analysis into how the Christian authors of the period made such strong distinctions between women practicing medicine and healing. I will argue that the way these women were treated by our sources was a way for the Christian Church to push their authoirty in medicine and healing, encouraging laity to seek out healing from Christian authorities. I will focus on the story of Saint Radegund in contrast with the story of a healing woman named Leubella who was condemned as a 'servant of Satan.' This story will highlight how Christian authorities used traditional Christian ideas around women to put them in opposing groups to push their own aganeda. I hope to provide a new insight on the complex relationship between celerical authorities and laity in early Christian Gaul and the workings of early Christian propaganda. This paper is proposed to be a part of the AWAWS Panel 'Divided Perspectives on Contested Women' References: 1. A. Jones, *Social Mobility in Late Antique Gaul,* (Cambridge 2009) 2. .J. McNamara, J.Halborg and E. Whatley (eds), *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages,* (London 1992) 3.V.Flint, 'The Early Medieval "Medicus", the Saint – and the Enchanter', *Social History of Medicine* 2 (1989), https://academic.oup.com/shm/article-abstract/2/2/127/1673410 (accessed March 31).
KATHRYN MURPHY	'The Construction of Elephant Armies across the Mediterranean between 350–150 B.C.'
	The elephant was, and continues to be, used as a vehicle for political, military, and social expression. Whilst the societies who had contact with elephants varied significantly, the animal itself did not evolve. Rather, the reputation and meaning of the elephant was shaped uniquely in accordance with these societies, as well as the period. Accordingly, the elephant can be used to discuss cultural developments over different civilisations and ages. The present paper will explore the use of elephants in the Seleucid and Roman armies between 350-150 B.C. Modern studies on war elephants have provided insights into their tactical deployment on the battlefield. Glover and Gowers, among others, have evaluated the animal's practical contribution to large-set battles, whilst Scullard offered a broad overview of their military history throughout Asia Minor and the Mediterranean. However, what seems to be lacking in the scholarship is a reception study on how elephants were conceptualised differently by the various powers who used them for war. Literary evidence reveals the usage of elephants by the Seleucids significantly outweighed that of the Romans. To explain this phenomenon, this paper will analyse the relationship between elephants and the nature of these armies, their geographic dispositions, and the ideology of their leadership. In doing so, I will demonstrate the value of animals as a platform to discuss cultural, political, and military developments in Mediterranean societies, and therefore, the importance of bridging Zoological studies with Ancient History.

	References: 1. R. F. Glover, 'The Tactical Handling of the Elephant', *Greece & Rome* 17 (1948) 1-11. 2. W. Gowers, 'The African Elephant in Warfare', *African Affairs* 45 (1947) 42-49. 3. H. H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge 1974).
HELEN NEALE	'A Conscious Pattern of Imitation: The Rock-inscriptions of Neferhotep I in the Region of the First Cataract and the Wadi el-Shatt el-Rigal exception'
	In the First Cataract area, Neferhotep I, one of better attested kings of the ephemeral and obscure Thirteenth Dynasty, pursued a very deliberate program of rock inscriptions placed nearby and often in imitation of the inscriptions of his more eminent predecessors of the Old and Middle Kingdoms in order to lend strength and legitimacy to his own rule. This program spans three sites – Sehel, Konosso and Philae – and draws upon the inscriptions of Senusret III, Montuhotep II and Merenre I respectively. At the site of Wadi el-Shatt el-Rigal, north of the first cataract area, one additional rock inscription of Neferhotep I is known. This inscription is geographically and stylistically distinct, and has typically been regarded by older scholarship as unrelated to the other extant inscriptions of Neferhotep I. The Wadi el-Shatt el-Rigal inscription is also somewhat elusive; there are no published photographs or facsimile drawings which show the inscription in context, only a written description by Winlock, who claims that the inscription is 'under the large stela' (1947, 72). The large stela mentioned, however, is a rock-cut stela of Montuhotep II, and given this ruler's inclusion in Neferhotep's established program in the First Cataract area, the proximity of these two inscriptions cannot be treated as insignificant. This paper proposes a re-examination of all rock inscriptions of Neferhotep I, in order to determine whether or not this program extends beyond the First Cataract region to include the Wadi el-Shatt el-Rigal inscription. References: 1. Gasse, A. and Rondot, V. (2007) *Les inscriptions des Séhel*, MIFAO 126, Cairo, Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale. 2. Habachi, L. (1981) 'New Light on the Neferhotep I Family as Revealed by their Inscriptions in the Cataract Area', in Simpson, W.K., and Davis, W.M., eds. *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in Honour of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1 1980*, Boston, Boston Museum of Fine Arts: 77–81. 3. Winlock, H.E. (1947) *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, New York, the Macmillan Company.
KIRSTEN PARKIN	'Domestic Violence in Ancient Rome'
	The elephant was, and continues to be, used as a vehicle for political, military, and social expression. Whilst the societies who had contact with elephants varied significantly, the animal itself did not evolve. Rather, the reputation and meaning of the elephant was shaped uniquely in accordance with these societies, as well as the period. Accordingly, the elephant can be used to discuss cultural developments over different civilisations and ages. The present paper will explore the use of elephants in the Seleucid and Roman armies between 350-150 B.C. Modern studies on war elephants have provided insights into their tactical deployment on the battlefield. Glover and Gowers, among others, have

evaluated the animal's practical contribution to large-set battles, whilst Scullard offered a broad overview of their military history throughout Asia Minor and the Mediterranean. However, what seems to be lacking in the scholarship is a reception study on how elephants were conceptualised differently by the various powers who used them for war. Literary evidence reveals the usage of elephants by the Seleucids significantly outweighed that of the Romans. To explain this phenomenon, this paper will analyse the relationship between elephants and the nature of these armies, their geographic dispositions, and the ideology of their leadership. In doing so, I will demonstrate the value of animals as a platform to discuss cultural, political, and military developments in Mediterranean societies, and therefore, the importance of bridging Zoological studies with Ancient History.

References:
1. R. F. Glover, 'The Tactical Handling of the Elephant', *Greece & Rome* 17 (1948) 1-11.
2. W. Gowers, 'The African Elephant in Warfare', *African Affairs* 45 (1947) 42-49.
3. H. H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge 1974).

NATALIA POLIKARPOVA	'Seneca the Younger's *Ad Marciam*: Constructing an Example of Emphasized Femininity'

Abstract (150-250 words): In a contemporary Classical scholarship, stoicism as a pro(to)-feminist philosophy is the subject of increasing attention.[1] Scholarchip on Seneca the Younger (4 BC - AD 65), a stoic philosopher diverse in genres, style and content, is a significant component of these discussions. In order to demonstrate Seneca's egalitarian views on the relationship between the sexes, Classicists often refer to his consolation addressed to the noble and well-educated Roman *matrona*, Marcia, on the occasion of her son's death.[2] *Ad Marciam de consolatione* contains a number of seemingly laudatory statements about women's abilities in general, and Marcia's outstanding features and achievements in particular. That the consolation was written in dialogue form may suggest the expression of an equality of sorts, and the freedom of the parties to speak for themselves, or to have their own voices. However, I suggest that on closer examination of the methods by which Seneca constructs the image of Marcia, there are significant signs of objectification. Applying some of the criteria developed by Martha Nussbaum and Rae Langton, signs of the objectification in *Ad Marciam* include instrumentality, inertness, violability, denial of autonomy and subjectivity, and silencing.[3] Created this way, the image of Marcia represents a vivid example of emphasized femininity (term proposed by the Australian Sociologist R. Connell)[4] – a symbol of women's dependence and subordination to men.

References:
1. See, for example: Aikin, S, McGill-Rutherford, E. 'Stoicism, Feminism and Autonomy'. *Symposion,* Vol. 1, No 1 (2014): pp. 9-22; Engel, D.M. 'Women's Role in the Home and the State: Stoic Theory Reconsidered'. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* Vol. 101 (2003): pp. 267-288; Hill, L. 'The First Wave of Feminism: Were the Stoics Feminists?'. *History of Political Thought,* Vol. 22, No 1 (2001): pp. 13-40.
2. See, for example: Fournier, M. 'Seneca on Platonic *Apatheia*'. *C&M,* Vol. 60 (2009): pp. 211-236; Manning, C.E. 'Seneca and the Stoics on the Equality of the Sexes'. *Mnemosyne,* Vol. 26, No 2 (1973): pp. 170-177; Wilcox, A. 'Exemplary Grief: Gender and Virtue in Seneca's Consolations to Women.' *Helios*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2006): pp. 73-100.

	3. A list of criteria identifying that a person is objectified has been developed by the philosopher Martha Nussbaum. Later, the list has been expanded by the scholar Rae Langton. See: Nussbaum, M.C. 'Objectification'. *Philosophy&Public Affairs,* Vol. 24, No. 4 (1995): pp. 249-291; Langton, R. *Sexual Solipsism: Philosophical Essays on Pornography and Objectification.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. 4. See Connell, R.W. *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987.
NOVA PETRECHKO	'*'*Women and Priscillian' or 'Priscillian's Women'?: Women's Religious Experience in Fourth-Century Hispania and Southern Gaul'
CARLOS ROBINSON	'Alexandrian Epigrams, Ptolemaic Naval Policy and the Maritime Aphrodite'
	In a contemporary Classical scholarship, stoicism as a pro(to)-feminist philosophy is the subject of increasing attention.[1] Scholarchip on Seneca the Younger (4 BC - AD 65), a stoic philosopher diverse in genres, style and content, is a significant component of these discussions. In order to demonstrate Seneca's egalitarian views on the relationship between the sexes, Classicists often refer to his consolation addressed to the noble and well-educated Roman *matrona*, Marcia, on the occasion of her son's death.[2] *Ad Marciam de consolatione* contains a number of seemingly laudatory statements about women's abilities in general, and Marcia's outstanding features and achievements in particular. That the consolation was written in dialogue form may suggest the expression of an equality of sorts, and the freedom of the parties to speak for themselves, or to have their own voices. However, I suggest that on closer examination of the methods by which Seneca constructs the image of Marcia, there are significant signs of objectification. Applying some of the criteria developed by Martha Nussbaum and Rae Langton, signs of the objectification in *Ad Marciam* include instrumentality, inertness, violability, denial of autonomy and subjectivity, and silencing.[3] Created this way, the image of Marcia represents a vivid example of emphasized femininity (term proposed by the Australian Sociologist R. Connell)[4] – a symbol of women's dependence and subordination to men. References: 1. See, for example: Aikin, S, McGill-Rutherford, E. 'Stoicism, Feminism and Autonomy'. *Symposion,* Vol. 1, No 1 (2014): pp. 9-22; Engel, D.M. 'Women's Role in the Home and the State: Stoic Theory Reconsidered'. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* Vol. 101 (2003): pp. 267-288; Hill, L. 'The First Wave of Feminism: Were the Stoics Feminists?'. *History of Political Thought,* Vol. 22, No 1 (2001): pp. 13-40. 2. See, for example: Fournier, M. 'Seneca on Platonic *Apatheia*'. *C&M,* Vol. 60 (2009): pp. 211-236; Manning, C.E. 'Seneca and the Stoics on the Equality of the Sexes'. *Mnemosyne,* Vol. 26, No 2 (1973): pp. 170-177; Wilcox, A. 'Exemplary Grief: Gender and Virtue in Seneca's Consolations to Women.' *Helios*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2006): pp. 73-100. 3. A list of criteria identifying that a person is objectified has been developed by the philosopher Martha Nussbaum. Later, the list has been expanded by the scholar Rae Langton. See: Nussbaum, M.C. 'Objectification'. *Philosophy&Public Affairs,* Vol. 24, No. 4 (1995): pp. 249-291; Langton, R. *Sexual Solipsism: Philosophical Essays on Pornography and Objectification.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

	4. See Connell, R.W. *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987.
ELISABETH SLINGSBY	**'Back by Popular Demand: Electing Tyrants in Cornelius Nepos' *Lives of Miltiades* and *Timoleon*'**
	In his *Life of Miltiades* and *Life of Timoleon,* Cornelius Nepos wrote that these two Greek generals were given the opportunity to become the sole rulers of their respective communities. Although Miltiades immediately accepts and Timoleon initially declines, both are eventually voted kingly powers, which they exercise justly and benevolently. At the end of these *Lives* however, Miltiades and Timoleon face charges laid by dissatisfied citizens. Should these be considered misguided complaints, or legitimate grievances which emphasise the shortcomings of sole rule?

My proposed solution to this question rests on an examination of the contrast Nepos draws between tyranny and *libertas.* While this dichotomy is often present in texts composed during the Triumviral period, the 'tyrant' is rarely as virtuous as Miltiades or Timoleon. In this paper, I contend that Nepos' depiction of two upstanding men who hold a much maligned system of rule reflects his thinking about the efficacy of sole rule at Rome, particularly after the Battle of Actium. Specifically, I will focus on Nepos' interpretation of *tyrannus* and *libertas,* as well as the extent to which his use of such language reflects that of his contemporaries. I will demonstrate that so long as liberty was preserved, Nepos believed a state under an elected sole ruler could not only function, but flourish.

References:
1.
2.
3. |
| AIMEE TURNER | **'Orosius and Suetonius: Reception of the Julio-Claudians in Late Antiquity'** |
| | Classical portrayals of Augustus frequently feature his wife, Livia, as an active member of his family, involved in his political, social and religious programmes. This portrayal is either negative, as in Tacitus, in which Livia appears as scheming and acting against the interests of her husbands family, or more positively, as in Ovid, where Livia appears as an intermediary figure, able to obtain mercy from her husband on behalf of petitioners. During Late Antiquity, however, early Christian authors systematically omitted Livia from their accounts of Augustus. The classical education and personal study of these intellectuals ensures that this omission is not an accident of transmission, but rather a deliberate choice. This paper will present the core argument of the second chapter of my thesis and will provide reasons for the declining interest in Livia's role, including the changing views of women and of Augustus, the development of the concept of "pagan" and the Christian use of classical education and texts.

References:
1. Ramelli, Ilaria L. E. " Antiquity and the Transmission of Educational Ideals and Methods: The Western Empire." In *A Companion to Ancient Education*, edited by W. Martin Bloomer. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2015, 267-278.
2. Wainwright, Elaine M. "Threads of Tradition Weaving a Complex Web: The Challenge/S of Reading Women in Early Christianity." In *Men and Women in the* |

	Early Christian Centuries, edited by Wendy Mayer and Ian J. Elmer. Early Christian Studies 18. Strathfield: St Pauls Publications, 2014, 25-40. 3. Wetherbee, Winthrop. "From Late Antiquity to the Twelfth Century." In *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, Volume 2: The Middle Ages*, edited by Alastair Minnis and Ian Johnson. Cambridge University Press, March 2008, 99-144.
SIMON UNDERWOOD	'An introduction to coopetition: Does it have a place in Egyptology?'
	Coopetition has seen growing popularity in business studies since the term's inception in 1996. However, coopetition has yet to be fully applied to historical studies, let alone ancient Egyptian society. It is a fascinating concept that, at its most basic level, is a combination of cooperation and competition between parties. Although coopetition as a term is relatively recent, the concept behind it is not, with the basic principles appearing in various forms throughout history. This paper will firstly provide an overview of what coopetition is, along with a brief review of coopetitive studies that have been completed so far. This will lead into an analysis of how coopetition can be identified from ancient sources, and its application to the study of ancient Egyptian society. The Second Kamose Stela will be used as an example. Finally, the relevance of coopetition to the study of Egyptology will be discussed. References: 1. Bengtsson, M. and S. Kock, 'Tension in co-opetition.' In *Creating and Delivering Value in Marketing. Developments in Marketing Science: Proceedings of the 2003 Academy of Marketing Science*. Edited by Spotts H, Cham: Springer, 2015. 38-42. 2. Bengtsson, M., and T. Raza-Ullah. 'A systematic review of research on coopetition: Toward a multilevel understanding.' *Industrial Marketing Management 57*, 2016: 23-39. 3. Walley, K. 'Coopetition - An introduction to the subject and an agenda for research.' *International studies of management and organisation 37* (2), 2007: 11-31.
JACQUELINE WEBBER	'Work in Life and Death: A Case-Study of the term '*navicularius*' in Epigraphic Media'
	The epigraphic media produced by and for occupational workers and tradespeople is an area that, despite the relative quantity of surviving evidence, is not addressed adequately in current scholarship. Epigraphic evidence produced during the Roman Imperial period was set up in many different places and for many different reasons, from the transmission of laws and honours through to commemorations for the deceased. A greater understanding of the use of epigraphic media, in particular its use by non-elite and occupational groups, is necessary in order to help us understand why and how a noticeable portion of the Empire's population chose to identify or were identified with their occupations through written media. This paper will analyse the use of the term *navicularius*, 'ship-owner', in and on different types of epigraphic media in the first two centuries AD. By investigating and discussing the use of navicularius as a means of identification and representation, this paper will concern itself with both archaeological and social scholarship, and consider the impact of representation and presentation on identity construction in Roman society. The presentation will discuss four different

	case-studies of the use of *navicularius*, with two examples of a public nature (civic and honorary) and two from private contexts (funerary) from the Italian peninsula. In doing so, this paper seeks to increase the understanding of the use of occupational titles, specifically *navicularius*, as a means of identification in different epigraphic contexts constructed in different ways. References: 1. S. Joshel, Work, Identity and Legal Status at Rome: A Study of the Occupational Inscriptions (Norman 1992) 2. J. Sandys, Latin Epigraphy. 2nd ed. (Groningen 1969) 3. A. Wallace-Hadrill, Rome's Cultural Revolution (Cambridge 2008)
JAMES WINESTOCK	'Too Much Booty – The Effect of War Profits on Rome's Second Century'
	The causes of Rome's "economic crisis" in the non-elite rural citizen population leading to Tiberius Gracchus' controversial tribunate in 133 BCE have long been debated. This paper will argue that a factor contributing to the "crisis" was an increase in the wealth of citizens who served as soldiers in the second century. The traditional view of Roman demography, put forward by Brunt, has stressed low-population growth in Italy in the early to mid second century. Rosenstein and De Ligt have challenged this view, arguing for a higher population leading up to Tiberius Gracchus' tribunate. The latter analysis suggests that increased population lead to increased competition for resources and therefore a broad decline in wealth in rural farmers. What is lacking in the debate, however, is an analysis of the wealth soldiers brought back from Rome's foreign wars in this period. This paper will argue that the profits Roman soldiers received from military campaigns in the early second century lead to modest inflation in the rural economy. This, in conjunction with a rising rural population, lead to scarcity of land and resources in central-western Italy in the mid-second century. The "crisis" was, therefore, that many citizens were getting better off which made it more difficult for the poorest citizens to stay afloat. References: 1. Brunt, P. A., *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C. - A.D. 14.,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971). 2. Rosenstein, N., *Rome at War: Farms, Families and Death in the Middle Republic,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). 3. Ligt, de L., *Peasants, Citizens and Soldiers: Studies in the Demographic History of Roman Italy 225 BC-AD 100,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
HELEN WYETH	'False Divinities to Divine Vegetables – Prudentius' Construction of Paganism in Peristephanon 10'
	The Liber Peristephanon by Aurelius Prudentius Clemens is a series of fourteen lyric poems on Christian martyrs. Although recent years have seen a surge in interest in this work, it remains relatively understudied, and there are still significant holes in the scholarship. In particular few scholars have explored in detail and length the Peristephanon's place within the context of pagan and Christian relations, yet this is a particularly striking feature of the work. Although a text about Christian martyrs, Prudentius devotes considerable time to the exploration of paganism.

This paper will focus on the tenth poem in the corpus (Perist. 10) dedicated to the martyr St. Romanus, and more specifically the ways in which Prudentius constructs the concept of paganism within the poem. Prudentius' understanding of what constitutes paganism is particularly interesting, covering the traditional 'false deities' and the more obscure discussion of 'divine vegetables'. This analysis of Peristephanon 10 allows for a greater understanding of the 'pagan' references made throughout the rest of the Liber Peristephanon. Furthermore, Prudentius' treatment of paganism shall provide us with a better understanding of the Peristephanon within the relationship between paganism and Christianity in the late fourth- and early fifth-century.

References:
1. A.-M. Palmer, Prudentius on the Martyrs (Oxford 1989).
2. M. Mastrangelo, The Roman Self in Late Antiquity: Prudentius and the Poetics of the Soul (Baltimore 2008).
3. M. A. Malamud, A Poetics of Transformation: Prudentius and Classical Mythology (Ithaca 1989).

DAN ZHAO	'Praise or Censure? Interpreting the 'Noble Savage' in Tacitus' *Agricola* and Sima Qian's *Shiji*'

Recent scholarship is deeply divided on how to interpret Roman historian Tacitus' portrayal of 'barbarians' in his works. There are copious passages that raise 'barbarians' to moral equality with Rome, if not even moral superiority, in complete contradiction to other passages in his works and his own standing in Rome as an ex-Consul. Focusing specifically on Tacitus' *Agricola*, there are numerous sections where the Britons are portrayed as 'superior' to Rome. The abandonment of their cultural and ethnic identity in favour of the toga and Latin is described as them entering 'slavery'. Their leader, Calgacus, in a fictional speech, calls Rome 'robbers of the world' and that the Britons were the last holders of true freedom. How should such problematic passages be interpreted? Were they genuine praise, as Dorey has argued? Or is it more complex and nuanced, as Wells, Mellor and O'Gorman have posited?

Thus, this paper will approach such passages in a new fashion, via a comparative reading with similar sections in the *Shiji* – or the *Records of the Grand Historian* – of Chinese historian Sima Qian (145 – 86 BCE). By examining passages where, contrary to Chinese literary norms, Sima Qian raises the northern 'barbarians' to moral and cultural superiority, this paper will argue that the 'Noble Savage' was a roundabout way to criticise China: China had become so 'immoral' that even 'barbarians' were now superior. By analysing Chinese utilisations of the 'Noble Savage', this paper will hopefully shed additional light on similar themes in Tacitus' *Agricola*.

References:
1. Clarke, Katherine. 'An Island Nation: Re-reading Tacitus' '*Agricola*', in *Tacitus*, edited by Rhiannon Ash, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
2. Dorey, T. A. *Tacitus*, London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1969.
3. Mellor, Ronald. *Tacitus*, New York: Routledge, 1993.
4. O'Gorman, Ellen. 'No Place Like Rome: Identity and Difference in the *Germania* of Tacitus', in *Tacitus*, edited by Rhiannon Ash, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

5. Wells, Peter S. 'The Ancient Germans', in *Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions*, edited by Larissa Bonfante, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.