



Bodily Fluids/Fluid Bodies in Greek and Roman Antiquity

11-13th July 2016

St Michael's College
Cardiff University



The Tiber, second-century CE marble statue
from Rome. Le Louvre, Paris, 593 MA.

Conference Pack

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1. Information about the conference

This conference explores bodily fluids in Greek and Roman antiquity. How were bodily fluids, and those who exuded them, received in ancient society? How were internal bodily fluids perceived, and how did this perception alter if such fluids were externalised? Do these ancient conceptions complement or challenge our modern sensibilities about bodily fluids? How were religious practices determined by attitudes towards bodily fluids, and how did religious authorities attempt to regulate or restrict the appearance of bodily fluids?

This conference will explore bodily fluids and/or the ancient body, building upon material, literary or anthropological sources, from Homer to Late Antiquity and the early Byzantine period. Bodily fluids can be explored through a variety of approaches, including: medical history; gender, feminist and queer history; history of the body; and history of sexuality. The conference will take place over three days, featuring a rich and varied programme of thirty-two papers and two key-note speakers. Each presentation is allocated twenty minutes with ten minutes for questions and discussion.

If you have any enquiries please contact the conference organisers:

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Please also follow [@tigerlilyrocks](#) (Victoria Leonard) and [@ltotelin](#) (Laurence Totelin) on Twitter for coverage of the Conference, and look for the hashtag #BodilyFluids.

The Conference will take place at [St Michael's College](#), Cardiff University. Please note the location of the college is in Llandaff and not at the main university site at Colum Drive. Accommodation for the conference is on-site at the College. Please register for the conference on arrival at the College; you will find the registration desk in the reception area of the College. Registration is open 10.30-11.00am on Monday 11th July.

The conference is generously supported by the Wellcome Trust, Cardiff University, the Institute of Classical Studies, the Classical Association, and the University of Bristol

2. The Conference Programme

Monday 11th July

10.30-11.00 Registration

Keynote Address

11.00-12.00 Helen King (Open University) (Chair: Laurence Totelin)

Opening the body of fluids: taking in and pouring out in Renaissance readings of classical women

12.00-1.00 Lunch

First Panel: Blood for the gods and godly fluids (Chair: Jan Stenger)

1.30-2.00 Emily Kearns (St Hilda's College, Oxford)

A natural symbol? The (un)importance of blood in early Greek religious and literary contexts

2.00-2.30 Deborah Lyons (Miami University)

Intimations of mortality: divine fluids and the limits of divinity

2.30-3.00 Rosie Jackson (University of Manchester)

Martyrdom reconfigured: menstruating virgins and sacrificial blood

3.00-3.30 Anastasia Stylianou (University of Warwick)

"Blood of his dear saints (like good seed) never falleth in vain to the ground": the influence of Classical medical thought and early Christian beliefs upon medieval and early-modern constructions of martyrs' blood

3.30-4.00 Tea

Second Panel: Tears and other eye liquids (Chair: Susanne Turner)

4.00-4.30 Julie Laskaris (University of Richmond)

The eyes have it

4.30-5.00 Peter Kelly (NUI Galway)

Tears and liquefaction: corporeal permeability in Ovid's Metamorphoses

5.00-5.30 Laura Mareri (University of Macerata, Italy)

Crying in Byzantium: tears as symptoms and healers

5.30-5.45 Short break

Third Panel: Fluid *sympatheia* (Chair: Dawn LaValle)

5.45-6.15 Michael Goyette (Brooklyn College)

Sympathetic fluidity: somatic, emotional, and cosmic flux in Senecan tragedy

6.15-6.45 Heather Hunter-Crawley (Swansea University)

Sense and sympatheia: modelling the fluidity of bodies in Roman domestic religion

7.30 Dinner in local restaurant (or free choice)

Tuesday 12th July

First Panel: Sweat (Chair: Emily Kearns)

9.30-10.00 Mark Bradley (University of Nottingham)

Sweating like a Roman: perspiration, essence and goatiness from Republic to Empire

10.00-10.30 Jane Burkowski (Oriel College, Oxford)

Scent of a puella: perfume, sweat, and the real in Latin love elegy and Ovid's didactic works

10.30-11.00 Colin Webster (UC Davis)

Why don't we sweat when we hold our breath? Paradoxes of perspiration in ancient Greek medicine

11.00-11.30 Coffee

Second Panel: Menses (Chair: John Wilkins)

11.30-12.00 Rosalind Janssen (University College London)

A valid excuse for a day-off work: menstruation in an ancient Egyptian village

12.00-12.30 Irene Salvo (University of Göttingen)

Menstrual blood: what Athenian women knew

12.30-1.00 Caroline Spearing (King's College London)

The menstruation debate in book 2 of Abraham Cowley's Plantarum Libri Sex (1662 and 1668)

1.00-2.30 Lunch

Third Panel: Dissolving bodies and tragic fluids (Chair: Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones)

2.30-3.00 Tasha Dobbin-Bennett (Emory University)

'Efflux is my manifestation': ancient Egyptian conceptions of putrefactive fluids

3.00-3.30 Christiaan Caspers (Murmellius Gymnasium, The Netherlands)

Heated bodies, melting selves: dissolving personhood in classical Greek poetry

3.30-4.00 Goran Vidovic (Cornell University)

Physiology of matricide: revenge and metabolism in Aeschylus' Choephoroe

4.00-4.30 Tea

Fourth Panel: Erotic Fluids (Chair: Mark Bradley)

4.30-5.00 Emilio Capettini (Princeton University)

Blush, (internal) sweat, and tear in Chariton's Chaeras and Callirhoe

5.00-5.30 Catalina Popescu (Texas Tech University)

A Pandora of ivory: the pure humours of an erotic surrogate

5.30-6.00 Blossom Stefaniw (Gutenberg Universität Mainz)

Maleness without members: ominous fluids and passionate flux in the historia lausiaca

7.00 Wine Reception

7.30 Conference Dinner

Wednesday 13th July

Keynote Address

9.00-10.00 Rebecca Flemming (Jesus College, Cambridge) (Chair: Victoria Leonard)

One-seed, two-seed, three-seed? Reassessing ancient theories of generation

10.00-10.30 – Break

First Panel: Semen and female fluids (Chair: Blossom Stefaniw)

10.30-11.00 Rebecca Fallas (Open University)

'Infertile' and 'sub-fertile' semen in the ancient medical texts

11.00-11.30 Tara Mulder (Wheaton College)

Wetness, foetal sex, and female bodies

11.30-12.00 Dawn Lavalley (Magdalen College, Oxford)

Adam's semen as 'liquid bone' in Methodius of Olympus' Symposium

12.00-12.30 Thea Lawrence (University of Nottingham)

Utilissimum cuique lac maternum: breastmilk, breastfeeding and the female body in early imperial Rome

12.30-1.30 Lunch

Second Panel: Wounds and morbid fluids (Chair: Claude-Emmanuelle Centlivres Challet)

1.30-2.00 Assaf Krebs (Tel Aviv University)

Open and Close: wounds, skin and the corporeal envelope

2.00-2.30 Susanne Turner (University of Cambridge)

Blood, wounds and the impenetrability of the classical body

2.30-3.00 Calloway Brewster-Scott (New York University)

Fluid proofs: dropsical bodies in the Hippocratic Corpus

3.00-3.30 Leyla Ozbek (University of Cambridge)

Medical erudition and literary pathos: bodily fluids in Quintus Smyrnaeus' Posthomerica

3.30-4.00 Tea

Fourth Panel: Comical and satirical bodies (Chair: Victoria Leonard)

4.00-4.30 Amy Coker (University of Manchester)

Fluid vocabulary: the Greek lexicon of bodily effluvia (or did the Greeks have a word for 'spunk'?)

4.30-5.00 Andreas Gavrielatos (University of Edinburgh)

Bodily fluids in Persius' Satires

5.00-5.30 Claude-Emmanuelle Centlivres Challet (University of Lausanne)

Satirical fluids and the couple: the role of bile, urine, sweat, sperm, milk and tears in Juvenalian conjugal relationships

End of conference, dinner in local restaurant

3. Abstracts of papers to be presented

(in alphabetical order according to the presenter's surname)

DR MARK BRADLEY (MARK.BRADLEY@NOTTINGHAM.AC.UK)

Sweating like a Roman: perspiration, essence and goatiness from Republic to Empire

One of Plutarch's *Quaestiones Conviviales* (1.6), debating the extent of Alexander's alcoholism, reaches its conclusion in the king's sweat: just as hot, dry climates produce frankincense and cassia, Alexander's heavy binges caused an imbalance in the humours, driving out noxious moisture in the form of fragrant perspiration. By situating this claim in Theophrastus' humoral theory, Plutarch was turning on its head a familiar cliché – spread by Alexander's contemporary Aristoxenus – about the king's divine aroma. Plutarch's smart analysis, in which the worlds of biographical eulogy and medical diagnosis clash, alludes to the complexity of sweat as an index of bodily health, character and behaviour. Sweat was a multi-sensory phenomenon: it made itself visible to the eyes and olescent to the nose; but it was also something felt and tasted. It was a silent witness to fear and embarrassment, and a characteristic of the brutish and the beastly (sweaty Romans typically exhibited 'goatiness'). Like other bodily fluids, it permeated boundaries and demonstrated an irresponsible control over the inner and outer body – a corporeal state underpinning the theories of Mary Douglas and Mikhail Bakhtin about the foul and the 'grotesque'. As Shane Butler has argued, bodies in this state of flux could also be seductive and sublime, and so sweat sometimes exuded perfumed sensuality. This paper, then, will discuss a range of Roman literary genres in which sweat functioned as a diagnostic feature of bodies that were both fragrant and foul, a sign of irresistible sexuality or bestial depravity. From Venus' ambrosial perspiration in Lucretius and Virgil to the repulsive Maximinus Thrax who exhibited his sweat by the buckets, from the fragrant odour of Propertius' early-morning Cynthia to ill-omened statues of gods dripping with sweat, the Roman literary elite had a keen nose for the role of sweat in discourses around gender, sexuality, politics and fluid bodies.

JANE BURKOWSKI (JANE.BURKOWSKI@YAHOO.CO.UK)

Scent of a Puella: Perfume, Sweat, and the Real in Latin Love Elegy and Ovid's Didactic Works

The Latin love elegists present us with a poetic world full of dense and evocative imagery appealing to all the senses, smell included – references to exotic perfumes

are rife. These are sometimes admired, but their use is just as often objected to on moral grounds, in passages praising the natural over the artificial. Nonetheless, when it comes to what precisely the natural alternative to these perfumes is meant to be, the elegiac speaker remains largely silent: the elegiac *puella* smells either divinely, or not at all. Here as in other respects, the sense of realism created by the elegists' rich imagery is limited by the blank spots and flattering hyperboles necessitated by their idealisation of their mistresses, and their need to maintain generic decorum. It is thus all the more striking when Ovid, here and there in the *Amores*, but consistently in his didactic works, brings the elegiac world down to earth. He reminds both his male and female pupils in frank terms to 'banish the goat from their armpits', and generally dwells on the realistically human bodies of the lover and beloved, effluvia included. This decision forms part of a larger poetic scheme: many of the central effects of Ovid's didactic works rely on reintroducing a dose of the real into a poetic world whose rich outer texture ordinarily serves to distract from its idealisation or elision of the prosaic or unsavoury aspects of reality; mentioning bodily fluids is an economical and amusingly shocking way to do so. Ovid's didactic thus occupies a unique space between elegy and satire, populated by a cast of lovers and beloveds whose bodies' natural functions are neither erased and idealised nor grossly exaggerated, and present us with a world whose position on the spectrum between reality and artifice is left playfully uncertain.

CALLOWAY BREWSTER-SCOTT (CBS338@NYU.EDU)

Fluid Proofs: Dropsical Bodies in the Hippocratic Corpus

Writers within the Hippocratic tradition took for granted the existence and lethality of an illness known variously as *hydrops*, *hyderos*, or *askites* (dropsy). At first inspection, dropsy seems to fit snugly within Hippocratic humoral theory which understood disease as a disturbance in the balance of bodily fluids. Indeed, many authors describe dropsy simply as an accumulation of fluid within the body. A closer look at a collection passages, however, shows that this was not universally the case. Not only did authors offer differing accounts of dropsy's proper etiology, but there was little agreement concerning its range of presenting symptoms. While some texts employ blanket terms in identifying dropsy, others describe subclasses, like "bloody dropsy," "pus-filled dropsy," "dry" or "tympanic" dropsy (which Galen argued is not dropsy at all). As the proliferation of these classifications suggests, dropsy implied something of a humoral hybridity. Such a fluid mixing posed an empirical challenge to the Hippocratic physician's proclaimed ability to observe and identify correctly the distinct humoral imbalance underlying disease. Dropsy, it seems, could be (or be caused by) any or all of the fluids understood to constitute the body. Indeed, *On Interior Diseases* shows the onset of dropsy triggering a process of transubstantiation, as one fluid (phlegm) becomes another (water). The text *On Breaths* employs dropsy as a clear sign that all diseases originate in the respiratory system. So too, dropsy was subject to a gendered split: women's dropsical symptoms were lumped with other

women's diseases," reinforced by the "fact" that women's bodies were moister than men's and that this was the physiological source of all female ailments. This paper, then, explores in greater depth how this conspicuous, fluid condition furnished various authors an opportunity to "prove" the validity of their physiological schemes.

EMILIO CAPETTINI (ECAPETTI@PRINCETON.EDU)

Blush, (Internal) Sweat, and Tears in Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe

In Book 4 of Chariton's novel, the satrap Mithridates, who is secretly in love with Callirhoe, the female protagonist, is not able to control his physical reactions when he hears her name mentioned by another character: ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐρυθρήματος ἐνεπλήσθη καὶ ἴδρου τὰ ἔνδον, καί που καὶ δάκρυον αὐτοῦ μὴ θέλοντος προύπεσεν (4.2.13). Such a passage is hardly surprising if we keep in mind that in ancient literature blush, sweat, and tears are commonly presented as symptoms of lovesickness. However, what makes Chariton's formulation especially interesting is the fact that Mithridates' sweating is presented, by means of the adverbial phrase "τὰ ἔνδον," as taking place "within."

Modern translators of Chariton's novel, although not suspecting any corruption in the transmission of this passage, have glossed over the oddity presented by the words "τὰ ἔνδον." Neither the translation by G. P. Goold – "At this Mithridates blushed deeply and broke into a sweat all over" – nor that by B. P. Reardon – "At these words Mithridates blushed violently and burst into sweat" – seem to account for the presence of "τὰ ἔνδον." In this paper, I will interpret Chariton's sentence within the context of ancient reflections about the physiological process of sweating. As I will argue, the novelistic passage seems to be founded on a distinction between external and internal sweating that we find attested, for instance, in a section of Aristotle's *Problemata* (ὁ ἔξω ἰδρώς vs. ὁ ἔσωθεν ἰδρώς, 867b6-7). In my interpretation, Mithridates' skin will appear to be a rather solid barrier between the interior of the body and the external world. It is, rather, his eyes that are presented as leaky and that, malgré lui, let part of the bodily fluids resulting from his internal turmoil become visible to the people around him.

DR CHRISTIAAN CASPERS (CAS@MURMELLIUS.NL)

Heated bodies, melting selves: dissolving personhood in Classical Greek Poetry

What does it mean for the captive Iole of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* to be 'melted into her loving' (ἐντακείῃ τῷ φιλεῖν, 464) of her captor, Heracles?

A body can be said to 'melt' -- like snow, wax or metal -- in death (S. Ant. 906; E. Cycl. 246), in sickness (Hdt. 3.99) or in tearfulness (Od. 19.204-9). In each case, fluidity ensues; and, with fluidity, a (partial/temporary) collapse of the boundaries that normally signify personhood. This makes 'melting' different from tearful 'dripping' (λείβεσθαι, E. Su. 1119) and 'streaming' (ῥέω / χέω, *ibid.* 79-82), and from 'mixing' (μείγνυμαι / μίσγασθαι, freq. of sexual intercourse [LSJ⁹ s.v. b4]) -- corporeal liquefactions in which no irreversible loss of personhood is implied.

With 'melting', crucially, heat is applied: a suicidal wife, desiring to 'mix' (συμμείξασα) her body with that of her dead husband, may throw herself on his pyre so that he can 'melt together' (συντακεί, E. Su. 1029) with her. Desire itself may supply the necessary heat: Heracles was 'all heated up' by his desire for Iole (έντεθέρμανται πόθω, S. Tr. 368), and by exuding this heat enabled her to 'melt into' the reciprocal relationship that is implied by the verb 'to love' (φιλεῖν). Having no family left, this relationship would henceforth define her socially.

This paper investigates the nexus between heat, liquidity and dissolution of the socially defined person, as articulated in the poetic metaphor of 'melting' bodies. This metaphor reveals much about how, in Classical Athens, the solid body was construed with reference to physical, emotional and social stimuli. Such stimuli -- death; disease; bereavement; desire -- could induce different degrees of 'fluidity', with the image of 'melting' marking the critical point where the person identified with the solid body ceases to exist.

CLAUDE-EMMANUELLE CENTLIVRES CHALLET

(CLAUDE-EMMANUELLE.CENTLIVRESCHALLET@UNIL.CH)

Satirical fluids and the couple: the role of bile, urine, sweat, sperm, milk and tears in Juvenalian conjugal relationships

The satires of Juvenal are ripe with bodily fluids: bile, urine, sweat, sperm, milk and tears appear either in relation to men or women, or in relation to both, and are used by the satirist to mark the exuder's behaviour as laudable or condemnable, and, as a corollary, to categorise the exuder according to the aim of the satirist's discourse. This paper investigates the types of behaviour with which Juvenalian bodily fluids are connected, whether the fluids themselves are negatively or positively connoted, or whether it is the use they are made of that taints or graces the satires' protagonists. It intends to show that bodily fluids are used as strong markers, by their traditional or untraditional use and display, of the propriety or impropriety of both men's and women's behaviour. It will emerge that some fluids, such as milk and sperm, are positively connoted and accordingly used in the satires to show how men and women should behave in order to fit the traditional, expected model of gendered behaviour, while other, biologically non-gendered fluids such as tears or urine, are used in a

culturally loaded way as markers of out-of-bounds behaviour, even more so if they are intentionally and publicly leaked or retained. It will be concluded, from these observations, that Juvenalian bodily fluids play an important role in the satirist's conveying of his message concerning men's and women's proper or improper roles within the conjugal relationship.

DR AMY COKER (AMY.COKER@MANCHESTER.AC.UK)

Fluid Vocabulary: the Greek lexicon of bodily effluvia (or did the Greeks have a word for 'spunk'?)

This paper will present a (work-in-progress) hand list of the vocabulary of bodily fluids in Greek, i.e. those liquid or sticky substances which are observed issuing from the human body, with a focus on the sweat, mucus and sexual fluids group. There has been much interest in the vocabulary related to sex acts of various kinds and its significance in both philological and historical circles (e.g. Bain 1991, *Six Greek Verbs of Sexual Congress*), but the fluids involved in such acts are rarely subject to such focussed interest; many other substances issuing from the body have similarly gone unremarked upon, perhaps since they are viewed as inherently 'natural', although perhaps also because they are seen to be inappropriate topics for study at some level. The compilation of a list of words for effluvia however raises questions about how far the semantic range of English words (e.g. *sweat*, *semen*) equates with those used in Greek at various periods (e.g. ἰδρώς, ἰκμάς, γόνος, κίκκασος): in some cases this forces us to consider either an alternate taxonomy of some human bodily products, or that there were historical shifts within Greek as to the *realia* indicated by certain words. Additionally, this paper considers the evidence for the connotative effects of words for effluvia in Greek, and whether any should be designated either as technical terms, or as dysphemistic (i.e. inherently offensive, with the tone of e.g. English *piss*). Previous approaches to dysphemistic vocabulary in Greek have posited offensive terms for faeces and its production, but not for other types of effluvia; this paper thus briefly considers the evidence for other bodily fluids as the source of dysphemistic words, parallel, for example, to English *spunk* or *snot*.

DR TASHA DOBBIN-BENNETT (TASHA.LEIGH.DOBBIN-BENNETT@EMORY.EDU)

"Efflux is my manifestation": Ancient Egyptian conceptions of putrefactive fluids

At the moment of death, the human body begins to undergo significant biological transformation. The body moves through recognizable stages that signify the development of decomposition, with the release of putrefactive fluids as one of the first visual decomposition events. Bringing together the biological and cultural processes of death, this paper uses a forensic anthropological approach to analyze

and discuss ancient Egyptian medical and religious texts that engage with the release of putrefactive fluids. In particular, this paper highlights the positive associations attached to the release of fluids from the cranio-facial region present within those texts. The desire, expressed within the ancient Egyptian religious texts, for the deceased to be bathed in putrefactive fluids seems at first glance to directly conflict with our understanding of the mummification procedure. We often equate mummification with the prevention of decomposition, an element that is certainly present in the ancient Egyptian texts. However, these negative connotations do not account for texts that reveal the positive aspects of putrefaction. Rather than prevention, my wider research discusses decomposition as a managed element of the mummification procedure and that the ancient Egyptian conception of putrefactive fluids can be understood as a process of reconstitution and manifestation. My research places the release of putrefactive fluids from the cranio-facial region within a post-mortem interval framework calculated from historical environmental data and proposes a new interpretation that associates fluid release with the rebirth of the deceased as a divine entity.

DR REBECCA FALLAS (REBECCA.FALLAS@OPEN.AC.UK)

'Infertile' and 'sub-fertile' semen in the ancient medical texts

Bodily fluids are fundamental to all the theories of conception put forward by the ancient medical writers. In order to produce a child a woman needs to produce menstrual fluid and a man (and depending on the theory a woman) needs to produce semen. If these fluids are not produced in the correct amounts at the correct time then this could result in a person being considered infertile. According to the ancient medical writers there are two main factors involved in male reproductive failure, impotence and the inability to produce fertile semen.

This paper will focus on the descriptions of male infertility due to a lack of fertile semen given by the authors of the Hippocratic Corpus and in the biological works of Aristotle. There are many ways in which semen is described by these authors including semen being 'non-generative' (μη γόνιμον e.g. Arist.GA.718a24), less fertile (ἀγονώτεροι e.g. Arist.GA.726a3) and in the Hippocratic Corpus small in amount, weak, and infertile (ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἄγονον AWP.22 L.2.82).

In modern medicine the terms oligozoospermia (low sperm count) or azoospermia (zero sperm count) are used to describe the fertility of semen. However, individual sperm were only identified under a microscope in 1677 by the Dutch biologist Antonie van Leeuwenhoe. Therefore, the question arises what did the ancient medical writers believe was happening when they describe the man producing 'infertile' or 'weak' semen?

This paper will explore the reasons given by these authors for an inability to produce fertile or sub-fertile semen and discuss what these writers may have been envisaging happening when they described semen as ‘infertile’, ‘less fertile’ or ‘weak’.

DR REBECCA FLEMMING (REF33@CAM.AC.UK)

One-seed, two-seed, three-seed? Reassessing ancient theories of generation

Medical and philosophical theories of generation from the classical world are often classified according to whether the female as well as the male produces ‘seed’, the fluid substance which does the most important work in procreation. Aristotle is usually identified as the most influential proponent of the ‘one-seed model’, while Galen champions the ‘two-seed’ cause, and the debate between them continues, continues to matter, for centuries. At stake here is not just theoretical efficiency—how well the full complexities of parental resemblance are accounted for by the contending notions, for example—but also, it has been suggested, politics and patriarchy. Two seeds are better, more egalitarian, than one: the female role in generation is more positively valued in this model. This lecture will argue that, not only this characterisation, but the division itself, is misleading: particularly if viewed from a fluid perspective. Another way must be found to understand the key concepts involved in these foundational ancient debates about human procreation.

DR ANDREAS GAVRIELATOS (A.GAVRIELATOS@ED.AC.UK)

Bodily fluids in Roman Satire

Moisture and fluidity have often been associated with moral decay and/or effeminacy by the Roman writers. And this was observed in many levels: from the metre of a line in a poem to the implicit connotations of the bodily fluids that appear in a narration scene. Roman satire found in fluidity an antagonist, as opposed to the genre’s solidarity in the style and its themes. At the same time, the satirists exploit the association of moisture and wetness with moral decay in order to support the depiction of the caricatured personalities they address their mockery to. Bodily fluids are often used from this perspective. This paper aims to examine these exploitations with a focus on the fluidity that is produced by/in the body, which consequently enhances the idea of grotesque and enables the satirist’s case study to be ridiculed. The material for the support of this examination will be drawn from, but not restricted to, the satires of Persius. Although bodily fluids are key elements in some of his picturesque description of the condemned society, they have not attracted the necessary attention by scholarship. The bodily fluids are used in order to enhance the wetness of a scene and point to a degeneration that can be equal to moral corruption, effeminacy and decay in society. Moreover, they are employed for their

function as products of the body and thus linked to the human senses and passions. And these passions evoke the satirist's attack. Apart from the appearance of bodily fluids in the various pictures, the language used is also appropriate for this purpose. With the paradigm of Persius, cases from the satiric tradition of Rome will also be approached for the same effect.

DR MICHAEL GOYETTE (MPGOYETTE@BROOKLYN.CUNY.EDU)

Sympathetic Fluidity: Somatic, Emotional, and Cosmic Flux in Senecan Tragedy

The doctrine of *sympatheia*, promulgated by Greek Stoic philosophers such as Posidonius and explored by Roman writers such as Cicero, posited that all of the universe's components, including human beings and their lives, exist in a state of constant tension and reciprocal interaction. This concept, with its emphasis upon the integration of the cosmos, bears a kinship with humoralism, a holistic medical theory in which the deficiency or excess of bodily fluids was purported to influence the condition of the entire body. One Stoic author particularly interested in disturbances of both bodily fluids and of the natural environment (along with the cosmos at large) is Seneca the Younger. While these interests are evident throughout the Senecan corpus, this paper focuses on how Seneca's tragedies represent the complex interaction of bodily fluids, emotions, the natural environment, and the macrocosm of the universe.

My paper builds upon the work of Thomas Rosenmeyer, who has discussed the role of *sympatheia* in Senecan tragedy, but without focusing upon the sympathetic interactions of bodily fluids and bodies of water. My paper examines the literary and philosophical significance of the interplay of bodily fluids, human emotions, and natural bodies of water in Seneca's *Thyestes* and *Oedipus*. I show that Seneca peppers *Thyestes* with language that evokes various types of flux (e.g. *fluctuare* and *tumere*), connecting for example "waves" of emotion with disturbances of bodily fluids (e.g. *sanguis*) and the literal swelling of the sea. In *Oedipus*, the thirst of plague-stricken individuals is embodied in local rivers, which are themselves devoid of *umor* (41). I argue that these various fluctuations highlight the mutability of both emotions and the human body, and also the universe's propensity to change; such manifestations of fluidity in turn underscore the challenges inherent to maintaining the stability associated with a Stoic lifestyle.

DR HEATHER HUNTER-CRAWLEY (H.A.HUNTER-CRAWLEY@SWANSEA.AC.UK)

Sense and Sympatheia: Modelling the Fluidity of Bodies in Roman Domestic Religion

This paper will present an experimental method of modelling the relationship between devotee and divinity in domestic religious practices in the Roman Empire, through a case study of the decor of the House of the Vettii at Pompeii. I will suggest that the notion of *sympathy*, evident in medical, astrological, and Stoic writings, can be extrapolated to a broadly accepted Roman worldview in which boundaries between self and world, individual and community, and human and divine, were understood to be highly fluid. The porous nature of boundaries necessitated ritual practices that policed thresholds, of the body, and of space, which were integrated into the domestic space of the House of the Vettii through the selection of motifs with apotropaic or ritual functions. This *sympathetic* model understands the body to be porous and leaky through its sensory engagements with the world, and the fluidity of divine bodies to manifest in a very physical and material way, through the sensory organs. Thus religiously motivated actions, such as interactive viewing practices with depictions of divine powers and ritual activities in the House of the Vettii, were integral to Roman life not just on a public, communal scale, but also through the small, mundane activities of all members of society in domestic space.

ROSIE JACKSON (ROSIE.JACKSON@POSTGRAD.MANCHESTER.AC.UK)

Martyrdom Reconfigured: Menstruating Virgins and Sacrificial Blood

For early Christian communities, the blood which had been shed by martyrs in defence of their faith contained profound levels of symbolism. This notion endured beyond the persecutions to find new life within the menstrual blood of consecrated virgins, a theory which I shall explore in this paper. Acting in a manner analogous to the blood spilt within traditions of human and animal sacrifice, the blood of martyrs was charged with ideological power, inspiring conversions to Christianity and being gifted with the ability to act in miraculous ways. The blood of women who were both virgin and martyr was held in the highest esteem, as their blood was taken to be wholly pure and untouched by the corruption of the world. This is noted by Prudentius, whose account of the martyrdom of the virgin Eulalia emphasises the prosperity which her 'virgin tomb' has brought to her former city - an analogy, Salisbury argues in her work on the blood of martyrs (2004), for her virgin womb. In the years following the initial martyrdoms, the heavy symbolism of sacrificial blood shed on behalf of the community in order to ensure its success was not abandoned. A new form of sacrificial blood arose: the menstrual blood of virgins. The blood spilt by these living martyrs was intimately connected to their own sacrificial struggle, as it represented the sexuality they had renounced in their fight against worldly demons, and the children whom they would never bear. In renouncing her sexuality, itself taken to be a symbol of femininity, a virgin became both a martyr and an icon of the fertility which she denied herself, her menstrual blood taken not as an impure and defiling force but as a blessing to the Christian community.

ROSALIND JANSSEN (R.JANSSEN@UCL.AC.UK)

A Valid Excuse for a Day-Off Work: Menstruation in an Ancient Egyptian Village

The Egyptian word for menstruation – *ḥsmn* – bears a hieroglyphic determinative representing periodic bleeding from the vulva. For the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina, the New Kingdom Village of Pharaoh's artisans on the West Bank of Modern Luxor, menstruation was a public event: known by men and recorded in written documentation. The start of the monthly periods of their wives, daughters, or even daughters-in-law – but never of their mothers or sisters – was sometimes a valid excuse for these artisans not to turn up for their construction work in the Valley of the Kings. A large attendance register, inscribed in cursive hieratic on a limestone flake (ostrakon) and now on display in the British Museum, provides tangible evidence for this remarkable practice. Another three-lined ostrakon refers to eight menstruating women going to/from 'the place of women', indicating synchronization of menstrual cycles in this desert community. This specific menstrual space may further have functioned as a site for purification rites attached to the critical life transition of menarche. As attested by earlier gynaecological papyri, the Ancient Egyptians were only too well aware of amenorrhoea and menopause, implying that *ḥsmn*-ing functioned as an important life event in a relatively short fertile interlude and was accompanied by rituals involving gifts and food provision for the women concerned. Moreover, surviving Village minutiae in the guise of laundry lists detail the washing of soiled sanitary towels (literally 'bands of the behinds') by a professional laundry service which was exclusively male. However, there were seemingly no marked notions of social pollution attached to these sanitary products since they are listed together with other garments, and were indeed recycled from worn-out clothing. More problematic is how exactly to identify such items in the surviving archaeological record.

DR EMILY KEARNS (EMILY.KEARNS@ST-HILDAS.OX.AC.UK)

A natural symbol? The (un)importance of blood in early Greek religious and literary contexts

Perhaps because they seem in many ways similar to those of our own society, the symbolic values of blood in the ancient world have not been studied as exhaustively as one might expect. It is undoubtedly the case that from the earliest times in Greece blood functions metonymically for wounding and violent death on the one hand, and for family group and descent on the other. But while blood is certainly conspicuous in both literary texts and religious practice, it is less central at an early date than one might suppose. In epic, 'blood'shed serves as a marker of general slaughter or appears in descriptions of the deaths of particularly significant heroes, while the

majority of individual death scenes are more interested in body parts and internal organs than in spilt blood. The case of sacrifice is analogous: the victim's blood is certainly collected and used to mark the altar (although more sparingly than was once thought), but it is the internal organs (intestines and liver) which play the more important part in the post-kill phase of the action. Only in the cases of pre-battle σφάγια and purificatory sacrifice is there a different emphasis. It may be that it is partly the particular resonance of those forms of sacrifice with concerns uppermost in the developing form of tragedy which helps to give blood its central symbolic role in the following centuries.

PETER KELLY (PKELLY131@GMAIL.COM)

Tears and Liquefaction: Corporeal Permeability in Ovid's Metamorphoses

This paper will analyse Ovid's representation of liquefaction in the *Metamorphoses*. It will show how tears and weeping are often used as a marker for the permeability of the body and frequently prefigure corporeal dissolution. It will demonstrate that in Ovid's accounts of Byblis, Leucothoe and Polyxena, in particular, weeping and dissolution represent a fundamental loss or outpouring of liquid essence. By comparing these passages from the *Metamorphoses* with illustrations of the permeable structure of the body in Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, and particularly Lucretius' comparison of the body to a leaky vessel, it will argue that Ovid uses tears and liquefaction to problematize mind-body dualism. Tears display the body's permeability and transfer the interior essence of an individual to the body's surface. Liquefaction represents a complete loss of distinction between the inner and outer and so results in a merger or commingling of mind and body. Both weeping and corporeal dissolution also allow for the mixing and confounding of one body with another and so question how we define the borders of identity. This paper will also consider whether we can apply Ovid's conception of the body's permeability to the text, as Ovid uses the mode of allusion to likewise undermine the distinction between texts. It will draw on a number of examples from the *Tristia* to show how tears not only prefigure corporeal breakdown but stain and injure the work of the poet itself.

PROFESSOR HELEN KING (HELEN.KING@OPEN.AC.UK)

Opening the Body of Fluids: Taking In and Pouring Out in Renaissance Readings of Classical Women

When the pre-modern body first came to be characterised as a 'body of fluids', this label often accompanied claims that the female body was historically seen as more fluid, more leaky, than that of the male. The 'body of fluids' was thus gendered as female and, in the process, the pre-modern body itself could be gendered female in

contrast to the post-Enlightenment body as solid and male. More recent studies have shown however that, for both sexes, the fluids of the body, their balance and their control, were the focus of medicine from the ancient world until at least the seventeenth century. In this lecture I want to consider the control of bodily fluids in women both through outputs and inputs, focusing on the interfaces between medicine and art, and between the Renaissance and the classical. I shall focus on three figures: Tuccia, Sophonisba and Artemisia.

The test administered to the Vestal Virgin Tuccia for suspected unchastity, carrying water in a sieve, could be seen as paradigmatic here, demonstrating the bodily integrity of the virgin in contrast to the openness and unpredictable flows of the mature woman. Tuccia was often shown as part of a series of paintings in Renaissance bedrooms. When, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Mantegna represented 'Two exemplary women of antiquity' he paired Tuccia with what may be Sophonisba, drinking poison sent, or actually administered, to her by her husband as her escape from being enslaved. Both exemplary women show their control of fluids in the service of the male, and for their own safety – however that is constructed. But there are some questions about the identification of the second Mantegna figure as Sophonisba, not least because in art she is more usually shown not drinking, but about to drink, as in the Flemish painter Bartholomeus Spranger's *The Suicide of Sophonisba* of 1605. A better pairing for Tuccia could be Artemisia, who drank the ashes of her husband Mausolus, thus becoming the perfect widow who is also her husband's tomb. In exploring these figures, I shall consider the connections between silence and chastity, as both 'mouths' of the female body needed to be kept under firm control.

ASSAF KREBS (ASSAF.KREBS@GMAIL.COM)

Open and Close: Wounds, Skin, and the Corporeal Envelope

The Romans perceived the human skin as the envelope of the body; its tegument, and the layer that covers flesh and bones. According to Aristotle, skin is a sticky layer of substance formed by the drying out of the flesh, in the same way that scum is formed on the surface of boiled water. Roman representations of skin depict it not as a solid and steady surface, nor as totally fluid; rather it is described as a site of constant change and variation, affected by both internal and external factors.

Wounds on the surface of the skin provide some of the most interesting cases of these effects: they are signs of the body occupied by illness; they create orifices on the corporeal envelope, through which fluids (blood, sanies and pus) escape from within the body and thus are objects of the 'abject' (Kristeva 1980). They damage and obstruct the human psychic envelope represented by the skin (Freud); they represent and reinforce the fluid nature of subjectivity.

The current paper relies on various Latin sources from the second century BCE to the second century CE, and explores the nature of wounds and their symbolic functions. It investigates the materiality of open wounds and their secretions; it discusses symbolic meanings of wounds as borders between life and death; it examines open wounds as a medium that disrupts and splits both the corporeal space and mental structure; and it explores open wounds as a locus for trauma and melancholy. The paper also refers to the relationship between wounds, secretions and identity; and discusses scars as a constant reminder of former open wounds, of passing time, and of the fluid nature of the subject.

DR JULIE LASKARIS (JLASKARI@RICHMOND.EDU)

The Eyes Have It

Elizabeth Craik has noted that "semen and spinal fluid [*myelos*] were allied in early Greek thought," and illnesses involving *myelos* were often linked to overindulgence in sex (111). *Myelos* was thought to be carried in vessels running from the brain to the lower body, with some passages going from the brain to the eyes (Craik, 111).

Aristotle's *Generation of Animals* states that the area around the eyes is the "most seminal" (*spermatikōtatos*) part of the head because the nature of seed is similar to that of the brain; those who often overindulge in sex have markedly sunken eyes (747a14-17). Aristotle advocates a fertility test for women that consists of rubbing colors on the woman's eyes to see if her saliva becomes colored. If it does not, she is infertile, the test proving that the channels through which her residues should be secreted are obstructed (747a10-14).

A somewhat different tack is taken by the Hippocratic *Superfetation*, which states that a pregnant woman will have a larger and brighter eye and a larger breast on the same side of the uterus as her fetus is lying (19). In the closely-related *Barrenness*, the whites of a pregnant woman's eyes are said to be more vivid than normal (3.1).

This paper will contend that these and other passages demonstrate a nexus of beliefs concerning the head and eyes, the passages of the body through which generative fluids and nutriment run, and physiological processes in which red blood is related to a white bodily fluid (milk, pus, semen) (e.g., for Aristotle, milk is fully concocted blood (GA 777a7)).

DR DAWN LA VALLE (DAWNTERESA@GMAIL.COM)

Adam's Semen as "liquid bone" in Methodius of Olympus' Symposium

In the middle of an elegant discourse on the virtues of chastity, held among ten women in an allegorically Edenic mountain-top garden, one of the female speaker inserts a surprisingly graphic depiction of male sperm formation and ejaculation. Methodius of Olympus' *Symposium*, written in the late 3rd century AD, includes a passage where the second virginal speaker, Theophila, interprets the story of creation of Eve out of the rib-bone of Adam as having a very earthy referent. Adam's "sleep" is man's orgasmic forgetfulness, which allows the semen, called by Theophila "liquid bone", to be taken out of him. Just as Adam's rib bone was used to make Eve, so too in each act of conception, man's "liquid bone", semen, is used to create a new human.

Theophila bases her unusual biblical interpretation on a particular view of spermatogenesis, which, like the views of Aristotle, Herophilus and Galen, posited that semen came fundamentally from blood. However, her description contains many surprises as well, and the language that she uses to describe semen has no exact parallel in the extant medical sources. Also, unlike other extant physiological treatises, Theophila does not mention the role of heat in this process of blood refinement into sperm, but rather the importance of "frothing." Where is Methodius getting his spermogenic theory, and what is the rhetorical purpose of this physiological element in his dialogue on virginity? How does the influence of the details of the biblical story interfere with and is interfered by the medical theory? My paper, which is part of a larger work on the role of medical descriptions of semen, blood and milk in early Christian metaphors, will untangle some of these questions of the source and use of Methodius' spermogenic theories.

THEA LAWRENCE (ABXTL1@NOTTINGHAM.AC.UK)

Utilissimum cuique lac maternum: breastmilk, breastfeeding and the female body in early imperial Rome

The ancient female body was overflowing with liquid. Her excess of bodily fluid was, to Galen and earlier physicians, medical proof of her physical inferiority to her male counterparts. Although menstrual blood has been the main focus in discussions of both Greco-Roman female physiology and the pollutive potential of bodily fluids, there is another quintessentially female fluid whose properties and connotations are often overlooked - milk. In Pliny's discussion of the uses of female bodily products in his *Natural History* 28.21-23, the author waxes lyrical on the monstrous power of menstrual blood, but also details the many medicinal uses of *lac maternum*, the 'sweetest and most delicate of all'. While menstruation causes storms, tarnishes mirrors, and brings on miscarriages, milk eases pain, cures madness, and drives away offensive odours. Furthermore, at 28.33, Pliny emphasises that it is human milk that is *utilissimum*; it is better than that of any other animal. Writers such as Soranus and Aulus Gellius advocate maternal breastfeeding as beneficial to the development of young children, and criticise the widespread use of mercenary or slave wet-nurses.

Breastmilk was associated with nourishment and fertility, both of the individual and of the empire as a whole. However, milk could also be problematic. The philosopher Favorinus, as recounted in Aulus Gellius, suggests that those attended by lower-class or foreign wet-nurses could imbibe inferior morals transmitted directly through the milk itself. This paper will look at both medical and non-medical writers of the early imperial period who discuss the symbolic and medicinal properties of breastmilk and breastfeeding, and will discuss how Roman attitudes towards milk and the female body in a state of lactation tie into wider Roman attitudes towards the role of women and female corporeality in society.

DR DEBORAH LYONS (LYONSD@MIAMIOH.EDU)

Intimations of Mortality: Divine Fluids and the Limits of Divinity

Depictions of the ancient Greek gods often reveal tensions between their anthropomorphic qualities and those identifying them as divine. This especially clear in the treatment of bodily fluids, specifically blood, tears, and semen. These substances tend to appear in myths showing the gods at their closest to mortals, and serve to confound the usually strict boundaries between human and immortal.

The bodily fluids of the gods most often appear in ways that seem to differentiate them from mortals. We learn from Homer that they have not blood but the divine equivalent, *ichor* (*Iliad* 5.340) in their veins. The death of Sarpedon, one of the few times a god cries, causes Zeus to shed not salty water, but blood (*Il.*16.459). But even when a god sheds immortal blood from a wound, it is due to the actions of a mortal, as when Diomedes wounds Aphrodite on the battlefield in *Iliad* 5.

Semen is mentioned, even more rarely with blood and tears. When Aphrodite is born from the castration of Ouranos, the white foam (*leukos aphros*, *Theog.* 190-191) from which she emerges is not explicitly identified as semen. Moreover, the one clear case of ejaculation, found in Ps-Apollodorus' account of Hephaistos' failed mating with Athena, produces the mortal Erichthonios. This myth, which plays havoc with the usual rules of reproduction, offers a technicality by which the Athenians can claim descent from their decidedly virgin patron goddess.

In these examples, the shedding of divine substance is inevitably connected with mortality in some way. If sweat and excrement are unfit for immortals, tears, blood, and semen are only slightly less so, appearing in contexts in which gods are most closely connected with mortality.

LAURA MARERI (LAURAMARERI@GMAIL.COM)

Crying in Byzantium: tears as symptoms and healers

The aim of my research is to analyse the meaning of tears in some Byzantine medical texts, that is to understand the different and concurrent functions they have according to the Byzantine physicians.

The tears are often considered as symptoms, frequently as symptoms of mental illnesses: Aetius of Amida mentions them among the signs of lycanthropy, while Alexander of Tralles explicitly refers to crying when describing a woman affected by melancholy. At the same time, however, their absence is claimed by Oribasius in his description of the deranged lovers. The different use of tears, and their presence or absence, is therefore useful as a sign in the diagnosis of mental illnesses.

Furthermore, if we think about the link between mental illnesses and emotions, we can deduce the importance of tears as an expression of a mood.

Moreover, tears with defined qualities can be a proof of a particular physiological condition. In this regard, Paulus of Aegina mentions thin and bitter tears among the symptoms of people that need their skull to be cut and Alexander of Tralles considers the tears without scathing and bitter qualities as a way to exclude the presence of inflammation of the eyes due to blood.

At the same time, tears have healing properties. Paulus of Aegina is aware of their virtue of wetting, so that, when a treatment against dryness is required, he recommends the use of drugs that stimulate tearing and Aetius of Amida prescribes remedies producing tears when the eyes need to be opened.

To sum up, my research aims at studying the significant uses of tears in the works of the Byzantine physicians, in order to shed light on their approach to a bodily fluid which represents a meeting point between physiological and medical issues and the expression of feelings and emotions.

DR TARA MULDER (MULDER_TARA@WHEATONCOLLEGE.EDU)

Wetness, Fetal Sex, and Female Bodies

In this paper I show that, in Greco-Roman medical theories, difference in fetal sex was thought to originate from the relative wetness of the reproductive bodies. Soranus suggests that women are able to increase or reduce their somatic moistness through regimen changes, which, I argue, placed responsibility for fetal sex outcomes on women. In Greco-Roman antiquity it was widely believed that women were wet and men dry. Women's bodies could be wetter or drier depending on their somatic composition. In Aristotle's embryology, the relative wetness of the generative

materials (male sperm and female menstrual fluid) determined the sex of the fetus. As the fetal organs “concocted” (πέττειν) in the womb, wetter material yielded looser, less developed organs (*Gen. an.* 766a18-766b8). These partially concocted, “wet” fetal organs, the result of effeminate and moist parents, which produced female infants (*Gen. an.* 766b31-2; 33; 35-7). In Galen’s embryology, the wetness of the womb itself determined fetal sex, with wetter and colder wombs creating female fetuses (*De sem.* 640-41). Also, semen nestled in the drier right side of the womb became male, while the semen in the wetter left side of the womb became female (*De usu part.* 14.2.309). In both Aristotle and Galen, male fetuses were seen as the pinnacle of reproductive success, with the female constituting a “deformed” (πεπηρωμένος) male (on the debate over this term: Deslauriers; Henry; Mayhew; Nielson). Soranus, following the accepted wisdom of the time, thought that excessive bodily wetness was a detriment to successful reproduction (*Gyn.* 1.34.2). Further, he thought that women could control this bodily wetness through diet and exercise (*Gyn.* 3.7-9). Thus, it seems, he placed responsibility for fetal sex outcome on pregnant and pre-gravid women—those who birthed female infants were culpable for their own wetness.

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Medical Erudition and Literary Pathos: Bodily Fluids in Quintus Smyrnaeus’ Posthomeric

Quintus Smyrnaeus’ poem, written in the 3rd century AD, is very interesting in order to understand the narrative tendencies of that period, and, in the same time, the perception of the body through the medium of literature. Quintus is interested in definite branches of the so-called ‘technical literature’, particularly ancient medicine, a narrative tendency which appears in the Hellenistic period and grows in importance during the following centuries. He frequently inserts medical details in highly pathetic passages (e.g. the spillover of bile in Ajax’s body in book 5 or Laocoon’s glaucoma in 12), in order to obtain an emotional reaction from the audience. A striking example of this technique is the representation of Philoctetes at Lemnos in book 9. In order to obtain a pathetic description of the hero, and a feeling of astonishment and repulsion from the audience, Quintus describes Philoctetes intertwining medical details based on ancient physiology, semeiotics and pharmacology (9.355-75). The central point is Philoctetes’ wound (9.376-91): its description is focused on the fluids that leak out of it, and that even stained the floor of his cave permanently, a ‘wonder’ which will astonish the future generations. The description, strikingly gruesome, makes the audience perceive Philoctetes as a total outcast. Describing in detail the *ichor* continuously leaking from the wound, and the abscess which infects Philoctetes’ foot with pus and rotten blood (an image returning in Paris’ wound in book 10, linked from a narrative and intertextual level with Philoctetes’ one), Quintus is simultaneously recalling the emotional depiction of the hero in Sophocles’ drama and, in the same

time, is pushing this view even further, using what we can call, with Kristeva, the 'Powers of Horrors' in order to depict pathetically Philoctetes' abjection.

CATALINA POPESCU (CATALINA.POPESCU@UTEXAS.EDU)

A Pandora of Ivory - The Pure Humors of an Erotic Surrogate

My paper is concerned with the artistic and sexual embodiment of Galatea in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (X.243–97), and involves an ancient medical perspective over the myth of Pygmalion. In his work, Bauer (1962) argued that in the Ovidian *corpus*, infusion with humors or loss of humidity is strongly related to the fluctuations of feminine feelings and emotions (e.g. Galatea's body humidified by love, and Echo's petrification caused by excessive love). Using these arguments and Land's study (2012) on humours in Aristotle's *De anima*, I will argue that Galatea's conception represents a new type of fluid infusion opposed to previous models.

While he admires the first "god" who conceived human beings this way, Ovid admits that the second conception involved a rather fossilized version of the first faulty one, with the same ingredients (soil, earthly "veins" and water, 1.409-410). Pygmalion, too, indirectly criticizes the products of this creation when he despises womankind (X 243-247). His art avoids these pitfalls in constructing his maiden. Galatea's flawlessness is due to the absence of the damp and humid principles characterizing the other females.

Women were usually seen as leaky and cold and that very nature made them promiscuous and insatiable (Land (2012,) 370, Aristotle, 416a). Unlike their kind, her body does not corrupt or exhaust any of the humors of her lover. Her nature does not allow for a fluid exchange, but rather permanently absorbs the "transfusion" from her creator's superior humors. In her case, real blood substitutes from the beginning any inferior watery serum used in the conception of Pandora (X.280-293).

Thus, the imperfections of the wet and unstable life form in permanent need of copulation are answered by the creation of a dry creature who does not waste the seed of her animator.

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Menstrual Blood: What Athenian Women Knew

This paper aims to explore the degree of medical and religious education of women in classical Athens. In particular, it will focus on menstrual blood as a sign of good health and as an ingredient in magical rituals. Most importantly, it will look at the agents

who manipulated the knowledge available on menstrual blood, and were responsible of teaching and transmitting this knowledge.

Menstrual bleeding in ancient Greece has been object of study for historians of religion as well as medical historians. Scholars have analysed the theories about menstruation in the Hippocratic Corpus and in Aristotle, the delicate transition from *parthenos* to *gynē*, and the role played by the cult of Artemis. Furthermore, it has been debated whether menstrual blood and menstruated women were impure and were considered a source of pollution.

The topic needs to be reassessed collating the evidence from literary sources as well as from the epigraphic material. In what ways were medical and philosophical theories reflected in the ritual practices? Who was instructing girls and young women on how to deal with menstrual bleeding and problems related to it? Did doctors and *manteis* offer contrasting advice (cf. Hipp. VIII.468.38-40 Littré)? Given the importance of menarche in the physical and social development of a woman, what were the strategies of transmission of cultural values and which role played male and female educational practitioners? Furthermore, how did men and women use menstrual blood, lochial blood, or sperm in magical rituals? It should be explored in what ways the polluting power of gendered bodily fluids was contained: on one hand, they were subjected to sacred regulations, and, on the other hand, were exploited for magical purposes. In order to answer to these questions, the paper will take advantage of recent studies and methodologies in medical history, embodied cognition, women's history, and pedagogy of religion.

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The Menstruation Debate in Book 2 of Abraham Cowley's Plantarum Libri Sex (1662 and 1668)

Cowley's *Plantarum Libri Sex* is a remarkable work, a 7,000 line polymetric Latin poem dealing with herbs, flowers and trees while engaging with the contemporary world of the English civil war, the Restoration and the conquest of the New World. In book 2, the plants in the Oxford Botanic Garden hold a secret meeting in which they debate the purpose of menstruation and the use of abortifacients. While the Plantain and Dittany maintain that menstrual blood is a noxious exudation which the body needs to expel, the Rose instead argues that it is the substance which nurtures the growing foetus and that menstruation exists to prevent a surplus accumulating when conception does not occur. Finally, the Laurel – the metamorphosed Daphne – argues that menstruation is essential to maintaining the difference between male and female, an explanation which draws on Ovid's tale of Iphis and the Hippocratic case of Phaethousa.

This paper will look at the debate in the context of Early Modern theories of menstruation before examining the Laurel's argument in more detail, asking why Cowley should choose to reject contemporary medical orthodoxy in favour of a highly idiosyncratic explanation of the process.

DR BLOSSOM STEFANIW (STEFANIW@UNI-MAINZ.DE)

Maleness without Members: ominous fluids and passionate flux in the historia lausiaca

In four stories from the *historia lausiaca*, we encounter monks who experience genital calamities. Stephanos receives visitors and carries on an edifying conversation while a surgeon squats between his legs removing his genitalia, which had become cancerous. Heron's genitals rot and fall off entirely, Elias is castrated by angels, and Pachon undergoes a series of ordeals involving apathetic hyenas and an uncooperative asp before he gives up his plan to kill himself in order to escape the demon of fornication and returns to his cell.

In all these stories, physical maleness is removed from its traditional symbolic position as a tool of penetration which justifies social dominance and instigates viable masculinity. Male genitals are repeatedly cast as tumors, boils, or growths: sickly oozing things which are best removed. But maleness is taken as ominously fluid in another sense as well, for the object of the ascetic enterprise is to avoid the movement of the passions, but Palladius (writing to the eunuch Lausus) insists that castration closes up both the pathway of physical fluids and the occasion for movements of the passions independent of reason, sealing off the monk so that he is physically and mentally intact.

This paper will explore the inversions and disruptions of traditional Roman masculinity which Palladius inscribes on the bodies of these four monks using discourse analysis informed by queer theory and feminist criticism. I will demonstrate that by treating male genitalia in terms normally used of the female body (fluid, porous, subject to uncontrollable movements, repulsive, oozing), Palladius can interpret their removal as an appropriate measure toward achieving full ascetic control.

ANASTASIA STYLIANOU (A.STYLIANOU@WARWICK.AC.UK)

“The blood of his dear saints (like good seed) never falleth in vain to the ground”: the influence of Classical medical thought and early Christian beliefs upon medieval and early-modern constructions of martyrs’ blood.

In this paper I propose to explore the influence of both Classical medical thought and early Christian beliefs upon medieval and early-modern depictions of martyrs' blood. I take as my core sources: the most popular and influential medieval hagiographical compilation – Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* (c.1260); Martin Luther's four main martyrological works (1522-1525); the apogee of English Protestant martyrology – John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1st ed. 1563); two short works of English Catholic martyrology – Thomas Alfield's *A True Report* (1582) and John Mush's *Life of Margaret Clitherow* (c.1586). I first examine how far these texts drew upon Classical medical thought in their constructions of martyrs' blood. I then analyse how they employed and adapted early Christian understandings of martyrs' blood in response to contemporary concerns.

Medieval martyrology drew upon Classical medical thought above all in its understandings of the miraculous, e.g., miracles of blood turning to milk demonstrating a familiarity with the Galenic notion that bodily fluids stemmed from blood. As the spectacularly miraculous disappeared from early-modern martyrology, so too did many echoes of Classical medical thought. Some remained, however, above all in the use of metaphor, for example imagery of blood as milk, sperm or a nutritious fluid paralleling both Galenic and Aristotelian ideas about blood's role in human reproduction.

While Classical medical thought was mostly present implicitly in medieval and early-modern martyrology, the genre explicitly aligned itself with early Christian precedent. New Testament depictions of blood and martyrdom, and the discourses of martyrs' blood found in early-Church Fathers such as Tertullian and Augustine, were the foundations which later martyrologists built upon. They did not employ this heritage statically, rather constructing it to suit present concerns. Reformation martyrologies utilised martyrs' blood as a polemic weapon, rival confessions seeking to align themselves with what they portrayed as early-Church precedent.

DR SUSANNE TURNER (SMT41@CAM.AC.UK)

Blood, wounds and the impenetrability of the classical body

Bodies leak – and perhaps never more troubling so than when they are wounded. But while some ancient texts (Homer's *Iliad*, say, or Lucan's *Civil War*) celebrate the potential of the body's boundaries to be punctured and ruptured, taking almost fetishistic pleasure in the oozing of blood or the fissure of tissue, classical sculptors go to great lengths to *avoid* penetrating the body. Figures on temple friezes fight, but do not wound; athletes compete and even win, but do not bruise; Laocoon suffers pain, but no snake teeth break the skin. Blood is hardly absent from classical naturalism; it beats beneath the sculpted surface, pulsing through veins and arteries on figures like Polykleitos' Doryphoros to enliven otherwise lifeless stone and bronze. But sculpted men (and women) rarely bleed.

So why do sculpted bodies leak so little? And why, when wounds are represented, do they look so uncannily *unreal* – often in contradistinction to the avowed ‘naturalism’ of the work? In this paper, I explore the phenomenon of sculpted wounding against the backdrop of the very impenetrability of the sculpted body, looking at the ways in which the visual conceit of nudity and the sculptural transformation of flesh into hard stone or bronze work together to present the sculpted body as impervious. The uncanniness of the represented wound, moreover, punctures not only the body’s boundaries but also classical ‘naturalism’ itself.

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Why Don’t We Sweat When we Hold Our Breath?

Paradoxes of Perspiration in ancient Greek medicine (5th-3rd c. bce)

This paper investigates the place of sweat within Hippocratic and Peripatetic humoral systems, exploring the theoretical paradoxes that surrounded this common bodily function. Although we now see perspiration as a cooling mechanism, where evaporating moisture lowers the surface temperature of our skin, ancient authors more commonly conceptualized sweat as a means of excreting residues and water. Yet, many authors do more than provide physiological explanations that differ from our own; they describe experiences that today seem quite strange. For instance, the Hippocratic author of *Airs Waters Places* claims that we do not sweat as much in the sun as when we move to the shade (*Airs Waters Places* 8). In *On Sweat*, Theophrastus asks why we sweat more when we stop exercising than when we are in the act of exerting ourselves (*On Sweat* 29, 31). The pseudo-Aristotelian author of the *Problemata* even asks why we do not sweat when we hold our breath (*Problemata* 2.1). These somewhat baffling assertions present phenomena that most moderns have likely never experienced, and yet Greek authors consider these observations so unproblematic that they base further physiological arguments on them. This paper thus seeks to understand the assumptions hidden behind the ancient Greek medical understanding of perspiration. To this end, it analyzes how authors dealt with paradoxes produced when a binary theory of opposites (hot/cold, dry/wet, etc.) faced a complex phenomenon at the intersection of a body and its environment. It demonstrates that at these moments of conflict, authors often utilized paired, but opposed *ad hoc* explanations—what I call “mirror arguments”—which could be alternately employed depending on the proximate needs of the author (e.g., the sun’s heat produces sweat/the sun’s heat eliminates moisture). By using perspiration as a case study, this paper thus establishes a framework to understand the dynamics of fluid logic and the logic of fluid dynamics in ancient Greek medicine. By examining the social and technological contexts of sweat in classical antiquity, it demonstrates how difficult it is to determine what liquids leave the body and when.

Physiology of Matricide: Revenge and Metabolism in Aeschylus' Choephoroe

At the news of Orestes' alleged death, his nurse Cilissa recalls his infancy; among other things, washing his diapers (*Cho.* 743-763). Such a graphic detail at such a climactic moment commands attention. I interpret the imagery of liquids in her speech as a metaphor of retribution. I first survey significant thematic resonances. Cilissa is Orestes' de facto mother (749-62; 190-1); he is in diapers (755) like the snake from Clytemnestra's dream (529). Washing diapers (759) aggregates three allusions: Agamemnon's bath (*Ag.* 1109); bath Clytemnestra offers to Orestes (*Cho.* 670); Orestes' purification (*Eum.* 656). And so on. I then demonstrate that circulation of liquids throughout the trilogy represents the cycle of life (wetness) and death (dryness). For example, libations compensate for bloodshed (*Cho.* 400-2), dust absorbs blood (*Eum.* 647, 980), Ares in exchange for men gives dust and ashes in "urns" (λέβητας: vessels for liquid, *Ag.* 441-4); significantly, λέβης is Orestes' purported urn (*Cho.* 686), and Agamemnon's bathtub (*Ag.* 1129). Symptomatically, liquids of revenge cause desiccation: Erinyes' eyes drip with ooze (*Eum.* 54); they are to parch Orestes (*Eum.* 138) and sterilize the earth with poisonous rain (*Eum.* 782ff). In that respect, key information is that Cilissa both fed Orestes and cleaned after him: "launderer (κναφεύς) and nurse (τροφεύς) had the same *telos*" (760). Orestes' body is thus a circular conductor of fluids: sucking milk and inevitably soiling diapers comes to the same *telos* as he brings death to the one who gave him life. Most importantly, the process is beyond his control: babies cannot signal hunger, thirst, or full bladder (756). Infant metabolism, a closed loop run by reflexes (757), symbolizes the emblematic cycle of the *Oresteia*: the doer must suffer (*Cho.* 313).

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5. Practical Information about the conference

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Taxi Companies in Cardiff:

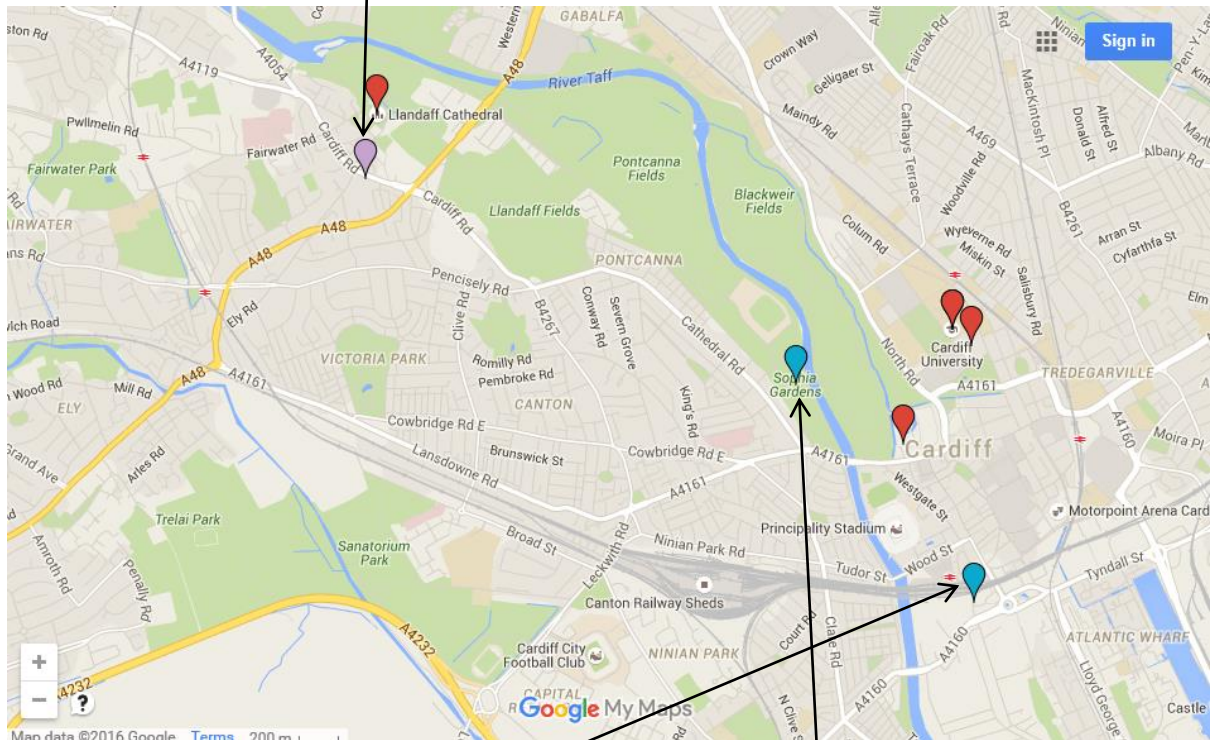
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Local map of the Cardiff area

St Michael's College is here in lilac:



Cardiff Central Station is here:

Sophia Gardens Coach Station (National Express) is here:

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