

Zweite internationale ZAZH-Tagung

Identitätskonstruktionen

Zur Rolle der Antike für die europäische
und aussereuropäische Selbstfindung

1.–3. September 2022



Abstracts der Vorträge

Alle Vorträge finden im Hörsaal KO2-F-180 statt (Karl Schmid-Strasse 4, 8006 Zürich)

*Donnerstag, 1. September
Nachmittag*

STEFAN REBENICH (Bern)

14.15–15.00

Renaissancen. Die Wiederkehr der Antike und die europäische Identität

Die Geschichte Europas ist bis in die jüngste Vergangenheit hinein auf das engste mit der regelmässigen Wiederentdeckung des griechisch-römischen Altertums verbunden. Die klassische Antike lieferte die entscheidenden Vorstellungen und Modelle, um die vielfältigen Herausforderungen der Moderne zu bewältigen – sei es durch den affirmativen Bezug auf die Tradition, sei es in deutlicher Abwendung von den 'Alten'. Doch was bleibt nach der Historisierung dieser dynamischen Prozesse der Aneignung und Abgrenzung vom Erbe der Antike? Welche Rolle kann diese europäische Epoche in der globalen Gegenwart spielen?

JÜRGEN LEONHARDT (Tübingen)

15.00–15.45

Europa und die lateinische Sprache

Europa ist gekennzeichnet durch eine Vielzahl von Staaten mit eigener Nationalsprache und einer sprachlich jeweils relativ homogenen Bevölkerung. Eine so große Vielfalt distinkter Schriftsprachen auf so kleinem Raum ist konkurrenzlos auf der ganzen Welt. Bis ins frühe 19. Jahrhundert hinein war die Kenntnis der lateinischen Sprache jedoch ein gemeinsames verbindendes Element aller Staaten. Ist Latein daher geeignet, zur europäischen Identitätsbildung beizutragen? Vielleicht sogar besser geeignet als andere Bezüge auf die griechisch-römische Antike, weil die historische Ausbreitung der

lateinischen Sprache nicht den Grenzen des Römischen Reiches folgt, sondern tatsächlich eine ungefähre Deckung mit den geographischen Grenzen Europas aufweist?

In diesem Beitrag wird gezielt danach gefragt, welche Bedeutungen das Lateinische für die Menschen besass und besitzt, die in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart die lateinische Sprache verwendeten. Lässt sich daraus eine besondere identitätsstiftende Funktion ersehen? Die Analyse verschiedener historischer Situationen unter dieser Fragestellung erschließt für einige oft behandelte und bekannte Fakten der lateinischen Kulturgeschichte zusätzliches Deutungspotential.

Gerade der wichtigste Fall sprachlicher Identitätsbildung, die Herstellung ethnischer oder nationaler Identität, kam in der Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache nur ganz ausnahmsweise vor. Latein war von Anfang an in mehrsprachigen Kontexten präsent. Daher bedarf es grundlegender Reflektionen, wie sprachliche Identitätsbildung in mehrsprachigen Kontexten aussehen kann. Für die lateinische Sprache zeichnen sich drei unterschiedliche Formen ab:

1) Der Gebrauch der lateinischen Sprache als gemeinsame Verständigungssprache, Sprache der Literatur, der Verwaltung oder des Rechts ohne besondere ideologische Markierung. Ein historischer Durchgang durch 2000 Jahre Geschichte zeigt viele Parallelen mit der Entwicklung Europas. Er zeigt aber auch, dass die Brüche und Unschärfen der gegenwärtigen Abgrenzung Europas nach außen hin oft bereits in der wechselnden Stellung der lateinischen Sprache vorweggenommen werden.

2) Der bewusste Gebrauch der lateinischen Sprache als erste oder wichtigste Sprache, verbunden mit einer starken kulturellen Identifikation. Dazu gehören die verschiedenen Renaissance des Lateinischen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Als Besonderheit zeigt sich, dass Latein in starkem Maße von europäischen Bevölkerungsteilen getragen wurde, die selbst nicht romanisiert waren. Weiterhin sind oft die Momente starker kultureller Identifizierung mit dem Lateinischen oft gerade nicht auf Europa als Ganzes bezogen.

3) Die lateinische Sprache als kulturelles Erbe. Hier sind zwei Ausprägungen zu unterscheiden: Zum einen die Berufung auf das Lateinische als historische Sprache und Selbstvergewisserung der eigenen Vergangenheit, gewissermaßen als heritage language Europas, zum anderen als Bildungssprache im Sinne des Sprachhumanismus, die letztlich doch eine europäisch-historische Bildung bleibt. Bei beiden Aspekten lassen sich die besonderen Eigenheiten der lateinischen Sprachgeschichte am besten verdeutlichen, wenn man sie mit entsprechenden Ausprägungen anderer Weltsprachen vergleicht, vor allem mit Sanskrit, dem Arabischen und dem Klassischen Chinesisch.

JOSÉ LUIS ALONSO (Zürich)

16.15–17.00

Europa und das römische Recht

In 1947, Paul Koschaker, whose major contributions until the late thirties had concentrated on the Greek papyri and the cuneiform legal practice, published, under the title “Europa und das römische Recht”, a book of immediate and enormous resonance. In the traumatic postwar years, when the idea of Europe as a problem had become almost a commonplace, Koschaker presented an overview of the contribution of Roman law to the

European identity and a passionate pladoyer for its lasting relevance, ten years after the first warning of his famous lecture “Die Krise des römischen Rechts und die romanistische Rechtswissenschaft”. This paper wishes to explore the developments –real or feared– that fueled these concerns and to present an overview of the imaginaries of Roman law that underlied a debate that has never completely abated.

SOTERA FORNARO (Sassari)

17.00–17.45

Rethinking Greek Tragedy. Die Gegenwart der griechischen Tragödie und die europäische Identität

Warum werden die griechischen Tragödien auf europäischen Theaterbühnen gegenwärtig so oft aufgeführt wie in keiner früheren Epoche? Weshalb gelten die mythologischen Ereignisse der griechischen Tragödien als Bilder für Fragen und Ereignisse der Gegenwart? Enthalten die griechischen Tragödien tatsächlich Elemente, die die europäischen Völker teilen und die ein gemeinsames ‘Bewusstsein’ oder gemeinsame ‘Werte’ zum Ausdruck bringen? Oder spiegeln diese Tragödien eher die Spannungen, Konflikte und Differenzen wider, die den europäischen Kontinent zerreißen? Anders gefragt: Ist die griechische Tragödie ein Archetyp der europäischen Identität oder eher ein Archetyp der ewigen Krise dieser Identität bzw. gar der Unmöglichkeit, von einer europäischen ‘Identität’ zu sprechen? Es wird versucht, unter Anführung einiger Beispiele für jüngere Aufführungen in Italien, Deutschland und anderen europäischen Ländern Antworten auf diese Fragen zu geben.

Donnerstag, 1. September
Öffentlicher Abendvortrag

FRANÇOIS BAYROU (Haut-Commissaire au Plan, Maire de Pau)

18.15

L’HÉRITAGE DE L’ANTIQUITÉ DANS LA RÉFLEXION SUR L’EUROPE CONTEMPORAINE

Freitag, 2. September
Vormittag

ALESSANDRO SAGGIORO (Rom)

9.15–10.00

Materiality of the History of Peace from Past to Nowadays: Ideas, Examples, Analysis from the Point of View of History of Religions

The last few decades have seen significant development in the Peace Studies discipline, although the examination of peace in the ancient world – especially from the perspective of religious studies – is still poorly investigated. In addressing the history of the ideas, the

modern perception of global peace is, indeed, mostly a product of the Enlightenment, while the study of the notion of peace in non-Western societies, conducted by setting aside Western categories and adopting an emic point of view, remains mostly unexplored. Consequently, the first major problem in approaching the study of peace in the ancient world is purely conceptual because it prompts us to ask: in what way is the concept of peace in past civilisations semantically similar to or different from our contemporary idea of peace? This is a question to which a historian of religions cannot fail to add a second interrogative: how has religion contributed to shaping the semantics of peace in different cultures of the past?

By adopting the interpretative strategies of material religion studies, my research proposes a transversal analysis of peace in order to demonstrate why going beyond textual sources and observing the “materiality of peace” is necessary to find answers to our questions. In doing so, special attention is given to the role played by museums in “re-semanticising” ancient peace and its objects (artefacts, images, monuments, etc.). Lastly, with the aim of analysing the relationship between peace and religion in the heritagisation process, I’m going to consider how past documents and artefacts related to cohesion and harmony have been interpreted and reused by today’s narratives and ideologies.

THOMAS DAVIES (Melbourne)

10.00–10.45

Philosophical Barbarians: European Historiography of Ancient Philosophy after 1600

This paper attempts to explain a major change in the historiography of ancient philosophy between c. 1600 and c. 1900 AD. In the 17th century, historians of philosophy held that the first Greek philosophers had borrowed philosophy from other cultural traditions. Greek philosophers were students and interlocutors of Persian Magi, Mesopotamian Chaldeans, Celtic Druids, and Indian Gymnosophists. By the end of the 19th century, historical consensus rejected not just external influence on Greek philosophy, but the very *possibility* of non-Greek philosophy. The Greeks invented a form of thought with no precedent or equal in any non-European culture: reason, denied to the cultures of a homogeneous “Orient.” The ancient background of European philosophy shrank from all Eurasia to the shores of the Aegean. What explains this shift? My paper attempts to relate the increasing Hellenocentrism of the discipline to the formation of a European racial and cultural identity in the context of colonialism by the industrialized European nations.

I look first to university textbooks used throughout Germany, the Low Countries, and England in the 17th and early 18th centuries. These works treat the philosophical traditions of ancient peoples other than the Greeks at length and assume that they had a direct influence on the Greek tradition from its earliest phase. The break came with Johann Jakob Brucker’s *Historia critica philosophiae* (1766): Brucker believed that the history of philosophy could only proceed through direct interpretation of written texts, which in his day were unknown for most non-European philosophical traditions. For this reason, history of philosophy must begin with the Greeks.

Brucker's methodology was obsolete within a decade. The *Historia* was published just five years before the first European translation of the Zoroastrian sacred texts opened Iranian philosophy to direct investigation in the West. Over the next four decades, many foundational works of Indian philosophy would also appear in translation, and the century to follow brought a cascade of decipherments of lost languages—Egyptian, Old Persian and Elamite, Akkadian and Sumerian.

But scholars working in Brucker's wake did not apply his principles of textual analysis to the new evidence. Instead, they developed a theory which excludes non-European sources *a priori*. The widely-read G.W. Tenneman, Hegel, and Eduard Zeller all argue against the admission of non-Greek traditions to the history of philosophy: for these authors, peoples of 'the Orient' are constitutionally incapable of rational thought. This view was adopted by three very influential historians working in German, French, and English during the 1880s and 1890s: Wilhelm Windelband, Paul Tannery, and John Burnet. I argue that this shift is an ideological reflex of the course of European colonialism over the 18th and 19th centuries. The discovery of the rich cultural heritage of non-European peoples across the world was a byproduct of their plunder, enslavement, and mass murder. The view that grows in vehemence through 19th-century historiography of Greek philosophy is the necessary exculpatory narrative: Europeans have the right to dominion over non-Europeans, for they belong to a cultural tradition uniquely suited to dominion.

TEJAS ARALERE (Santa Barbara)

11.15–12.00

Classics, Sanskrit, and the Formation of Transnational European Identity

Sir William Jones' "discovery" of Sanskrit in the 18th century followed by the 19th century development of Comparative Philology profoundly shaped European identity. The process by which Comparative Philology produced the distinct fields of Classical Studies and Oriental Studies in the 19th century reflected the ethnocultural turmoil in England, France, and Germany as they crafted their national histories. The European Academy's response to Sanskrit's introduction into Western intellectual discourse provides a case study of European identity formation in two contrasting phases: an initial intra-European competitiveness which later evolved into a unified European academy.

First, the British, French, and German philologists who learned Sanskrit attempted to connect it to their own ethnolinguistic histories. Scholars from these three countries competed to find and translate Sanskrit manuscripts. The British East India Company, which sent Jones to Calcutta, promoted Sanskrit studies to create colonial laws concordant with ancient Sanskrit legal codes. With his philological training, Jones established the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, where he proposed in a lecture that Sanskrit was "more perfect than Greek, more refined than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either."¹ His suggestion that these three ancient languages were related

¹ Franklin 1993, 355.

created a frenzy of academic interest in Sanskrit that shaped European identity beyond just the Saidian East-West cultural divide.

Next, the French learned Sanskrit when Alexander Hamilton, the American statesman's British cousin, was waylaid in France when hostilities erupted between France and England in 1803. Hamilton had studied under Jones and helped French scholars catalogue and translate the Sanskrit manuscripts acquired from Indian colonies. The Parisian Sanskritists wrote translations read by Europeans who eagerly sought Eastern wisdom. Hamilton's student, Friedrich Schlegel, carried Sanskrit back to Germany, where his brother, August, was heading the Romanticism movement. Friedrich Schlegel's theories about Indo-European languages were soon swept up in German Nationalism which sought an ancestral homeland for Germanic peoples in Ancient India.

However, this competitiveness diminished in 1843 when Franz Bopp published the first comparative grammar of Indo-European languages and suggested through meticulous linguistic analysis that Sanskrit pre-dated classical Greek. This initiated the second phase: the development of a unified European identity that could not stomach the idea that dark-skinned India boasted a more sophisticated intellectual heritage than Caucasian Europe – especially not when Europeans were colonizing India. European philologists united to find linguistic laws (e.g. Grimm's Law and the Law of Palatals) through which they could demote Sanskrit's status as the "mother" of Greek and Latin to merely their Oriental "cousin." Classical Greek and Latin became the foundational languages of a new, allied European intellectual heritage. Although Classicists continued learning Sanskrit, they relegated it to a separate academic discipline. This paper spotlights the convoluted interplay of Sanskrit and Classics when Europe was brimming with various intellectual movements such as the Enlightenment, Romanticism, and Darwinism. Thus, the process by which Sanskrit studies *divided* Classical Philology from the globally *inclusive* field of Comparative Philology, revolutionized Western intellectual history and solidified a transnational European identity that has endured to the present.

YASMIN FROMMONT (Heidelberg)

12.00–12.45

Alle Wege führen nach Rom: Das Erbe der antiken Kaiser und urbane Machtinszenierungsstrategien Papst Pius' IV.

Den Päpsten der Renaissance wird gerne nachgesagt, dass sie hätten mehr wie weltliche als wie geistliche Herrscher über die Christenheit und den Kirchenstaat regiert. Zwischen Reformation und Selbstbehauptung unter den Weltlichen Fürsten musste das Papsttum Strategien entwickeln und eine eigene Identität finden, in einer Zeit, die von neuen wissenschaftlichen Errungenschaften und einem neuen Weltbild geprägt war. In Rom bedeutete das nach der Rückkehr der Päpste aus dem Exil in Avignon und dem Ende des Abendländischen Schismas die ehemals mächtige, antike Stadt Rom wieder aufzubauen. Karten und Stiche aus der Zeit zeigen ein Stadtgefüge geprägt von Ruinen und Weiden, eine lose Zusammenstellung von Bauten gegenüber den blühenden Städten der Frühen Neuzeit wie Florenz, Mailand oder Neapel. Dabei mussten die Päpste nicht nur die Interessen der unterschiedlichen Bevölkerungsgruppen, allen voran den alten adligen

Familien der Stadt, berücksichtigen, sondern sich auch mit der antiken Stadtstruktur und ihrer Historie auseinandersetzen. Papst Paul III. stellte das Papsttum mit der Neugestaltung des Kapitols und der Überführung des Reiterstandbildes des Marc Aurel durch Michelangelo Buonarroti auf dieselbe Stufe mit den antiken Kaisern. Dreißig Jahre später, ab den 1560er Jahren, lässt Pius IV. die antike Straße Alta Semita begradigen und zur Via Pia ausbauen (der heutigen Via Venti Settembre), die beiden antiken Tore in der Aurelianischen Mauer schließen und ein neues Stadttor, die Porta Pia, errichten und begann, die Diokletiansthermen in unmittelbarer Nähe zu einem monumentalen Kirchenbau umzubauen. Die neue Straßenachse führte vom Stadtrand her an den Villen und Gärten der Oberschicht Roms vorbei hin bis zum Quirinalplatz. In einem früheren Projekt sollte die Via Pia weiter hinab bis zum Palazzo San Marco (heute Palazzo Venezia) geführt werden, direkt zum Fuße des Kapitols.

Die Neuanlage einer antiken Straßenachse und der Neubau eines Stadttores kann als Ausdruck des Selbstbewusstseins des Papstes, als Nachfahre Petri zugleich Erbe der antiken Kaiser zu sein, verstanden werden. Im Rahmen dieser Doppelfunktion soll der Gestaltungswille des Papstes in der Hauptstadt der Christenheit und des ehemaligen römischen Reiches untersucht werden.

Im Mittelpunkt meines Vortrages sollen die folgenden Fragen stehen: Wie kann mittels Architektur und Städtebau der Machtanspruch und die Legitimation des Papsttums als Erbe der antiken Kaiser gelingen? Wie geht Papst Pius IV. mit der antiken Historie der Stadt um? Liegt seine Inszenierungsstrategie in der Identifikation oder der Abgrenzung mit der Antike? Was sagt uns die urbane Machtinszenierungsstrategie des Papstes über Repräsentation und die Argumentation der Legitimierung von Herrschaft in der Neuzeit?

Mit Blick in die Forschung ist bereits zu konstatieren, dass die Päpste der Frühen Neuzeit sich stets zwischen den Polen von kirchlichen Tugenden und Vorstellungen und dem zeitgenössischen Interesse an der Antike und dem Bezug auf diese bewegten und sich positionierten. Architektur und Städtebau waren ein Mittel das eigene Pontifikat zu präsentieren und auf die römische Bevölkerung einzuwirken. Dabei wurden raumbezogene Identifikationsstrategien entwickelt, welche sich heute u.a. in den Prachtalleen und Sichtachsen europäischer Städte wiederfinden lassen. Alle Wege führen nach Rom, aber wohin genau die Wege *in der Stadt* verlaufen, darauf möchte ich einen Blick werfen.

Freitag, 2. September
Nachmittag

JOSCHKA MEIER (Zürich)
14.15–15.00

Archeologists, Anthropologists, and the Quest for a 'Swiss Identity': Academic Perceptions of the Past, Identity, and Eugenics

Antiquity served as the basis for widespread narratives, which were highly significant for the development of group identities in the 19th and 20th centuries: Britain and the Anglo-Saxons, France and the Gauls, and of course Germany and the concept of the *Germanen*.

The development of these supposed national lineages, creation myths and similar are being intensely investigated and fuel controversial yet illuminating academic debates to this day.

However, comparatively little research has been done on similar patterns and processes in the search for a "Swiss" identity despite the concept's complex history and political relevance. The idea of multi-ethnic Switzerland being a "*Willensnation*" in contrast to supposed "nation-states" emerged early on. However, this did not impede the efforts of anthropologists and archaeologists to locate a biologically defined autochthonous "Swiss race" in antiquity. How were these investigations conducted, and what can be found out about the validity of the resulting theories, underlying assumptions, and motivations, as well as the intended socio-political impact of the research?

These questions will be investigated based on the works of several highly influential academics of their day from 1870-1980 including Eugène Pittard and Theophil Studer, and publications of scholarly associations like the *Bernische Geographische Gesellschaft* and the Swiss Prehistoric Society. Based on the resulting findings the last part of the presentation explores how such a critical reassessment of our academic past can serve to better inform future endeavours including engagement with contemporary political discourse.

BLAZ ZABEL (Ljubljana)

15.00–15.45

How Homer Shaped the Birth and the End of Balkan States

The Balkans, especially the area known today as South Eastern Europe, always had a rather ambivalent relationship towards classical literature. In the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, the people lived under different rulers: Austro-Hungarian Empire, Ottoman Empire, Napoleon's Illyrian Provinces, Kingdom of Serbia, and so on. All these political entities greatly influenced the perception of antiquity, mostly through the implementation of their own education systems. To a great extent, these receptions were imposed from the imperial positions of power and were often perceived as such. But the local population had their own comparandum to the ancient epics as well: the oral poetry. Classicists are today aware of the tradition through the work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord, but the local practice of collecting, researching, and comparing these epics is longer and richer. From the times of Romanticism at least, ancient poetry, and Homer in particular, provided legitimation for the intellectual and nationalistic study of the South Slavic oral epics. This tension between classical literature as the heritage of Western imperial centres on the one hand, and ancient poetry as symbolic endorsement for nation-building projects on the other, results in a unique example of classical reception for construction of modern identities in the region.

In order to understand how this dynamism operates in today's discourses in the South Eastern European states, one needs to consider the development of political and cultural discourses about classical literature in the (long) twentieth century. The aim of this paper is to offer a *longue durée* reading of select national programmes, which were influenced by classical literature and Homeric poetry. I begin by discussing the Bulgarian April uprising (1876), an important revolt against the Ottoman Empire, focusing on the

international response to the aftermath of the event, especially on William Ewart Gladstone's interventions, which influenced future developments in the region. I argue that interests in Homeric poetry and South Slavic oral literature guided decisions on the international political podium. This example shows that Homeric poetry played a crucial role for national programmes in the Balkans, but at the same time also reflects the extent to which influential European empires decided the fate of the local population. To offer a local perspective, I then inspect the work and unpublished archival sources of Matija Murko (1861–1952) who is today regarded as one of Milman Parry's forerunners. In contrast to Parry, Murko's writings on South Slavic poetry and Homer responded to the imperialistic, nationalistic, and political heritage that was always part of collecting oral poems in the Balkans. I specifically focus on the role that scholarship on oral literature had for fashioning the image of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Lastly, I consider the breakup of Yugoslavia by closely reading the "Contributions to the Slovenian National Program" published in the 57th edition of the journal *Nova Revija* (1987). The contributions in the journal, which presented the philosophical foundations for the Slovenian constitution adopted in 1991, are full of classical references. To explain what role the use of classical sources played in the independence movement that resulted in the breakup of Yugoslavia, I first discuss Communist and anti-Communist relationship towards ancient literature in the seventies and eighties. On the grounds of this analysis I then argue that the ancient texts were invoked as a symbolic move from the Communist rejection of classics towards what the authors saw as the intellectual forebearers of Western culture. The examples discussed in the paper testify to the dynamic nature of cultural and national ideology guiding various receptions of Homer and other ancient texts. Western nations often perceived ancient Greek culture as the fountainhead of European culture, an ideology which has been adopted by contemporary right-wing populists. Conversely, receptions of ancient literary tradition in the Balkans was dynamic and fluid, ranging from the rejection of classical antiquity as a symbol of ruling empires; its role in searching for and programming an independent cultural identity; to its use in arguments that strive to define specific Balkan states as "Western." The paper researches these forms of classical reception for the construction of political entities and various identities in the Balkans.

DAVID VAN SCHOOR (Grahamstown)

16.15–17.00

Strangers at the Gate: Greece and Rome and Identity in Colonial Africa

Graeco-Roman traditions of thinking and seeing, a certain idea of 'the Greeks' and the fantasy of an essential, transhistorical and 'white' *romanitas* confronted and chronically threatened by a native, African barbarism: These are all features of the white identity politics of colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid South Africa. South Africa represents an especially telling instance of the enduring function of Antiquity as props cupboard for national and racial self-inventions. Europeans in South Africa, themselves descendants of Batavi, Galli and Goths, defined themselves as *Afrikaners*, at once both African and European, they were creole in the original sense. Europeanness, then, whatever that would be, took on a very immediate importance in the assertion of priority and dominance in the modern, African political context. Classics in 20th Century South Africa

was not simply one harmless colour on the palette of Humanities studies: It has been constitutive in theorizing and justifying racial identity in a country, in which identity has been a matter of life and death.

A Christianizing identification of Europe with a fictive 'whiteness' and with meaningful order would find itself expressed in scholarship and in imaginative receptions of Greece and Rome in 20th Century South Africa, even if later, in place of Christian, that 'whiteness' would be restyled (on the also fictive, Nietzschean antinomy) as 'Apollonian'. The constellation of native discovered, described and outwitted by city-dwelling or citizen-farmer heroes, just as predicted in the typologies of Graeco-Roman poetic imagination, is one that persists from Camões rounding the Cape in the early 16th Century, and seeing brutes 'wilder than Polyphemus', through to today. European man rediscovers pagan Antiquity and simultaneously discovers what he is or 'wie man wird was man ist' – the long-suffering descendant of Aeneas and Augustus, Odysseus and Herakles, bearing his white man's burden of bringing order to a world of rude naturals.

In this paper I reflect on 20th Century permutations of this patterning in the South African imagining of the savage and the civilized self. I propose to chart a contour map of the mental landscape in which different South African identities may be seen to have defined themselves through their disposition to the ancient Mediterranean. I travel briskly from Robert Grendon and C.J. Rhodes at the end of the 19th Century; to Jan Smuts, and T.J. Haarhoff's 'Romeinse Boer'; via Nelson Mandela playing Sophocles' Creon on Robben Island; the novels of Mary Renault and J.M. Coetzee; to the crisis of 'whiteness' in academic Classics in the 1990s; and finally, to the hopeful case of Richard Whitaker and his 'Southern African translations' of Homer (2012 and 2017).

SHADI BARTSCH-ZIMMER (Chicago)

17.00–17.45

Harmony for the World: Plato, Confucius, and Chinese Foreign Policy

This lecture focuses on the continuing florescence of Confucian-based nationalism in China over the past 20 years—a far cry from the status of Confucian texts in the earlier days of the CCP, when Mao condemned the old sage and his teachings. Confucianism now underpins the new nationalism by offering it an intellectual and ethical history; some public voices have gone so far as to link Confucianism to concerns about ecology and sustainability. Hu Jintao's stress on the Confucian value of harmony (*hexie*), now with Xi Jinping's added emphasis on "a harmonious society of the future," allows the government to lay claim to a new domestic and foreign policy deeply in contrast to western "aggression." Seeking to represent these Confucian values as universals, intellectuals turn to readings of Confucius that claim deep parallels to the themes of Plato's *Republic*, especially given that "harmony" and "justice" are collapsed into one concept. The theme of musical harmony and its relationship to the emotions also seems to offer a superficial parallel. Plato and Confucius, then, will lead us forward in a new (China-dominated) world order. But of the two; Confucius is still shown to be superior in his thought. In three recent conferences about Socrates and Confucius, the Chinese argue Confucian harmony improves on Socratic antagonism. The latter's repudiation of tradition is singled out for

criticism—and likewise, the modern west’s “repudiation” of the hierarchical, supposedly merit-based *Kallipolis* that lies at the foundation of its own tradition of political thought.

Freitag, 2. September
Öffentlicher Abendvortrag

EDITH HALL (Durham)
18.15–19.45

Brexit, the Roman Empire, and Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline*

The vote cast in 2016 by Britons to leave the European Union will continue to have violent repercussions for British, Commonwealth and European identities for decades. Within Britain, the decision has fanned the flames of the permanently festering flames of local, national *and* European identity within Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland as well. This paper argues that Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline*, the last of his four Roman history dramas to be written (1610-1611), and the only one with scenes set both in Britain (in England and Wales) and on the European continent, shows that the contradictions inherent within Britain’s identification as European were definitively shaped in the late Elizabethan/early Jacobean era.

The most important ingredients in the production of competing national and European identities were the accession of King James VI of Scotland to the English throne, his promotion of a public image which equated him with Augustus, during whose reign Jesus Christ had been born, the discovery of the material reality of Roman Britain through William Camden’s 1586 treatise *Britannia* (a projected suggested by the supreme Dutch cartographer Abraham Ortelius), and its collection of almost everything that the ancient Greeks and Romans had said about Britain, especially Tacitus in his *Agricola*.

The play explores the tenacious and competing ideological beliefs held by fervent and xenophobic British nationalists and their more cosmopolitan, Europe-facing compatriots; it also highlights tensions between English, Scottish and Welsh identities. But these are identities are in turn related to the ambitions of imperial expansion and global dominance held by several European superpowers, above all Britain, at a time coinciding with the plantation of Ulster and the colonisation of the Americas. These projects and Britons’ self-identification as colonists were continuously informed by ancient Greek and Roman ideas about empire & colonialism, and especially about their supposed civilising potential where people perceived as savages or barbarians were concerned.

Samstag, 3. September
Vormittag

WOLFRAM KINZIG (Bonn)
9.15–10.00

Das Christentum und die Einheit und Spaltung Europas

Das Christentum hat wesentliche morphologische Charakteristika bereits in der Antike ausgebildet. In dieser Form hat es zur gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Selbstfindung Europas maßgeblich beigetragen. Allerdings ging dieser Prozess mit der Unterdrückung paganer Kulte, der Abgrenzung gegen den Islam und der Marginalisierung und Verfolgung des Judentums einher.

Gleichzeitig hat das Christentum allerdings auch zur in mancher Hinsicht fortdauernden Spaltung Europas beigetragen, v.a. durch die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen lateinischer Kirche und den orthodoxen Kirchen Ost- und Südosteuropas und durch die Ausdifferenzierung der lateinischen Kirche in eine römisch-katholische Konfession und in die protestantischen Landeskirchen.

Der Vortrag möchte diesem ambivalenten Prozess nachgehen und am Schluss fragen, welche Konsequenzen sich aus dem Rückgang des Christentums für Europa ergeben.

HANS DAIBER (Frankfurt)

10.00–10.45

Menschliche Werte im islamischen Denken. Antike Wurzeln und europäischer Humanismus

Das wachsende Interesse der Araber an arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen seit dem 2./8. Jahrhundert lässt sich als Zeichen humanistischen Denkens im Islam deuten. Damit vergleichbar ist die Entstehung des Humanismus in Europa, wo seit dem 14. Jahrhundert n. Chr. die griechische und lateinische Literatur zur Grundlage moralischer und spiritueller Bildung wurde. Wir werden eine Antwort auf die Frage suchen, ob sich im islamischen Kulturkreis ein ähnliches Bildungsideal im Einklang mit der Religion entwickelt hat. Die wahrgenommene Spannung zwischen den Humanisten der Antike und dem Christentum hat eine Parallele in der Spannung zwischen islamischer Religiosität und einem rationalen islamischen Weltbild. Allerdings gibt es in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart Ansätze, ein Bildungsideal zu entwickeln, das mit dem europäischen Konzept einer moralischen Prägung des Individuums vergleichbar ist. Der Koran und die islamische Tradition stehen der freien Entfaltung der Persönlichkeit und der gestalterischen Verantwortung nicht im Wege – allerdings nur dann, wenn wir die Geschichtlichkeit von Koran und Tradition berücksichtigen und diese nicht zur unreflektierten Norm erhoben werden. Im Koran, Sure 42, Vers 23(22) verlangt Gott von seinen Dienern, "die glauben und tun, was recht ist", lediglich die "Freundschaft, wie sie unter Verwandten üblich ist". Es ist bemerkenswert, wie Liebe, Freundschaft und Gerechtigkeit zu zentralen Themen der islamischen Ethik werden, die von griechischen Quellen, wie Aristoteles' *Nikomachischer Ethik* und von griechischer Weisheitsliteratur geprägt sind. Verbunden mit dem Streben nach dem Wissen der Vergangenheit und verbunden mit der Entwicklung von Verhaltensweisen des Einzelnen in seiner Einordnung in den islamischen Idealstaat des Philosophen Fārābī finden wir bereits im 10. Jahrhundert n. Chr. tiefgreifende Reflexionen über menschliche Werte, die einen Vergleich mit europäischem Humanismus erlauben. Dieser Vergleich wird die Frage aufwerfen, inwiefern die Anregungen der Antike im Mittelalter aus den antiken Quellen, eventuell über arabisch-lateinische Übersetzungen erfolgte oder die universelle Wertigkeit menschlicher Verhaltensweisen unabhängig voneinander entwickelt wurde.

SARAH BUDASZ (Amsterdam)

11.15–12.00

Spartacus, Romulus, and the Roman Origins of the Early Haitian National Narratives

Stella (1858) by Emeric Bergeaud, is generally considered to be the first Haitian novel. It is part of a dominant trend in early Haitian literature which took as its main subject the country's recent Revolution and War of Independence (1791-1804).

The novel follows the struggles of two enslaved brothers, one Black (Romulus), one mixed-race (Remus), throughout the events that led to the independence of Haiti, including their rescue of a white woman, Stella, who will guide them through their fight for freedom.

Classical references in early nineteenth-century Haitian literature and visual culture are often in line with French eighteenth-century classicism. In the context of the Haitian Revolution, the figure of the Black Spartacus is rapidly associated with the revolutionary general Toussaint Louverture and contributes to the mythologisation of the first black leader of Haiti. The trope of a parallel between the famous Roman slave and the Haitian insurgent leaders is also referenced by Bergeaud in *Stella* but here I contend that, through its particular reception of classical antiquity, the novel offers an alternative narrative of early Haitian history, moving away from Slave revolt to nation building.

Stella combines an allegorical retelling of the Haitian Revolution, and especially of the conflict between Louverture and the mixed-race leader André Rigaud, foretold through the mythological fratricide of Romulus and Remus, with a detailed historical narrative that sets to establish a faithful national record of Haiti's founding. Bergeaud thus sets the recurring internal conflicts between formerly enslaved black Haitians and free mixed-race Haitians as a fraternal struggle, both tragic and central, and to be overcome in order to build the free Haitian nation. In a clear departure from the Roman tradition, Romulus and Remus do reconcile after expiating their symbolic fratricide.

As early as in the nineteenth century, Bergeaud, and other 'subaltern' writers "engage with classics on their own cultural terms, recognising that which is germane to their historical and cultural experience and domesticating Classics according to the needs of their art."²

This paper will therefore explore how Bergeaud uses ancient Rome as a model to govern the construction of an ideal post-independence Haitian society. It will pay particular attention to the shift from the figure of Spartacus to the one of Romulus but also to the ways classical references serve to allegorise and mediate the violence of the Revolution and the Independence War. Finally, it will look at the rewriting of the Roman foundation myth as a redemptive narrative of reconciliation.

² Emily Greenwood, 'Subaltern Classics in Anti- and Post-Colonial Literatures in English', *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English – Volume 5: After 1880*, ed. by Kenneth Haynes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 576-607 (p. 579).

JACKIE MURRAY (Lexington)

12.00–12.45

The Black Classicism and the Jamaica Poet: Ishion Hutchinson's *Far District and House of Lords and Commons*

Through close readings and interviews with the poet, this essay discusses the unique way the classical Greco-Roman past informs Ishion Hutchinson's construction of an authentic Jamaican voice and identity in his second poetry book, *House of Lords and Commons*. It is argued here that Hutchinson's poetry excavates the links between classical and colonial past in which "Jamaicaness" is deeply rooted. With some explicit allusions to the ancient Greeks and Romans Hutchinson performs a bow to his poetic ancestors. In "Sprawl", Janus, Gorgon, and Herodotus cluster together around Keats, whose poetry was one of the first gateways to the Greeks and Romans for schoolboys in Jamaica. However, other allusions are typically Jamaican-sounding turns of phrases that are so embedded in the culture and the linguistic repertoire that the average person using them would not actually know the classical reference. This is true also for his choice of placenames and flora. The classical never overtakes the natural emotional resonances of the tenor, be it geography, flora, language, etc. The reference to Cerberus in the first poem triggers the *katabasis* leitmotif running throughout the collection. Within this thematic complex, the references to Italy and the mention of Kali call in the notion of Empires never really dying but always being reborn: the American and the British Empires that have dominated Jamaican attempts at political independence are just reincarnations of the Roman Empire. The poems in the collection are what give the sedimented classical allusions their salience by revealing the ubiquity and mundaneness of the ancient presence in the colonial and post-colonial Jamaican identity.

***Samstag, 3. September
Nachmittag***

KATHERINE KELAIDIS (Chicago)

14.15–15.00

Greeks, Ancient and Modern: Antiquity and the Construction of Modern Greek Racial Identity in America

The role of the Classics in the invention and maintenance of *whiteness* as a discursive and political category is a subject of increasing discussion and debate, both within and outside scholarly circles.³ Often absent in this debate, however, is the ethno-racial assignment of modern ethnic Greeks, despite the fact that an examination of how and why ethnic Greeks have been assigned to various modern racial categories across time offers a unique opportunity to understand the construction of racial and ethnic identity vis-a-vi the Classical tradition. Thus this paper will examine the racialized history of ethnic Greeks in America and to what extent Greeks have been seen as "white" and/or "European" in the American context. Beginning in the late 18th century, in the aftermath of the American

³ Cf. Poser, Rachel. "He Wants To Save Classics From Whiteness." *New York Times*. February 2, 2021; Sullivan, Andrew. "The Unbearable Whiteness of Classics." *The Weekly Dish*. February 5, 2021; Rankine, Patrice D. "The Classics, Race, and Community-Engaged or Public Scholarship." *American Journal of Philology* 140, no. 2 (2019): 345-359.

Revolution and on the eve of Greek Revolution, and continuing through the years immediately after the Second World War (the last period of large scale Greek migration into the United States), we will explore how the imagine Classical past interacted with xenophobia, religious prejudice, and the demands of shifting racial lines to shape and alter Greek ethno-racial construction in America.

The place of ethnic Greeks in the strange country of modern racial ideology has long been contested, a debate fuelled in large part by the role of Greek Antiquity in modern racial thought. The notion of the Classics was central in creating early modern concepts of *The West* and *whiteness*; however, this conceptualization largely originated in Western Europe in a period in which most Greek-speaking people lived in the decidedly un-Western Ottoman Empire. Thus *The Greeks* took on a near-mythic quality in the Early Modern Western European mind.

The conflicting narratives of historical reality and imagined past play out again and again in the attempt to define Greek racial identity within the modern paradigm. Greeks offer a liminal case study, placed between East and West, Europe and 'Other', Black and White. This paradoxical representation of Greece as both "Europe's origin and Other, with Greece's construction as the stable place of origin for the West's identity, lays open the tension between its mythic status and precarious history in the interstices of East and West."⁴

In this paper, we will interrogate these intricacies as a route to understanding how "European" is defined and redefined at its margins, particularly within the high stakes game of American race.

ANNA SCHRIEFL (Berlin)

15.00–15.45

References to Greco-Roman Antiquity in Germany's 'Neue Rechte'

Germany's 'Neue Rechte' is a far-right movement advocating for a cultural and political revolution, often through intellectual debates and published work. Authors of this movement frequently refer to Greco-Roman Antiquity to expound ideas on European identity, values, and virtues, defend anti-immigrant positions, and demand cultural and demographic homogeneity. In my paper, I will introduce the central publications and outlets, give an overview of the main argumentative strategies, and explore their attitudes towards the reception of Greco-Roman Antiquity in Nazi Germany. I will also offer reflections on how Germany's intellectual and academic culture may have provided particularly fruitful grounds for this movement.

⁴ Koundoura, M. (2012). *The Greek Idea: The Formation of National and Transnational Identities* (2nd ed.). London: I.B. Tauris. (Original work published 2007).

Samstag, 3. September
Öffentlicher Vortrag

STÉPHANIE-ANNE RUATTA (Québec)

16.15–17.45

History as a Game Foundation in *Assassin's Creed Odyssey*

The formidable rate of technological improvement continues to push the possibilities of authentically interacting with history into uncharted territories. By exploring the process that underlay the creation of *Assassin's Creed Odyssey*, this lecture provides an overview of how historical research served as a foundation for many of the facets of the game-experience. It reveals how realism and historical credibility help underpin *Assassin's Creed Odyssey* and its *Discovery Tour*. It demonstrates how they are implemented into specific conventions and presents the different ways in which historical information is provided to the player. And in so doing, it underlines the deep value which both primary and secondary historical research bring to such projects.