

# Fourth Euro-Japanese Colloquium on the Ancient Mediterranean World

第4回日欧古代地中海世界  
コロキウム

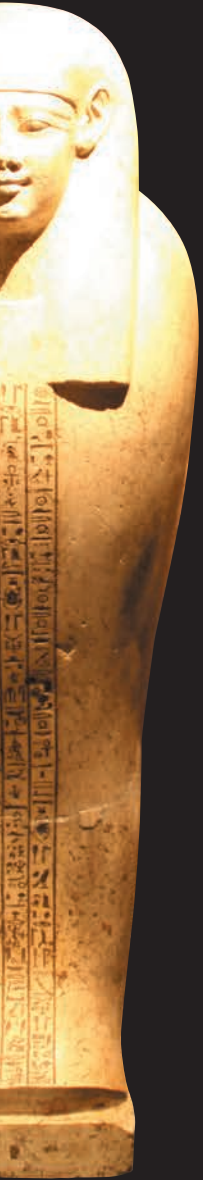
Transmission and Organization of Knowledge  
in the Ancient Mediterranean World

古代地中海世界における  
知の伝達と組織化

2018.9.3 — 7

Conference Hall, Integrated Research Bldg. 7th Floor  
Higashiyama Campus, Nagoya University, Nagoya, Japan

## ABSTRACTS







**The Fourth Euro-Japanese Colloquium on the Ancient Mediterranean World:  
Transmission and Organization of Knowledge in the Ancient Mediterranean World  
Sept. 3-7, 2018, Nagoya, Japan**

**Program**

**Monday, Sept.3**

19:00 Welcome Reception at Hotel Mielparque Nagoya  
(<https://www.mielparque.jp/nagoya/en/>)

**Tuesday, Sept.4**

9:00 Transfer from Hotel Mielparque to Nagoya University

9:20 Coffee

9:40 Welcome Address 1 (Vice President of Nagoya University)

9:50 Welcome Address 2 (Mariko Sakurai)

Session 1 Chair: Takashi Fujii

10:00 Opening Remarks (Yoshiyuki Suto)

10:15 **Peter J. Rhodes**

The Classical Greek Historians and Their Sources

10:50 **Akiko Moroo**

Development and Transformation of Local Myth in Lycia

11:25 Coffee break

Session 2 Chair: Takashi Fujii

11:40 **Josine Blok**

Reading Greek Numeracy: A Closer Look at Greek Numerals

12:15 **Yasuhira Yahei Kanayama**

What the Use of Writing Tablets Brought about in Greece: Ancient Models of Mind and Memory



12:50 Lunch

Session 3 Chair: Ryosuke Takahashi

13:50 **Andronike Makres**

Old and New Epigraphic Evidence on Ancient Gerenia (South Peloponnese)

14:25 **Elizabeth A. Meyer**

What Types of Knowledge was Transmitted by Inscribed Accounts and Legal Documents?

15:00 **J. E. Lendon**

Rhetorical Education and the Organization of Knowledge of the Past in the Roman World

15:35 Coffee break

Session 4 Chair: Ryosuke Takahashi

15:50 **Georgy Kantor**

Transmission of Legal Knowledge in Eastern Roman Provinces in the High Empire

16:25 **Hajime Tanaka**

Transmission of Council Documents: A Case of the Fourth-Century Antiochene Church

17:00 Discussions

18:00 Transfer to Hotel Mielparque

19:30 Dinner at Local Restaurant

### Wednesday, Sept.5

9:00 Transfer from Hotel Mielparque to Nagoya University

Session 1 Chair: Noboru Sato

9:40 **Kostas Vlassopoulos**

Intercultural Exchange of Knowledge in the Archaic and Classical Mediterranean

10:15 **Lilian Karali**

Purple Dye: Dissemination of Dyeing Technology and Purple Dye Networks in Eastern Mediterranean

10:50 Coffee break



Session 2 Chair: Toshihiro Osada

- 11:05 **Judith M. Barringer**  
Western Greek Poleis and Mainland Sanctuaries
- 11:40 **Kyoko Sengoku-Haga**  
Diffusion of Imperial Portraits in the Roman Empire
- 12:15 **Marion Meyer**  
Travelling Images, Travelling Gods: Greek - Phoenician Encounters in the Hellenistic Period
- 12:50 Lunch

Session 3 Chair: Yukiko Kawamoto

- 13:50 **Tomoaki Nakano**  
Between Old and New: A Marker of Kingship on the Statues of Ptolemaic Kings
- 14:25 **Yoshiyuki Suto**  
Social Resilience and Organization of Knowledge in Ptolemaic Egypt
- 15:00 Discussions
- 15:30 Research Trip 1 to Tokugawa Garden and Museum  
(<http://www.tokugawa-art-museum.jp/en/>)
- 18:00 Symposium at Tokugawa Garden
- 20:30 Transfer to Hotel Mielparque

**Thursday, Sept.6**

- 9:00 Check out of the Hotel Mielparque  
Transfer from Hotel to Nagoya University

Session 1 Chair: Yoshiyuki Suto

- 9:40 **Mariko Sakurai**  
Transmission of the Concept of Public/Private Distinction in Classical Athens
- 10:15 **Noboru Sato**  
Oral Transmission of Knowledge and Suppressing Audience' s thorybos in Classical Athens
- 10:50 **Catherine Morgan**  
Bridging the [Corinthian] Gulf: the Role of Landscape in the Transmission and Organisation of Knowledge



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11:25 Coffee break

Session 2 Chair: Yukiko Kawamoto

11: 40 **Barbara Kowalzig**

Mediterranean Polytheism between Memory and Oblivion

12:15 **Irada Malkin**

Oracles and Networks: Sharing Divine and Human Knowledge

12:50 Lunch

Session 3 Chair: Yukiko Kawamoto

13:50 Final Discussions

14:30 Closing Remarks (Catherine Morgan)

15:00 Research Trip 2 to Ise Shrine

Stay at Ise Pearl Pier Hotel

(<http://www.pearlpiers.com/>)

**Friday, Sept.7**

9:00 Check out of the Hotel and Departure

Visit to Ise Shrine

17:00 Arrival at Nagoya Station



## List of Participants

**Judy Barringer** is Professor of Greek Art and Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh. Her scholarly work centers on iconology, Greek religion and mythology, sculpture, and vase painting from the Archaic through Hellenistic periods. She is the author of several books, including studies of Nereids and the hunt in ancient Greece, and an award-winning textbook, as well as numerous articles. She has just completed a new book, *A Cultural History of Olympia and its Monuments*.



**Josine Blok** is Professor of Ancient History and Classical Civilization at Utrecht University, the Netherlands, and a member of the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences. She chairs the European Network for the Study of Ancient Greek History (<http://ensagh.wp.hum.uu.nl>) and is a member of the advisory board of Attic Inscriptions Online (<https://www.atticinscriptions.com>). Her field of interest is the history of archaic and classical Greece, especially citizenship; in 2017, she published *Citizenship in classical Athens* (Cambridge, CUP).



**Takashi Fujii** (Ph.D. Heidelberg University) is Associate Professor of European History at Kwansei Gakuin University (Nishinomiya, Japan). His research interests cover the political, social and religious history of the Hellenistic World and the Roman East, Greek epigraphy, the history of Cyprus, and Greek thanatology. His publications include *Imperial Cult and Imperial*



*Representation in Roman Cyprus* (Stuttgart, 2013), and 'A New Fragment of Diocletian's Currency Regulation from Aphrodisias' in *JRS* 105 (2015, with Angelos Chaniotis). He is currently working on the first anthology in Japanese translation of Greek inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, and on the publication of the conferences *Processing Death: Greek Texts, Images, and Imaginations*, and *From the Markets to the Associations: A Comprehensive View of the Greek Mercenary World in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods* (with Matthew Trundle and Daniel Gomez-Castro).

**Yasuhira Yahei Kanayama** is full professor and researcher at Nagoya University. His main interest lies in Plato's epistemology and methodology, and also in Ancient Scepticism. He has published numerous papers especially on Plato (in English as well as in Japanese), and Japanese translations of all the works of Sextus Empiricus (with Mariko Kanayama), Aristotle, *On Coming-to-be and Passing-away*, and of such academic books as A.A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy*, J. Barnes and J. Annas, *The Modes of Scepticism*, and G.E.R. Lloyd, *Ancient Worlds and Modern Reflections* (with three other co-translators). Recently he co-edited *Soul and Mind in Greek Thought: Psychological Issues in Plato and Aristotle* (2018), with Marcelo D. Boeri and Jorge Mittelmann.





**Georgy Kantor** is Official Fellow and Tutor in Ancient History, Keeper of the College Pictures, St John's College, and Associate Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. His research interests include Roman legal and institutional history, epigraphy of the Roman world, and institutional developments in the Greek poleis of the Hellenistic and Roman period, especially in Asia Minor and the Black Sea region.



**Lilian Karali** is Professor Emeritus of Prehistoric and Environmental Archaeology at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. Her interests include the History of Archaeology, Environmental Archaeology with emphasis on the study of the sea world and the archaeological use of sea shells. She is the author of: *Shells in Aegean Prehistory* (1999), *PURPUREAE VESTES. II.* (2008 with C. Alfaro), *Notebooks on Geoarchaeology* (2015, in Greek, with G. Ferentinos). She is the director of the Leontari Cave Excavation Project and the Schisti Odos project.



**Yukiko Kawamoto** is designated assistant professor at the Institute for Advanced Research and the Department of Occidental History, Nagoya University. After the completion of her studies at King's College London in 2016, she held postdoctoral research positions at Doshisha University, Osaka City University, and LMU Munich. She was also a Rome Awardee at the British School at Rome (2016/17). Her research area is Roman cultural history and the sociopolitical history of the late Roman Republic to the early Imperial period. She is currently



preparing for a monograph on the designs of Roman gardens based on archaeological and textual evidence.

**Barbara Kowalzig** is Associate Professor of Classics and History at New York University. She is a religious and cultural historian of ancient Greece in its broader Mediterranean context, and has particular interests in the sociology of music and performance as well as the role of religion in the social and economic transformation of the ancient world. Her publications include *Singing for the Gods: Performances of Myth and Ritual in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Oxford, 2007).



**J. E. Lendon** is Professor of History in the Corcoran Department of History at the University of Virginia. He grew up in Fuchū and attended the American School in Japan. His father was a professor of English at Waseda University. He has his BA and PhD from Yale University, and he is author of *Empire of Honour. The Art of Government in the Roman World* (1997), *Soldiers and Ghosts. A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity* (2005), and *Song of Wrath. The Peloponnesian War Begins* (2010). He is currently working on the impact of rhetorical education in the Roman World.



**Andronike Makres** (D.Phil. Oxon) specializes in Ancient Greek History and Epigraphy, focusing on Classical Athens and Hellenistic and Roman Peloponnese. Her publications include "Dionysiac Festivals in Athens and the Financing of Comic Performances" in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek*







and *Roman Comedy* (2014) and the new edition of the post-Eucleideian Attic choregic inscriptions of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* (IG II/III<sup>3</sup>, Pars IV, 1, 2015). She is co-founder/director of the Hellenic Education & Research Center (HERC) ([www.herc.gr](http://www.herc.gr)) and a board member of the Greek Epigraphic Society ([www.greekepigraphicsociety.org.gr](http://www.greekepigraphicsociety.org.gr)). In 2017 she initiated GIO, a collaborative project of translations of Ancient Greek inscriptions into Modern Greek ([www.greekinscriptions.com](http://www.greekinscriptions.com)).

**Irad Malkin** is Professor Emeritus of Ancient Greek History, Department of History, Tel Aviv University, and Israel Prize Laureate for History (2014). He has made ground-breaking contributions to historical methodology especially his theory of 'networks', and conceptualisation of ethnicity and identity. His main publications include *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford 2011), *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity* (UCP 1998).



**Elizabeth A. Meyer** is T. Cary Johnson, Jr., Professor of History in the Corcoran Department of History at the University of Virginia. She works at the intersection of history, law, and epigraphy. She is the author of *Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World. Tabulae in Roman Belief and Practice* (2004), *Metics and the Athenian Phialai-Inscriptions. A Study in Athenian Epigraphy and Law* (2010), and *The Inscriptions of Dodona and a New History of Molossia* (2013). She is currently preparing an historical study of Greek manumission inscriptions.



**Marion Meyer** (Ph.D. in Bonn; habilitation in Hamburg) is Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Vienna (since 2003). She previously taught at the universities of Munich, Hamburg, Florida and Bonn. Her main research interests are ancient Greek culture, ancient Athens, visual communication; the creation, tradition, use, function and significance of images; phenomena of acculturation in the Eastern Mediterranean. Her recent publications on these subjects include *Athena, Goddess of Athens. Cult and Myth on the Acropolis until Classical times* (2017, in German). She currently works on public and private commemoration of the dead in Athens.



**Catherine Morgan** is Senior Research Fellow in Classics at All Souls College, Oxford, and Professor of Classics and Archaeology in the University of Oxford. Formerly Director of the British School at Athens, her current work focuses on the central Ionian Islands, where she co-directs a survey and publication project in northern Ithaca, and collaborates in fieldwork on Meganisi and Leukas. She is also a co-director of the Kenchreai Quarries Survey in the Corinthia. Her publications include *Isthmia VIII* (1999) and *Early Greek States beyond the Polis* (2003); she is currently writing a book in Histories in the Ionian Islands.



**Akiko Moroo** is Professor of Western and Mediterranean History at Chiba University of Commerce. Her research interests include the Greek epigraphy habit, the Athenian Empire, and the cultural interaction in the eastern





Mediterranean world. She is the author of "The Origin and Development of Acropolis as a Place for Erecting Public Decrees: Periclean Building Project and Its Effect on the Athenian Epigraphic Habit," in T. Osada ed. *The Parthenon Frieze. Ritual Communication between the Goddess and the Polis. Parthenon Project Japan 2011-2014* (Wien, 2016) and "The Erythrai Decrees Reconsidered: IG I<sup>3</sup> 14, 15 & 16," in A. Matthaiou and R. Pitt (eds.) *Αθηναίων επίσκοπος. Studies in honour of Harold B. Mattingly* (Athens, 2014). She participated in the Turkish-Japanese joint excavation of the Tlos Basilica from 2010 to 2017. The result of this excavation where she contributed a report on the inscriptions found there is expected to be published in due time.

**Tomoaki Nakano** is Professor at College of International Studies, Chubu University and former associate curator at the Ancient Orient Museum, Tokyo. He also works as assistant director for the investigation of a Graeco-Roman temple called 'El-Zayyan' in Kharga oasis, Egypt. He recently published the Catalogue of Egyptian Collection at Kyoto university, the largest of its kind in Japan, as the supervisor.



**Toshihiro Osada** is Professor of the History of Ancient Greek Art at the University of Tsukuba. His research focuses on the religious aspects of the classical Greek art. He is the author of "Also Ten Tribal Units – The Grouping of Cavalry on the Parthenon North Frieze", *AJA* 115 (2011) 537-548, and an editor of *The Parthenon Frieze. Ritual Communication between the Goddess and the Polis. Parthenon Project Japan 2011-2014* (2016).



**Peter Rhodes** was Professor of Ancient History and is now Honorary Professor and Emeritus Professor at the University of Durham. He has worked particularly on Greek political history (both the institutional formalities and how people behaved within the constraints and opportunities provided by those formalities), and on the literary and epigraphic sources for Greek history.



**Mariko Sakurai** is Professor Emerita, the University of Tokyo. She published *Ancient Greek Women* (1992, in Japanese), *Studies on Ancient Greek Social History* (1996, in Japanese), *Herodotus and Thucydides* (2007, in Japanese), etc. She is now writing a book, *A History of the Ancient Greeks, c.1000 to 338 B.C.E.* to be published next year.



**Kyoko Sengoku-Haga** is an associate professor of Center for Evolving Humanities affiliated with the Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology at the University of Tokyo. She teaches Greek and Roman Art History and Classical Archaeology. Her research focuses on both religious and technical aspects of Classical sculpture, and regarding the latter, from 2007 she has been conducting a joint research project with the Computer Vision laboratory of prof. Katsushi Ikeuchi and prof. Takeshi Oishi of the University of Tokyo.





**Noboru Sato** is Associate Professor at Kobe University (PhD: University of Tokyo). His main academic interests are in law, rhetoric and society in Classical Athens and Ancient Greek historiography. He is the author of *Bribery in Classical Athens* (2008 in Japanese) and a contributor of *Brill's New Jacoby*. He is currently working on translation of Demosthenes' forensic speeches with other Japanese colleagues. He co-organised the third and fourth Euro-Japanese colloquium on the Ancient Mediterranean World.



**Hajime Tanaka** is Associate Professor in Department of Area Studies at the University of Tokyo. His principal research interest is in the provincial administration of the Later Roman Empire and in the acculturation of provincial cities. His doctoral thesis focuses on Libanius the Sophist in the fourth-century Antioch and discusses political and social roles played by sophists, compared to those of the bishops. He is now working on the translation of all the Greek letters of Libanius. A part of its result is *Libanius, Letters*, vol. 1 (2013, in Japanese); vol. 2 (forthcoming).



**Yoshiyuki Suto** is Professor of Ancient History and Director of the Institute for Advanced Research (<http://www.iar.nagoya-u.ac.jp>) at Nagoya University. His interests include the historical geography of Greece and the archaeology of Ptolemaic Egypt. He is the author of *Akoris I: Amphora Stamps* (2005, with H. Kawanishi) and *Hellenism on the Nile* (2014, in Japanese). He is one of the co-organizers of the Akoris Archaeological Project (<http://akoris.jp/archive.html>).



**Kostas Vlassopoulos** is Assistant Professor of Ancient Greek History at the University of Crete. He is co-editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Slavery*, and the author of *Unthinking the Greek Polis: Ancient Greek History beyond Eurocentrism* (2007), *Politics: Antiquity and its Legacy* (2010) and *Greeks and Barbarians* (2013).



**Ryosuke Takahashi** is Associate Professor of Ancient Greek and Roman History at Tokyo Metropolitan University. His research interests are in social and economic history of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt and Greek Papyrology. He has published articles on the custom of brother-sister marriage in Roman Egypt (*JRS* 99, 2009, with Jane Rowlandson) and family archives from the village of Tebtunis (*Ancient Society* 42, 2012 and *ZPE* 185, 2013)





## ABSTRACTS

Tuesday Sept. 4

**Peter J. Rhodes**

### **The Classical Greek Historians and Their Sources**

Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon relied primarily on oral information, and there was no other source available for much of what they wanted; but Herodotus and Thucydides did sometimes quote documents and literary texts, and Thucydides sometimes based arguments on them. But other historians in the fourth century relied essentially on earlier written accounts. Ephorus used Thucydides as his main but not his sole source for the Peloponnesian War to 411 and the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia after that. The Attidographers made use of their predecessors (at any rate Philochorus made very substantial use of Androtion). The Athenaion Politeia from Aristotle's school in its narrative part used a range of histories and other texts (documents in that part were probably found in the literary sources rather than by direct research), and did not always succeed in resolving problems where the sources conflicted; but most strikingly, its analytic part was based largely on the relevant laws of Athens, with some direct knowledge. For Herodotus and Thucydides in the fifth century, and at least for Xenophon in the fourth, material was obtained primarily by visiting places and talking to people. For most of what they wrote about they had no predecessors. Documents might be cited occasionally, but there was not at first a strong sense of how documents might be used, and in any case much of the information which the historians wanted would not be available in documents; similarly, other kinds of literature might be cited occasionally but were

not culled systematically.

**Akiko Moroo**

### **Development and Transformation of Local Myth in Lycia**

In this paper, I explore the development of the Lycian identity, focusing on stories about the beginnings of their cities and people. Here I particularly focus on *TAM* II 174 and related materials. The Lycians had been exposed to Greek cultures for a long period. They participated in the Trojan War on the side of the Trojans. According to Herodotus, the Lycians were originally from Crete (Hdt. 1.173.1-3), and a group of immigrants were called Termilae which became the name of the place they settled down. He also tells that the name Lycia derived from a man called Lycos who was banished from Athens settled down at Termilae. Herodotus furthermore tells that some of the Ionian cities took kings descended from the Lycian Glaucus. The foundation myth of Lycia in which the people of Lycia originated in Crete was well known in the Greek world and was repeatedly reported in classical antiquity (Strabo 12.8.5, 14.1.6; Paus. 7.3.7 etc.). When Alexander liberated the Greeks of Asia Minor from the Persian rule, he made Nearchos satrap of Lycia. That means that the Lycians were not liberated but placed under the subject of Alexander's empire (Arr. *Anab.* 3.6.6). Nevertheless, institutionally and administratively, Lycia was Hellenised thereafter, particularly under the Ptolemaic rule, and at the same time, the Lycians developed and reinvented their own autochthonous foundation stories. I look at how the Lycians expressed and promoted self-recognition and the way in which their localised myths and histories were used to promote and



develop diplomatic relationships in Hellenistic and Roman times.

### Josine Blok

#### Reading Greek Numeracy: A Closer Look at Greek Numerals

The transmission of formal knowledge is shaped on the one hand by the social, cultural and institutional contexts of this transmission and on the other by the tools used to preserve and communicate such knowledge. In ancient societies, these tools were the scripts for writing language and numerals, interacting with oral communication. In ancient Greece, two numeric systems were in use: the alphabetic numerals, probably developed in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, and the acrophonic system, of uncertain date of origin, and with an earliest attestation so far in the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC in Corcyra. Both systems were based on the alphabet and both were notation systems that depended on the use of an abacus to make calculations, but there are cognitive differences between them. One of the striking features of our evidence is the overwhelming use of the acrophonic system in inscriptions for notation of money; there is significant epichoric variation in the signs used, but the overall system shows some consistent characteristics. Of the alphabetic numeral system, many parallels existed in the Mediterranean world, but the acrophonic system is unique to Greece. In Athens, it remained in use long after the alphabetic system gained prominence elsewhere. In my paper, I intend to shed some light on the cognitive aspects of both systems and on their historical usage in Greek poleis. I will situate the use of the acrophonic system in the context of the debate on literacy, accountability and citizenship, including their gender aspects.

### Yasuhira Yahei Kanayama

#### What the Use of Writing Tablets Brought about in Greece: Ancient Models of Mind and Memory

The invention of the alphabet was one of the three most influential events of human information revolution, the other two being Gutenberg's printing press and computers. It enlarged the world of the Greeks beyond the limitation of time and space, creating the tradition of *historia*. The Greek authors tried also to leave their spiritual offspring as an eternal possession. The writing device most appropriate for this purpose was a wax tablet, enabling them to compare parts of their works on its surface. It is famous that Plato continued combing and curling his dialogues all through his life, as is indicated by the widely known story of the tablet found after his death, showing the beginning of the Republic arranged in varying order. Just as a computer is now employed as the model of human mind and memory, a new device with big storage capacity (writing material) was employed in ancient Greece as the model of the soul. The mnemonic technique of Simonides was based on the image of a wax tablet with letters incised on it. The models of mind Plato presented, the Wax Block and the Aviary in the Theaetetus, and the Scribe and the Illustrator in the Philebus, were also derived from the use of writing materials. Especially interesting is the Aviary inhabited by a huge number of birds (pieces of knowledge), because it is supposed to have come from the image of a huge library like that of Aristotle or those in Egypt, and what was there employed to facilitate the retrieve of books was also a set of tablets.



## Andronike Makres

### Old and New Epigraphic Evidence on Ancient Gerenia (South Peloponnese)

Pausanias' testimony (3.26.11) places the polis of Gerenia to the North-North West of Kardamyle in South Peloponnese. W. Kolbe, the editor of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* volume of the inscriptions of Lakonia and Messenia (*IG VI*) published in 1913, was the first to identify correctly Ancient Gerenia with the area of the modern day village of Kampos located in the Mesenian Mani. Kolbe attributed to Ancient Gerenia four inscriptions. Two of them (*IG VI 1335* and *IG VI 1336*) are proxy decrees. In the publication clause of the second decree it is stipulated that the stele was to be set up at the Sanctuary of Machaon an important Sanctuary which is also mentioned by Pausanias (3, 26.9): "Here in Gerenia is a tomb of Machaon, son of Asclepius, and a holy sanctuary." Pausanias also says that in his temple men found cures for diseases and that a bronze statue of Machaon was standing with a crown on his head. The erection of stelai with honorary decrees of Gerenia at the Sanctuary of Machaon in Gerenia is epigraphically attested three more times. The paper discusses the epigraphic evidence on the location of the Sanctuary of Machaon in Gerenia and publishes fully the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE proxy decree of the Gerenians honoring the renowned Messenian sculptor Damophon the son of Philippos. Gerenia was one of the seven poleis honoring the sculptor for his important work. The copies of the decrees of the various cities in honor of Damophon are recorded on a column shaped monument which was found in the Askepieion of Messene during the excavations of Ancient Messene conducted by the Archaeological Society at Athens under the direction of Prof. P. Themelis.

## Elizabeth A. Meyer

### What Types of Knowledge was Transmitted by Inscribed Accounts and Legal Documents?

In classical Athens, one type of stone inscription that starts to be erected in the fifth century is that of the inscribed account. These inscriptions were long considered to be attestations of fiscal responsibility by elected magistrates and thus of the increasing transparency of democratic governance. Upon closer examination, however, the accounts are selective, that is, list only some money and a certain limited collection of materials—or would be considered selective if the purpose of such accounts was indeed to list all the expenses for which a board or magistrate had been responsible. This paper will examine closely the contents of such inscriptions and the criteria of selection, and argue that such accounts—monuments on stone erected in sanctuaries—were to convey to a wider public one important way in which gods were to be honored, and that the choice of the items listed taught the public what the gods valued, and why. Parallels will also be found in similarly selective contracts for work also inscribed in sanctuaries, as well as other legal "documents" such as sacred sales at Delphi. All such inscriptions transmit knowledge of the gods and *their* material and financial concerns, as well as their preferred forms of transactions with humans. This, in turn, can explain (I argue) why inscriptions like this became genres of inscription outside Athens as well as within.



## J. E. Lendon

### Rhetorical Education and the Organization of Knowledge of the Past in the Roman World

Rhetorical education has its roots in fifth- and fourth-century Greece, but for a long time it remained an element of a broader educational program for young men of the Greek ruling classes. By 100 BC at the latest in the Greek world, however, and by the 80s BC at the latest in the Roman, rhetorical education and its preliminaries--the exposition of poetry under the *grammaticus*, the "pre-rhetorical exercises" (*progymnasmata*), and, finally, declamation (the giving of practice speeches, mostly judicial, on contrived topics) under the rhetor had come to occupy most or all of the time given over to the formal education of the great majority of young men whose families could afford, and desired, to educate them. Such other material as they might study--philosophy, what we would call "literature," and history, our particular interest here--was studied mostly as ancillary to rhetoric, to stock the minds with useful *exempla* for speeches. The topical lists that make up the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of the Tiberian author Valerius Maximus can be regarded as emblematic of how knowledge was organized in a rhetorically educated mind. Many areas of knowledge were thus, by our standards, curiously unsystematic, and history--knowledge of the past--was one such. This paper will discuss the consequences of this form of education for how Greeks and Romans articulated the past--how (or if) they placed past events in different chronological periods, and how (or if) they understood change over time. I expect to draw examples from Roman domestic politics and foreign affairs.

## Georgy Kantor

### Transmission of Legal Knowledge in Eastern Roman Provinces in the High Empire

The paper discusses the mechanisms of transmission of legal knowledge in eastern Roman provinces down to the third century AD, particularly in litigation contexts, and makes an attempt to broaden the argument tentatively offered by the author in his 2009 paper ('Knowledge of law in Roman Asia Minor', in R. Haensch [ed.], *Kommunikation und Selbstdarstellung* [Munich 2009], 249-65) and introduce some regional nuance into it. It addresses the role of legal experts in the administration of justice, as shown by Pliny's correspondence and documentary evidence; the kinds of legal evidence available to holders of Roman jurisdiction, local judges and litigants; the availability of legal education and the social context(s) of provincial legal knowledge. In the end, the problem of abundant Severan legal evidence and whether it shows a systematic effort towards unification and dissemination of legal knowledge is discussed.

## Hajime Tanaka

### Transmission of Council Documents: A Case of the Fourth-Century Antiochene Church

Council decrees of Christian Church in the Later Roman Empire have left a deep impression both on development of canon laws in the Middle Ages and on ecclesiastical historiography. A Collection of Church canons and Church history has usually recorded an ecumenical or local council as an event which happened in a determined place and time. A council document called "Exemplum synodi habitae", however, shows a different character. Although it has an appearance of the reply from the synod of



Antioch to the papal letter in 379, it is made up of four documents sent from the pope Damasus, signed by about 150 Oriental bishops. Complicated history of the religious policy in the eastern empire sheds some light on the reason an orthodox party in Antioch composed a jumble of documents. In investigating similar cases of council documentation, this paper argues that documents spanning several decades in relation to the faith and the church discipline were sometimes compressed into a decree of a given council and transmitted as such into later generations. In addition, this paper examines another aspect of the transmission of this document which has been ignored by modern scholars. The first document of “Exemplum” has been attested in many other sources, but its rubric and form may imply that “Exemplum” was sent from the East through the aid of the Emperor Theodosius in a critical moment of political and religious tensions. In sum, this document gives a clue to understanding the dissemination of a text and the development of Church tradition.

Wednesday Sept. 5

**Kostas Vlassopoulos**

### **Intercultural Exchange of Knowledge in the Archaic and Classical Mediterranean**

The study of intercultural exchange in the ancient Mediterranean has been dominated by two radically opposed approaches. The first one takes the intercultural exchange of knowledge as a relatively straightforward transmission of information between people belonging to different cultures. It then tries to trace elements of knowledge and information deriving from one culture into the texts and practices of another culture, and in this way to

substantiate the presumed acts of exchange. The other approach has taken its cue from the anthropology of cultural difference. Influenced by the structuralist version of cultural anthropology, this approach approaches what appears as foreign knowledge in ancient texts as an exercise in cultural self-formation: the information on foreign cultures in Greek texts is not reliable information originating from those cultures, but an exercise in the construction of alterity and the formation of Greek identity through opposed negation and opposition based on polarities and stereotypes. The aim of this presentation is to move beyond both of these approaches into an alternative framework for the study of intercultural exchange of knowledge in antiquity. This alternative framework will be based on four fundamental observations. The first is the need to abandon the belief in the existence of cultures as distinct and bounded entities. This does not negate the existence of cultural differences, but explores the heterogeneity and complexity within cultures as a means through which cultures are conceived of by their bearers and make themselves comprehensible to other cultures. The second is the need to explore the ways in which a culture refers to other cultures, and the extent to which a culture refers in its own practices, texts and artefacts to other cultures, or is self-referential. The third is the study of the patterns of intercultural communication and how these various patterns appear either on their own or entangled. Finally, we need to explore the textual and artefactual genres in which intercultural exchange of knowledge is inscribed: the existence of different genres in different cultures might have a significant impact on the ways in which knowledge is communicated and on the uses of this knowledge.





## **Lilian Karali**

### **Purple Dye: Dissemination of Dyeing Technology and Purple Dye Networks in Eastern Mediterranean**

The transmission of technological knowledge, the production centers and the trade networks of Purple Dye are some of the most favorite research topics among international scholars. Exploitation of marine resources for a variety of uses is a common habit worldwide for millennia, concerning human groups living in close proximity to water. Moreover, collecting mollusks for a specialized exploitation, such as purple dye production, presupposes specialized skills and knowledge to capture and process the specific species. The earliest testimonies of purple dye production in the Aegean area on an industrial scale are dated from 1800 BC. Furthermore, Purple Dye has been a valuable trade good throughout time from prehistory until the Turkish Occupation period. Similar achievements can be noted in various environmental and cultural contexts, unfolding additional information about ecosystems and species exploitation, as for example in the rest of the Mediterranean, in western and northern Europe, the Americas, in China, Japan and other parts of world, where mollusks and plants were used as well in order to provide the scale of red to violet color for high ranked representatives of the social pyramid, in clothing but also as pigments. This paper is based on the archaeological and archaeo-environmental remains of the purple dye production centres in Eastern Mediterranean and relates to a project of the Laboratory of Environmental Archaeology of the Department of Archaeology and the History of Art of the National & Kapodistrian University of Athens. The aim is to systematically explore and compare places and periods based on material remains, both artefactual/architectural and bio-archaeological, in order to generate fresh perspectives on critical issues of social, economic

and cultural change and to provide a scientific background for this important debate.

## **Judith M. Barringer**

### **Western Greek Poleis and Mainland Sanctuaries**

While ancient Greek colonists mixed with pre-existing populations in south Italy and Sicily, they retained religious practices and customs from the home city, including the building of temples to Greek deities in their new homeland. They also made dedications, sometimes enormously lavish dedications, at sanctuaries back on the mainland of Greece. What was the purpose of these continued contacts with homeland sanctuaries, particularly centuries after the colonists had settled into their new communities, where they had established their own religious sites? What messages were transmitted by monuments at such distant locations, and why were some sanctuaries favoured while others, even major sanctuaries, were not? Using a series of case studies, this paper examines the distribution of large-scale dedications by western Greek colonies in an effort to understand views of the homeland from the western perspective, and how and why Greeks in the west made dedications so far from their own shores.

## **Kyoko Sengoku-Haga**

### **Diffusion and Adaptation of Roman Imperial Portraits**

During the Roman imperial period an enormous number of emperors' portraits were displayed in public and in private spheres. Some of these artistic renditions are modest works representing the emperors' features only roughly, while others show very close similarity to the official portraits in Rome even if their findspots were



widely dispersed over the vast empire. In local sculptors' workshops the former could be made from sketches or possibly even from profiles on coins, but to carve the latter, the so-called "exact" copies, sculptors needed plaster models, which originate from a single authentic model created under the control of the emperor himself. Thus the diffusion of "exact" imperial portraits is taken as proof of the centralization of the imperial art. They transmitted imperial images correctly from the center to provinces. But imperial portraits transmitted not only the emperors' faces. Especially in the case of imperial portraits dedicated in public spaces by local governments or local powers, they transmitted the dedicators' messages as well. Actually, it was the dedicator who practically chose the sculptor and the statuary type of the portrait. In addition, since each Roman province had different historical backgrounds, different religious customs, and different artistic tastes, these factors may also have influenced the dedicator's choice. To clarify, how local dedicators received the "model" and adapted it will be considered. Besides traditional examination of statuary types, the 3D shape comparison method will be applied to analyze some of Augustus' heads of the "Prima Porta" type.

**Marion Meyer**

### **Travelling Images, Travelling Gods: Greek - Phoenician Encounters in the Hellenistic Period**

Throughout their history the Greeks imported knowledge and knowhow from the neighbors at the coasts of the Mediterranean, especially those in the South and in the East. This was not a one-way street. One of the attractions of Greek culture was its broad repertoire of images and the quality and expertise of its craftsmen. In Phoenicia, Sidon was the foremost city to exploit these resources and to commission sculpture of

Greek workmanship - for the Royal necropolis, but also for the sanctuary of Eshmoun. In the Hellenistic period, more Phoenician cities began to make use of images which originated in Greece. The municipal coins minted in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C. attest an intriguing combination of Phoenician and Greek traditions in script and images. When merchants from Berytos founded a club-house on Delos in the mid-second century B.C., after the island had become a free port, they easily adapted to the local ambience without giving up their own customs and beliefs. In this Greek-speaking environment, they used the Greek language for all their inscriptions, and they used Greek figure-types and iconography for all their images, including those of their patron gods. This paper is about the appropriation and management of knowledge. If you encounter expertise which you can, in one way or another, use for your own intentions, there is no need to compete with the experts. For their visual culture, the Phoenicians subsequently chose Egyptian, Cypriote and Greek models. I argue that images of Greek origin became part of Sidonian and Berytian culture, being used as a "visual language" for interests and functions which continued to be Phoenician. For those who had been acquainted with Greek civilization - those who had received the knowledge of what it had to offer - Greek images provided a tool and a pleasing, representative means for expressing own ideas and concepts visually.

**Tomoaki Nakano**

### **Between Old and New: A Marker of Kingship on the Statues of Ptolemaic Kings**

Statues of kings were placed at such religious buildings as temples and mortuary temples throughout dynastic times in Egypt and a part of the tradition also continued into Ptolemaic Period



under Hellenistic rulers. In this paper, the use of a particular motif carved on the belts of kings' statues will be analysed and discussed paying special attention to the changes of other similar motifs in dynastic times. The origin of such belt motifs goes back to the Early Dynastic Period and it probably relates to the divine nature of the King. Decoration in the burial chamber of the pyramids as well as their engraved texts will be exemplified to clarify the meaning of the motif as a marker of kingship.

### **Yoshiyuki Suto**

#### **Social Resilience and Organization of Knowledge in Ptolemaic Egypt**

Recent scholarly opinion on the nature of Ptolemaic empire has gradually tended toward the view that it was a reasonably stable and successful premodern state. Such evaluation seems demonstrably invalid at first sight for an empire cursed with constant domestic turmoil and repeated external threats. But the sheer longevity of the dynasty (275 years, even a bit longer than 255 years of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, the heyday of the Pharaonic Egypt) testifies the remarkable resilience of the Egyptian society in the Hellenistic period. The aim of this paper is to provide an explanation for this resilience on the hypothesis that an effective and efficient transmission and organization of knowledge made it possible for the Ptolemies to attain such remarkable social stability. To illustrate the various facets of such organization of knowledge in different social levels, I focus on the following three conspicuous phenomena: the propagation of synodal decrees, the continuity of the system for recording labor at quarries, and the spread of the custom of erecting statues of prominent priests in temple precincts. The result of the examination of these cases suggests that it may be a fair conclusion that harmonious manipulations of

traditional and newly introduced knowledge contributed the resilience of the society under the Ptolemaic rule.

Thursday Sept. 6

### **Mariko Sakurai**

#### **Transmission of the Concept of Public/Private Distinction in Classical Athens**

It has been often pointed out that public/private distinction was clearly recognized in classical Athens. Indeed, in such a radical democracy as practiced in Athens in the latter half of the 5th century BCE, the concept of public/private distinction must have been shared among almost all citizens. Otherwise, appointments of archons by lot and some other administrative systems would not have worked well. This paper gropes towards elucidating what time the concept of public and private distinction propagated in the Athenian society and what kind of process it followed. There must have been some events the Athenian citizens faced to be conscious of the distinction. One of them must have been the Themistocles' proposition that the surplus money from the new found mine, Maroneia, should be spent on shipbuilding, not on distributing among the citizens, whereas a germ of the concept of public and private distinction might be recognized in some of the Solon's laws; for example, fr.31a, 'Besides this, he does not allow anyone to sell a daughter or a sister, unless it is discovered that she has already had intercourse with a man and is no longer virgin. (translation is by D.F.Leão and P.J.Rhodes)' shows that the polis intervened in a citizen's oikos through limiting the authority of its kyrios



**Noboru Sato**

**Oral Transmission of Knowledge and Suppressing Audience' s thorybos in Classical Athens**

Oral communication was crucially important for transmission of knowledge especially in the pre-modern world. In the world of Greek poleis, the public spaces, such as an agora or an assembly, were developed and information was orally transmitted there to a large number of people at once. Presumably this, in turn, urged the development of speaking techniques to persuade the wider audience. Especially in democratic Athens, in many public occasions, such as the council, the assembly and the court of law, speakers used various sophisticated rhetorical skills to persuade the fellow Athenian citizens. However, the audience did not quietly listen to their speeches. They would not listen to what they did not want to but often raised their voices against the speakers. The audience also applauded the speakers whose opinion was favourable to them. Scholars have discussed the phenomenon of thorybos, the noise raised by audience, in Classical Athens (e.g. Bers 1985). It has been recently reevaluated as evidence to prove active participation of ordinary citizens in their political/judicial decision-making process (e.g. Thomas 2016). However, it has been largely neglected how the Athenian speakers dealt with their audience' s thorybos by their rhetorical skills. Attic orators must have developed proper rhetorical techniques to deal with thorybos in accordance with a situation. The main purpose of this paper is to investigate how the Attic public speakers skillfully attempted to make their audience quiet and to analyze the different techniques used by the speakers in the assembly and those by the litigants.

**Catherine Morgan**

**Bridging the [Corinthian] Gulf: the Role of Landscape in the Transmission and Organisation of Knowledge**

The paper explores the implication of environment – physical and social, constructed and experienced – in the organisation of information on multiple levels. Organised information is often perceived in terms of the written record, usually guaranteed by an authority and pertaining to a community or place. Yet this leaves open the question of the efficacy and embeddedness of the knowledge sought and/or conveyed (assessment of which requires a contextual understanding that often relies upon the material record). It also overlooks the ways in which the conduct of life in wider environments relies upon information which may transcend political boundaries and/or exist largely in the oral sphere. I attempt to map this kind of information in the case of the combined Gulfs of Corinth and Patras (here termed the Corinthian Gulf). Of all the spaces of high maritime connectivity in the old Greek world (including the Thermaic, Euboian and Saronic Gulfs, and the Ionian and Adriatic seas), the Corinthian Gulf comes closest to the Mediterranean as conceived by Horden and Purcell in *The Corrupting Sea*, as a place of high risk and of opportunity, with land- and seascapes fragmented into micro-regions constantly reconfigured through human agency and environmental conditions presenting the ideal conditions for mobility and connectivity. Attention is paid to the nature and role of this area of sea, questions of scale, and the implications of connections between specific micro-zones and resources.



## Barbara Kowalzig

### Mediterranean Polytheism between Memory and Oblivion

French structuralism in the wake of Jean-Pierre Vernant and Marcel Detienne maintains that in Greek polytheism, gods must be studied in teams. There are numerous divine pairs whose mode of action and spheres of activity stand out more clearly when held against another god: Hestia-Hermes, Apollo-Dionysos, Ares-Aphrodite, Zeus-Hera. This paper experiments with the idea that certain configurations of gods should also be examined in a long-term and transcultural perspective where the Mediterranean sea takes on a pivotal role in the transmission and reinterpretation of religious knowledge. Starting from the frequent juxtaposition of Zeus and Aphrodite in Greco-Roman antiquity, the paper will argue that the combination Amun/Baal Saphon/Zeus : Astarte/Aphrodite emerges as a transcultural divine pair in the context of cross-cultural trade by sea in the Iron Age Mediterranean. The couple has a long and intriguing tradition in translation between polytheistic systems going back to the late Bronze Age. As complementary powers concerned with seafaring and economic exchange, their association acquires salience as part of a new valorisation of the sea at the Bronze Age-Iron Age transition. That this team in historical times recurs specifically in port-cities involved in cross-cultural trade, e.g. around the Black Sea, in southern Spain, on Delos, and at Naukratis as Zeus Ourios-Soter : Aphrodite Euploia-Pontia-Syrie-Ourania, suggests a legacy of long-term transmission of polytheistic structures, while the sea might have agency in transforming traditional knowledge about the divine.

## Irad Malkin

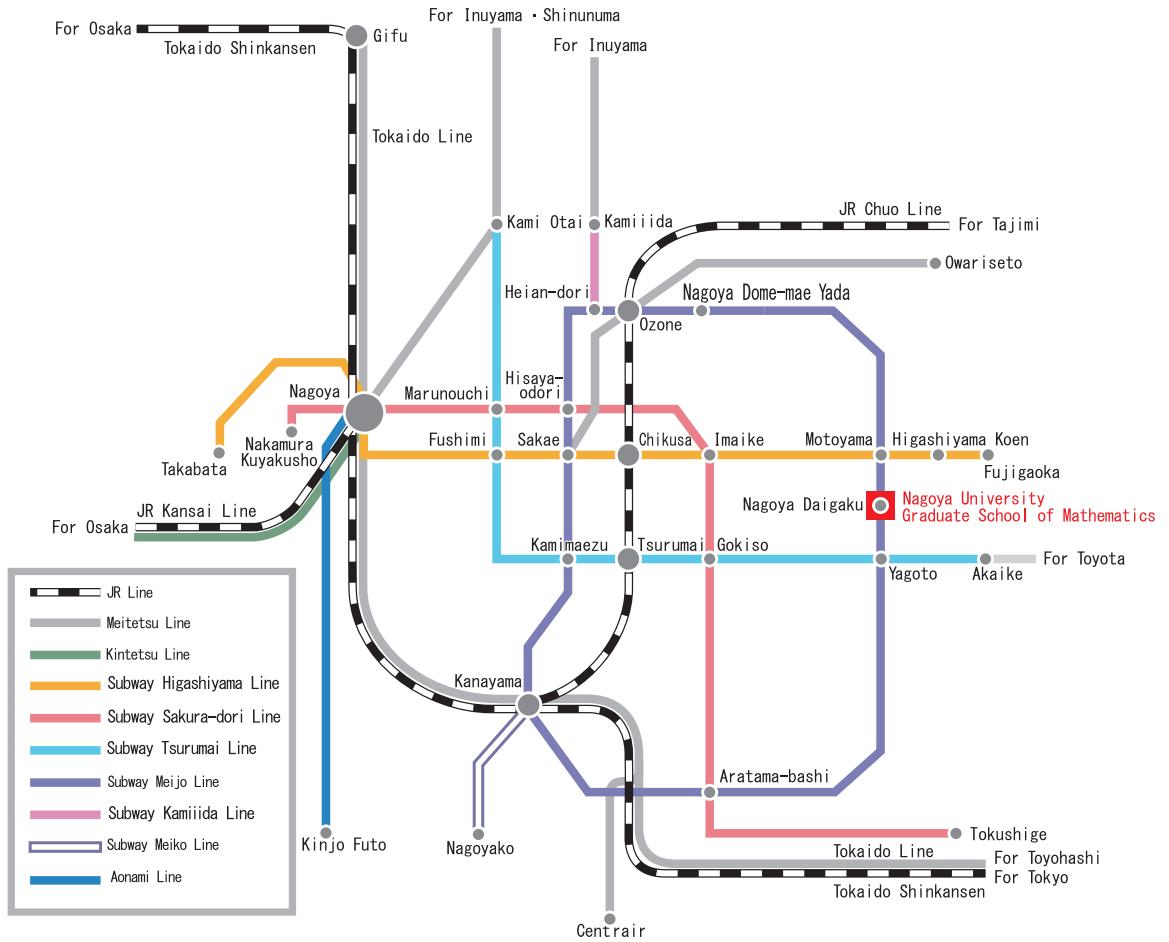
### Oracles and Networks: Sharing Divine and Human Knowledge

Oracles mediate between divine and human knowledge. My purpose is to discuss and compare two types of inquiring about, and sharing of, knowledge: inspired prophecy and lot oracles. In the first instance, I wish to understand the panoptic geographical knowledge of Apollo as the god of colonization and foundation oracles, in contrast to the supposedly “hodological” (route-oriented) human knowledge. Divine naming and “giving” of sites to settlers make them into “places” (note, e.g., Ptolemy’s distinction between geography and chorography). “Place” is ontological (cf. the expression “to take place”), the combination of materiality, meaning, and practice. The very knowledge of places and their names and the divine order to settle them implied a justification for their conquest, a kind of legitimizing charter. Between 750-500 BCE close to 400 new city states were founded along the shores of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Together with their mother cities and some other 600 city states, they formed a vast network whose hub was often Delphi, relying on its Oracle, the Pythian Games, and the network of theoi. Apollo Archegetes, god of colonization, was at the center, linking western, eastern, northern and southern Greeks in a web of a “Small Greek World.” There is a common motif in foundation prophecies: the founder’s inquiry was expected to be phrased as “to which land should I go”? The answer must have been verbal, not a mere choice between yes/no options. Current scholarship views many of the reported foundation oracles as genuine and quickly disseminated along network lines. The need for apologies and re-interpretation of enigmatic oracles only points to the importance and adherence of the words spoken. They were not easily concocted after the fact. The

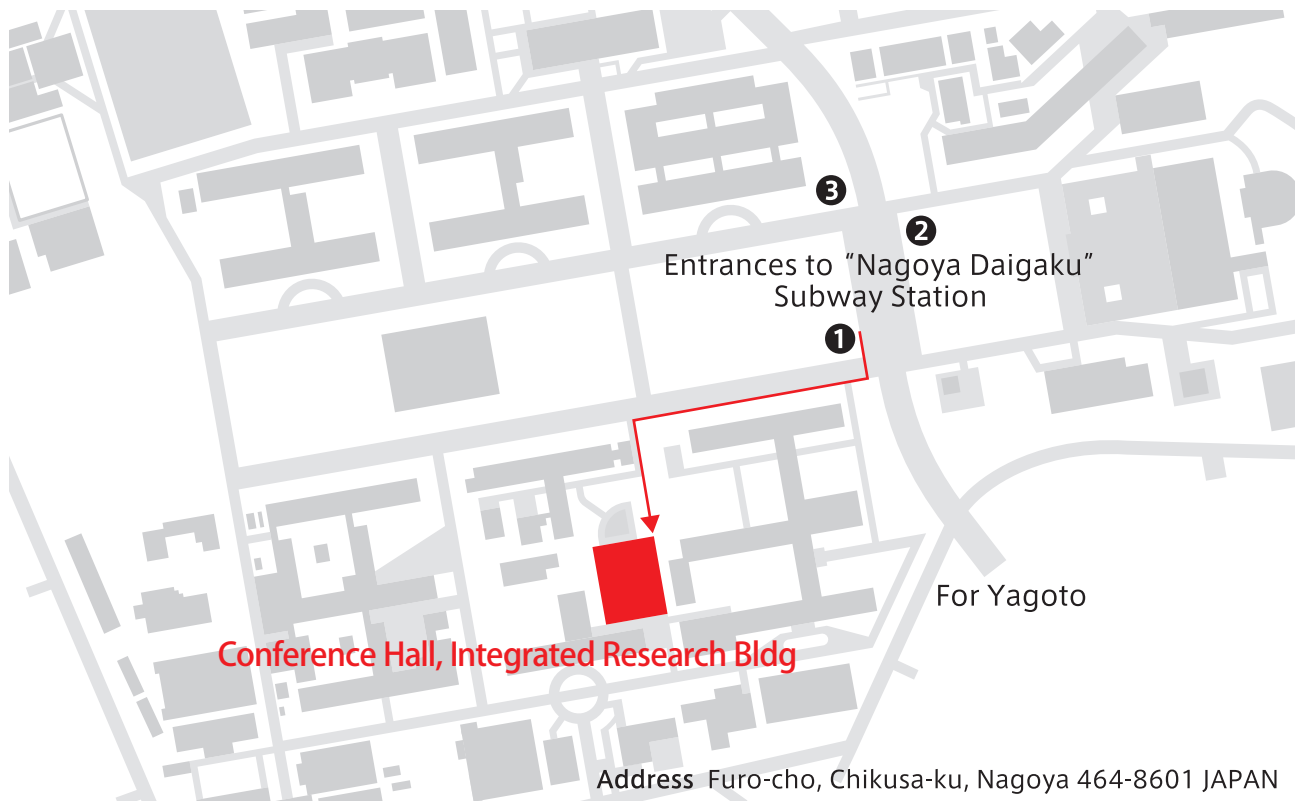


Phokaians settled Corsica (=Kyrnos) with the oracle “to found Kyrnos” in hand. Having failed and moved to Elea, the oracle was re-interpreted to mean “to found a hero shrine to Kyrnos (the name of the hero). Lot oracles present a different way of imparting divine knowledge. There is no room for enigmas since the phrasing is entirely up to the inquirer. Delphi knew the lot in its own history (Gaia-Themis-Apollo, who got Delphi “in the third allotment” ), in its procedure (the order of inquiry) and the choice of its personnel. When reported, the words of the inquiry are quoted as if they are Apollo’s, becoming a prophecy. Perhaps the Spartan consultation to colonize Herakleia Trachinia was thus conducted. Oracular divination, especially by lot, is tantamount to outsourcing decisions: the matter is deferred to divine “arbitration” (the god knows which way best to turn) and its legitimation is to be recognized by all, with no cause for resentment. Legitimation is partly based on randomization. The verb *anhairein* points to the use of lots that are “picked up” , perhaps by the Pythia. There was also a lot oracle by the “two beans” , mentioned in a fourth-century inscription involving Skiathos (it was not cheap). Dodona offers a big corpus (some 1400 inscribed inquiries) of individuals. An analysis of the Athenians consultation about the sacred fields at Eleusis exemplifies. Philochoros and Androiton report that “the sanctuary had responded: it was more profitable and better if they left them untilled.” In fact this was the result of a complicated double- and triple blind consultation, where randomness is introduced at every step. “Many are the dice-throwers (*thrioboloi*) but few are the prophets,” was apparently a popular maxim. Inspired prophecy was usually held in higher esteem, but did it attest to a different kind of divine knowledge as shared by human beings?

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