



**LINGUISTIC REPRESENTATIONS
OF IDENTITY
IN RHETORIC ANCIENT AND MODERN**

**CONFERENCE
PROGRAMME**

**&
BOOK OF ABSTRACTS**

12-14 June 2017
Jagiellonian University in Kraków

in co-operation with
University College London



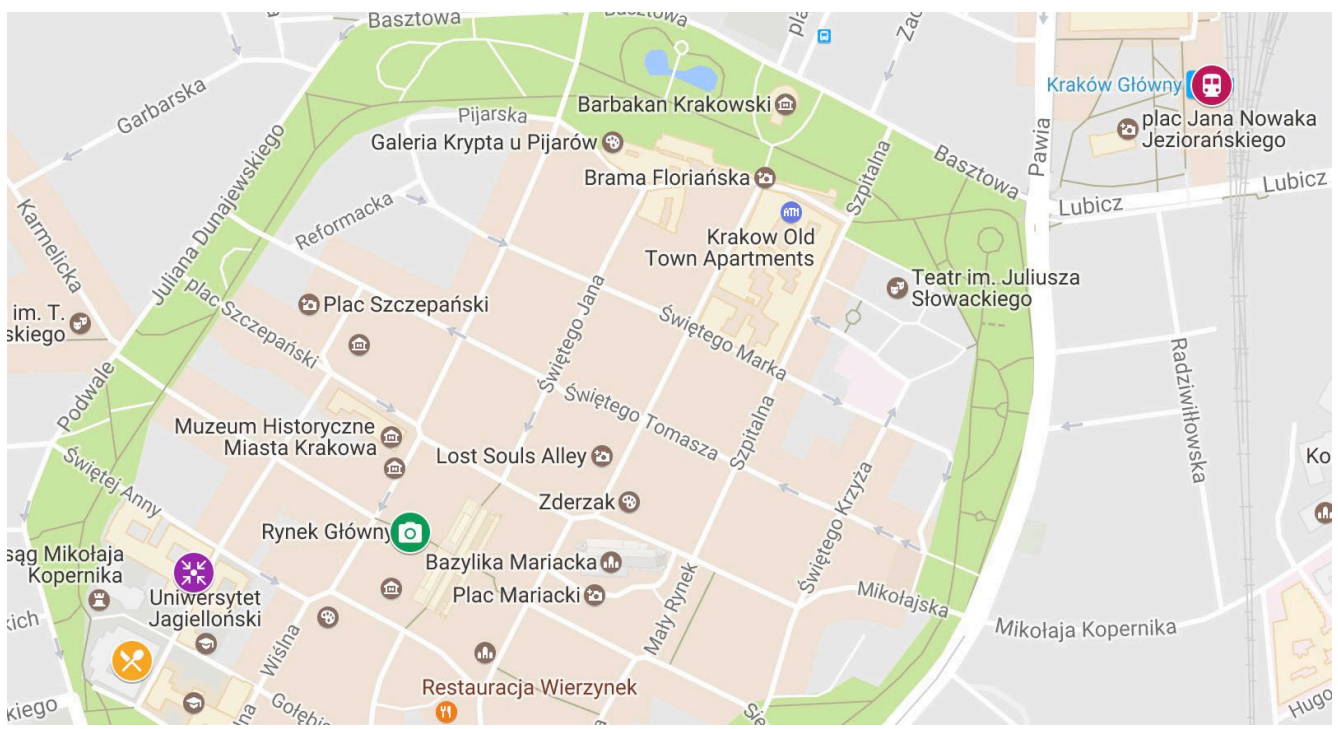
JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY
IN KRAKÓW



Linguistic Representations of Identity in Rhetoric Ancient and Modern

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

12-14 June 2017, Collegium Maius UJ, Jagiellońska 15, Bobrzyński's Room



Organisers: Jakub Filonik (jakub.filonik@uj.edu.pl), Joanna Janik (joanna.janik@uj.edu.pl), and Peter Agocs (UCL); assisted by Brenda Griffith-Williams (UCL) and Janek Kucharski (UŚ).

Linguistic Representations of Identity in Rhetoric Ancient and Modern

Monday, 12 June

8:45 – 9:15am: **Registration and tea/coffee**

9:15 – 9:30am: **Welcome address**

Session I (9:30 – 11:00am)

Popular Identities and Democracy

Chair: Peter Agocs

Edward Harris (Durham & Edinburgh), ‘The stereotype of tyranny and the tyranny of stereotypes: Demosthenes on Philip II of Macedon’

Sarah Bremner (Birmingham), ‘From Athenian democracy to post-Brexit ochlocracy: identity and the rhetoric of anti-rhetoric from Demosthenes to Trump’

Agnieszka Kampka (SGGW Warsaw), ‘Memory and action: elements of national and civic identity in contemporary Poland’

11:00 – 11:30am: **Coffee break**

Session II (11:30am – 1:00pm)

Social Identities in the Greek World

Chair: Brenda Griffith-Williams

Janek Kucharski (US Katowice), ‘Punishments and identities in classical Athens’

Eleni Volonaki (Peloponnese), ‘Religious identity in Athenian forensic oratory’

Alessandro Vatri (Oxford), ‘The readerly “us”’: ancient Greek criticism and the creation of textual communities’

1:00 – 2:00pm: **Lunch break**

Session III (2:00 – 3:30pm)

Cognitive Approaches to Rhetoric and Identity

Chair: Alessandro Vatri

Dimos Spatharas (Crete), ‘Emotions, out-groups, and social identities in Athenian forensic oratory’

Evert van Emde Boas (Oxford), ‘Mind style, identity, and *ethopoeia* in Lysias’

Jennifer Devereaux (Southern California & Edinburgh), ‘Intercorporeal identities and collective action in the ancient world’

3:30 – 4:00pm: **Coffee break**

Session IV (4:00pm – 5:30pm)

Material Remnants of Identities

Chair: Edward Harris

S. Douglas Olson (Minnesota & Helsinki), ‘Dressing like the Great King: cross-cultural perspectives on Persian fashion in classical Athens’

Peter Liddel (Manchester), ‘The rhetoric of *polis*-identity: the example of Hellenistic Erythrai’

Andrzej Wypustek (Wrocław), ‘Creating identity in Greek and Roman magic’

5:30 – 6:00pm: **General discussion**

Linguistic Representations of Identity in Rhetoric Ancient and Modern

Tuesday, 13 June

9:00 – 9:30am: **Tea/coffee**

Session V (9:30 – 11:00am)

The Rhetoric of Oppositions

Chair: Jakub Filonik

Lene Rubinstein (RHUL London), ‘The vocabulary of cruelty, brutality, and savagery in Attic oratory’

Joanna Janik (UJ Kraków), ‘ἐγώ, ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς: constructing a speaker’s identity in relation to his audience in the political speeches of Demosthenes and political writings of Isocrates’

Brenda Griffith-Williams (UCL London), ‘“Everybody knows”: knowledge and identity in political and forensic discourse’

11:00 – 11:30am: **Coffee break**

Session VI (11:30am – 1:00pm)

Dual Identities and Double Speech

Chair: Lene Rubinstein

Dorota Dutsch (UCSB California), ‘*Ut uos in uostris uoltis mercimoniis*: gods, slaves, and identity politics in a Plautine Prologue’

Christine Plastow (UCL London), ‘The language of place and ideology in Athenian homicide jury identity’

Rosie Harman (UCL London), ‘Ideological rhetoric in Xenophon’

1:00 – 2:00pm: **Lunch break**

Session VII (2:00 – 3:00pm)

Metaphor in Athenian Politics

Chair: Peter Liddel

Lucia Cecchet (Mainz), ‘Public metaphors of begging and warnings against the risk of identity confusion in early fourth-century Athens’

Jakub Filonik (UJ Kraków), ‘Dikast, sailor, soldier, spy: metaphorical appeals to civic identity in Athenian oratory’

3:00 – 3:30pm: **Coffee break**

Session VIII (3:30 – 5:00pm)

Roman Senatorial Elites

Chair: Dorota Dutsch

Brian Krostenko (Notre Dame), ‘Pandering for the greater good: Senate, people, and politics in Cicero’s *de lege agraria* I and II’

Roman Frolov (Yaroslavl), ‘Not among magistrates anymore? The rhetoric of political actors’ identity in the historiography of Republican Rome (the case of *decemviri legibus scribundis*)’

Elizabeth McKnight (UCL London), ‘Pliny’s conception of the identity of the Roman senatorial class’

5:00 – 5:30pm: **General discussion**

Linguistic Representations of Identity in Rhetoric Ancient and Modern

Wednesday, 14 June

9:00 – 9:30am: **Tea/coffee**

Session IX (9:30 – 10:30am)

The Theory of Rhetoric and its Application

Chair: Janek Kucharski

Jakub Lichański (UW Warsaw), ‘Identification in ancient and modern rhetoric: a case study of selected examples’

Anna Bendrat (UMCS Lublin), “‘The Revolution will be Blogged’”: female voices on multiracial identity’

10:30am – 11:00pm: **Coffee break**

Session X (11:00am – 12:30pm)

The Beginnings and After-Life of Identities

Chair: Joanna Janik

Peter Agocs (UCL London), ‘*Pindare le Dorien* revisited: myth, politics and cultural identity in the epinicians’

Ślawomir Sprawski (UJ Kraków), ‘Rhetoric in the service of the King. Speusippos, Antipatros of Magnesia and the shaping of Macedonian genealogical traditions’

Aleksandra Klęczar (UJ Kraków), ‘Alexander, Athenians and Demosthenes: creating unity in Pseudo-Callisthenes’ *Alexander Romance*’

12:30 – 1:15pm: **General discussion and closing remarks**

Book of Abstracts

Monday, 12 June

Session I: Popular Identities and Democracy

Edward Harris

‘The stereotype of tyranny and the tyranny of stereotypes: Demosthenes on Philip II of Macedon’

To mobilize public opinion, leaders have to appeal to traditional ideas that command broad support in their communities. They often use stereotypes, which simplify complex realities into easily grasped narratives. These stereotypes, which form part of “cognitive structures” in the language of the New Institutionalism, may help leaders to communicate with their audiences and to express their policies without subtle analysis. But these ideas and stereotypes also tend to force information into preconceived patterns, which often distort the actual situation and blind both leaders and communities to alternative explanations. As March and Olsen observe, “Paradigms and ideologies focus attention on some things, but distract attention from others.” This paper analyzes the ways in which Demosthenes uses the stereotype of the tyrant in his speeches about Philip II of Macedon: the morally depraved associates of the tyrant, the tyrant’s hostility to the virtuous and talented, the tyrant’s use of mercenaries, the military weakness of the tyrant’s regime, the tyrant’s use of deceit and lies to gain and maintain power, and the implacable hostility of tyrants to democracy and the rule of law. These stereotypes distorted the facts about Philip’s power and contributed to the mistaken policies that led to the disastrous defeat at Chaeronea.

Sarah Bremner

‘From Athenian democracy to post-Brexit ochlocracy: identity and the rhetoric of anti-rhetoric from Demosthenes to Trump’

In his deliberative speeches, Demosthenes uses representations of identity to demonstrate how the Assembly’s preference for populist rhetoric - and their hostility towards his *parrhēsia* - has corrupted the democratic decision-making process and undermined Athens from within. Such anxieties on the dangers of rhetoric have arguably come to fruition in recent modern political discourse, where speakers manipulate and exploit a collective system of reference to gain popularity through sensationalist rhetoric.

Taking the example of Dem. 6 this paper examines Demosthenes’ rhetorical manipulation of an outside perspective of Athens to support his criticisms of the Assembly. Demosthenes psychologically utilises the voice of Philip II to remind the Assembly of their reputation, presenting a traditional image of Athenian identity, an identity that is currently undermined by self-serving *rhētores* and a self-indulgent Assembly that treats the Pnyx as a theatre. Demosthenes juxtaposes this outsider account of Athenian identity with the reality of the present, to shame the Assembly into recognising the consequences of indulging flattering rhetoric.

Turning to current politics, I present how the classical rhetoric of anti-rhetoric (discussed most notably by Hesk) has been turned on its head by modern politicians who use it to promote populist rhetoric: as a means to define themselves as plain-speaking advisers who identify with the ‘people’, but who then use the devices criticised by Demosthenes. Considering first what ‘populist’ means in a deliberative direct democracy compared to modern representative

systems, I will then use examples from Brexiteers and Trump's presidential campaign to draw parallels from Demosthenes' anxieties on populist rhetoric to the display rhetoric of modern demagogues who exploit a national sense of 'self' to achieve political popularity. This paper concludes by stressing how, in both ancient and modern oratory, political performances call on the audience to reflect on its own collective identity so as to judge decisions based on their judgement of themselves. As such, linguistic representations of identity have remained integral to effective persuasion.

Agnieszka Kampka

'Memory and action: elements of national and civic identity in contemporary Poland'

This presentation is devoted to exploring which topoi are used by Polish presidents to project a common national identity. It reports on an analysis of presidential addresses given on the occasion of commemorating the anniversary of adopting the Constitution of 3 May, 1791. The speeches analysed were given by Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Lech Kaczyński, Bronisław Komorowski and Andrzej Duda.

Each state commemoration is an occasion to present and legitimize a given imagery of national community. This can be achieved by the use of such rhetorical tools as *loci communes*, *exemplum* or *similitudo*. Needless to say, each president promotes a distinctive conceptualization of what Polish identity should be like, what the exemplary Pole is to be like (as an addressee and the protagonist in the narrative), which historical developments and heroic acts should be regarded as significant, what duties and responsibilities should be assumed now.

Epideictic speeches delivered during state commemorations are attuned to the current needs of the audience, including the need to confirm their sense of national identity. By referring to carefully selected historical facts and linking them to features of the ideal Polish citizen, the speakers endorse a given vision of the nation. Inclusive identifications and the pathos inherent in the speeches also testify to the significance of the emotional components of national identity. The cataloguing of historical highlights is often tied in with a strategic political vision for the country.

The persuasive aspects of presidential speech-making can be studied not only to reveal specific identity projections, but also to illustrate which rhetorical categories are preferred. Given its roots in ancient democracies, rhetoric can also be applied to study the idealized model of the citizen (either in the classical or more modern version), particularly with speeches that present specific assumptions about citizen rights and obligations.

Session II: Social Identities in the Greek World

Janek Kucharski

'Punishments and identities in classical Athens'

Following the work of Durkheim and Foucault, recent studies of punishment (Smith 2008) have ventured outside the narrowly conceived legal theory and taken into account its wider cultural significance, approaching it as a semiotic system in a close, dynamic relationship with the society which produces it. The signification and understanding of punishment thus becomes inherently bound with its social and cultural underpinning.

Although the law of classical Athens knew a considerable variety of penalties (from fines to capital punishment), the one fundamental distinction, frequently pinpointed in our sources, classified them into two basic categories: 'material penalties' and those 'affecting the person' (e.g. Isocr. 20.1; Dem. 20.155). While this distinction was to some extent related to the gravity of the offence, the main principle behind it, according to Demosthenes (Dem. 22.55; 24.166-

7), concerned the very persona of the offender: slaves answered for *all* their crimes with their body (*sōma*), while the free in *most cases* only with their property (*chrēmata*).

In my paper I argue that the concept of punishment in the Athenian forensic discourse operated as a complex ‘semiotic system’, based on this crucial opposition, which in turn had a considerable impact on its ‘expressive function’ (Feinberg 1972). While the deterrent aspect was no doubt a considerable factor, the most important ‘message’ of punishment regarded not the offence, but the offender himself. Paradoxically this perspective emerges most clearly in the not so infrequent cases where such distinctions are seen to fall apart: that is when free people or citizens are said to answer for their crimes with their bodies (e.g. Lys. 13.57, 67; Din. 2.9-10): being subject to degrading and humiliating corporal penalties was tantamount to being branded as a lowlife, a person unworthy of any social standing and the concomitant privileges. Thus, in the Athenian forensic discourse, punishment emerges as yet another powerful tool in the rhetorical array of tropes used and abused in the creation of linguistic identities.

Smith Ph. 2008: *Punishment and Culture*. Chicago.

Feinberg J. 1972: “The Expressive Function of Punishment”. In: In: G. Ezorsky (ed.), *Philosophical Perspectives on Punishment*, New York 1972 (orig. 1965)

Eleni Volonaki

‘Religious identity in Athenian forensic oratory’

Appeals to the judges’ religious feelings, concepts and customs constitute a commonplace in forensic public trials in classical Athens, not necessarily in cases that concern religious offences but also in cases that involve the interests of the polis, the protection of the constitution, and the preservation of democracy. Particularly towards the end of the fifth century and during the fourth century BC, when the sophistic view of Athenian religion brought new ideas and challenges to the ancestral traditional concepts, appeals to the rituals of the Athenians’ ancestors, the notions of ‘piety’ and ‘impiety’, the citizens’ respect toward the gods and the temples of the city are often included in arguments from ethos as well as pathos. A good citizen is expected to observe the ancestral religious customs and rites, whereas the judges are often expected to make their decisions in accordance with the divine laws and measures. A few examples of such appeals will be discussed in order to show how important it was to take into account matters of Athenian religion in the argumentation and decision-making process in the courts. Thus, the case of Nicomachus (Lysias 30) who was accused of misconduct while republishing the Athenian sacrificial calendar at the end of the fifth century, or the case of Lycurgus who prosecuted Leocrates toward the end of the fourth century for treason and appealed to the gods, the statutes and the divine institutions in order to strengthen his accusation and persuade the judges of his conviction, are some indicative examples to illustrate the religious identity of the Athenians in forensic trials, as developed throughout a century.

Alessandro Vatri

‘The readerly “us”: ancient Greek criticism and the creation of textual communities’

Texts define communities. In the first place, they identify the one consisting of their receivers. At the same time, they separate those who understand them and/or share the views or feelings they express from those who do not. In principle, these dynamics (deliberate or not) can be brought about by texts of any type and on any topic. Such a process can be explicit (e.g. in overt polemics) or implicit (e.g. if special registers, objectionable views, or references to the world knowledge of ‘the few’ exclude groups of receivers from functional communication).

Quite importantly, it is not restricted to public discourse, and even texts meant for private, solitary reading can generate a sense of membership in a virtual textual community.

All of this is also true of ancient Greek texts. Apart from public/civic literature (e.g. drama and oratory), identity dynamics were brought about in ‘private’ genres (e.g. sympotic and ‘sapiential’ literature) as well as (postclassical) readerly texts. Rhetorical strategies defining the identity of the target readership can be observed, for instance, in (metarhetorical) works of literary criticism. Besides overt polemics against their predecessors, ancient critics often refer to ‘us’ or ‘those who...’ and use—as critics do!—contrasts and strong expressions of praise or blame (e.g. ‘it is ridiculous that...’), as well as appeals to the reader’s (good) taste—which automatically exclude those who disagree with the critic, or fail to ‘feel’ the effect described, from the group each critic aims to create (and instruct). This paper will discuss examples of these linguistic and rhetorical devices, and the identity dynamics they trigger, from the rhetorical works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the treatise ‘On the Sublime’, Hermogenes’ ‘On Types of Style’, and Aristotle’s ‘Rhetoric’ and ‘Poetics’, highlighting similarities and differences that reflect the nature and purposes of these works and the audiences they aim to define.

Session III: Cognitive Approaches to Rhetoric and Identity

Dimos Spatharas

‘Emotions, out-groups, and social identities in Athenian forensic oratory’

Recent approaches to emotions emphasize that affects are cognitive phenomena rather than instinctive responses to external stimuli. As Aristotle realized long before modern psychologists, emotions require appraisals: pity, for example, typically involves the agent’s perception that the target has suffered an (undeserved) suffering. Manipulation of emotions in rhetorical contexts, therefore, is a highly demanding task, which, however, is not incompatible with speakers’ attempts at rational argumentation. Eliciting jurors’ emotions requires the construction of appropriate conceptual frames through the use of all the means available to the orator: e.g. narratives, characterization, figurative language (especially metaphors).

In this paper, I employ modern cognitive approaches to explore the ways in which forensic speakers manipulate emotions by way of constructing social identities. I argue that the appraisals involved in the social emotions that we commonly find in the extant speeches enable speakers to highlight normative transgressions which identify their opponents with out-groups. In forensic contexts, social identities are therefore constructed on the basis of shared values which not only serve as a medium of exclusion, but also as a vehicle through which speakers indicate assertively the characteristics which are typical of the ‘healthy’ in-groups. Forensic uses of emotions, thus, typically appeal to comforting myths of normality by identifying jurors with the values favoured by the in-groups. Emotions such as indignation, shame, anger, and especially disgust invest with salience instances in which citizens are accused of deviant behaviour and thus emphasize the ‘extra-statutory’ norms asserted by the polis. I conclude that the use of emotions enables us to look into the idealized value-system of the polis. Not only are forensic audiences conceived as archetypical representatives of the values shared by the in-groups, but also as guardians of the polis’ social identity.

Evert van Emde Boas

‘Mind style, identity, and *ethopoeia* in Lysias’

One of the functions of Lysianic *ethopoeia* (understood, in its ‘modern’ sense, as Lysias’ skill at conveying speakers’ character traits through the composition of speeches) is to modulate

processes of identification between the hearers and the speakers (and their opponents): by assimilating a speaker to certain social or moral types, language and style can make a speaker feel like ‘one of us’, or conversely, paint him (or his opponent) like some form of ‘other’.

My paper will explore the techniques Lysias uses to create such effects, particularly in his first oration, through the lens of contemporary stylistic theory, with particular reference to the concept of ‘mind style’. This concept has had currency in contemporary stylistics for nearly forty years (it was introduced by Fowler in 1977, developed four years later by Leech and Short in their seminal *Style in Fiction* (1981/2007: ch. 6), and has been regularly applied since (particularly since the advent of ‘cognitive stylistics’: see Semino 2006, 2007) but it appears to be relatively unknown within Classics. Fowler coined ‘mind style’ to capture ‘any distinctive linguistic representation of an individual mental self’ (1977: 103): that is, systematic linguistic choices reflecting the workings of an individual mind, whether of an (implied) author, a narrator, or a character.

My own approach will build on work in the stylometric tradition within Lysianic studies (often in the context of authorship questions, e.g. Dover 1968, Usher & Najock 1982, but also used to investigate characterisation specifically, e.g. Büchler 1936; different approaches in e.g. DeVries 1892, Usher 1965), supplementing it with insights from cognitive stylistics. I will focus on the *diegesis* of Lysias 1, using the *diegeseis* of several other speeches with lengthy first-person narratives (3, 12, 19, 32) as comparative material. My aim is to show that mind style is a useful concept in analysing Lysias’ *ethopoeia*, particularly the ways in which his speakers form bonds of identity with their hearers.

Jennifer Devereaux

‘Intercorporeal identities and collective action in the ancient world’

In this paper I seek to better understand the role of mind-body analogies in fostering the sort of group identity necessary to collective action. Interrogating what ‘group identity’ is and what we mean by ‘collective action’, I suggest that reading and interpreting are social acts facilitated by intercorporeality. Intercorporeality is a concept we can speak of in terms of Marcel Merleau-Ponty, who attempted to recognize the ‘embodied dialectic’ [*dialectiques incarnées*] that occurs between sentient bodies in a shared environment. It can also be explored through the modern hypothesis that the mutual resonance of intentionally meaningful sensorimotor behaviours and the relational nature of action underpin at least part of our ability to understand others as intentional agents. I will, however, primarily look to Aristotle and Seneca to construct a model of intercorporeality and collective action in the ancient world. For illustration of the model I offer a paradigmatic example from Tacitus’ *Annales* that exploits the creative act of reader interpretation and highlights the sociopolitical tensions of his time. I compare this to a rhetorically-charged passage from Tertullian’s *De Pallio*, which calls upon his audience to evaluate and respond in terms of their sociopolitical identities. I suggest that he places pressure on those identities through moral-loading analogous to that found in the paradigmatic Tacitean passage. ‘Moral loading’ is the term I use to define the intercorporeal content of text, which I identify with the help of TACIT, USC’s text analysis and crawling tool developed for use in the field of psychology.

Session IV: Material Remnants of Identities

S. Douglas Olson

‘Dressing like the Great King: cross-cultural perspectives on Persian fashion in classical Athens’

In 1730, a Native American delegation visited London for treaty negotiations. A portrait of the group depicts the ambassadors dressed in contemporary English garments and labeled with titles intended to mark distinctions of rank comprehensible to an 18th-century European audience. Native Americans were thoroughly familiar with European fabrics and clothing fashions by this time. But what the painting illustrates is an attempt by English authorities to help their visitors present themselves in an “appropriate” manner, by replacing their “savage” semi-clothing with garments an official European diplomatic embassy might be expected to wear. That the Cherokee ambassadors took this clothing home with them is a reasonable assumption, and ambassadorial gifts and the like seem to have had a pronounced influence on Native American fashion in the Early Modern period.

It is a trope of late 5th- and early 4th-century literature that visits to the Persian court were experiences of incredible luxury, and ambassadors routinely brought exotic gifts home with them. There are also frequent references to Persian expectations that men such as Alcibiades should dress in Persian fashion and even learn to speak the King’s language. From the Greek perspective, these are presented as foibles open to easy exploitation. This paper uses comparison with the Native American experience with European clothing to argue that the King and his court were in fact engaged in a civilizing process, by means of which Greeks could be taught to dress, talk and behave “appropriately”. I further argue that the partial success of this cultural and political exercise of “soft power” can be seen in the explosion of Persianizing luxury fashion in Athens in the late 5th and 4th centuries.

Peter Liddel

‘The rhetoric of *polis*-identity: the example of Hellenistic Erythrai’

Recent publications in the field of New Institutional analysis have developed the view that institutions are grounded not only on authoritative rules but also upon accepted practices and narratives (e.g. Lowndes and Roberts 2013). Focussing on the case-study of Erythrai I suggest that the rhetoric of identity, in Greek city-states of the Hellenistic period, played a substantive role in the persistence of institutions.

Rhetoric flourished among the Hellenistic Greek city-states (Erskine 2007; Rubinstein 2013); epigraphical evidence offers perspectives into the rhetoric of identity, systems and values expressed by small- and medium-sized states. The epigraphical evidence for the period from the fifth to the end of the third century BC underlines the Erythraians’ deployment of honorific transactions as a mode of expressing their identity. Indeed, the text of the inscribed letter from Antiochos (*I. v. Erythrai* 31) offers a view of the workings of such honorific transactions: Erythraian ambassadors referred to their community’s historic *eunoia* and *eucharistia* as a way of persuading the King to grant them honours. Moreover, the inscriptions for Polykritos (*I. v. Erythrai* 28) and that relating to the tyrannicide Philites (*I. v. Erythrai* 503) suggest an emphasis on the encouragement of local benefactors through the epigraphical medium.

A study of Erythraian material, I conclude, gives an impression not of innovative expression in the rhetoric of identity, but of the adaptation and proliferation of forms of discourse already established in the classical period. It demonstrates the ongoing prominence of the rhetoric of identity in conversations that went on not only between peer polities (cf. Ma 1999) and within

real or imagined kinship groups (cf. Curty 1995; Erskine 2002) but also in negotiations between powerful and weak state entities (cf. Bertrand 1990; Savalli-Lestrade 2013) and in inward-facing discourses on euergetism.

Andrzej Wypustek

‘Creating identity in Greek and Roman magic’

Among non-literary testimonies of Greek and Roman representations of the rhetoric of identity, one category certainly stands out. A substantial part of the so called erotic and separation magical spells and prescriptions/manuals (including formulas, hymns, and rituals) preserved on numerous tablets and papyri deals with matters of sexuality and gender. The common scholarly assumption is that the rhetoric of identity is the crucial factor in understanding love spells, but – to my surprise – still no study of this topic has been produced so far. My aim is to fill this gap, discussing the interlocking nexus of the constructions of magical “selves” discernible on tablets and papyri. My focus will be on their diversity and multivalent nature. Some of the documents of love magic were presented as the work of professional magicians (producing standard, gender-neutral or gender-alternative spells); others were made by their customers (who were using prescriptions, filling in their names on pre-written forms) and more or less “independent” amateur practitioners (producing individual, original texts). Such polyphony of “real-life” identities was accompanied by a number of interplaying, fluid, culturally constructed identities. They included most notably “selves” created according to their gender roles (spells adapted to the gender of the clients), sexuality (spells produced by sexual minorities) and religious identifications (producers presenting themselves as aeonic angels, archonic demons or supernatural powers of various kinds). There was also a third, implicit dimension: practitioners projecting their identities on their – usually female – victims. Constructions of different models of human identities and their boundaries determine the fundamental framework of ancient love magic.

Tuesday, 13 June

Session V: The Rhetoric of Oppositions

Lene Rubinstein

‘The vocabulary of cruelty, brutality, and savagery in Attic oratory’

Mildness (*praotēs*), at times coupled with kindheartedness (*philanthrōpia*), were qualities that the Athenians frequently referred to as aspects of their collective character, and *praotēs* is sometimes represented as a characteristic that distinguished a democracy from an oligarchy. But although these qualities were often represented as positive characteristics of a civilised society, they were not always referred to as unproblematic. Especially prosecutors sometimes warn their audiences that the latter's reputation for mildness might jeopardise the deterrent effect of the *polis*' laws: individuals with a criminal disposition would be emboldened by the prospect of a mild penal response to their offences. Mildness and kindheartedness, if taken to excess, might thus pose a significant danger to the community as a whole.

A similar ambiguity surrounds the opposing qualities of cruelty and harshness as represented in Attic oratory. Some adjectives and nouns deployed to label characters and deeds as ‘cruel’ clearly served to represent individuals and their actions as uncivilised, as outsiders. Among these were the adjectives *agriōs* (savage, wild) and *ōmos* (savage, harsh), and *agnōmōn* (reckless, hard-hearted), along with their cognate adverbs and nouns. While these invariably

denoted negative qualities, however, other adjectives denoting hard-heartedness, including *pikros* (bitter, harsh, vindictive) could be used with approval in some contexts.

The present paper will discuss the contexts in which different nouns and adjectives denoting cruelty are deployed, and how speakers use them to brand their opponents as outsiders, as uncivilised and, at times, inhuman. It will be asked to what extent the choice of vocabulary depends on stylistic register, and to what extent it depends on an allegation that the opponent's conduct has violated the community's written legislation as well as the generally accepted moral norms of behaviour.

Joanna Janik

‘ἐγώ, ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς: constructing a speaker’s identity in relation to his audience in the political speeches of Demosthenes and political writings of Isocrates’

The name of Demosthenes was not put before that of Isocrates in the title of this paper by accident. Both are counted among the most eminent Greek orators, but only one of them represents the genuine experience of performing his speeches in front of a real audience. Demosthenes took part in political life, whereas Isocrates confined his activity to writing and provided excellent material for studying the tension between textuality and orality in Athenian political culture. At the same time he raised issues about his own identity as a citizen and political commentator.

In this presentation I would like to focus on the very basic philological question of the frequency and context of utterances in the first person singular and plural and second person plural in the deliberative speeches of Demosthenes and the political writings of Isocrates which imitate deliberative speech. In this genre of oratory the self-presentation of a speaker and the way he constructs his relationship with his audience seems crucial for the effectiveness of persuasion. In this respect it is interesting to notice differences between Demosthenes and Isocrates. Both clearly mark their own position as opposed to the opinions of others and readily employ verbs in the first person singular (or the personal pronouns “mine”, “my”), especially in the opening sections of a speech; but, when it comes to the analysis of past events, deliberation on the present situation or advice for the future, Demosthenes tends to speak in the second person plural, standing literally and metaphorically *versus* the Athenians, while Isocrates chooses the first person plural as if he was trying to erase the division between himself and his audience.

This tendency might be explained by the aesthetic preferences and individual disposition of both orators, nevertheless I would like to argue that some less subjective reasons should be taken into consideration.

Brenda Griffith-Williams

“‘Everybody knows’: knowledge and identity in political and forensic discourse’

Everybody knows (according to Donald Trump) that Hillary Clinton is corrupt, a liar, a criminal who deserves to be locked up. Yet she has never been indicted for any offence, and Trump produces no evidence to support his vague allegations. He is using a tactic described by Manti-theos, an Athenian litigant, in anticipation of his opponent’s argument: ‘... for any matters for which he has no witnesses, he will simply assert that you know it. This is just what all men do, judges, when they don’t have a sound case’ ([Dem.] 40.53).

Aristotle recognized the ‘everybody knows’ topos, and understood the psychological basis of its effect on an audience: ‘the hearer agrees, because he is ashamed to appear not to share what is a matter of common knowledge’ (*Rhet.* 1408a). In other words, common knowledge is

an aspect of group identity. By admitting ignorance, one risks being identified as an outsider, excluded from the group.

In classical Greek, the wording of the topos varies: ‘everybody knows’; ‘you all know’; ‘which of you doesn’t know?’; or, when a speaker particularly wants to identify himself with his audience, ‘we all know’. With occasional parallels from ‘post-truth’ modern politics, I aim to show how these subtly different phrases (sometimes combined with an address in the vocative: ὃ ἅνδρες δικάσται / Ἀθηναῖοι) were used in Athenian forensic speeches to construct or deconstruct identities: by appealing to the (supposedly) shared knowledge of the Athenians as a civic or ethnic group; by calling on the more specialist knowledge (supposedly) acquired by an occupational sub-group of Athenians (the dikasts); or (as in the Trump/Clinton example) by alluding to what may really be no more than unsubstantiated rumour to undermine an opponent’s established identity as a respectable citizen.

Session VI: Dual Identities and Double Speech

Dorota Dutsch

‘*Ut uos in uostris uoltis mercimoniis: gods, slaves, and identity politics in a Plautine Prologue*’

While most scholars of Roman comedy now concur with Matthew Leigh’s thesis that Plautus’ plays were embedded in the social discourse of Rome (2004), the composition of the Plautine audience and the genre’s social allegiance are subjects of debate. Does the *palliata* appeal mainly to the aristocratic audience, providing the senatorial elite with the flattering thought that they are true participants in the Hellenic culture of the Mediterranean, as Michael Fontaine (2010) has argued? Or does the *palliata* really speak to the socially inferior figures in the audience, especially the slaves, as Amy Richlin has suggested (2014, 2015)?

I propose to contribute to this debate with a careful analysis of the rhetorical strategies of identification and differentiation deployed in the prologue of the *Amphitruo*. The god Mercury, who delivers the prologue, repeatedly shifts his position to align himself now with the powerful, now with the lower class figures in the audience, often allowing for a double interpretation of his rhetorical moves. A prime example of this latter technique is the initial *captatio benevolentiae*, in which the god alludes to the benefits he might bestow on those who have business interests at home and abroad (lines 1-16). This mock-prayer perverts the *do ut des* principle not only in that it casts a Greek god as a supplicant to Roman merchants, but also in that it has the god cunningly evade commitment, thus dissociating himself from this group. Similar strategic appeals to slaves, senators, candidates for office, and connoisseurs of drama are made in subsequent lines and quickly undermined.

The *Amphitruo* is an unusual play, but when read with attention to strategies of identification, its Prologue offers an invitation for all to associate themselves with, and dissociate themselves from, the god and slave-actor who delivers it. Mercury’s identity politics is thus tantamount to a refusal to limit himself to a single identity or to commit the play he introduces to any single allegiance.

Christine Plastow

‘The language of place and ideology in Athenian homicide jury identity’

To be a ‘juror’ is a transient, location-specific identity: a jury only exists in the context of a trial in a courtroom. Its members thus have dual identities: the individual identity which they bring from their everyday life, and their group identity as jurors. At Athens, this second identity was in some ways dependent on the first, and in others on the court context of the trial. Namely,

there is a clear distinction between the juries in the homicide courts and those in the dikastic courts. While dikastic juries comprised everyday citizens, homicide juries, at least at the Areopagus, were composed of the Areopagus council of ex-archons, men with some experience of public life. This additional identity influenced the way they were perceived when they became jurors.

In this paper, I examine the distinctions made between the two jury identities in the Athenian courts. In several speeches, dikastic juries are compared somewhat unfavourably to those from homicide courts. In part, the ‘superiority’ of the homicide jury may be based in their additional identities as ex-archons, although there are other influencing factors, particularly the physical locations of homicide trials. The language of these comparisons is based in the ideology of homicide at Athens, and often blurs the distinctions between juror, court location, lawgiver, and laws. Such distinctions may appear particularly surprising when made directly to the dikastic jury itself, a tactic which risks causing offence. Here, I discuss several passages which exhort the dikastic jury to act like a homicide jury, thus asking them to assume an additional, aspirational identity, and attempt to show how the language used, though strong, may mitigate offence on the part of the dikastic jury.

Rosie Harman

‘Ideological rhetoric in Xenophon’

This presentation will examine ideological contradiction in speeches in Xenophon’s historical narratives. In the *Anabasis*, for example, the Persian leader Cyrus the Younger claims in his speech to his Greek forces that Greeks are superior to Persians, lauding the Greeks’ values of freedom and suggesting that freedom should be preferred to wealth (*An.* 1.7.3-8). Such claims are used manipulatively, in order to convince and persuade their audience – in this case to persuade the Greeks to fight for him in return for wealth. Here ideological claims are used to encourage an audience to act in ways contrary to the values implicit in those claims. Similarly, in the *Cyropaedia* Cyrus the Great lauds the Persians’ traditional, simple way of life in order to encourage the Persians to follow him in abandoning that life by pushing for imperial expansion (*Cyr.* 1.5.7-14). Such ideological claims function to encourage the audience’s confidence in the speaker, to such an extent that the contradiction between the speech’s ideological language and its purpose is obscured. Modern comparisons may spring to mind (such as US claims of preserving freedom and democracy while overthrowing democratically elected governments or supporting autocratic regimes). However, these contradictions also serve to draw the reader’s attention to the ideological tensions inherent in the speech, revealing a conflict of values. Interestingly, Xenophon does not offer explicit criticism of such rhetoric. Xenophon’s manipulative speakers are often engaging, appealing figures, whose speeches are seductively effective. Xenophon shows us both the problems and the efficacy of ideological claims in rhetoric: despite their contradictions, such claims can affect and persuade both internal audiences and us as readers. In this way we see – and experience for ourselves – how ideology works in practice, while also being made self-conscious about this process.

Session VII: Metaphor in Athenian Politics

Lucia Cecchet

‘Public metaphors of begging and warnings against the risk of identity confusion in early fourth-century Athens’

Orators in fourth-century Athens made great use of hyperbolic images of poverty and wealth – in their dynamic dimension, i.e. impoverishing and enriching – in order to strike a chord in

the audience and influence the outcome of communal decisions. In particular, we see this happening in the public orations delivered in the years of the Corinthian War – above all, Lysias’ speeches – in which public speakers often accuse generals and politicians of having become richer and made the Athenian demos poorer. In so doing, they often resort to the strong metaphor of the Athenians reduced to the condition of begging. This was a powerful image if we consider it in the historical context of the 390s and 380s, when Athens was going through a period of economic hardship, the city was still coping with the impact and recent memory of the Peloponnesian War, and people were trying to keep up with war on a new front. By defining the Athenians as *ptochoi*, “beggars”, public speakers prompted the audience to identify themselves with the lower stratum of society, that of the destitute, manipulating thereby collective emotions and frustration with the current situation. But sources bear witness also to warnings against the risks of believing in the “false identities” created by public speakers. One such warning is to be found in Aristophanes’ *Plutus*, a comedy staged in the final years of the Corinthian War, in which the personified character of Poverty (*Penia*), whom we might regard as a metaphor herself, warns the audience not to mistake poverty for destitution. The Athenians are poor, but not beggars – so *Penia* says – and their condition as citizens actively engaged with work ensures the well-being of the polis. I believe that we should understand these verses in relation to the hyperbolic use of the image of destitution in the public speeches of those years. These words are an attempt by Aristophanes to remind the Athenians of the risks and consequences of identity confusion.

Jakub Filonik

‘Dikast, sailor, soldier, spy: metaphorical appeals to civic identity in Athenian oratory’

Citizens of democratic Athens described their city-state as a political community ‘based on speeches’, where orators made repetitive appeals to their audiences’ shared identities in the political institutions of the city. In court speeches in particular, citizenship is referred to not only as a legal status, but also a set of normative rules of conduct presented before civic audiences through elaborate rhetorical devices. It has often been noted that Athenian speakers and politicians, just like their modern counterparts, went to great lengths to enhance and exploit people’s sense of their own uniqueness and superiority. Yet while the emphasis of classical scholarship has been on citizenship understood primarily as a legal and political status, this paper draws on Conceptual Metaphor Theory to explore more oblique ways in which the category of citizenship was constructed, reframed, and exploited in Athenian political discourse.

As argued in recent decades by linguists such as George Lakoff or Zoltan Kövecses, conceptual metaphor is a reflection of patterns around which human thought and action are organized, and can be expressed in a number of indirect ways in everyday language. Since it refers to a deep level of the cognitive image of the world and echoes ‘frames’ that constitute the person’s basic sense of identity, it can be exploited through concealed references to the latter. This paper argues that in Athenian political culture, metaphorical appeals to shared identities could prove to be a rhetorical skeleton key, employed whenever speakers were striving for favourable reactions from their audiences. It thus attempts to identify some prevalent modes of application of such metaphors in Athenian courtrooms and in the Assembly, along with the implications the former brought to the Athenians’ own thinking about their civic status, duties, and identity.

Session VIII: Roman Senatorial Elites

Brian Krostenko

‘Pandering for the Greater Good: Senate, people, and politics in Cicero’s *de lege agraria* I and II’

Cicero’s first speeches as consul, *de lege agraria* I and II, attack an agrarian proposal of P. Servilius Rullus, a tribune of the plebs. The speeches, one to the senate and one to the people, are identical in outline and argument but differ in lexicon and imagery. This paper explores how such differences manipulate two different group identities. For example, Cicero predicts that the commissioners whom the law would create would abuse their authority abroad. In the senate speech they are “sent out upon” (*immittere*) the world; in the popular speech they “wander” (*vagari*) all over the world. *Immittere* implies a point of origin and a destination; the verb commonly describes sending troops into battle. *Vagari* connotes randomness and in Cicero often connotes the “marauding” of dangerous men. The two verbs thus frame the same scene differently. The senate sees the decemvirs unleashed; the people see them arrive. The senate has a privileged perspective; the people have the victims’ perspective. Such distinctions pervade the speeches and represent “popular” and “senatorial” ways of inflecting the same argument. But Cicero is not merely reflecting his audiences’ prejudices. Rather, he presses the people to think of themselves as passive, and the senate to think of itself as a collective, in order to counteract the feelings Rullus’ bill must have roused. The bill would have let the people create powerful officials for their own benefit: the people must have been feeling “active” rather than “passive.” Those powerful posts presented a chance to profiteer and curry political favor: that must have appealed to the competitiveness, rather than the common spirit, of some senators. Thus Cicero’s language counteracts feelings excited by the bill— a bill which probably really did pose certain political dangers. The speeches therefore raise an ethical question: can pandering serve the common good?

Roman Frolov

‘Not among magistrates anymore? The rhetoric of political actors’ identity in the historiography of Republican Rome (the case of *decemviri legibus scribundis*)’

On the expiration of their first year in office, the members of the second board of decemvirs are characterized in our ancient sources by means of the rhetoric of their senatorial critics. The latter exploit the idea that not everyone who is formally a *magistratus* can be affiliated with the group of public officials but that some of them should instead be counted as *privati*, just like the senators themselves. Even though the decemvirs’ formal magisterial prerogatives were not questioned consistently until very late stages of the struggle, the ten men are directly compared to private citizens and even labeled as *privati*. However, the inclusion of decemvirs in the ranks of private citizens can be understood as a figurative way of speaking about the power in terms of political initiative. Such an initiative – a recognized ability to act independently as a political leader, to launch something without assistance, to act rather than just to react, etc. – normally pertains to magistrates but is what the decemvirs are rhetorically deprived of. Their critics point out that if the decemvirs, now only *privati*, are bold enough not just to retain the insignia, but also to act as proper magistrates do – to convene and, for instance, preside over the senate – then nothing should prevent a senator from convening a public meeting or the people from “speaking up” outside the curia. According to this rhetoric, the decemvirs themselves deconstruct the border between the groups of *privati* and *magistratus* and thus allow other private individuals – not only the senators – to act as if they also were magistrates. This hardly

looks like a literal claim for formal magisterial powers but was rather a part of the struggle for the political initiative in a broad informal sense.

Elizabeth McKnight

‘Pliny's conception of the identity of the Roman senatorial class’

With the fall of the republic, the role of the Roman senate underwent significant change, as senatorial debates and decrees played a lesser role in public affairs, and many of the legal and political functions previously performed by individual senators fell to members of the imperial household, or members of lower social orders.

For several generations, the senate struggled to articulate a new identity for itself. But the younger Pliny presents, via his letters, an extensive and coherent account of a new social role for the imperial senator. Whilst Pliny's account uses terminology and ideas traditionally employed in describing the political life of the Roman republic, the substantive content which he ascribes to them gives them a new meaning for the imperial age.

By way of illustration, I explore Pliny's conceptions of senatorial *libertas*, and of the function of rhetoric in the political life of the empire.

In the *Panegyricus* the novelty of Pliny's account of *libertas* is revealed in his paradoxical claim that Trajan commands that senators should be free. How the paradox is to be resolved is revealed in Pliny's published letters: like literature and oratory, the political and wider social function of the senatorial order is shown to have evolved since the end of the republic; but there is still an essential public role for the senate, which makes it an active participant in safeguarding its own *libertas* and which provides opportunities for new kinds of rhetorical performance.

Pliny's approach suggests that he preferred to present his model for a new senatorial identity via the medium of seemingly private letters, in a manner which disguised its significant novelty, thereby providing a less challenging, but potentially more influential, account of the new relationship between the emperor and those subject to his *imperium*.

Wednesday, 14 June

Session IX: The Theory of Rhetoric and its Application

Jakub Lichański

‘Identification in ancient and modern rhetoric: a case study of selected examples’

The problem of ‘identification’ described by Kenneth Burke is, arguably, far older than his theories and is deeply rooted in the history of rhetoric. If one carefully analyzes past studies on rhetoric and the rhetorical texts themselves, one may discover this phenomenon already in Aristotle and later, among others, in the treatises of Hermogenes. The use of this category may, in fact, be found already in Thucydides. Even today there does not seem to be a single speaker who would not employ it – whether consciously or not – in his rhetorical practice. One example could be the well-known speech by Dr. Martin Luther King, while the Polish examples discussed in this paper include a speech by Józef Beck, a Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs in the 1930s.

Identification is one of the most important analytical categories in the study of modern oratory. However, it is also problematic in that expounding the ideas through which we construct the former is far from obvious. With reference to this, this paper will explore the meaning of ‘identification’ in the rhetorical practice of the contemporary world.

Keywords: rhetoric, identification, communication, social media, Aristotle, Hermogenes of Tarsus, Kenneth Burke

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Anna Bendrat

“The Revolution will be Blogged”: female voices on multiracial identity’

In my project I am interested in how women of mixed race or ethnicity who live in the United States represent their hybrid identity in transmedia such as personal weblogs hyperlinked to websites and other social media outlets (Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, etc.). To illustrate the gravity of the phenomenon of multiraciality in the United States, it is predicted that due to increasing diversity fostered by the new immigration mainly from Latin America, the figure of those Americans who identify themselves as multiracials will rise from the current rate of 1 in 40 to 1 in 5 in 2050.

Taking into consideration the demographic dynamics of American society as well as the current outburst of racial tensions across the United States, I argue that female online authors of mixed ancestry continue to redress popular representations of multiracial identity. They do so by moving beyond the dichotomy reducing them to the sum of their heritages. Drawing from Homi K. Bhabha (1994), the argument goes that female bloggers embark on constructing a conceptual "third space," thus rejecting a chasm of hyphenated racial make-up towards the progressive space of "in-between" and creating the cultural phenomenon of racial and ethnic hybridity.

The purpose of the following project is twofold: (a) to explore the theoretical construct of hybrid identity in multiracial and multiethnic environment, and (b) to analyze how the mixed-ancestry female authors of online personal narratives in blogs such as “The Revolution will be Blogged” or “Mixed Dreams” articulate their lived experience of hybrid identity within the framework of Burke’s rhetorical theory of dramatism and Aristotle’s concept of *pathos*.

Session X: The Beginnings and After-Life of Identities

Peter Agocs

Pindare le Dorien revisited: myth, politics and cultural identity in the epinicians

Older scholarship (e.g. Georges Méautis, *Pindare le Dorien*, Paris 1962) identified in Pindar, as a poet of commissioned choral praise-songs, a generally 'Dorian' world-view; more recent work (see especially Irad Malkin, *Land and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean*, Cambridge 1995 and Kathryn Morgan, *Pindar and the Construction of Syracusan Monarchy in the Fifth Century BC*, Oxford, 2015) has examined the role that myth, and in particular the story of the 'Return of the Herakleidai', play in odes composed for a variety of states and political systems, particularly but not exclusively in the 'colonial' West, putting forward a theory of Dorian identity rooted strongly in the cults and myths of Sparta. Elements of this ideological discourse include shared language, *nomima* (especially cults, festivals, month-names and schemes of time), political institutions, fictive kinship (marked in Pindar particularly by the central role accorded to the clan of the Aigeidai), and the conquest myth itself, which served as a pattern for other territorial charter-myths in a variety of societies and cultures which had little in common except the ideology itself (Syracuse and Sicily; Aegina; Rhodes; Cyrene). In this paper, I will attempt, through a close reading of relevant Pindaric passages and other ancient sources, to interpret the workings of this ideological discourse of Dorian identity, examining similarities and differences and asking how seriously this idea of a 'Dorintern' was taken by the historical actors themselves (Pindar and his audiences).

Slawomir Sprawski

'Rhetoric in the service of the King. Speusippos, Antipatros of Magnesia and the shaping of Macedonian genealogical traditions'

Antipatros of Magnesia is mentioned only in Speusippos's Letter to Philip, which can be dated not earlier than 343/342 BC. He was probably a member of the Academy and perhaps a pupil of Speusippos, who wrote to Philip II to convince him that Antipatros was worthy of royal patronage. Antipatros draws on local myths to devise a precedent for Philip's actions. He presents Herakles as an ancestor of Philip and defender of justice, and the legitimate owner of various territories. Speusippos argued that Antipatros' account was credible and praised him for developing new and unconventional arguments which would be useful towards proving the legitimacy of Philip's claim to the territories which he was holding. We may suppose that he not only chose the most suitable traditions to support his arguments, but also created a new version of the myths known to everyone before, as Speusippos noted. It is difficult to judge how Antipatros's work was received at the Macedonian court, but it is worth noting that Alexander the Great and his successors often referred to Herakles as the primogenitor of the Macedonian royal family. Although it is generally assumed that the earlier Macedonian kings had acted in a similar manner, an analysis of the surviving evidence leads us to believe that before Philip II Herakles did not play as important a role in the local dynastic tradition as it is often presumed.

Aleksandra Klęczar

'Alexander, Athenians and Demosthenes: creating unity in Pseudo-Callisthenes' Alexander Romance'

At the beginning of *Alexander Romance* book II a curious rhetorical debate is related. An enemy of Alexander comes to Athens and tries to incite a revolt against him. Angry letters are

exchanged and then a meeting of the *men of Athens* is held and some of the greatest orators debate the issue of Alexander's relation to Athens and to Greeks in general.

The text quotes substantial passages from two fictional speeches: one by Demades, criticizing Alexander, and one by Demosthenes, supporting him. A supportive speech by Aeschines is also mentioned as well as orations by Lysias and Plato.

The ahistoricity of the speeches and indeed the whole event is blatant and obvious and the choice of Demosthenes as Alexander's main defender might seem quite ridiculous. Apparently their enmity was not something of which the creators of the *Romance* (whoever they were) were aware – a telling fact in itself.

Yet despite its lack of historical basis, the implications of the scene are rather intriguing and seem to be connected, in my view, with the general tendency of Pseudo-Callisthenes to present Alexander as the perfect, ideal Hellene. Such a tendency is one of the dominant features in the idealized image of *Romance's* Alexander: his ties to Greece and to Greek history are stressed and associating him with various great men from Hellenic past is just one of the techniques applied to achieve that aim.

In my presentation I would like to look at the history of such a representation of Alexander as well as at the rhetorical tools used to present him in such a way in the debate scene. The context for such an analysis would be the vision of an idealized Greek past in 3rd-4th century BCE Graeco-Roman and Graeco-Oriental culture. As an aim of my analysis, I would be trying to illuminate one of the crucial characteristics of heroized and fictionalized Alexander the *Romance* hero.