

**The Hellenistic Study Group in Wales
Postgraduate Conference**

Stabilities and Instabilities in the Hellenistic World

17–18 November 2022



Foreword

The idea for this conference grew out of the discussions held by the postgraduate Hellenistic Study Group at the University of Wales Trinity St David. In organising a postgraduate conference (one that would also be open to postdocs and early-career researchers) we hoped to achieve two objectives. Firstly, to make available a forum which would bring together as many different perspectives and areas of study on the Hellenistic world as possible. Secondly, to create an environment in which people from different institutions could meet and connect with others whose interests and areas of research coincided with their own.

We hope that you all find the next two days stimulating and enjoyable, and that this marks the beginning of many conversations and fruitful exchanges of ideas.

Henry Bohun, Maria Lord and Troy Wilkinson

Stabilities and Instabilities in the Hellenistic World

Programme

Thursday 17 November

Session 1: 09:30–10:00

Opening remarks by Prof. Kyle Erickson (University of Wales Trinity Saint David)

Break: 10:00–10:30

Session 2: Identities (10:30–12:30)

- 1) Amy Arezzolo (University of New England): Unstable Identities: The Shifting Image of Alexander the Great
- 2) Peter Martin (Tel Aviv University): Polybius on Rome's Two Bodies
- 3) Haggai Olshanetsky (University of Basel): The Jewish Service in the Armies of the Seleucid Empire, and the Worldview and Intentions of the Hasmoneans
- 4) Luca Ricci (University of Oxford): Wavering Civic Identities in Central Italy: The Role of Building Projects in a Time of Instability

Lunch: 12:30–13:30

Session 3: Representations (13:30–15:00)

- 1) Ekaterina But (Independent Scholar): Babushkas of Alexandria: Images of Older Women in Early-Hellenistic Poetry
- 2) Luís Maia de Freitas (Swansea University): Homi Bhabha and Cultural Hybridity in the Hellenistic-Roman Near East: Liminality and Context featured in Material Culture found in Dura Europos
- 3) James Oakley (University of Oxford): Cattle, Women, Priesthoods, Armour: The Stability and Instability of War and Peace in Hellenistic Greek and Demotic Egyptian Literature

Break: 15:00–15:30

Session 4: Keynote Lecture by Prof. Paul Kosmin (Harvard University) (15:30–16:30)

Friday 18 November

Session 5: Local Histories (09:00–10:30)

- 1) Oliver Clarke (University of Oxford): Whatever Happened to the Samians?
- 2) Suvi Kuokkanen (University of Oulu): Stabilising the Community through Excluding Disturbing Individuals in Classical and Hellenistic Athens
- 3) Maria Lord (University of Wales Trinity Saint David): Hellenistic Elites as Agents of Instability in Asia Minor

Break: 10:30–11:00

Session 6: Queenship and Kingship (11:00–13:00)

- 1) Henry Bohun (University of Wales Trinity Saint David): Cultivating Legitimacy as a Foreign King: Ritual Performance in the Accounts of King Piye's and Alexander the Great's Occupation of Egypt
- 2) Hatın Boumehache Erjani (University of the Basque Country): Hellenistic Queenship and Roman Perception: Representation and Distortion in the Roman Historiographical Tradition
- 3) Patrick Hayes (University of Cambridge): Universalist Ideology in the Hellenistic Period: A Stable Policy in Unstable Times?
- 4) Marijn Visscher (University of Bergen): Local Hero or Model King? The Reception of Nebuchadnezzar in the Hellenistic Period

Lunch: 13:00–14:00

Session 7: Territories (14:00–15:30)

- 1) Marc Gehrmann (University of Konstanz): Killing an Elephant: The Murder of C. Octavius (163 BCE) and the Roman Politics of Instability in the Hellenistic World
- 2) Troy Wilkinson (University of Wales Trinity Saint David): Political Instability and Ptolemaic Activity in the Ἑρυθρὰ Θάλασσα
- 3) Davide Morelli (Università degli studi 'G. d'Annunzio' di Chieti-Pescara): Divisions and Political Changes in Italic and Italiote Cities during the Roman Conquest of Italy

Break: 15:30–16:00

Session 8: Closing Remarks and Final Discussion (16:00–16:30)

General Information

Location

The conference will be held at the Lampeter campus of UWTSD (University of Wales Trinity Saint David, College Street, Lampeter SA48 7ED, United Kingdom). Useful information on how to reach Lampeter can be found on the university's website:

<https://www.uwtsd.ac.uk/lampeter/travelling-to-lampeter/>

This page has a map of the campus (also reproduced at the end of the programme). Note that all sessions will take place in room **Arts 1** (the Arts Building is ringed in red on the map).

Registration

All speakers and attendees are asked to register in advance. This should be done online through the following site:

<https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/stabilities-and-instabilities-in-the-hellenistic-world-tickets-394640720017>

The process is quick and easy. Note that attendance is free. Please pass on this link to anyone you know who might be interested in attending, either in person or online.

Contacts

If you need to contact us, please use any of the following:

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Abstracts

Amy Arezzolo: Unstable Identities: The Shifting Image of Alexander the Great

The unexpected death of Alexander the Great in 323 BCE is widely considered to have heralded the beginnings of the Hellenistic Period, an age distinguished for reshaping political, cultural, and religious ideas on a large scale. However, the consequences of the type of changes that permeated throughout the Hellenistic World were fluctuations of stability and instability. The origins of this trend initially began during the immediate aftermath of Alexander's death, where the Diadochi sought to refashion understandings about the notion of legitimacy to secure territorial claims and by extension, their dynasties. In doing so, a renewed emphasis on personal charisma, connections to Alexander and military power destabilised and later, fragmented much of Alexander's former empire into distinctive kingdoms.

Likewise, further changes to the landscape emerged through religious ideals and practices that developed concurrently alongside these 'Wars of the Successors' and would continue well after. Influences such as euhemerism, shifting attitudes to reciprocity, and the legitimization of Ruler Cults each amended previous understandings of religion. From an ideological perspective, these acted as unstable factors that ultimately adjusted what was previously known and understood.

Nevertheless, while both the political and religious factors reshaped through the Hellenistic Period can be affirmed through a range of evidence types, it is the purpose of this paper to focus specifically on how reception studies can chart the instability and reshaping of central ideas and concepts during this period. Accordingly, it is especially fitting that the legacy of Alexander, whose conquests and actions were the catalyst for this period, can be used to demonstrate these changes. Thus, through a combination of textual, numismatic, and archaeological evidence, this paper will ultimately suggest that simultaneously, Alexander occupied a range of identities that reflected societal attitudes at a given time but, these changing identities can also reflect the changes to political, cultural, and religious contexts that occurred throughout the Hellenistic Period.

Peter Martin: Polybius on Rome's Two Bodies

Polybius is the first extant historian to confront the fact that the 'rise and fall' of states, a fundamental assumption of prior Classical historiography, no longer easily applies to his chosen subject matter, the Roman Empire. My paper offers a new interpretation of Polybius' consequent double vision of Rome. In the opening chapters of his history, Polybius writes that Rome's subjection of nearly the whole inhabited world is unprecedented; he contrasts it with the instability of former hegemonies; and asserts that the Romans' superiority when it comes to their dominion is unsurpassable. In Book 6, Polybius sets the stability of Rome's mixed constitution against the instability of other constitutions. I locate Polybius' presentation of Rome within the nascent second-century BC discourse about the unprecedented stability of Rome, as for instance found in the poetry of Melinno.

At the same time, in the book he originally envisioned as the last, Polybius describes Perseus as bitterly calling to mind Demetrius of Phaleron's treatise on τὸ γινῆναι; the falls of Persia and Macedon are depicted as wholly unpredictable until they happened. In a scene even more ominous for Rome, while Carthage burns, Scipio Aemilianus is seen telling Polybius that he fears Rome will go the way of Carthage. Commenting on Scipio's tears, Eduard Fraenkel writes that it 'is a Greek outlook on life and a Greek conception of history, the theory...of the cycle of the life of nations.'

The Classical Greek conception of the inherent instability of great powers fits uneasily with the idea of Rome's exceptional stability. To help make sense of Polybius' combination of these outlooks, I borrow an image from Ernst Kantorowicz's study of Medieval political theology, which describes the Medieval King's 'Two Bodies', one Body mortal and ephemeral, and another which never dies. I argue that, for Polybius, Rome also has Two Bodies, one inviolable and potentially eternal, another as precarious as all other states that preceded it. By analysing the first surviving depiction of what I call 'Rome's Two Bodies', I hope to further our understanding primarily of Polybius'

history and, secondarily, of the later Roman historiographical tradition, much of which continued to uphold this dual outlook concerning the future of Rome.

Haggai Olshanetsky: The Jewish Service in the Armies of the Seleucid Empire, and the Worldview and Intentions of the Hasmoneans

How we perceive Judaism in antiquity is often defined by what is believed Jews did, or could have done, due to religious limitations. Unfortunately, understanding this is hampered by the prevailing belief that ancient Judaism and modern Judaism are similar, or one and the same. Furthermore, the relationship between Jews and their neighbours, or their foreign rulers, is defined by the different struggles and rebellions they had. Yet, that picture is often altered by modern ideas, sometimes inspired by the Jewish Zionist national movement. Henceforth, the current presentation wishes to discard these biases by examining the relationship between the Jews and the Seleucid Kingdom through Jewish military service in this Empire's army, and its importance. This examination would give us a different perspective on the relationship between the Empire and its Jewish subjects and would show us how the Empire perceived the Jews and treated them. Moreover, such an examination would enable us to better understand the Hasmoneans and the changes in their ambitions from the beginning of their revolt in 167 BCE until 129 BCE. It would show that in 167 BCE they already had a 'Hellenistic' mindset, rather than an innovation introduced by King Alexander Jannaeus (r. 103–76 BCE) many decades later. The military assistance and support of the Hasmoneans to different Seleucid kings or contenders for the Seleucid throne clearly shows that initially, independence was not necessarily their goal and that they just tried to improve their status among the Seleucid aristocracy. Ideas of independents only arose later, fully achieved only after the death of Antiochus VII Euergetes in 129 BCE.

Luca Ricci: Wavering Civic Identities in Central Italy: The Role of Building Projects in a Time of Instability

This paper examines the monumentalisation of a series of sanctuaries, known in the scholarship as "Hellenistic", which were built in central Italy in the two or three decades preceding the Social War. Traditionally interpreted as semantically embodying either pro- or anti-Roman sentiments, I argue that a more granular understanding of these buildings should take into account both the pragmatics (i.e., the actions taken in the construction), and the historical context. By doing so, we realise that the monumentalisation phenomenon answered more to threats to local civic identity during times of instability than to ideologically fixed semantic categories.

From the point of view of pragmatics, I identify two broad groups, characterised by distinct building practices: one coincides with the Tyrrhenian side of the peninsula and comprises Latium and Campania; the other corresponds to Samnium. In this geographical context, the sanctuaries on the Tyrrhenian side were built almost entirely in *opus incertum*, while those in Samnium adopted ashlar masonry. Though contraposing issues of novelty and tradition have often been postulated to make sense of this distinction, an analysis of the pragmatics should point toward the fact that *opus incertum*, especially in the processing and production of mortar, allowed a much larger number of unskilled labourers to partake in the construction activity. Ashlar masonry, instead, due to the high level of expertise required to quarry, cut, and carve the large blocks, remained the purview of a highly specialised workforce.

Once we contextualise these findings within the historical landscape of late Republican central Italy, we realise that these projects, apart from obvious economic considerations (not covered in this paper due to time constraints), could also tell us about local identities. On the Tyrrhenian side, the changes in landholding patterns, which saw land accumulated in fewer hands, and an increase in the free rural population would have driven underemployed farmers to seek employment elsewhere. It goes without saying that a constant migratory wave could have undermined the social fabric of the community. In this context, *opus incertum* allowed the elite commissioners to employ underemployed farmers and, thus, avoid the disintegration of local civic identity. In the case of Samnium, instead, ashlar masonry was preferred because the Samnite communities, due to long-lasting migratory movements, could not muster the same human resources as their Tyrrhenian counterparts.

Ekaterina But: *Babushkas* of Alexandria: Images of Older Women in Early Hellenistic Poetry

The representation of older women in sculpture, a distinct feature of Hellenistic art, is often connected to Hellenistic realism (Politt 1986). It is rarely discussed, however, that many works of early Hellenistic poetry also include characters of older women who often play a key role in the narrative or function as main interlocutors. In this paper, I depart from the idea that the representation of older women in Hellenistic poetry is solely a feature of realism and propose a hypothesis that it was influenced by the folk culture rooted in domestic religion and initiation rites.

To provide evidence for my hypotheses, I select several key examples of different types of Hellenistic poetry of the third century B.C.E. that feature characters of old women in a wide range of contexts: mythological, humorous, and 'realistic'. First, I examine the remains of Callimachus's *Hecale*, an epyllion about the eponymous hostess of Theseus on a journey to slay the Marathonian Bull. Then, I analyze several characters of older women in Herodas *Mimes* and Machon's *Chreiai*. I will conclude with a reading of funerary epigrams dedicated to older women from Epitymbia, a section from Posidippus's *Milan Papyrus*.

With my case studies, I determine that the images of older women in Hellenistic poetry possess many features of witch-like characters of world folklore, such as Baba Yaga in Russian folktales. Rooted in Proto-Indo European chthonic Mother-goddess, they are simultaneously connected to funeral and initiation rites, especially of childbirth and adolescence initiation (Gimbutas 2001; Johns 2004). My analysis reveals that older women in Hellenistic poetry, compatible with characters like Baba Yaga, often function as guardians between two realms mediating boundaries between different worlds or different stages of life. Thus, the images of older women in Hellenistic poetry become a manifestation of stability in instability serving as guides for other characters through a constant cycle of life and death.

Luís Maia de Freitas: Homi Bhabha and Cultural Hybridity in the Hellenistic-Roman Near East: Liminality and Context featured in Material Culture found in Dura Europos

Hybridity is a concept drawn by Homi Bhabha to argue about cultural interactions and sharing between the coloniser and colonised by giving equal voice to colonised groups while they articulate the coloniser's culture within their contexts (Bhabha, 1994). The geographical location, weather and natural resources made the Near East attractive for the movement and settlement of various ethnicities that brought and shared their cultural elements with local people. It also became a ruling state for great empires such as the Seleucids, Parthians and Romans until the emergence of the Sassanian dynasty. The range of material evidence found in different Near Eastern cities built during the governance of these empires may indicate the existence of hybrid cultures. That is, the expression of various local and foreign socio-cultural contexts articulated within their identities suggests the representation of cultural hybridity as a liminal process developed continuously by human interactions (Kaizer, 2022). Dura-Europos, for instance, is one of the various cities of the Near East, where there was a cultural mixedness depicted in the city's art and architecture of religious and civic buildings during the Seleukid, Parthian and Roman periods. That cultural mixture reflects on the different languages Dura's inhabitants have spoken, including Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Parthian, Pahlavi and Safaitic (Kaizer, 2009).

However, Bhabha's definition of hybridity has become jargon in archaeology, whereby archaeologists generally discard it as a potential tool to analyse material findings due to the postcolonial literary assumption about hybridity rather utilised as a colonial strategy instrument to dominate indigenous groups (Said, 1979, 1994; Acheraïou, 2011). While hybridity may be a complex term in archaeology, archaeologists Antonaccio (2003), Baird (2014), and van Dommelen (2002, 2006) considered hybridity a highly beneficial concept to discriminate the archaeological phenomena of mixed material culture. However, what aspects can we recall from Bhabha's hybridity concept to describe cultural mixedness represented in material evidence?

The presentation of this paper attempts to suggest the validity of hybridity through the description of the different kinds of material evidence found in Dura Europos. The argument entails two essential aspects taken from Bhabha's work *The Location of Culture* (1994), liminality and context, as cultural hybridity articulators of cultural interactions in the Hellenistic-Roman Near East, particularly in the art and architecture of Dura Europos.

James Oakley: Cattle, Women, Priesthoods, Armour: The Stability and Instability of War and Peace in Hellenistic Greek and Demotic Egyptian Literature

Hellenistic Egypt was not a stable place. Demographically, the influx of Greek immigrants permanently altered the ethnic makeup of the country; ideologically, new rulers brought with them new ideas about kingship that hybridised Greco-Macedonian and pharaonic concepts; politically, the need for both Greeks and Egyptians to engage with the new political structures and with each other prompted a constant renegotiation of their identities, as the boundaries between 'Greek' and 'Egyptian' became destabilised and increasingly collapsed.

On a geopolitical level stability was also scarce: proxy conflicts with the other Hellenistic kingdoms resulted in constantly shifting alliances that could sometimes spill over into Egypt, as with Cleomenes III. The frequent Syrian wars with the Seleucids prevented long periods of stability within Egypt, as the balance of power shifted from Ptolemy III penetrating the Seleucid heartlands to Antiochus IV being declared Pharaoh, if only for a few months. The long-lasting revolt of the Thebaid during the reigns of Ptolemies IV and V brought great instability to the heart of Egypt, as the Greek word for the event (ταραχή) indicates.

Within this context of unstable geopolitical power and personal identity, this paper proposes to examine how the Greeks and Egyptians of Ptolemaic Egypt represented these instabilities in their literature. It will focus in particular on the stability or instability of war and peace, considering how the Greeks and Egyptians made wars begin, how they made them end, and how final those ends are. The primary sources will be the works of the early Alexandrian poets, particularly Apollonius' *Argonautica* and Callimachus' *Aetia*, and the Inaros-Petubastis Cycle of Demotic Egyptian texts (especially *The Battle for the Benefice of Amun*, *The Battle for the Armour of Inaros*, and *Petechons and Serpot*). In all of these texts wars and conflicts begin and end, but the *casus belli* vary considerably from the rustling of cattle and the rape of women to the wrongful possession of a priesthood. As this paper will demonstrate, a clear difference as to the stability of any peace concluded emerges between the Egyptian and Greek texts, reflective of their experiences of the early Ptolemaic kingdom, and their hopes for its future.

Oliver Clarke: Whatever Happened to the Samians?

The revival and reinvention of Samos as an independent, territorial polis in the late fourth century was a remarkable reversal in fortune for the Samians. Conquered, and at least partially exiled by the Athenian establishment of a cleruchy from 365, the population of Samos was scattered across the Mediterranean, the life of their polis interrupted and disabled. On their return, the *polis* appears to burst back into life. Not least in the epigraphic output of the last two decades of the fourth century, much of which memorialised those who had helped during the exile, where the Samian's pride in declaring the once-more functioning institutions of their *polis* is clear. In the field of local history, the evidence has been persuasively marshalled by Rosalind Thomas that the Samian historians, most prominently tyrant-cum-writer Duris, were active in placing their polis at the heart of Greek history.

At the same time, we have to grapple with the apparent decline of Samos' prominence among its peers in the Aegean – compared to its mainland neighbour of Ephesos, or the dazzling island of Rhodes, Samos is not a prominent actor in all our sources for Hellenistic history – literary, epigraphic, numismatic or archaeological – how many of the most famous Samians of the period are known for deeds or writings conducted far away, as commanders or scholars in the royal courts? In this paper I want to try and answer my title question: in more detail, why were the Samians, who must have returned with such optimism for the future and belief in their past glory, unable to use their restored stability to reach comparable heights once again?

Suvi Kuokkanen: Stabilising the Community through Excluding Disturbing Individuals in Classical and Hellenistic Athens

My presentation will examine the interaction between the Classical and Hellenistic ideas on the status of a socially and morally self-sufficient citizen, on the one hand, and the historical developments of institutions that entailed communal exclusion, i.e., communally made decisions to deprive someone of their public status (such as ostracism),

on the other hand. Recognizing that the *poleis* were not monolithic entities and that diverse social groups existed within the *poleis*, I will presume that the Athenian *dêmos*, cherishing one-mindedness (*homonoia*), understood itself as the personification of the polis and a unified body enforcing its moral norms on individuals. Against this background, I will assess the stabilising effect of the institutions of communal exclusion. I will argue that these institutions helped maintain socio-political balance and stability because through them, the citizens had the chance to react on and intervene in an individual's aggressive disposition believed to endanger the cohesion and stability of the *poleis*. What is more, I will claim that after giving up using ostracism after 417 BCE, the Athenians found other ways to express their power and identity and to exclude disturbing individuals.

The focus will be on the scrutiny of the Hellenistic versions of the institutions of communal exclusion, together with a comparative analysis of ideals of a good citizen and individual from the Classical to the Hellenistic period. With these goals in mind, I will assess the changes and developments in the ideas concerning the expected effects of exclusion from the *poleis*, either forced or voluntary, on its subject. How and why did the ideas on the effects on exclusion change from the Classical to the Hellenistic period – or did they? To answer these questions, I will analyse the justifications and the expected curative effects of exclusion represented by, for example, the philosophical writings of Plato and Aristotle and the political philosophies of the Stoics and the Cynics. Integrating institutional history with history of ideas, I will reflect these philosophical accounts against the historical developments of the practices that involved exclusion from the *poleis*. The central claim will be that the ways of imagining and conceptualizing the place and status of a socially and morally autonomous individual in the group of equal citizens underwent historical changes and that the changes in institutions reflected this shift.

Maria Lord: Hellenistic Elites as Agents of Instability in Asia Minor

The writing of the Hellenistic histories of Asia Minor has, so far, been that of the concerns of elites, their desire for line, their claims over territory or their numerous military actions. These rely on the traditional devices of chronology and the changing and/or holding of power over space. These events then become canonical history and are rarely described in terms of the creation of instability, rather are seen as the attempt of elites to impose order upon the world. This paper takes a different perspective and argues that it is the actions of elites that create instabilities for the overwhelming majority of people, those who do not appear in the historical canon.

To explore this idea, this paper takes three different events from Hellenistic Asia Minor and shows how the actions of elites created great instability for people on the ground. Looking for these instabilities in the epigraphical record is difficult, most inscribed history comes from above and glosses over the means, and their effects, by which elite ends are achieved. However, occasionally these can be discerned. By reading three inscriptions (SEG 47.1738, Sardis VII, Part 1, no. 2 and OGIS 351) through this filter, I highlight the – so far ignored – place of the experience of local populations in the writing of Hellenistic histories, and secondly, challenge a view of history that sees the Hellenistic world through the lens of elite conquest and claims for territory.

Henry Bohun: Cultivating Legitimacy as a Foreign King: Ritual Performance in the Accounts of King Piye's and Alexander the Great's Occupation of Egypt

This paper investigates the methods in which two foreign kings projected their capabilities as guarantors of order and legitimised their rule over Egypt without a coronation, in what can be viewed as periods of instability culminating in regime change.

Although over 400 years apart (744–332 BCE), the conquest and occupation of Egypt by Piye and Alexander have many similarities. Both enter and leave Egypt in a fairly short amount of time, achieving their military or occupational objectives and then departing. In the case of Alexander this is for further conquest, and in the case of Piye this is returning to rule from Nubia. The political situation in Egypt before their arrivals is also comparable in the sense that traditional expectations of Egyptian kingship are, at least by the victor's claims, not being fulfilled. Prior to Piye's conquest, Egypt's leadership is politically and geographically fragmented with rule by a multitude of kings of Libyan descent. Alexander seizes control of Egypt from an absentee Persian king. While in Egypt, Piye and Alexander are credited with participating in a variety of ritual performances at multiple different sites. It is because of these

similarities that this study deems a comparison between the two would be fruitful in the wider understanding of the processes in which foreign kings expressed their qualifications to rule according to local tradition.

The primary focus of this study is to examine the use of both public and private ritual in the divine legitimisation of both these kings. Interestingly, for neither of these kings does this legitimisation manifest as a specific coronation ceremony where the king is described in terms of being crowned. Instead, these kings both enact or participate in public ritual or festivals, as well as engage in ritual performances in a solely independent and private capacity. It is these acts, this paper will argue, that functioned as a kind of investiture of these kings as Egypt's new legitimate ruler and confirmed their rule to both a temporal and cosmic audience.

Hatin Boumehache Erjali: Hellenistic Queenship and Roman Perception: Representation and Distortion in the Roman Historiographical Tradition

The term Queenship is commonly used in current historiography to conceptualise the roles and power exercised by certain queens regent or consort in modern and pre-modern times. In the case of Hellenistic queens, Queenship's theoretical model is valid for conceptualising forms of power, broadly speaking, in public spheres such as political, diplomatic, economic and religious. Nevertheless, Queenship never constituted an office as opposed to Kingship, with this model setting certain limits on the ways of achieving the status of queen and her practical power. The exercise of her royal power in the Hellenistic period differed according to the dynasty we focus on and was determined by the relationship with the husband or father king. Different periods of instability in the Hellenistic world such as the interregnum, dynastic and succession crises and the regency make visible an agency, a political practice and a solitary power of the Hellenistic queens that run within the limits of the exercise of their attributed role in their own dynasties.

In this context, between the 3rd and 1st centuries BC a series of queens belonging to the Hellenistic kingdoms and their areas of influence maintained political and diplomatic contacts with Rome in periods of war or instability within their own dynasties. Queens such as Teuta, Cleopatra II, Cleopatra Selene I, Berenike IV or Cleopatra VII used their agency and diplomatic intermediation to be legitimately recognised as rulers by a foreign and rising power such as Rome. Through different mechanisms such as diplomatic gifts or the sending of embassies, Rome recognised the authority of these queens and formalised their friendship by considering them as friends and allies.

In this paper, I want to analyse the conception of Hellenistic Queenship through the Roman perspective. Within the historiographical tradition, the philoroman sources give an essential role to these queens in representing their roles in the political relations established with Rome. Roman attitudes towards Hellenistic queens are related to Etruscan queens such as Tanaquil or Tulia who play an important role within the historiographical tradition as Kingmakers or advisors to their husbands. In this sense, I want to consider the influence of earlier Queenship models that may have influenced authors such as Livy, Polybius or Cicero, and their real perception in their way of conceiving, shaping and representing the power of Hellenistic queens to the Roman audience.

Patrick Hayes: Universalist Ideology in the Hellenistic Period: A Stable Policy in Unstable Times?

The Hellenistic Period is characterised as an age of instability. The dramatic fragmentation of Alexander's empire after his death, the subsequent political machinations of his successors (the *diadochoi*), the bloody end of the Argead dynasty, and the near constant state of warfare between the successor kingdoms support this characterisation. However, the instability of the period also prompted a greater desire for stability. Universalist ideology in various forms was employed by the Hellenistic kingdoms as a means to achieve that stability, or at the least propagate the idea that their respective kingdoms were stable in an otherwise unpredictable political landscape.

An example of such a universalist strategy is found in the Antiochus Cylinder, also known as the Borsippa Cylinder, dated to 268 BCE. In the inscription, Antiochus I of the Seleucid kingdom claims to be 'king of the world' (*šar kiššati*). The cylinder is a product of Seleucid royal ideology, but the form, use of Akkadian, and types of titulary place Antiochus in the tradition of a long line of Mesopotamian monarchs who sought universal monarchy. Importantly, the cylinder dates to a time when the Seleucid kingdom was still recovering from the First Syrian War and

consequently should be viewed as a means to reassure a Babylonian populous with a traditional act of kingship in unstable times.

Can the use of universalist ideology be interpreted as an attempt to establish stability? This paper seeks to answer that question by firstly, exploring the universalist precedent set by Alexander and secondly, by analysing Seleucid, Ptolemaic and Antigonid universalist strategies. Discussion focuses on the Antiochus Cylinder, the foundation of the Ptolemaieia festival, the installation of the Library of Alexandria, and the Antigonids' assumption of kingship. It presents these respective approaches to universalism as reactionary to the political instabilities of the time.

Marijn Visscher: Local hero or Model king? The Reception of Nebuchadnezzar in the Hellenistic period

During the reign of the first Seleucid king, Seleucus I, a new Near Eastern king is introduced to the Greeks: Nebuchadnezzar II. King Nebuchadnezzar II was the second king in the Chaldean, or Neo-Babylonian, dynasty who reigned from 605 – 562 BCE. This Neo-Babylonian king was not mentioned in Herodotus, Ctesias or Xenophon, writers who provide us with detailed knowledge about the eastern empires. Even though Babylon plays an important part in the works of these authors, there is no mention of the city's most famous indigenous king. This changes however, when the Seleucids come into power and hold their empire, stretching from Asia Minor to Bactria and the Iranian highlands. Babylon becomes one of the centres of power within the Seleucid empire and this is the moment that King Nebuchadnezzar enters Greek literary tradition. He does not only appear in Babylonian sources of the time but also in the Greek author Megasthenes, who wrote a geography of India.

This paper aims to provide a deeper insight in to how the figure of the neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II as a 'golden age' king was used to highlight stability (or instability) in later periods when Babylon was incorporated in larger empires and ruled by non-indigenous monarchs. His popularity for the Babylonian population can be seen in the uprising against the Persians that were championed by men calling themselves Nebuchadnezzar and proclaiming to be king of Babylon (Briant 2002, 115). I argue that this local popularity was recognized and used by the Seleucids, who, to some extent, styled themselves as the heirs of Nebuchadnezzar (Visscher 2020, 90–96). The name and figure of Nebuchadnezzar became, I argue, a figurehead for empire in the Hellenistic period.

However, as in the Persian times, we find the image of Nebuchadnezzar used by the local population resisting the central imperial power also in the Hellenistic period. I argue that under Antiochus IV, the association between the Seleucids and Nebuchadnezzar was used in Jewish sources resisting the Seleucids, such as 2 *Maccabees* and the book of *Daniel*, in order to paint the Seleucid king in a negative light (Kosmin 2018; Portier-Young 2020). The final question of this paper will be how the local population of Babylon might have reacted to the changing image of Nebuchadnezzar.

Marc Gehrmann: Killing an Elephant: The Murder of C. Octavius (163 BCE) and the Roman Politics of Instability in the Hellenistic World

As Roman ambassador C. Octavius was going about his business, sitting in the gymnasium in the Seleucid port town of Laodicea, ordering ships to be burned and elephants to be hamstringed, something unprecedented happened. A local citizen – fueled by anti-Roman sentiments of the rhetor Isocrates and with approval of royal authorities – stabbed the ambassador. The following diplomatic fallout not only led to the escape of the Seleucid prince Demetrius from Roman custody facilitated by a network of Greek brokers. It also left the senate clueless as to how to deal with an unraveling situation in the Hellenistic world, thus revealing deep divisions concerning the aims of Roman politics in the east.

To map the dynamics of this highly complex situation, this talk will draw attention to the frameworks of Greek and Roman diplomacy. I will argue that the instabilities plaguing the Greek world in the 160s BCE in the form of local revolts (Galatians), power struggles (Egypt) and staseis (Rhodes) are a direct result of conflicting interests of a relatively passive Roman senate and its transgressive legates. The starkest example of this is to be found in the embassy of Popilius Laenas' who bluffed his way to unparalleled success at the 'Day of Eleusis' (168 BCE). Following his example, Roman agents continued to venture ever more deeply into the affairs of Greek politics – always in the quest to outdo the achievements of their predecessors. In turn, Greek protagonists were left with an ever-decreasing

set of options to limit unwanted Roman interference. My talk shows that the murder and the following escalation of the Seleucid power struggle must be read in this framework of Greek and Roman relations.

On a broader scale, these encounters go well beyond well-established assumptions about relatively untouched Hellenistic politics in the wake of Rome's advent (Gruen). Nor do these developments fit the notion of Greek and Roman diplomacy as dominated by rationalized security interests or strategic considerations (Eckstein). A new, actor- and role-specific approach to Greek and Roman relations thus seems warranted: one, which allows Greek and Roman ambassadors, whose proceedings are usually subsumed under their respective political bodies, to take centre stage. Ultimately, this more inclusive approach serves a more nuanced understanding of the political instabilities of the Hellenistic world in this era.

Troy Wilkinson: Political Instability and Ptolemaic Activity in the Ἐρυθρὰ Θάλασσα

The term Ἐρυθρὰ Θάλασσα (Erythraean Sea) is hard to define during antiquity and appears to have variously encompassed regions such as the Red Sea, the Eastern Desert and the Persian Gulf (Sidebotham 1986). From the late 4th century BC until the end of their reign the Ptolemies invested heavily in the Erythraean Sea with attention primarily directed at the Eastern Desert, the Red Sea coast and Sudan. This was done to enable the hunting of elephants, the extraction of gold ore and the conduct of maritime trade with Arabia, East Africa and to a lesser degree with India (Casson 1993; Burstein 1996; Cobb 2018; Faucher 2018). However, it has been noted by some that political instability involving the Ptolemaic regime often limited the continuation or scale of these activities (Gates-Foster 2012; Speidel 2015). This is certainly true to some degree, as events such as the Great Revolt (c.207/206-186 BC) clearly prompted a rapid evacuation of personnel and a cessation of Ptolemaic activity (Gates-Foster 2012; 2022; Chaufray and Redon 2020).

As a result, while this paper will acknowledge the often-negative consequences of periods of political instability on Ptolemaic activity within the Erythraea Thalassa it aims to show that this was not always the case. Instead, by examining cases across Ptolemaic territory this paper will demonstrate that some periods of instability (particularly systematic warfare) seem to have promoted rather than hindered Ptolemaic activity in the Erythraea Thalassa.

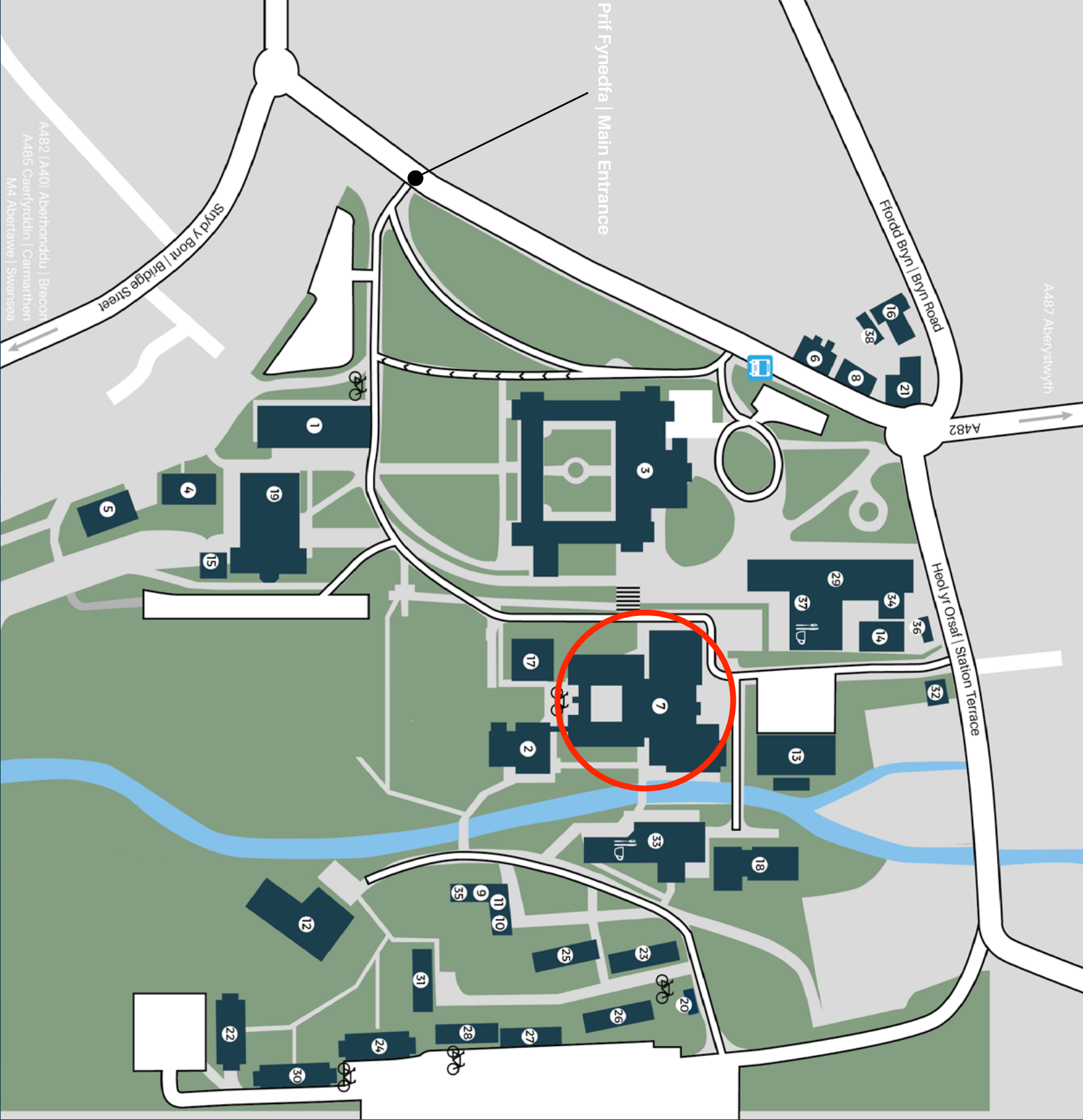
Davide Morelli: Divisions and Political Changes in Italic and Italiote Cities during the Roman Conquest of Italy

This paper aims to study the Roman arrival in the political life of Italiote and Italic cities, leagues, and peoples, the instability represented by Rome's expansion, and the actions taken to bring order within these communities. During their conquest of Italy, the Romans approached a great number of Italic and Italiote cities beyond Latium. Many of these cities behaved in similar manners in their relationship with Rome: a part of the population shared the Roman political vision, while the other part rejected it. This caused many alliances to break, and led to revolts pacified by the Romans themselves, with and without military intervention.

This mechanism repeats itself many times throughout the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. In Naples, Philo's siege in 327 BCE led to an alliance with the aristocratic class of the city; the Lucanians made an alliance with Rome in 326 BCE and broke it after just one year; Satricum revolted in 319 BCE but was conquered again by the Romans the following year with the help of its population; Arretium revolted in the end of the fourth century and the local nobility called Rome; the Marsi formed an alliance with Rome in 304 BCE and broke it in 302; the Umbrians accepted the Roman alliance at the end of the 4th century but took part against Rome in the 'third' Samnite war; Tarentum declared war against Rome in 282 but a philo-Roman *strategos* was elected immediately before Pyrrhus' arrival.

These are just some of the many examples that can be advanced. All of these cases, however, should not be considered (as many did) identical. Particular and peculiar conditions, dynamics, and situations caused each and every one of these changes of heart in the communities of ancient Italy. Military, political, social, and economic matters are involved in this mechanism, and it is sometimes possible to highlight them and to notice the differences between these political actors in Italy. What, on the contrary, remains the same, is the political instability of the cities and peoples in Italy, who shows a political *facies* much more complex than the one usually described by scholarship.

CAMPWS LLAMBED LAMPETER CAMPUS



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| 1 | Adeliad Caergaint Canterbury Building
Gwasanaethau Myfyrwyr Student Services
Cyllid Finance
Cymorth Dysgu Learning Support
Desg Gwasanaeth TG IT Service Desk
Swyddfa'r Gyfadrann Faculty Office
Y Cofrestrfa Registry
Cyfraoedd Careers | 16 | Canolfan Ymchwil Rowland Williams Rowland Williams Research Centre |
| 2 | Adeliad Cliff Tucker Cliff Tucker Building
Theatr Cliff Tucker Cliff Tucker Theatre
Tucker 1, 2, 3 Tucker 1, 2, 3 | 17 | Labordy Coch Red Laboratory |
| 3 | Adeliad Dewi Sant Saint David's Building
Prif Fynedfa Main Reception
Swyddfa Llety Accommodation Office
Desg Cymorth Llety a Chynnal a Chadw Accommodation & Maintenance Helpdesk
Hen Neuadd Old Hall
Capel Chapel
Dewi 1,2,3 Dewi 1,2,3
Llyfrgell y Sylfaenwyr Founders' Library
Ystafell Rider Rider Room | 18 | Labordai Archaeoleg yr Amgylchedd Environmental Archaeology Laboratories |
| 4 | Adeliad Harford I Harford Building I | 19 | Llyfrgell Library
Llyfrgell ac Archif Roderic Bowen Roderic Bowen Library & Archive |
| 5 | Adeliad Harford II Harford Building II | 20 | Meithrinfa Crèche |
| 6 | Adeliad Sheikh Khalifa Sheikh Khalifa Building
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| 8 | Athrofa Confucius Confucius Institute | 23 | Neuadd Daniel Dawson Daniel Dawson Hall |
| 9 | Bwthyn Ardulas Ardulas Cottage | 24 | Neuadd Edwin Morris Edwin Morris Hall |
| 10 | Bwthyn Dolwen Dolwen Cottage | 25 | Neuadd Harold Arthur Harris Harold Arthur Harris Hall |
| 11 | Bwthyn Riverside Riverside Cottage | 26 | Neuadd Hugh Walker Hugh Walker Hall |
| 12 | Canolfan Chwaraeon Sports Hall | 27 | Neuadd John Richards I John Richards Hall I |
| 13 | Gwasanaethau'r Cyfryngau Media Services | 28 | Neuadd John Richards II John Richards Hall II |
| 14 | Uned Argraffu Print Unit | 29 | Neuadd Lloyd Thomas Lloyd Thomas Hall |
| 15 | Canolfan Ymchwil Roderic Bowen Roderic Bowen Research Centre | 30 | Neuadd Roderick Bowen Roderic Bowen Hall |
| | | 31 | Neuadd Simon Evans Simon Evans Hall |
| | | 32 | Rhoslwyn |
| | | 33 | Undeb y Myfyrwyr Students' Union |
| | | 34 | Labordy Materolebau The Materials Lab |
| | | 35 | Willows |
| | | 36 | Ystafell Ddarlithio Sinoleg Sinology Lecture Room |
| | | 37 | Ystafell Fwyta Lloyd Thomas a Slop Coffi 1822 Lloyd Thomas Dining Room & 1822 Coffee Shop |
| | | 38 | Ystafell Weddio Prayer Room |