

# Classical Studies



Traditions, Status, Prospects

Book of Abstracts



1838



Република Србија  
МИНИСТАРСТВО НАУКЕ,  
ТЕХНОЛОШКОГ РАЗВОЈА И ИНОВАЦИЈА

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University of Belgrade – Faculty of Philosophy  
Department of Classics  
International Conference

**Classical Studies**  
**Traditions, Status, Prospects**

December 2–5, 2025  
Faculty of Philosophy

**Book of Abstracts**

*Edited by*  
Goran Vidović



150 years of Classics in Serbia

Belgrade  
2025

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International Conference  
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# Classical Studies

## – Traditions, Status, Prospects

### Introductory note

In 2025, the Classics Department at the University of Belgrade celebrates the sesquicentennial anniversary of its foundation. The appointment of Jovan Turoman as the first Professor in Classical Philology in 1875 marked a decisive step in the long and uninterrupted tradition of Classics in Serbia.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Serbian Enlightenment intellectuals in the Habsburg monarchy organized Latin schools in the tradition of European humanist education. This laid the foundation for the development of secondary and university education in the Principality of Serbia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when study of classical antiquity became regular subject in the humanist-type high schools of *Realgymnasium*, as well as the Belgrade Lyceum and the Great School in Belgrade, the precursors to the University of Belgrade. For training secondary school classical languages lecturers, the Great School appointed the first Chair in Classical Philology in 1875, which makes Classics one of the first disciplines to enter the national higher education curriculum.

Having become a separate study program at the Faculty of Philosophy in 1900, Classical Philology evolved into Classical Studies at the newly

founded University of Belgrade in 1905, encompassing philological, historical, and archeological study of classical antiquity.

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, generations of Belgrade Classics faculty members educated at various European universities contributed by implementing contemporary scholarly standards and initiating innovations, while also systematically studying and curating the rich local and regional epigraphic heritage. It is to their exceptional methodological and disciplinary breadth that Belgrade Classics Department owes its unique profile, both traditional and innovative.

As Classical Archeology and Ancient History became more disciplinarily distinct and gradually separated, the focus of Classical Studies continued to be firmly philological. Simultaneously, the scope of Classics Department research and teaching began extending to the neighboring disciplines, such as Historical Linguistics and Indo-European Studies, Paleo-Balkan Studies, History of Religion, Ancient Philosophy, Comparative Literature, Biblical Philology and Late Antique Studies, with Byzantine Studies and Medieval Greek Philology naturally leading to Modern Greek Studies. Classical Tradition and Reception Studies, developed in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, remain very prominent.

To this day, the Classics Department has maintained scholarly rigor and active participation in international academic community, covering an exceptionally broad range of Classics subfields. The departmental journal *Lucida intervalla* regularly publishes high-profile scholarship on a variety of topics, while its Special Editions Series is the first national publishing platform reserved for academic studies and monographs in classical philology.

In 2002, the Department founded the Institute for the Study of Antiquity and Classical Heritage (ISACH), and the Centre for Biblical Philology and Hermeneutics in 2021. Recognizing the popularity of Classics in the wider public, in 2024 the Department launched a new MA Program in Ancient Culture and Classical Heritage, designed for students with various backgrounds.

As the only Serbian higher education institution training classical philologists, the Classics Department remains loyally committed to its initial educational mission. Since its foundation, the Department has kept servicing an extensive network of secondary school instruction in classical languages. Besides authoring all secondary school Latin textbooks, the departmental faculty members continue the outreach in the classics community by organizing the National Classical Languages Competition and various seasonal activities for high school teachers and students.

Honoring this impressive continuity of Classics in Serbia, the Classics Department at the University of Belgrade organizes the sesquicentennial celebration in 2025. The central event of the celebration is a four-day international conference, titled “Classical Studies – Traditions, Status, Prospects,” held in the first week of December at the Faculty of Philosophy.

Gathering colleagues from diverse academic cultures and perspectives, the conference aims to represent various scholarly traditions that influenced classical scholarship in Serbia since its foundation, as well as current global trends in the broad field of Classics it has come to cover.

Besides local members, the Conference Organizing Committee includes Chris Carey (University College London), Nikolai Kazansky (Institute for Linguistic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences), Glenn Most (University of Chicago/Max Planck Institute for the History of Science), and Bianca-Jeanette Schröder (Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich). List of participants consists of scholars from Germany, France, Hungary, Russia, Australia, United Kingdom and United States, as well as all current departmental faculty members.

The conference program thus aims to cover a broad array of Classics topics chosen by the speakers, while also reflecting the subfields well represented by Serbian classicists in the past century and a half.



# Conference Programme

	12.00–14.00	14.00–15.00	15.00–17.30
Tue Dec 2	Opening ceremony		
	<b>Nikolai Kazansky</b> <i>In Search of Homer as Author</i>	Welcome cocktail	Greek language
Wed Dec 3	10.00–12.30	12.30–14.00	14.00–16.30
	Religion	Lunch break	Philosophy and Science
	10.00–12.30	12.30–14.00	14.00–15.00    15.00–17.00
Thu Dec 4	Latin Language and Literature	Lunch break	<b>Chris Carey</b> <i>Homeric Law Revisited</i> Greek Literature
	11.00–13.00	13.00–14.00	14.00–16.30
			<b>Daniel Markovic</b> <i>Classical Studies as a Subculture</i>
Fri Dec 5	Reception and Tradition	Lunch break	<b>Glenn Most</b> <i>Globalizing Classics: A Comparison of the Greek and Chinese Classical Traditions</i>
			Closing ceremony



# KEYNOTE LECTURES





Nikolai N. Kazansky

*Russian Academy of Sciences*

## In Search of Homer as Author

The question of Homer the poet has been an object of scholarly study for centuries. At the present moment we can only speak of the authorial intention as it is manifested in the poet's choice to bring together diverging narratives dating back to different époques instead of choosing one single version and rejecting all other versions. This has been shown for the *Odyssey* by G. Danek, who analyzed passages that preserved traces of different versions of the narrative that diverged significantly from the main storyline and from the poet's views as expressed in the poem.

The paper presents an overview of several recent studies centered around the question of the relationship of the author to his audience. It is shown that the use of aposiopesis in Homeric poems (as a device that is used intentionally by the poet, and is easily interpreted by his listeners) plays an important role in this relationship. This can be illustrated by Agamemnon's oath in *Il.* 19.258–265 when he invokes Erinyes' vengeance on his own head if the oath that he has given (that he had not touched Briseis) is false. It seems inevitable that the audience would have linked this passage to Erinyes' later actions in Mycenae (especially since in the *Odyssey* Orestes is characterized as an irreproachable son). Poetry of the VIII c. BCE attempted to interpret mythological and historical accounts from an ethical point of view, a tendency that becomes even more evident later in lyric poetry.

To summarize, while C.J. Ruijgh's and M. L. West's reconstructions of the stages of development of the epic tradition remain relevant, it is important to stress how the traditional narrative was transformed and reinterpreted during the last stage, including even the change of context. This will be illustrated by the example of a particular type of combat scene as reflected in the Pylos warrior agate and in Homer's account of the combat of Paris and Menelaus (*Il.* 3.369).

*Keywords:* Greek literature, authorship, Homer, *Iliad*.

**Chris Carey**

*University College London*

## **Athenian Law Revisited**

We are very poorly informed about the evolution of law in archaic Greece. So unsurprisingly historians turn to the Homeric poems, as the earliest surviving substantial Greek texts, to fill the gaps in our knowledge. In doing so they rarely acknowledge the methodological problems involved in mining a creative text set in a semi-fictive world for factual data. This lecture revisits those passages in the epics which deal with punishment for offences and affronts and with dispute resolution, taking account of the literary role they play and the implications for historical analysis. Read carefully, they still have something to tell us about the nature of law, the evolution of law in Greece and the vexed question of the unity of Greek law.

*Keywords:* archaic Greece, epic poetry, history of law, Homer.

**Daniel Markovich**

*University of Cincinnati*

## **Classical Studies as a Subculture**

The field of classics has always had the potential to foster educational and cultural unity across national boundaries. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the ideal of unity found its strongest support in Western European education. Both the success and failure of this model are exemplified by numerous anecdotes from the two world wars, where British and German soldiers, educated on the same classical authors, found themselves fighting against each other.

However, the Western model of studying classics has also been linked to imperialist ideology and the education of the elite, a fact that new generations of classicists in the West have been increasingly scrutinizing. By contrast, post-war Eastern Europe faced different challenges. Socialist ideology did not reject classics because of its elitist or Christian connotations, nor because of the injustices and economic exploitation of Greek and Roman world. Although these considerations influenced the socialist approach to antiquity, which focused on marginalized groups like slaves and women, the primary reason for rejecting classics was pragmatic: knowledge of Greek and Latin was seen as having no practical benefits. Instead, socialist ideology promoted sciences and technical education. As a result, classics in post-war Eastern Europe became a subculture, offering its devotees a way to assert their intellectual freedom and independence from official norms.

This paper suggests that the practice of classics in Eastern Europe, combined with the Western European ideal of transcending national boundaries, could provide a model for the future of classics globally. By embracing its subcultural status and opposing oppressive ideological trends such as the instrumentalization of knowledge and the devaluation of freedom of research, classics could continue to play its progressive role as the beacon of learning, art, and culture.

*Keywords:* history of classical studies, classical studies in Western and Eastern Europe, humanistic education, higher education.

**Glenn Most**

*University of Chicago/Max Planck Institute for the History of Science*

## **Globalizing Classics: A Comparison of the Greek and Chinese Classical Traditions**

Until recently, modern Europe and the cultures that derive from it accorded an unquestioned privilege to the Classical traditions they knew best, those of ancient Greece and Rome. Comparative studies tended to be few and were often rejected as being superficial. Now a variety of economic, political, and ideological factors have made not only the West become much more open to considering the value of other cultures than its own, but also have made those other cultures much more interested than previously in exchanges of all sorts with the West. I myself am by profession a Western student of ancient Greece; but I have always believed that one can only understand one Classical tradition well if one sees it in comparison with other Classical traditions.

Among the dozen or scores of Classical traditions scattered throughout the world, the Greek and the Chinese are two of the ones that have flourished the most. It is worth studying them comparatively, because not only their similarities, but also their differences, and the relative independence and lack of contact between them for most of their history, can tell us much about what makes a Classical tradition. This can only be done seriously by groups of researchers with different competences but shared questions and mutual respect. But someone has to make a start; and this article is intended as one such start.

*Keywords:* Classical tradition, Ancient Greek, Chinese, Globalization, Classics.

Panel 1,  
Tuesday, December 2

## GREEK LANGUAGE

Chair:  
Il Akkad,  
University of Belgrade



László Horváth

Eötvös Loránd University

## The New Critical Edition of Hyperides

Christian Jensen published his authoritative Teubner edition of Hyperides in 1917. Under the title the editor modestly adds: *post Fridericum Blass papyris denuo collatis*. Indeed, it hardly departs from the text of his great predecessor in the fragments that survive in the indirect tradition or in the *praefatio* (including the texts of the ancient testimonies, i.e., the *vita* and *iudicia veterum*). However, the new collation of the papyri produced such significant new results that the publisher was right to omit the note “after Blass” in the 1963 photomechanical reprinting. Bartolini prepared a new critical edition based on his own research, considering all publications from 1912 to 1972. Wankel may have had similar plans in mind. However, both were prevented from completing their enterprise by premature death.

Currently, I am preparing a new Teubner critical edition for De Gruyter. Like Jensen, I have autopsied and re-collated all the papyri fragments. I have made substantial contributions to the deciphering of the new Hyperides texts of the Archimedes Palimpsest, which increased the corpus by about 20 per cent. The new edition will also include fifteen additional smaller fragments which have been unearthed over the last hundred years. I briefly describe the principles of the edition. Then, out of the more than half a hundred emendations or new readings in the speeches included in Jensen’s edition, I present some with important implications for the interpretation of the texts. The speeches against Diondas and against Timandros are not addressed here. The passages examined are *Against Demosthenes* (col. XXVIII sqq.), *In Defence of Euxenippus* (col. XX [XXXVI] 20 sq.), *Against Philippides* (col. V 8), and *Against Athenogenes* (col. XVI 1).

This lecture is a tribute to the memory of Jovan Turoman, who had studied at the legal predecessor of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, from 1861 to 1863.

**Keywords:** Hyperides, critical edition, new readings, improving interpretation.



**Dejan Matic**

*University of Münster*

## Inversion and Case Attraction in Greek Relative Clauses

This paper deals with the Greek construction known as *attractio inversa* combined with the inversion of the usual order of the elements of a relative clause (RC), exemplified below.

Εἰς δὲ ἣν ἀφίκοντο κώμην μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ βασιλείον εἶχε [...]

‘The village in which they arrived was large and had a palace.’ (Xen. *An.* 4.4.2)

As the example shows, this structure is characterized by at least three distinctive features: (a) the head noun of the relative clause does not precede but rather follows the relative pronoun (κώμην occurs to the right of ἣν); (b) the case of the head noun agrees with the case of the relative pronoun rather than being assigned by the matrix verb (κώμην is in the accusative like the relative ἣν rather than being in the nominative required by the matrix verb ἦν); (c) the inverted head noun as a rule has no article.

I first investigate the syntactic features of this structure, paying special attention to type of case assignment for the head noun (via agreement with the relative or licensed by the verb in the embedded RC) and the status of the RC (externally or internally headed), then turn to its semantic features such as restrictiveness and free choice readings, and finally describe the basic discourse-pragmatic properties of the head noun, which is as a rule discourse-given and contextually predictable. The paper ends with an analysis which brings together the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features of the construction and attempts to derive the structural and semantic effects from the discourse function of these RC.

*Keywords:* relative clauses, inversion, attraction, syntax, pragmatics, semantics.

**Orsat Ligorio**

*University of Belgrade*

## **Latent *h* in Homer's *Iliad***

Ever since R. Bentley advanced our understanding of the Homeric metre by demonstrating that lines that appear to be corrupt can usually be restored by re-insertion of the lost digamma, it has been accepted that the text of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* contains consonants that are not represented in the script, also known as 'latent consonants'. In the nineteenth century, scholars elaborated on the latent consonants and even printed the complete works of Homer anew, with the 'Aeolica littera'.

Other latent consonants, such as *h* and probably *j*, received less attention, as corroborating evidence from the dialects was not as readily available and *a<sub>2</sub>* from Mycenaean was not yet known. In this paper, I attempt to analyse all instances of latent *h* in Homer's *Iliad* (some 100 instances in total). Latent *h* is of paramount value for Greek etymology (especially, for words starting with PIE \**sm-*, \**sn-*, \**sr-*, \**sl-*, \**Hi-*) but, being a phenomenon that is implied rather than explicit, is as a rule ignored by etymological dictionaries of Greek.

*Keywords:* Homeric epics, metrics, latent consonants, historical phonetics, etymology.

**Dimitrija Rašljčić**  
*University of Belgrade*

## **Teaching and Learning Greek: πρὸ τ' ἔόντα τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα**

The topic of the paper is teaching ancient Greek in non-hellenophone environments. After a historical overview of some key aspects in which language teaching and learning has inevitably changed over time, I turn to practical use of modern digital technologies in language teaching.

Besides lexicography and idiomaticity, corpora of annotated (open-access) texts can be put to good use in teaching Greek since they provide fast query and text classification. A good example is a project developed by Giuseppe Celano, called OGA (Opera Graeca Adnotata), a corpus of Ancient Greek texts with automatically generated annotations (with more than 40 million tokens). For querying the corpus, I explain the basics of ANNIS 4, an easy-to-use online search tool. Using the corpora (OGA and Thesaurus Linguae Graecae), I exemplify extracting the most frequently used words (mostly verbs) to build a 'must know' vocabulary for students in their first and second year of learning.

Next, I demonstrate how bilingual digital editions of ancient texts can be efficiently used for building a firm foundation for enriching vocabulary and ultimately enable language students for independent learning. As the final step in this phase of the teaching process, I provide an overview of a selection of intermediate and upper-intermediate Greek readers. I conclude by summarizing several teaching tools and approaches, both traditional and modern, which contribute to successful teaching practice and efficient learning process.

*Keywords:* teaching Greek, idiom, lexicography, digital technologies, parallelization.

Panel 2,  
Wednesday, December 3

## RELIGION

Chair:  
Sandra Šćepanović,  
University of Belgrade



Aleksandar Loma  
University of Belgrade

## The City of Seven Gods and the Sevenfold Daemon: Alanian Ἀρδάβδα·ἑπτάθεος and Ossetian *ævdiw / ævdew* ‘demon; wizard’

In the anonymous *Periplus of the Euxine Sea* dated to the 5th century AD, the Alanian name of the city Theodosia on Crimea is cited as *Ar-dábdā* and glossed in Greek as *heptátheos*. This name is interpreted from Ossetian, the modern offspring of Allanian, as a compound of *ard* ‘oath’ <IndoIranian *\*r̥tam* ‘order, truth, righteousness’ and *abd* <Old Iranian *hafta* ‘seven’, thus ‘(the city of) the righteous seven (gods)’ and compared with Osset. *ævdiw / ævdew* ‘demon; wizard’, *Avdīwag* the epic name of a celestial deity.

In the present paper, the possibility is taken into consideration that the cult of the seven planets is underlying as a constitutive element of the syncretistic “ProtoMithraism”, presumably promoted by the king Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus as a part of his imperial program.

*Keywords:* Ardabda, Alanian, Ossetian, planetary gods, Mithraism.

**Isidora Tolić**

*University of Belgrade*

## **Narrative Frontiers of Mithraism: Where Do We Take It from Here?**

Among the various extant sources for Roman Mithraism, narrative sources may be among the scarcest. However, their careful reading and analysis are essential for contextualizing the diverse Mithraic findings and contributing to a comprehensive, cross-disciplinary study of the cult. This is equally true both for extended references to Mithraism, as those in the works of Porphyry of Tyre, and the shorter remarks found in authors such as Hegemonius and Jerome. After a brief overview of the major research trends concerning narrative sources since the 1970s, e.g., the so-called star-talk and the comparative approach to Mithraism, I will focus on the future of working with these sources.

More specifically, I will examine the potential further contributions of a philologically-based approach and rethink some advantages and disadvantages of traditional approaches to the study of Mithraism. In this regard, I will attempt to determine how a consistent consideration and thorough analysis of the context in which the cult of Mithras is mentioned, i.e., the overall tone of the quoted works, and the ideological and religious backgrounds of the authors may bring improvements in understanding and utilizing the written information for an interdisciplinary perspective on Mithraism.

Finally, I will consider if such an approach is feasible and sustainable for a broader range of non-philological research on Mithraism, or if it should be limited to specific types of studies.

*Keywords:* Mithraism, *Quellenforschung*, narrative sources, early Christian authors.

Marko Vitas

*Australian National University*

## Ovid's Other Flood: Baucis and Philemon in the Context of Mediterranean Flood Narratives

Ovid's story of Deucalion and Pyrrha (*Met.* 1.244-380), known also from sparser Greek sources (notably Pind. *Ol.* 9.41-61 and Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.2), is followed, later in the *Metamorphoses* (8.611-724), by another Flood story involving divine retribution. Baucis and Philemon are a poor and kindly old couple who are the only ones to have offered hospitality to Jupiter and Hermes, as the gods were scouring the region undercover; as a consequence, they are spared while the rest of their community is destroyed by a deluge.

In this paper, I situate Ovid's story of Baucis and Philemon within the context of the Eastern Mediterranean literary traditions about widespread devastation, exemplified by texts such as the Babylonian Flood poem *Atra-ḫasīs*. Various suggestions have been made about the story's provenance (Reed and Kenney), notably in connection with the Biblical story of Sodom and Gomorrah (Griffin, Fontenrose), as well as the story's Phrygian setting (Kelp, Jones). However, compared to Deucalion, the case of Baucis and Philemon has been underexplored in discussions on the Eastern Mediterranean global cataclysms, partly because it features a more localized disaster targeting a single town.

As I argue in this paper, there is in fact a long Eastern Mediterranean tradition of texts narrating a localized destruction in terms strongly reminiscent of a global cataclysm. My discussion frames the Sumerian City Laments, the Akkadian *Poem of Erra* and the Homeric *Iliad* as examples of this literary trend.

Furthermore, some versions of Akkadian and Greek Flood stories – including versions of Deucalion's Flood – also envisage a partial or localized destruction, rather than a global one. This demonstrates that the scope of the cataclysm was an open question that all authors could answer differently with respect to their own literary, cultural and political agendas, all while keeping features of the myth that are characteristic for global disasters. I suggest that by offering two Flood stories that differ with respect to the scope, Ovid engages with both strands of tradition in the totalizing narrative of his *Metamorphoses*.

**Keywords:** Flood, Baucis and Philemon, *Metamorphoses*, Deucalion, *Atra-ḫasīs*, *Poem of Erra*.



Jovan Cvjetičanin  
 University of Belgrade

## Prayer and Patronage in Martial's *Epigrams*

Scholars have observed that there is a great deal of similarity between the relationship Romans have with their gods and the relationship between clients and patrons; both relationships are reciprocal, asymmetrical and based on the notion of *fides*. This paper will examine the intersection between human-divine and client-patron relationships in Martial's *Epigrams*. Martial often reflected on the proper relationships between client and patron, going beyond considerations of material gifts into the questions of duty, gratitude and greed.

I propose that studying the role of prayer within the context of patronage can advance our understanding of how the intersection of social and religious ritual is depicted in Latin poetry. For example, Martial does not treat his non-imperial patrons as divinities in his poetry. Birthday rituals from the early imperial period onward show a trajectory towards performing cultic activity that recognizes the patron as a deity. In Martial's birthday epigrams, however, the description of cultic activity is minimal and unspecific. In fact, the divine *genius* of the patron is never praised or even mentioned. Martial therefore appears to distinguish human and divine actors in his poetry. He creates a triangular system in which clients, patrons and gods each play a distinct role: clients pray to gods for the wealth and wellbeing of their patrons, gods enrich the patrons, and patrons give gifts to their clients in exchange for their petitions and services.

This system, like many other social relations in Martial, is best illustrated in satirical epigrams which make their misgivings apparent. The role of prayer in these epigrams is not to ask for personal gain, but for the prosperity of the patron, which will in turn benefit the client.

*Keywords:* Martial, Latin, Flavian, poetry, epigram, religion, patronage.

Panel 3,  
Wednesday, December 3

## PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

Chair:  
Isidora Tolić,  
University of Belgrade



Marijana Ricl  
University of Belgrade

## ***Dubia* and *Spuria* in the Platonic Corpus – Chronology, Style, Protagonists**

Interest in the Platonic *dubia* and *spuria*—texts of uncertain authenticity within the Platonic corpus—has recently increased. Currently, six Socratic dialogues are debated as potentially non-Platonic: *Theages*, *Clitophon*, *Minos*, *Rival Lovers*, *Hipparchus*, and *Alcibiades Minor*. Additionally, *Alcibiades Major*, once widely regarded as genuine, has also come under renewed scrutiny. In antiquity, only *Rival Lovers*, *Hipparchus*, and *Alcibiades Minor* were questioned, making a contemporary re-evaluation particularly significant.

In contrast, all ancient scholars concurred on the inauthenticity of dialogues found after the ninth and final tetralogy of Thrasyllus in the Byzantine manuscript tradition. These texts were labelled as νόθοι or νοθεύμενοι, marking their dubious status. Diogenes Laertius (III 62) lists eleven such dialogues: *Midon* or *The Horse-Breeder*, *Eryxias* or *Erasistratus*, *Halcyon*, *Headless Dialogues*, *Sisyphus*, *Axiochus*, *Phaeacians*, *Demodocus*, *Swallow*, *Seventh Day*, and *Epimenides*. Of these, only five have survived: *Eryxias* or *Erasistratus*, *Halcyon*, *Sisyphus*, *Axiochus*, and *Demodocus*. Additionally, two other spurious dialogues, *On the Just* and *On Virtue*, absent from Diogenes' list, have also been preserved, bringing the total number of extant *spuria* to seven. Athenaeus also mentions the lost *Cimon* among Plato's authentic works, indicating that additional dialogues attributed to Plato—now largely unknown to us—were still in circulation as late as the 3rd century AD.

It is likely that some of these texts were originally included in the Platonic corpus but were later marked as inauthentic. This suggests that they may have been part of the Alexandrian edition of Plato's works, compiled by Aristophanes around 200 BC, which contained two disputed works, *Minos* and *Epinomis*. Such an early inclusion could explain the notable presence of these inauthentic dialogues in the papyrus tradition from the mid-Hellenistic period onward.

Inauthentic dialogues are typically shorter than the authentic ones, with a markedly weaker dramatic structure and minimal characterization of participants. Their dialogical approach is also simpler. Socrates' interlocutors are either familiar historical figures or anonymous Athenians, as

in *Minos*, *Hipparchus*, *Rival Lovers*, *On the Just*, and *On Virtue*. These generic or unidentified figures further indicate the inauthenticity of these dialogues.

*Keywords:* Socratic dialogues, Platonic corpus, inauthentic dialogues, authorship, chronology.

**Sandra Šćepanović**  
*University of Belgrade*

## **Miroslav Marcovich on Heraclitus, Then and Now**

A significant portion of Miroslav Marcovich's rich and varied bibliography (over 330 titles altogether) belongs to his works on the Presocratics. Most famously and importantly, he is the author of an exemplary edition of Heraclitus' fragments, which has been published in different formats and languages over the years. Marcovich also authored a number of journal articles and lexicon entries dedicated primarily to Heraclitus' philosophy, but also to other Presocratics, and he offered new readings and interpretations of individual fragments both of Heraclitus and of some other early Greek philosophers. In his works on Heraclitus, Marcovich presents his views by taking into account those of earlier and contemporary Heraclitean scholars, and his influence on Heraclitean studies is recognizable to the present day.

Three characteristics of Marcovich's approach to Heraclitus seem to take central place with regard to his scholarly predecessors, contemporaries and successors: the importance ascribed to the idea of the so-called "Logos doctrine" in Heraclitus' philosophy, his stance on the question of Oriental influences on this philosopher, and, most prominently, his innovative approach to the selection and distribution of the presumably genuine fragments of Heraclitus' treatise. In all three areas, Marcovich exhibits ample erudition and minute philological analysis of the relevant material, and this method is recognizable in his publications on other early Greek philosophers as well. A discussion of the origin and scholarly reception of the three significant features of Marcovich's work on Heraclitus should make it possible to demonstrate and evaluate the lasting impact of the scholar's comprehensive, in-depth approach to the study of the Presocratics and of the results it has produced.

*Keywords:* Heraclitus, *Logoslehre*, Oriental influences, Presocratic fragments.

**Divna Soleil**

*Centre Paul-Albert Février, Aix-Marseille University*

**“Greek or Roman, swing your body,  
walk and speak aloud!”  
Aspects of ‘Physical Therapy’  
in Ancient Medicine**

As it is well known, the art of healing in Greco-Roman medicine proceeded from the least invasive to the most invasive procedures: the physician began with dietary prescriptions, then moved on to pharmacology and finally to surgery if necessary. This therapeutic triad also included various types of physical exercises and of varying degrees of intensity: walking, swinging, voice exercises, running and many more. Some of these therapeutic practices have already been well studied – for example, D. Gourevitch wrote about medical *gestatio* in Roman times, and A. Pietrobelli and H. von Staden studied the therapeutic aspects of voice exercises and reading in Greco-Roman medicine.

Yet no systematic research has been devoted to these practices as a whole, even though they were an important part of the therapeutic approach, especially in imperial times. The aim of this study is therefore to explore the whole range of physical therapies available to ancient physicians, and the ways in which they were used. Several less well-known authors, such as Antyllus, Aretaeus of Cappadocia, Soranus of Ephesus and Caelius Aurelianus, will prove useful in our inquiry.

*Keywords:* Ancient medicine, therapy, exercises, Aretaeus of Cappadocia, Antyllus.

**Darko Todorović**  
*University of Belgrade*

## Njegoš of Jerusalem and Njegoš of Miletus: Post- and Pre-creation Cosmology of *The Ray of the Microcosm*

The philosophical epic *The Ray of the Microcosm* by the Montenegrin Prince Bishop and poet Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851) has long been firmly situated in the ideological and literary-generic tradition of the hexaemeral epic and the Neoplatonic metaphysics of light (notably in the studies by M. Flašar). A detailed scrutiny has shown that elements of several other spiritual traditions (Orphism, Kabbalah, Neomanichaeism) played an equally important role in the formation of the original philosophico-poetic concept of biblical creation as depicted in *The Ray* (A. S. Rebac).

One component, however, although incidentally observed a long time ago (Schmaus, Rebac, Goy), has not yet received the full theoretical attention it deserves.

It is the idea of an older, pre-creation universe – the one whose sudden cataclysm would set the scene for the ensuing six days' work of Genesis (thus challenging its basic *ex nihilo* character: God would not have created the world out of nothing, but precisely out of the ruins of the previous worlds).

A detailed account of the fate of this pre-creation universe and the subsequent new (biblical) creation was put into the mouth of Satan, a rebel angel, indeed one of the deposed rulers of the previous, pre-cataclysmic order who, like all the others – except for God alone – undeservedly suffered from the accidental 'collapse of the heavens.'

Satan's rebellion would therefore be motivated by the 'righteous demand' for a return to the previous, 'democratic' order of the universe, in which God was just one among innumerable equals (the sovereign of one of the countless worlds of equal scope), who only accidentally escaped the cataclysm, and consequently chanced to acquire the exclusive status of the cosmic monarch – lord over all the other, otherwise equally divine, eternal and immortal, rulers of the overturned worlds (i.e., Satan and the other archangels, as well as pre-existent Adam).

*Keywords:* *The Ray of the Microcosm*, pre-creation universe, primeval equality, *creatio ex ruinis*, Satan's rebellion.





Panel 4,  
Thursday, December 4

# LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Chair:  
Jovan Cvjetičanin,  
University of Belgrade



**Bianca-Jeanette Schröder**

*Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich*

## **Cicero and Atticus: How do ‘Best Friends’ Handle Diverging Opinions and Difficult Situations via Letters**

It is a well-known fact that Marcus Tullius Cicero and Titus Pomponius Atticus were bound by a special friendship which had already begun in their youth and that Cicero’s letters to Atticus are an invaluable source for their relationship. As Cicero did not publish his letters himself and therefore did not rework them for a wider readership (they were only published after his death), they allow us to observe his day-to-day written communication. The letters are not only an important source for many details of Cicero’s life and of the political developments at the end of the Roman republic, but they also give some insight into the special rules and social conventions that guided the writing of letters, into the epistolary network of the writer, i.e., Cicero’s addressees with whom he was not always on friendly terms, and the couriers who carried the letters and who might be too curious.

In this paper, I aim to highlight a rarely mentioned fact, namely, that the correspondence also reveals that the relationship of Cicero and Atticus was not always problem-free and easy-going. I address some of the situations in which, as the letters show, the friends do not share the same opinion or in which Cicero is not completely satisfied with what Atticus writes or does. I analyze short passages in order to study Cicero’s various strategies for hiding his criticism completely, veiling it carefully, or finally voicing it openly.

We see that Cicero’s account of people and events is sometimes influenced more by his friendship with Atticus than by his intention to express his own true opinion, as *amicitia* can mean to hide one’s own view out of respect for the friend’s view. But we also see situations in which he speaks openly nevertheless.

*Keywords:* Cicero, Atticus, letters, friendship, social conventions, communication.

Goran Vidović

University of Belgrade

## Terence's *comoedia duplex*

Besides being notoriously autobiographically unreliable, Terence's prologues are deliberately cryptic about his literary agenda. One of the most enduring controversies is over his announcement in the prologue to the *Self-tormentor* that he adapted one "integral" Greek model into one "integral" play (*ex integra Graeca integram comoediam*) but that it is, somehow, made double from a simple *argumentum* (*duplex quae ex argumento facta est simplici*).

This remark seems intentionally misleading, because it alludes to Terence's practice of cherry-picking from two Greek models, which he alleges in his other prologues. Speculating on whether something along those lines is the case in the *Self-tormentor* as well, despite his apparent claim to the contrary, has led to no satisfactory conclusion; on the other hand, detecting the play's duplicity in paired characters and situations (two fathers, two sons, two love affairs etc.) is equally unsatisfactory, because that sort of doubleness is a characteristic of all of Terence's plays.

Instead, I identify the duplicity of this play in the implicit distinction between immediately visible, performed stage action (*fabula*) and conceivable background development (*argumentum*). I analyze these two ontological strata in the context of arguably the pivotal point of the plot, which has been frequently overlooked: the *adulescens*' homecoming. Essential feature of the *nostos* narratives is that they articulate anxiety of absence both of the revenant and at his destination. The two fronts are deep down a mirror image, even though on the literary surface they are typically represented asymmetrically. Terence is additionally bound by comic conventions, which limit what can and what cannot be staged. By self-consciously pointing out these restrictions and creatively navigating them, Terence in the *Self-tormentor* subtly reminds us that it takes two to come home.

*Keywords:* Terence, duplicity, *argumentum*, comic conventions, *nostos*.

Vojin Nedeljković  
*University of Belgrade*

## Popilius and Antiochus: The Linguistic Background of a Famous Gesture

The notorious rencontre between King Antiochus Epiphanes and C. Popilius Laenas is recorded in no less than a dozen ancient sources. The legate brought Antiochus a request from the Roman Senate, with the provision that he has to decide, and comply, on the spot. The ultimatum may well have been Popilius' own addition, and the farcical scene of the king being held in a circle drawn on sand was certainly intended to highlight his own authority and humiliate Antiochus.

In the present paper I discuss a possible additional, linguistic layer of Popilius' gesture, which would make Antiochus' situation even more embarrassing. The effect, however, is best achieved—perhaps even only possible—in Latin. It is, therefore, worth considering a very real possibility that during his decade-long hostageship in Rome Antiochus acquired fluency in Latin—and that that is precisely what Popilius was counting on. If so, Popilius' theatrics would further dissociate the king from his entourage, which hardly knew any Latin. It is ultimately immaterial whether the sources documented the episode in Latin or Greek, as well as in which language the king and the legate conversed. What matters is that both of them could have been *thinking* in Latin.

I conclude by addressing several related lexical and chronological issues in order to determine how plausible is the interpretation.

*Keywords:* Hellenistic history, Antiochus Epiphanes, multilingualism in classical antiquity, Early Latin, lexical chronology.

Nenad Ristović

University of Belgrade

*Latinitas, Romanitas,  
Humanitas, Christianitas:*  
**The Polyvalent Agenda of Minucius  
Felix's Ciceronian Dialogue**

Unlike other apologists, the lawyer M. Minucius Felix did not opt for defense or a petition by an oration, treatise or letter, but for a Ciceronian dialogue. Minucius recognized the typological similarity with the socio-cultural and historical circumstances of the late Roman Republic. In the *Octavius* he situates the dispute between polytheism and Christianity—two positions he deems crucial for the Rome of his era—within a Ciceronian framework: close in social status, educational level and friendship, protagonists are afforded an equal-footing treatment (*in utramque partem*) in an informal setting.

Within this framework he retains, *mutatis mutandis*, the main elements of Cicero's reform-oriented agenda for Roman society. The first is philosophy; following Cicero's eclectic Platonism with substantial Stoic components, in the *Octavius* it is identified with Christianity, the *philosophia vera*. Much like Cicero strove to transfer Greek philosophical culture to Romans in Latin, Minucius held *Latinitas* high on his agenda. As the language of Christians, he promotes Latin, especially *Antibarbarismus*, as a means to overcome Christians' cultural inferiority. To the same end, Minucius's dialogue is permeated with Ciceronian *humanitas* ("civilizedness"), which, besides philosophical culture, is primarily manifested in rhetorical presentness, a necessary condition for integrating Christians into Roman society.

This cultural and intellectual integration was conceived of in elitist terms, which Cicero, too, addresses in his dialogues, recommending, among other things, philosophical religiosity and ethicalness. Hence Minucius presents and, simultaneously, defends Christianity as philosophical monotheism and a lifestyle based on philosophical ethical principles. Thereby, in a manner typical of protreptics, he reduces the Christian doctrine to minimal requirements for finding common ground with the Roman intellectual and cultural elite. Thus establishing the relation of mutual legitimacy and acceptance between Christians and Roman society, Minucius highlights inclusivity as one of the fundamental virtues of Ro-

*manitas*. Finally, despite the criticism of Romans' religious interpretations of their own history, he appropriates the Romans' belief in the Providential background of the Roman state into a Christian theological framework: "The truth has matured in our era."

*Key words:* Minucius Felix, Cicero, literary dialogue, cultural elitism, cultural transfer.





Panel 5,  
Thursday, December 4

## GREEK LITERATURE

Chair:  
Dimitrija Rašljić,  
University of Belgrade



Ivana Petrovic

University of Virginia

## Etymologies in the *Homeric Hymns*

While most Ancient Greek personal names were easy to etymologize, the names of Olympian gods and heroes were usually etymologically opaque. My paper will look into the practices of implicit and explicit (signposted) etymologizing of divine names in the *Homeric Hymns*, starting with the phenomenon of divine etymologizing, by which I mean the instances where gods explain names, or are represented as naming for specific reasons. For instance, Aphrodite explains the name of her son Aeneas in her *Homeric Hymn* (5.198-9), Apollo etymologizes his own epithet to the Cretan sailors (*HH* 3. 493-495) and we are told that the god Pan received this name from the other gods because he delighted them *all* (*HH* 19.47). What do these episodes tell us about the naming practices and interpretations of names?

I will then discuss some instances of implicit etymologizing of divine names in the *Hymns*. Implicit etymologizing of personal names can take different forms in poetry, from the simple juxtaposing of similar-sounding words to the full embedding of an etymology into the narrative. Early Greek poetry in particular displays a vivid interest in creating narratives based on the interpretations of names. Etymologizing did not have to be limited to one explanation, since, unlike modern etymology which seeks to reconstruct the actual and definite origin of a word, Ancient Greek etymological practice not only tolerated, but positively encouraged the co-existence of several different etymologies. Since divine names, too, could have several etymologies, implicit etymologizing operated like a series of riddles which the audience was supposed to detect and decode.

*Keywords:* *Homeric Hymns*, etymology, divine names.

**Ana Petković**

*University of Belgrade*

## **Poetic Ambiguity: Greek Concepts of Lyric Poetry and Modern Literary Theory**

This paper reviews the notion of ambiguity in the Greek lyric poetry of the Archaic and Classical Era. The concept of ambiguity in literature, that is, two or more possible meanings of words, phrases or poetic images, was dealt with by Greek philosophy and literary criticism, which viewed enigmatic ways of speech and style as the inherent characteristic of poetic discourse. In modern theory, studies of Roman Jakobson, Roland Barthes and Umberto Eco speak of the fundamental ambiguity of the poetic language and a work of art, multiple coding of a text and open form.

In this paper I pay particular attention to the ambiguity of words and imagery as a deliberate method of poets. That ambiguity originates from the views of the effects of opposing forces that determine human destiny, particularly manifest in states of change or crisis, and refers images and situations described in Pindar, as William Stanford (1939) observed, through the forms of the verb αἰθύσσω and its compounds.

It is my intention to re-examine the issues pertaining to the multiple meanings of a poetic text and the possibilities of its understanding and interpretation, conditioned by the world-view of the poet, his audience and readers.

*Keywords:* ambiguity, Greek lyric, enigmatic text, double code, world-view.

**Andrej Petrovic**

*University of Virginia*

## **Herodotus and the Names of the Three Hundred**

The talk addresses a well-known passage of Herodotus' narrative of the Battle of Thermopylae in which the historian makes a curious statement (7.224.1-2) to the effect that he had learned by inquiry the names of the 300 brave Spartans who fell in the battle, but then stops short of actually listing their names or supplying any further detail on his source(s).

Many commentators were puzzled by this move; Reginald Macan remarked in exasperation "where? when? from whom?" Detlef Fehling, unsurprisingly, thought it a silly and romantic idea, that Herodotus would be bothered to learn something as tedious as a name-list, and added the passage to his catalogue of alleged Herodotean 'lies'.

The problem was last revisited in detail in an insightful article by John Marincola. There, Marincola provided convincing answers to Macan's questions and suggested that, more than anything else, the passage in question spotlighted Herodotus' historiographical method and his heroic effort in gathering information.

Taking cue from Marincola, my talk will address two questions missing in Macan's list: First, if Herodotus did, in fact, memorize the names (he very well might have), how might he have done it? Second, why did he tease his audiences in the first place – why did he make a claim that he had no intention of substantiating (at least not in the written version of his *Histories*)? To try to answer these questions, we will inspect (epigraphic) poetry containing long strings of personal names and select passages of Homer.

*Keywords:* Herodotus, casualty lists, Battle of Thermopylae, catalogue poetry, Homeric battle narratives.



Panel 6,  
Friday, December 5

## RECEPTION AND TRADITION

Chair:  
Goran Vidović,  
University of Belgrade





Dejan Dželebdžić  
University of Belgrade

## Michael Psellos' Changing Explanations of Natural Phenomena

In the voluminous opus of the Byzantine polymath Michael Psellos (1018 – c. 1081), a distinctive place is held by a collection of hundreds of short texts addressing various topics—rhetorical, theological, philosophical (logic, metaphysics, natural sciences, occult sciences, etc.), and more. Given that many of them were written for educational purposes, they constitute clear evidence that a wide range of ancient scientific disciplines was taught in 11<sup>th</sup>-century Constantinople. In general, these texts rarely exhibit originality.

In explaining various “meteorological” phenomena (in the ancient sense of the word) to his students, Psellos mostly draws from Aristotle's *Meteorology*, but he occasionally also uses two 6<sup>th</sup>-century works: Olympiodorus of Alexandria's commentary on the Aristotle's *Meteorology* and, in a lesser degree, John Lydus' *De ostentis*. This also holds true for Psellos' three short texts on earthquakes.

However, in a public speech delivered after a major earthquake struck Constantinople on September 23, 1063, Psellos approached the subject from a religious point of view, arguing that the shaking of the earth cannot be explained purely by physical reasons since God is the first principal (πρώτη ἀρχή) of everything. While Psellos provides a set of interesting arguments to support this position, the critical edition of the text (ed. John Duffy) does not indicate his possible sources or texts that could be relevant to his argumentation. In the present paper, I aim to fill in these gaps.

*Keywords:* Michael Psellos, Aristotle, ancient meteorology, God, humans.

Dušan Popović

University of Belgrade

## When an Ancient Novel Becomes a National Classic: the Case of Amyot's Translation of Heliodorus

The learned French bishop Jacques Amyot (1513-1593) published in 1547 a French translation of the novel of the ancient Greek writer Heliodorus from Emessa (3rd-4th century AD), under the title *Histoire Éthiopique* (*Ethiopic Tale*), or *Theagène et Chariclée* (*Theagenes and Chariclea*). This translation strongly influenced the later development of one of the currents in French and, generally, European novel-writing, primarily regarding the choice of treating novelistic contents that were unquestionable from the point of view of the morals and propriety, and also in respect to the unity and entirety of the plot.

Amyot found all these qualities in the samples of Greek idealistic or, as he himself calls them, Byzantine novels and cited them in the preface of his translation; all the opposite, "bad" properties of prose or verse narratives he ascribed to the *genre* of chivalric romance, i.e. epic, very popular at the time, primarily represented by the Spanish romance *Amadis de Gaula* and the Italian epic *Orlando furioso*.

In this paper I investigate a curious, often overlooked phenomenon, virtually unique in the entire reception of Classical literature in early modern Europe. Namely, Amyot's translation was praised as the exemplary model for vernacular prose writing by one of the earliest French rhetoricians, Antoine Fouquelin (1534-?), in his *Rhétorique françoise* (*French rhetoric*). This small book, published in 1555, propagates the attitudes of contemporary theoreticians for the elevation of the French prose and poetry, primarily regarding the style (*elocutio*), to the level that would become equal to the prestige of the respective Classical *genres* as literary classics.

**Keywords:** ancient novel, translation, literary reception, rhetoric, classics.

**Dragana Dimitrijević**  
*University of Belgrade*

## **Isidora Sekulić and the Classical Tradition**

The importance of Isidora Sekulić (1877-1958) for Serbian cultural history and literature in the 20<sup>th</sup> century can hardly be overstated. She was the first woman to be elected corresponding member of the Serbian Royal Academy of Science (1939), and full member of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts (1950). Writing during the Modernist era, she used the stream of consciousness and non-linear writing techniques to capture the nuances of the mind, while integrating various philosophical concepts, most of them rooted in ancient philosophy.

Isidora Sekulić wrote an essay on Propertius (1941), but his *Elegies* was not the only ancient text of relevance to her opus. Sekulić demonstrates very broad familiarity with and interest in various Greco-Roman authors, such as Pindar and other prominent Greek authors. Although the use of the Classical tradition in Sekulić's writings has received some scholarly attention (e. g. Leovac, Flašar), there is still a need for further research. By means of a close reading of Sekulić's essays, this paper explores how Isidora Sekulić exploits the Classical tradition and ventures to unpack rationales behind it.

*Keywords:* Isidora Sekulić, Serbian literature, Classical tradition, Pindar, Propertius.

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