UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Classical Association of Canada Annual Conference
Calgary
May 8–10, 2018

Société Canadienne Des Études Classiques Congrès Annuel
Calgary
8–10 mai, 2018

SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE DES ÉTUDES CLASSIQUES | CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

Program & Abstracts | Programme et Résumés

Classical Association of Canada Annual Conference |Société Canadienne Des Études Classiques Congrès Annuel

Calgary
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Statement on Harassment

The CAC does not tolerate prejudice, inequity, harassment, or related unethical behavior, and aspires to an academic culture that fosters professional courtesy, respect, equity, tolerance, and inclusion for all of its members, and for all people working in our related disciplines.

In attending the annual meeting, participants recognize the right of all attendees to be free from harassment (including but not limited to sexual harassment) and agree to treat everyone with respect. This includes respect for different viewpoints. This statement is not meant to limit inquiry or debate, but to promote rigorous and critical discussion that is collegial (free of personal harassment, prejudice, and aggression).

Members are reminded that they are bound by policies on conduct at their home institutions.

Déclaration sur le harcèlement

La SCEC ne tolère aucune forme de préjugé, d'iniquité, de harcèlement ou de comportement irrespectueux. Elle aspire à une culture universitaire qui encourage la courtoisie professionnelle, le respect, l'équité, la tolérance et l'inclusion pour tous ses membres et pour tous ceux et celles qui travaillent dans ses disciplines connexes.

Par leur présence à l'assemblée annuelle, les participant(e)s reconnaissent le droit de tous les autres membres présents de ne pas faire l'objet de harcèlement (y compris, mais sans s'y limiter, le harcèlement sexuel) et acceptent de les traiter avec respect. Ceci inclut le respect des divergences d'opinions. Cette déclaration n'a pas pour but de limiter les questions ou les débats, mais de promouvoir les discussions rigoureuses et critiques faites dans un esprit de collégialité (exemptes de toute forme de harcèlement, de préjugé et d'attaque personnelle).

Nous rappelons aux membres qu'ils sont déjà liés par des politiques de conduite dans leurs propres établissements.

Twitter

To live-tweet: **#cacscec2018**
Pour tweeter en direct: **#cacscec2018**
Follow the CAC on Twitter / Pour suivre la SCÉC sur Twitter: **@cac_scec**

Policy on live-tweeting panels:

Chairs are encouraged to ask panelists whether they give permission for information from their talks to be shared on Twitter and other social media, and to announce this at the beginning of the session. Anyone live-tweeting panels should use the conference hashtag **#cacscec2018**. Social media use at the conf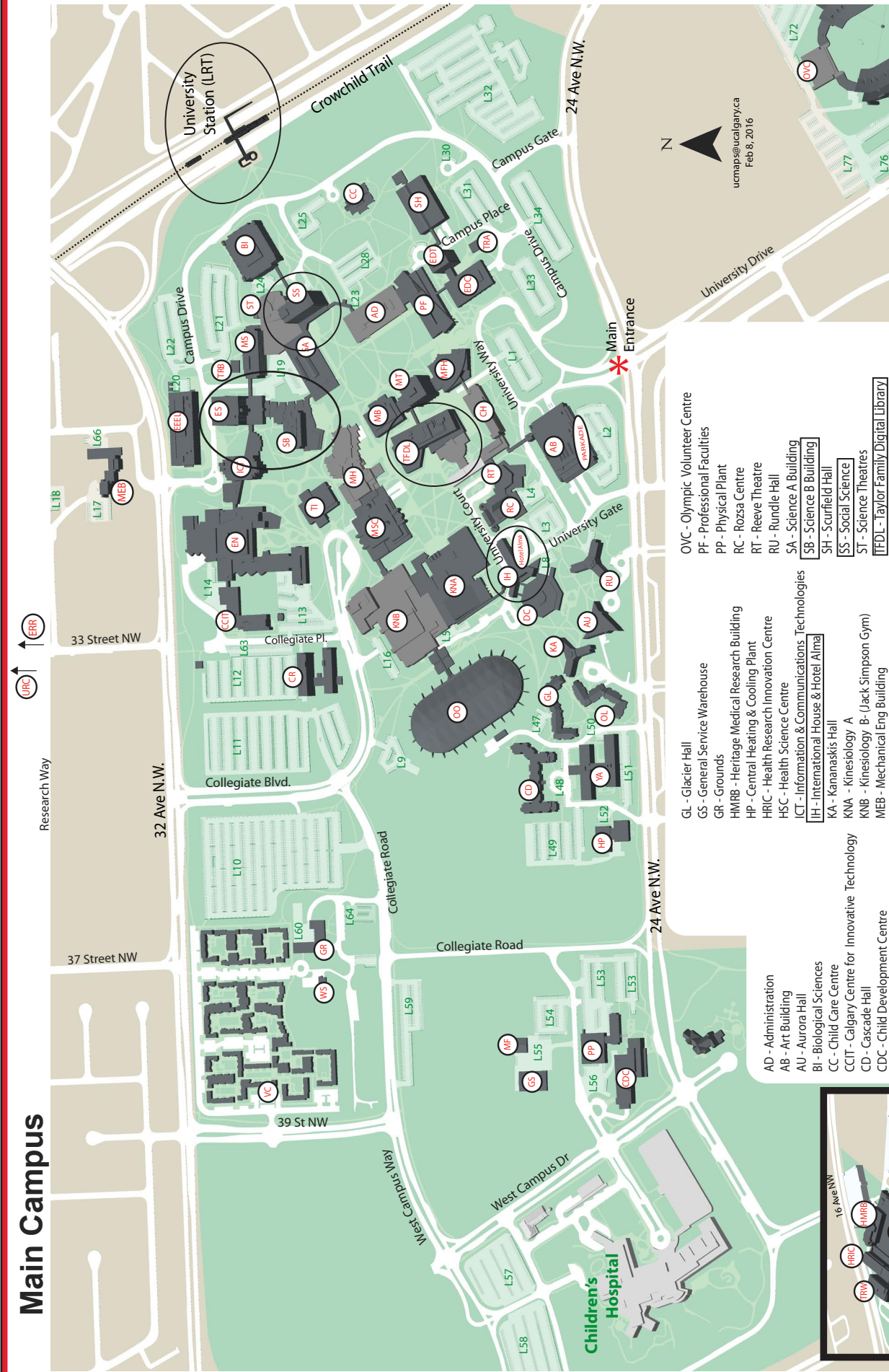erence should follow the protocol outlined here: **https://lizgloyn.wordpress.com/2016/10/31/livetweeting-conferences-a-protocol/**

Politiques concernant le « tweetage » en temps réel durant les panels:

Les présidents de séances sont encouragés à demander aux panélistes s'ils autorisent que des informations provenant de leurs discussions soient partagées sur Twitter et autres réseaux sociaux, et à l'annoncer au début des sessions. Toute personne « tweetant » en temps réel lors d'un panel doit utiliser le hashtag **#cacscec2018**. Les réseaux sociaux utilisés lors des conférences doivent suivre le protocole qui se trouve sur le lien suivant: **https://lizgloyn.wordpress.com/2016/10/31/livetweeting-conferences-a-protocol/**

U of C wi-fi availability for guests:

ucguest (you'll be forwarded to a page to log-on)

eduroam (if your home university is part of EduRoam)

Main Campus

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

University Station (LRT)

Crowchild Trail

24 Ave N.W.

Campus Gate

Campus Place

University Drive

Main Entrance

ucmaps@ucalgary.ca
Feb 8, 2016

N

Campus Drive

Research Way

33 Street NW

32 Ave N.W.

Collegiate Pl.

Collegiate Blvd.

Collegiate Road

37 Street NW

Collegiate Road

39 St NW

West Campus Way

West Campus Dr

24 Ave N.W.

Children's Hospital

University Way

University Court

University Gate

AD - Administration
AB - Art Building
AU - Aurora Hall
BI - Biological Sciences
CC - Child Care Centre
CCIT - Calgary Centre for Innovative Technology
CD - Cascade Hall
CDC - Child Development Centre
CH - Craigie Hall C - G (University Theatre)
CR - Crowsnest Hall
DC - Dining Centre
EDC - Education Classroom Block
EDT - Education Tower
EEEL - Energy.Environment. Experiential Learning
EN - Schulich School of Engineering A - G
ERR - Energy Resource Research
ES - Earth Science

GL - Glacier Hall
GS - General Service Warehouse
GR - Grounds
HMRB - Heritage Medical Research Building
HP - Central Heating & Cooling Plant
HRIC - Health Research Innovation Centre
HSC - Health Science Centre
ICT - Information & Communications Technologies
IH - International House & Hotel Alma
KA - Kananaskis Hall
KNA - Kinesiology A
KNB - Kinesiology B- (Jack Simpson Gym)
MEB - Mechanical Eng Building
MFH - Murray Fraser Hall
MH - MacEwan Hall
MB - MacKimmie Library Block
MT - MacKimmie Library Tower
MS - Math Science
MSC - MacEwan Student Centre
MF - Materials Handling Facility
OL - Olympus Hall
OO - Olympic Oval

OVC - Olympic Volunteer Centre
PF - Professional Faculties
PP - Physical Plant
RC - Rozsa Centre
RT - Reeve Theatre
RU - Rundle Hall
SA - Science A Building
SB - Science B Building
SH - Scurfield Hall
SS - Social Science
ST - Science Theatres
TFDL - Taylor Family Digital Library
TI - Taylor Institute for Teaching & Learning
TRA - Trailer A
TRB - Trailer B
TRW - Teaching Research & Wellness
URC - University Research Centre
VC - Varsity Courts (Family Housing)
WS - Weather Station
YA - Yamnuska Hall

Foothills Campus

16 Ave NW
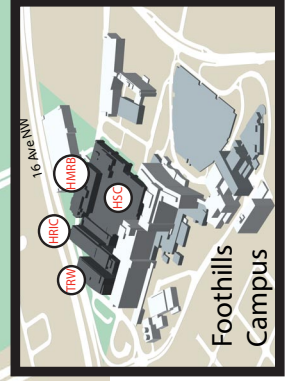
Monday, May 7 | Lundi 7 mai

12:30–5:00 PM	Registration	Inscription (CLARE Lounge, Social Sciences 5th floor)
12:00–2:45 PM	Department Heads' Meeting	Réunion des directeurs et directrices de départements (Kawamura Library, Social Science 527, CLARE Department)
3:00–5:00 PM	CAC Board Meeting	Réunion du conseil de la SCÉC (Kawamura Library, Social Science 527, CLARE Department)

Tuesday, May 8 | Mardi 8 mai

8:00 AM–6:00 PM	Registration	Inscription (Science B corridor)
8:00 AM	Breakfast	Petit déjeuner
8:15 AM	Welcome	Mot de bienvenue

Session 1

8:30–10:30 AM	ES 162	SB 142	SB 144	SB 148
	1a: Art and Archaeology I/Art et Archéolgie I	**1b: Public Facing Scholarship in Classics in Canada/ Le public face à l'érudition en études classiques au Canada**	**1c: Ovid/Ovide**	**1d: Greek History I/Histoire grecque I**
	Chair/Président: Tana Allen	*Chair/Président: Katherine Blouin*	*Chair/Président: Elena Dahlberg*	*Chair/Président: Sean Corner*
	Digital technology, anchorages, and maritime trade networks at Maroni-Tsaroukkas, Cyprus	*Using Social Media for Public Engagement*	*Gendered Landscapes of Power: Ovid's locus inamoenus*	*How were battlefield dead counted in Greek warfare?*
	Carrie Fulton and Naomi Neufeld	**Alison Innes**	**Caitlin Hines**	**Catherine Rubincam**
	University of Toronto	Brock University	University of Toronto	University of Toronto
	Mithraic Networks: A View from UBC's Excavations of Apulum Mithraeum III	*Lifelong learning in cyberspace: blogging as a form of instruction*	*The Aesthetics of Narcissism in Ovid's Story of Galatea and Polyphemus*	*Notes on the origins of the Macedonian Sarissa phalanx*
	Matthew McCarty	**Jaclyn Neel**	**Mariapia Pietropaolo**	**Graham Wrightson**
	University of British Columbia	Temple University	University of Missouri	South Dakota State University
	Before Metaponto: Greeks among the Oenotrians. New Data from the Excavations at Incoronata	*Scholarship Out Loud: Moving Beyond the Lone Academic*	*Quid verbis opus est? Rhetoric and reinterpretation in Ovid's Contest of Arms*	*Spartan masculinity and social constructionism: A case study from Xenophon's Spartan Constitution*
	Sveva Savelli	**Aven McMaster**	**Christina Robertson**	**Kendell Heydon**
	Queen's University	Thorneloe University at Laurentian	Auckland University	University of Nottingham

	ES 162	SB 142	SB 144	SB 148
8:30–10:30 AM	*The Fieldwork of the Canadian Institute in Greece in 2017.* **David W. Rupp** Canadian Institute in Greece	*The Rewards Outweigh the Risks—Advocating for Public Scholarship in an Era of White Supremacy* **Rebecca Futo Kennedy** Denison University	*Arrested Development: Narcissus' Failed Rites de Passage* **Jeff Carnes** Syracuse University	*Focalized Barriers in Xenophon's Anabasis* **Paul Alexander McGilvery** Western University

Coffee break | Pause-Café

Session 2

	ES 162	SB 142	SB 144	SB 148
11:00 AM–12:30 PM	2a: Agriculture	2b: Graduate Student Caucus Panel: Teaching the Ancient World for the Modern Student/Caucus des étudiants gradués: Enseigner le monde antique à des étudiants modernes	2c: Propertius and Martial/ Properce et Martial	2d: Plato/ Platon
	Chair/Président: Alban Baudou	*Chair/Président: Fae Amiro*	*Chair/Président: James Chlup*	*Chair/Président: Mark Joyal*
	Pour une définition du mode didactique: les exemples de Vitruve et de Columelle **Emilie-Jade Poliquin** Université Laval	*Classical Connections: Expanding the Ancient Classroom into the Online World* **Aven McMaster** Thorneloe University at Laurentian	*Soldiering Softly: gendered failure and self-destruction in Propertius* **Craig Maynes** Memorial University	*The Role of the 'God's Gift' Metaphor in Plato's Apology* **John Harris** University of Alberta
	The olive as an indicator of climate change in the Roman agricultural writers **M. Eleanor Irwin** University of Toronto Scarborough	*Engaging with the Classics: Thoughts on Early Career Pedagogy* **Jonathan Vickers** Trent University	*Propertius 4.6: the poetics of cautious critique* **Melanie Racette-Campbell** Memorial University	*'Holistic' Health and Wellness in Plato?* **Michael Korngut** Western University
	The olive presses in the House of Orpheus at Volubilis **Sonia Hewitt** Acadia University	*Latin Through Science* **Marcelo Epstein and Ruth Spivak** University of Calgary	*Obscenity, Imperium and the Temples of Domitian in Martial Epigrams Book 9* **David Sutton** University of Toronto	*The Platonic Mysteries: Apuleius and Other Middle Platonists* **Matthew Watton** University of Toronto

	ES 162	SB 142	SB 144	SB 148
12:30–2:30 PM	"Bystander Training" **Catherine Tracy and Christina Vester**	Lunch: Graduate Student Caucus	Déjeuner: Caucus des étudiants aux cycles supérieurs **All graduate students welcome**	Lunch	Déjeuner: Phoenix	Coin Vault Tour	visite de la chambre forte de monnaie (Nickle Galleries, Taylor Family Digital Library)

Session 3

	ES 162	SB 142	SB 144	SB 148
2:30–4:00 PM	**3a: Greek Epic/ Poésie épique grecque** *Chair/Président: Christina Vester*	**3b: Pedagogy/ Pédagogie** *Chair/Président: Jessica Romney*	**3c: Epigraphy in Roman Spain/ Épigraphie en Espagne romaine** *Chair/Président: Patrick Baker*	**3d: Philosophy I/Philosophie I** *Chair/Président: Jim Hume*
	The pattern of feasts in the Iliad **Kevin Solez** MacEwan University	*Teaching Terminology: Ancient Origins and Digital Futures* **George Kovacs** Trent University	*Women's Nomenclature in Roman Spain: the Example of the Conventus Cluniensis* **Marta Fernández Corral** York University	*The Completeness of Nicomachean Ethics 1* **Kathryn Furtado** University of Alberta
	Goats and Men and Amazons (Oh My!): A Reading of the Warrior Women in the Iliad **Rowan Ash** Western University	*Bringing Classics to the Masses: Teaching Large Survey Courses* **Amber J. Porter** University of Calgary	*Names and Family Relations in the Provinces: Onomastic Practice as a Cultural Marker in the Conventus Pacensis* **Harrison Forsyth** York University	*Aristotle's Metaphysics of Education* **Duncan Maclean** Mount Royal University
	Toxic textiles and the gifts of the Lemnian women in Apollonius' Argonautica **Judith Fletcher** Wilfred Laurier University	*Medical Terminology Online: a capite ad calcem* **Lesley Bolton** University of Calgary	*Possible New Epigraphic Evidence for a Jewish Synagogue at Augusta Emerita in the First Century CE* **Jonathon Edmondson** York University	

Coffee break | Pause-Café

Session 4

	ES 162	SB 142	SB 144	SB 148
4:15–5:45 PM	**4a: Reception I/Réception I**	**4b: Women's Network/Réseau des femmes: Teaching/ Enseignement**	**4c: Epigraphy II/ Épigraphie II**	**4d: Philosophy II/Philosophie II**
	Chair/Président: Kevin Solez	*Chair/Président: Lesley Bolton*	*Chair/Président: Hanne Sigismund Nielsen*	*Chair/Président: Jim Hume*
	Athenian Tragedy and the Pitfalls of Slaveholding **Graham Butler** University of British Columbia	*Women have always fought: moving beyond a tourist model for teaching women in antiquity* **Jessica Romney** University of Victoria	*The Man Who Saved Lamos: A New Interpretation of a Cilician Inscription from the Reign of Gallienus* **Riccardo Bertolazzi** University of Toronto	*Symmachus and cultivation of the powerful in the Letters: a Western innovation in late antique literary self-presentation?* **Christopher Lougheed** University of Alberta
	Subverting the Tragic in Jovan Hristić's Orestes **Jelena Todorovic** University of British Columbia	*Digital Pedagogy and 'Women in Antiquity': Open-access projects for the 21st century classroom* **Chelsea Gardner** Mount Allison University	*(Im)material Collections: the Lindian Chronicle, paradoxography and Pausanias' Periegesis Hellados* **Jody Ellyn Cundy** York University	*A letter to the "lost sheep": some aspects of Augustine's communication with the Donatists in the Epistula ad Catholicos de secta Donatistarum* **Gabriele Roccella** University of Calgary
	"Playing the Bacchants": Euripides and Golding's Lord of the Flies **Sergios Paschalis** Harvard University	*"For Here We Have No Gentlemen." Reinterpreting the Classics at the University of Toronto (1842–1947)* **Drew Davis** University of Toronto	*honore contentus pecuniam remisit: Public Honours as Performance in Africa Proconsularis* **Christopher Dawson** Thorneloe University at Laurentian	
6:30–9:00 PM	Reception	Réception (Senate Room at the Hotel Alma)			

Wednesday, May 9 | mercredi 9 mai

Session 5

8:00 AM	Breakfast	Petit déjeuner			
8:30–10:30 AM	**ES 162**	**SB 142**	**SB 144**	**SB 148**
	5a: Art and Archaeology II/ Art et Archéolgie II	**5b: Women's Network/Réseau des femmes: Widows and Divorcees/ Veuves et Divorcées**	**5c: Reception II/ Réception II**	**5d: Roman History I/Histoire romaine I**
	Chair/Président: Sonia Hewitt	*Chair/Président: Catherine Tracy*	*Chair/Président: Peter Toohey*	*Chair/Président: Lindsay Driediger Murphy*
	Revisiting Archaic Corinth in the 21st Century **Catherine Cooper** Royal Ontario Museum	*"For I am a widow": self-representations of widowhood in Hellenistic communities* **Gillian Ramsey** University of Regina	*Between Bad and God Utopia: Some Reflections on Ernst Bloch's Socrates* **Marie-Josée Lavallée** Université de Montréal	*From the "Pontic" Polemonids to the "Thracian" Tiberii Claudii: a dynastic transition revisited* **Germain Payen** Université Laval
	Agricultural specialization and economic demand: contextualizing the productive infrastructure of the Roman villa in Vacone, Italy **Candace Rice** University of Alberta	*Legal and Visual Inclusion: Non-Elite Roman Widows, Succession, and the Sacra Privata* **Lisa A. Hughes** University of Calgary	*Representations of the Classicist in Contemporary Anglophone Fiction* **Mark Golden** University of Winnipeg	*Queen Dynamis of the Bosporos: Granddaughter of Mithradates Eupator and Friend of the Romans* **Altay Coskun** University of Waterloo
	Economie de la Cité, organization des territoires. Le case de la averne entre la fin du second âge du fer et le haut-empire **Franck Fassion** University of Lyon	*Widows at the Roman Imperial Court* **Angela Hug** McMaster University	*Evoking Tradition in a Fantasy World: Classical Motifs in Disney Theme Parks* **Tana Allen** Memorial University of Newfoundland	*The importance of the Tiber river for the Roman economy: How was the grain for Rome transported from Ostia to the capital?* **Christer Bruun** University of Toronto
	These Walls that Come Between Us: Roman Domestic Ritual, Movement and Change from "paganism" to Christianity 1st–5th CE **Candace R. MacIntosh** University of Calgary	*Widows, Grief and the Funeral in Roman and Early Christian Consolation Literature* **Danielle Baillargeon** University of Toronto	*Pinking the Classics: Marketing Ancient Myth to Girls in the 21st Century* **Melissa Funke** University of Winnipeg	*An Etruscan Healer in Rome: The Eternal City's First Fertility Specialist* **Karen Hersch** Temple University

Coffee break | Pause-Café

Session 6

	ES 162	SB 142	SB 144	SB 148
11:00 AM–12:30 PM	**6a: Greek Drama I/ Théâtre grec I**	**6b: Women's Network/Réseau des femmes: Teaching II/ Enseignement II**	**6c: Reception III/ Réception III**	**6d: Numismatics/Numismatique**
	Chair/Président: Bonnie McLachlan	*Chair/Président: Amber J. Porter*	*Chair/Président: Noreen Humble*	*Chair/Président: Marina Fischer*
	Antigone Grieving and Betrayed **Stephanie Dennie** Western University	*Role-Playing a Murderer: Using Creative Pedagogies to Teach About Women's Lives in Antiquity* **Francesca Patten** Brock University	*No cock-up: Sophisticated Classical Allusion in a Medieval Pseudo-Ovidian Metamorphosis* **Kyle Gervais** Western University	*It takes money to make money: some economic considerations on the production of coinage in antiquity* **Spencer Pope** McMaster University
	The agon(y) of literary lament **Florence Yoon** University of British Columbia	*A Culture of Cooperation and Collaboration: Teaching Sex & Gender in the Age of the Internet* **Catherine Tracy** Bishop's University	*The Discovery of Paulus' Epitome of Festus in the Fifteenth Century* **Jarrett Welsh and Jesse Hill** University of Toronto	*Die Production and State Power in Archaic and Classical Greece* **Mark Pyzyk** Stanford University
	Skenographia Again **D.G. Beer** Carleton University	*Classical Rape and its Modern Relevance* **Thomas Hubbard** University of Texas at Austin	*Evurte Jollivet's Fulmen in Aquilam (1636): A Protestant Aeneid* **Elena Dahlberg** University of Calgary	*Responding to the Unthinkable: The Frataraka Coins and Persis in the Seleukid Period* **Sean Manning** Universität Innsbruck
12:30–2:30 PM	Lunch: Women's Network	Déjeuner: Réseau des Femmes			Lunch	Déjeuner: Museion

Session 7

	ES 162	SB 142	SB 144	SB 148
2:30—4:00 PM	**7a: Greek Drama II/ Théâtre grec II**	**7b: Reading bodies, reading genres: new approaches to late antique literature/ Lire les corps, lire les genres: nouvelle approche en littérature de l'Antiquité tardive**	**7c: Vergil and Statius/ Virgil et Stace**	**7d: Ancient Sport/Sport ancien**
	Chair/Président: Craig Cooper	*Chair/Président: Cillian O'Hogan*	*Chair/Président: Craig Maynes*	*Chair/Président: Reyes Bertolín*
	The Second Staging of Aristophanes' Frogs: a Comedy of Philological Errors **Rory Egan** University of Manitoba	*Passio Charikleae et Theagenous* **Gillian Glass** University of British Columbia	*Vergil's Poetic Legitimacy and the Table of Contents in Georgics 1* **Rachel Mazzara** University of Toronto	*Holding kleos in Your Hands: Objects and Athletic Glory in Archaic Greece* **Peter Miller** University of Winnipeg
	Solon, Aeschylus, and the development of the Athenian poetic voice **Kathryn Mattison** McMaster University	*How to Read the Saints: Genre and Exemplarity in Latin Hagiographical Literature of Late Antiquity* **Zachary Yuzwa** St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan	*The Cacophony of the Georgics: Pity and Envy in Vergil and Lucretius* **Chiara Graf** University of Toronto	*The Fandom-Bound Identity: Spectator Identification and Fandom at the Roman Circus* **Amanda Devitt** McMaster University
		Women's books and books as women: gendered reading in late antiquity **Cillian O'Hogan** University of British Columbia	*"Enlightening" the Realm of Darkness: Epicurean motifs in Statius' descriptions of the underworld* **Lorenza Bennardo** University of Toronto	*Festival 'merch': the Pythia at Carthage and the local souvenir trade* **Jeremy Rossiter** University of Alberta
7:00 PM	Keynote Address	Conférence plénière: (ES 162) **Deborah Steiner, Columbia University** *"sailors of the symposium and rowers of drinking cups": the symposium at sea revisited on a Campanian bell-krater*		

Thursday, May 10 | jeudi 10 mai

8:00 AM — Breakfast | Petit déjeuner

Session 8

8:30–10:30 AM

	ES 162	SB 142	SB 144	SB 148
	8a: Art and Archaeology III/ Art et Archéolgie III	**8b: Divining the Nature of the Divine/ Présager la nature du divin**	**8c: Oratory/Rhétorique**	**8d: Greek History II/Histoire grecque II**
	Chair/Président: Matthew McCarty	*Chair/Président: Karen Hersch*	*Chair/Président: Jonathan Vickers*	*Chair/Président: Graham Wrightson*
	Who Let the Cats Out? Finding Felis catus in Antiquity	*Divination and Folk Medicine in Roman Society*	*Athenian Law and Middle Comedy*	*'I have many friends. Many, many friends. The best friends' Personal Connections of the Elite and Military Leadership in Democratic Athens.*
	Carolyn Willekes	**Pauline Ripat**	**Craig Cooper**	**Jonathan Reeves**
	Mount Royal University	University of Winnipeg	University of Lethbridge	McMaster University
	Les sphinx sur le Vase François et sur l'olpé Chigi	*Imperii pignora certa? Movable Signs and Roman Theology*	*Philanthrōpía, Democracy, and the Proof of Power*	*Theophrastus and Athenian Archon Dates*
	Thierry Petit	**Lindsay Driediger-Murphy**	**Edward Parker**	**Kathryn Simonsen**
	Université Laval	University of Calgary	University of Toronto	Memorial University of Newfoundland
	A Problematic Statue of Victory from Roman Carthage	*Sibylline Books and Technical Divination*	*Out of Place: Timarchos in Aeschines 1*	*From Kleomenes I to Kleopatra VII: Thinking about Hellenic Imperialism*
	Joann Freed	**Kathrine Bertram**	**Allison Glazebrook**	**Boris Chrubasik**
	Wilfred Laurier University	University of Calgary	Brock University	University of Toronto, Mississauga
	Gender Reassignment (!) on the Ara Pacis Augustae	*Piety in Approaching the Oracle: Purity of Mind instead of Trickery*	*Polus and A New Radermacher*	*Mind the Gap: Real Lives Matter and the Hellenistic Evidence*
	Gaius Stern	**Pierre Bonnechère**	**David Mirhady**	**Bonnie MacLachlan**
	University of California, Berkeley	Université de Montréal	Simon Fraser University	Western University

Coffee break | Pause-Café

Thursday, May 10 | jeudi 10 mai

Session 9

	ES 162	SB 142	SB 144	SB 148
11:00 AM–12:30 PM	**9a: Framing Classical Landscapes/ Encadrer le paysage classique**	**9b: Greek Literature/Littérature grecque**	**9c: Linguistics/Linguistique**	**9d: History II/ Histoire II**
	Chair/Président: Lisa Hughes	*Chair/Président: Peter Miller*	*Chair/Président: Reyes Bertolin*	*Chair/Président: John Vanderspoel*
	Framing the Roman hortus: a paratextual reading of Columella's gardening verse **Victoria Austen-Perry** King's College	*The Python Episode in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo* **Tim Wright** Queen's University	*The augment in Epic Greek* **Filip De Decker** Universiteit Gent	*Sight, Sound, and Affect in Thucydides* **Bradley Hald** University of Toronto
	Framing the View: Landscape, Painting, and Architecture at the Villa della Farnesina in Rome **Rachel Foulk** Ferris State University	*Who Gets Credit for Apollo's Birth? Gender Roles in Poetic Accounts of the Birth of Apollo* **Benjamin Winnick** University of British Columbia	*On the 'Aeolic' Athematic Inflection of Contract Verbs in the Thessalian and Lesbian Dialects* **Matthew Scarborough** Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History	*Mars is Shaking his Spear: Cannae and Sensory History* **Conor Whately** University of Winnipeg
	Reframing Classical Landscape: Pontano's Garden **Luke Roman** Memorial University of Newfoundland	*Palladas, Praxiteles, Dolphins, and the Eros of Parium* **Kevin W. Wilkinson** University of Toronto		*Tattoos, Taxes, and Tribulations: The Punishment of Members of Professional Associations in Roman Egypt and Asia* **Matt Gibbs** University of Winnipeg
12:30–2:30 PM	Lunch | Déjeuner		Coin Vault Tour | visite de la chambre forte de monnaie (Nickle Galleries, Taylor Family Digital Library)	
	AGM | AGA			
2:30–4:00 PM	Tour of Fort Calgary | Un tour de Fort Calgary			
6:00 PM	Banquet at Fort Calgary | Banquet à Fort Calgary			
7:00 PM	750 9 Ave SE, Calgary T2G 5E1			

Special Events |
Événements spéciaux

Keynote Address | Conférence plénière

Wednesday, May 9 | mercredi 9 mai, 7 PM
ES 162

Deborah Steiner
Columbia University

"sailors of the symposium and rowers of drinking cups": the symposium at sea revisited on a Campanian bell-krater

This paper treats a largely unknown red-figure Campanian bell krater dated to the mid fourth century, which shows a unique assemblage of persons and objects. Here the painter presents a seascape at whose centre he has placed a curving, round-bottomed boat complete with a boar's head prow and three dolphins gamboling beneath. Variously seated or standing in the boat are three figures: an elderly black-bearded silen, his arms and torso covered in short tufts of white hair, sits in the middle and rows with visible effort as he leans into the oars; a maiden in a tunic, cloak and bracelets with an idling steering oar tucked beneath her right arm and a phiale in her left hand, is seated in the stern to the rower's left; and, in the bows, a naked youth, identified by most discussions as a satyr, but without any visible indication of satyrine identity beyond his snub nose, stands with his hands resting on the rower's shoulders. Behind the youth is a large-sized upright amphora and a kottabos stand, slightly off centre on the deck, completes this curious medley. In a close reading of this vase, I aim to demonstrate how the Campanian artist accommodates in his image many already familiar myths, literary tropes and visual schemes which he has 'crunched together' so as to offer a multi-faceted representation that introduces a series of possible scenarios and frames of reference. In turning a ship into a container for the wine drunk by his bowl's current viewers and users, and featuring a ship on a krater that itself supplies the evening's drink, the Boating Painter not only offers a novel, and localized take on the 'symposium at sea' motif dating back to archaic times, but also explores themes of transformation, role-playing, and the collapse of boundaries between different spaces and modes of experience that are native to the sympotic space to which the bowl belongs.

Coin Vault Tour | visite de la chambre forte de monnaie

Tuesday, May 8 | Mardi 8 mai: 12:30–2:30 PM*
Thursday, May 10 | jeudi 10 mai: 12:30–2:30 PM*
Nickle Galleries, Taylor Family Digital Library

What is Money?

May–September 2018
Organized by Nickle Galleries
Curated by Marina Fischer with assistance from Justine Buchler

What is Money? is the newest exhibition of ethnographic objects from the Nickle Numismatic Collection, which showcases diverse forms of money used across the globe through time. The exhibition presents forms of currency, such as first minted metals of the ancient world, Chinese knife money, metalwork from Africa, silk and leather money from Germany, Northwest Coast copper shield and the unique stone money from the Island of Yap. The display explores cultural understandings of money and its value within society inviting us to consider our own perceptions of money, and ask—What is Money?

*Max. 8 people per visit, please e-mail Marina Fischer if you wish to join the tour: **m.fischer@ucalgary.ca**

Abstracts |
Résumés

Tana Allen
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Evoking Tradition in a Fantasy World: Classical Motifs in Disney Theme Parks (**Session 5c**)

The Walt Disney Company, a behemoth of the American corporate world, is clearly a major force in the imaginative world of entertainment and media. With regards to antiquity, the corporation functions as a crafter of visions of the Greek and Roman past, as is regularly noted in scholarship on Disney's film portrayals of ancient mythology (e.g. Blanshard and Shahabudin 2011; Solomon 2001). Furthermore, attention has been given to the ways in which designers of Disney parks "imagineer" historical spaces (Francaviglia 1995). Most recently, in a non-Disney theme park known as Terra Mitica, consideration has been given to the wide range of significance in the selected portrayals of ancient Greek culture (Carla and Freitag 2014).

This paper investigates the use of classical references in Disney theme parks, with particular attention given to the eight park locations in Orlando, Anaheim, and Paris. It is perhaps not unexpected to find many references to neo-classical architecture in the presentation of typical "main street" or government-styled buildings found throughout the properties. What is more surprising are the small scale references that appear within the details of the experiences offered to the guests who visit the parks. The use of Latin in a hotel's motif, for example, serves to provide a sense of legitimacy by tapping into an age-old 'untouchable' tradition in an otherwise fully artificially-created environment, while the emphasis of ancient iconography in the Italy Pavilion functions to encourage the visitor to accept the authenticity of other objects on display. Finally, the manner that references to ancient Greece and Rome are used varies in accordance with what are the cultural expectations of each park's geographical location.

Rowan Ash
Western University

Goats and Men and Amazons (Oh My!): A Reading of the Warrior Women in the Iliad (**Session 3a**)

This paper re-examines the programmatic role of the vanishingly concise references to Amazons in the *Iliad* within both Homer's epic and wider ancient myths of the Amazons. I argue that a close metrical/formulaic reading of the *Iliad* passages suggests that Homer's Amazons presented a fantastical threat to his heroes that cast a long shadow on Greco-Roman mythic conceptions of gender and conflict. This approach mitigates the risk of projecting modern assumptions about generalized classical Greek gender norms onto the mythic material, while maintaining the focus on the best-attested cultural spaces in which explicitly "Amazon" stories circulated, compared to the cross-cultural parallels highlighted in recent archaeological and comparative-literary studies. (Mayor 2014; Penrose 2016)

Building from Blok's (1995) foundational work on the Amazons in early epic, I first consider them in conjunction with their Homeric epithet ἀντιάνειραι ("a match for men"), its rarity in a heuristic sample of later poetry (including fragments of the Epic Cycle, Pindar, and Quintus Smyrnaeus), and its competing definitions among lexicographers and scholiasts. Despite the doubts of later commentators, I argue that the rhythms of the *Iliad* passages (e.g. 6.184–90) present Amazons as worthy foes for Homeric heroes, with spondaic substitutions, the placement of caesurae, and the artful arrangement of formulae all weaving a pattern of misleading initial stresses and coy deferrals that build to a revelation of the Amazon threat.

I next draw upon Bakker's theory of a "scale of increasing interformulary" (2013: 158) to connect *Il.* 3.184–90 to 6.184–90, arguing that the shared reference to the Amazons in both passages establishes a thematic link confirmed by parallel metrical and formulaic features. I conclude by comparing the use of the

same techniques in the veiled reference to the eponymous Amazon heroine Myrina in *Il.* 2.811–15: Homer's rhythms always prime the Amazons to leap into frightening action.

Victoria Austen-Perry
King's College

Framing the Roman hortus: a paratextual reading of Columella's gardening verse (**Session 9a**)

In approximately 64 AD, the Spanish writer Columella released a twelve-book agricultural treatise on farming—*De Re Rustica*. Nestled in the midst of eleven other books covering various aspects of farm life and its management, Book 10 of this treatise jumps out at the reader immediately; for here, in comparison to all the other books written in didactic prose, we find a 436-hexameter verse dedicated solely to the garden, a formal and rather obvious departure from the style of the rest of the manual. Why all the fuss about gardens? As Gowers (2000: 127) states, 'it is not often that artichokes and cucumbers are forced into such lurid focus'!

In order to explore the status and perception of the Roman *hortus*, this paper will examine Columella's prose preface to Book 10 as a 'paratext' (Genette, 1997), or threshold, to the verse book proper; and it will question the impact of this framing strategy on our perception of both the 'garden-as-text' and garden space itself. More specifically, it will examine Columella's stated motivations for writing the book, as well as his comments regarding the garden text's size and position in relation to the other eleven books. This, in turn, will reveal the two different, and potentially conflicting, ways in which Columella himself frames Book 10's verse experiment: 1) as a response to Virgil's gardening *excursus* in the *Georgics*; and 2) as a 'part-payment' towards the completion of his own manual. Thus, by focusing on a reading on Book 10 in terms of its margins and edges, this paper supports the paratextual approach set out by Jansen (2014: 1), in that it 'explores the nature of the relationship between a text's frame, its centre and its contexts, as well as the ways in which audiences approach and plot this set of relations'.

Danielle Baillargeon
University of Toronto

Widows, Grief and the Funeral in Roman and Early Christian Consolation Literature (**Session 5b**)

This paper will discuss the presentation of widows in late antique consolation literature. Drawing on consolation literature, legal and epigraphic evidence from the 1st to the 4th centuries CE, I seek to investigate the performance of bereavement as an arena in which the widow's roles and identities were defined and negotiated. This paper will describe the idealized depiction of the widow in Roman consolation literature and track how these tropes were manipulated in early Christian literature. I will suggest the vocabulary used within the consolatory tradition also resonated in the epigraphic evidence where women commemorate their husbands using a repertory of idealized terms. I will draw upon Roman legal texts to suggest that legal changes to women's roles as wives and mothers during the 3rd and 4th centuries CE strengthened the relationship between a widow and her children, integrating her more fully into the testamentary obligations associated with the husband. Consolatory writers incorporate the legal obligations into the idealized vocabulary of the widow highlighting her role as guardian of the husband's progeny. Writers such as Jerome present considerations of motherhood as a means to counter excessive emotional responses to grief over the death of a spouse. The image of a mourning widow grieving during the funeral was manipulated within Christian consolatory literature to present grief as a means of purification. Grief, properly directed and observed, purified the widow of sin, providing the impetus for them to take up an ascetic lifestyle. The purificatory

paradigm, incorporated into early hagiographic narratives, such as Gregory of Nyssa's depiction of Macrina, who is purified through grief over the death of her mother and her brother, attest to the importance that consolatory writers placed in the process of bereavement and the need to control and manipulate female models of proper behavior.

D.G. Beer
Carleton University

Skenographia Again (**Session 6a**)

The term *skenographia* first appears in Aristotle's *Poetics* (49a18–19) in a verbless sentence: τρεῖς δὲ καὶ σκηνογραφίαν Σοφοκλῆς ('Sophocles three and *skenographia*'). It is not immediately obvious that a verb can be supplied from the previous sentence to give a coherent meaning. Some have athetised the sentence. For those who retain the text, in the light of what Aristotle has written immediately beforehand, the number 'three' is taken to refer to Sophocles' generally assumed addition of a third actor and *skenographia* to his introduction of what some translate as 'scene painting' and others as 'painted scenery'. Quite how *skenographia* helped tragedy 'find its natural form' (ἐπεὶ ἔσχε τὴν αὑτῆς φύσιν, 49a15) seems puzzling, especially since Aristotle later regards 'the visual' (*opsis*) as the least important element in tragedy (53b1–4).

We do not know whether or not Aristotle coined the term *skenographia*. But how much he knew about the appearance of the wooden *skene* in the time of late Aeschylus and early Sophocles is a moot point, especially if it was deconstructed after the festivals each year. In the general context of the passage in which *skenographia* occurs Aristotle is concerned with how *logos*, 'the spoken element' (49a17) helped bring tragedy to maturity by lessening the choral element and enlarging the actors' roles. *Logos* is the starting point for my interpretation of *skenographia*. As is often seen from the formulaic expression found in the hypotheses attached to several tragedies, the *skeno* prefix need not refer to the physical skene in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens, but to the 'imaginative setting' as in e.g. *Antigone*: ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ὑπόκειται ἐν Θήβαις ταῖς Βοιωτικαῖς ('The scene of the drama is set in Boeotian Thebes'). The prologue imaginatively *describes* the setting of the tragedy: *skenographia*.

Riccardo Bertolazzi
University of Toronto

The Man Who Saved Lamos: A New Interpretation of a Cilician Inscription from the Reign of Gallienus (**Session 4c**)

An inscription placed above the city gate of Lamos (G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford, in *AnSt* 12, 1962, 207) records the construction of new walls under the supervision of A. Voconius Zenon, who was appointed governor of Cilicia by Gallienus. The inscription says that, before holding this position, Zenon had been secretary *a studiis* of the emperor, and refers to him as 'the most eminent governor, *a studiis* of the Augustus and saviour' (τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος, ἐπὶ παιδείας τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος). The adjective 'saviour' (σωτῆρος) has always been interpreted as a title with which Lamos honoured Gallienus. The comparison with similar inscriptions, however, suggests that 'saviour' is more likely to be attributed to Zenon. Thus, the latter could be identified with one of the *duces* that, according to the *Historia Augusta* (*Gall.* 7.3), defeated a horde of Scythians who in 262–263 had invaded Asia Minor while Gallienus was fighting Postumus in Gaul. It is interesting to note that one of Gallienus' generals, Marcianus, repelled an incursion of Goths in Thrace more or less at the same time (*Gall.* 6.1), and was consequently awarded the title 'saviour' by the city of Philippopolis (*IGBulg* V 5409). Voconius Zenon was probably one of those officials who were entrusted by the emperor with the specific task of confronting the many critical situations that the continue invasions were creating throughout the empire. The cases of other western and eastern cities that were hurriedly fortified in this period, either by order of Gallienus or at the initiative of his legates, seem to confirm

this picture.

Kathrine Bertram
University of Calgary

Sibylline Books and Technical Divination (**Session 8b**)

Cicero in his discussion of divination presents two general categories: technical and natural (*De Div.* 1.34). The first of these categories requires expertise and encompasses most types of divination where information is actively sought by the diviner. While the second includes unlooked for portents and inspired communication such as dreams and frenzied utterances. In the Roman republic while many forms of divination were considered 'superstitio', the principal forms of divination accepted by public religion included: auguries, haruspices and consultation of the Sibylline Books. Both auguries and haruspices fall into the category of technical divination and as outlined by Fevrier, align well with the formalism characteristic of Roman public religion (Fevrier, 2004). Sibylline prophesy however is generally considered a form of natural divination. This paper will explore whether Roman consultation of the Sibylline Books can be placed into either of Cicero's categories of divination.

Recently, there has been a surge of interest in exploring the relationship between divination and science (eg. Finike, 2016). In particular there has been considerable study of near eastern astrology and celestial divination as a largely scientific undertaking (Annus, 2010). In fact, some translations render Cicero's two divination categories into English as natural and 'scientific' (Rasmussen, 2003). This paper will also begin to explore if it is appropriate to consider Roman consultation of the Sibylline Books in a scientific light.

Lesley Bolton
University of Calgary

Medical Terminology Online: a capite ad calcem (**Session 3b**)

Many university and colleges now teach a course on medical or scientific terminology. While some approach the topic from a purely vocational standpoint, many, especially when it is taught in Humanities departments, approach it from a Classics based perspective, delving into the Greek and Latin origins of the vocabulary. Here, at University of Calgary, the course has been offered for many years under the Classics aegis; the format has changed from classroom based, to fully online, to its present design which combines online assessment with an on-campus final exam.

In this paper, I propose to share my observations and experiences in teaching and developing this course over the past several years. I will discuss the rationale behind the design of the textbook, the systems for supporting the self-directed study model, the design and implementation of the online testing, and the pitfalls I have encountered along the way. While the course is proving to be very popular (it regularly attracts 400 students per semester in the fall, winter, and spring, though only a small percentage are Classics majors), there is certainly scope for further development. I would, for example, like to incorporate real-time online sessions using Adobe Connect, or similar.

Please do come and share your own experiences, suggestions, queries about teaching this course, or any other online offerings.

Pierre Bonnechère
Université de Montréal

Piety in approaching the oracle: Purity of mind instead of trickery (**Session 8b**)

These are good times for religiosity in the study of Greek religion. Polytheism, with its endless openness to

diversity is now perceived as a dynamic force, with no dogma but a solid tradition of moral conduct given to mankind by the gods. Paradoxically, Greek oracles have long been considered as the paragon of the total lack of religious scruples,—just think to Croesus,—but today a U-turn is needed.

Major oracles welcome public and (by far more numerous) private consultations, through the same ritual, the intensity of which was not feigned. Now that about 2000 new usable inscriptions from Dodona (publ. 2013), which according to the Greeks bowed only to Delphi (itself known mainly through literature), it has been possible to reduce the obsessive political role of the oracles to a really minimal proportion (approximately 2%), and the oracular relations between men and gods can then be looked at through a different lens.

Trickery was definitely out of the picture. If a Greek wanted to know about moving or not, no cheating can be at play. To go to an oracle was a pilgrimage, with the express purpose of getting in touch with the divine knowledge, and of course the god knows what any pilgrim has in mind. It appears obvious *a contrario* from many narratives about attempts to cheat the god, who always punishes the culprit. In the real life, people came with a problem, seeking after the "more advantageous" solution, but, almost ever, an ethical alternative, which implies a real "purify of mind".

At this level, two things are interesting: the questions are always piously true to the Greek ethics as defined in the civic tradition, so that the oracle itself, in answering positively, reinforces the tradition. Secondly, piety in approaching the oracle is so high that very often, what will become the oracle of the god is in fact one of the two alternatives proposed to the oracle: this really means that the human words were pious enough to become the god's own words, that humans have thought as the god would have.

Christer Bruun
University of Toronto

The importance of the Tiber river for the Roman economy: How was the grain for Rome transported from Ostia to the capital? **(Session 5d)**

For centuries the city of Rome constituted the largest urban centre in the Mediterranean. With a population of up to a million people during the period of greatest properity, the amount of provisions that needed to be imported was staggering. The provisioning of Rome was of primary concern for the imperial government, and the measures taken for that purpose are well known: the office of the *praefectus annonae*, established by Augustus, was regularly entrusted to one of the most capable and reliable equestrian administrators in the empire, and the harbour facilities at Ostia were expanded on an enormous scale first by Claudius (author of the Portus Augusti) and then by Trajan (the Portus Traiani).

But how was the grain and the other goods brought from Portus to Rome? By river, of course, up the Tiber! Almost no scholarly work has ever devoted any detailed thought to the practicalities of yearly hauling perhaps 400,000 tons of grain 35 km up to Rome. Epigraphic sources inform us that there was a large number of owners of boats and barges at Ostia; they must have handled it. Rome survived for centuries; thus, the system worked. Period.

Recently some attempts at studying the issue more in detail have appeared, based on the conviction that there were tow-paths along both banks of the Tiber (Aguilera Martín 2012). This is a good start, but one must avoid the mistake of believing that pulling barges up the Tiber works like when the slow lane on Highway 401 or a European motorway/autostrada/Autobahn is occupied by an unending row of eighteen-wheelers. Investigating how the tow-paths worked, the purpose of this paper, has ramifications for our understanding of the Roman economy and the demography of Ostia-Portus.

Graham Butler
University of British Columbia

Athenian Tragedy and the Pitfalls of Slaveholding (**Session 4a**)

Slaveholding corrodes the morality of slaveholders. This is a familiar theme in literature by abolitionists and ex-slaves. Surprisingly, it is also found in fifth-century tragedies. This comparative paper explores a specific slaveholding practice on which hinge the plots of *Agamemnon*, *Women of Trachis*, and *Andromache*: the introduction of a captive woman into the household of a married slaveholder.

Non-fiction from the 19th century shows that this was tricky business. The introduction weighed heavily on the mistress of the household, and her anxieties concerning the sanctity of her marriage were well founded. Slaveholding men as a matter of course preyed sexually on nonconsenting enslaved women. As the situation is portrayed in ex-slave's biographies like Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861) and Solomon Northup's *Twelve Years a Slave* (1853), the betrayal and threat to status could warp slaveholding women with sympathetic ears for slaves' grievances into prying and punitive mistresses. Meanwhile proslavery entertainment served up racist P.R. to distract from the reality of these transformative conditions. Novels and stage acts stereotyped slave women as hypersexual temptresses, and they spun male slaveholders as incorruptible Christians obsessed with courting rituals.

Greek tragedy was not so blindly propagandistic. Rather, as this paper demonstrates, the tragedians mined the psychological pressures that attended incorporating a new slave woman into a household, and they did so without laying the blame on the captive woman. Slaveholding, not the slave, was the corrupting force. This tragic theme reflects a key aspect of the relatively open slave system at Athens. Its discourse was relaxed enough that it admitted some of the suffering caused by slaveholding, and therefore on certain topics it compares more closely to 19th century ex-slave accounts than to hardliner proslavery ones.

Jeff Carnes
Syracuse University

Arrested Development: Narcissus' Failed Rites de Passage (**Session 1c**)

Ovid's Narcissus is ripe for transition, being on the cusp of young manhood (*puer iuvenisque videri*; *Met.* 3.351–52), yet this appearance-based ambiguity in his status is never resolved. He becomes a textbook case of arrested development, permanently unable to move from his self-admiring reverie, and his predicament may fruitfully be analyzed within Arnold van Gennep's typology of *rites de passage*. He has undergone the first phase, separation, by taking refuge by a clear pool (a typically Ovidian deadly *locus amoenus*); yet he never achieves a successful transition (let alone reintegration). Gildenhard and Zissos have shown (*AJP* 121: 129–47) how Ovid invites readers to consider Narcissus in terms of Roman wedding ritual via extensive borrowing from Catullus 62.39–47. In this case, Narcissus implicitly fails to achieve the adulthood necessary for marriage: he never becomes a marriageable *iuvenis*, much less a married *vir*.

Yet this is not Narcissus' only failed transition. Ovid has established not merely a heterosexual context, but also a pederastic one, emphasizing Narcissus' attractiveness to men as well as girls, and he becomes stuck at the very moment in which he is expected to transition from desired object to desiring subject; from *erastēs* to *erōmenos*. Second, he fails to make the transitions expected in psychological development, whether from the standpoint of transition theory or from the Lacanian perspective of the *stade du miroir*, in which infants develop an integrated sense of self via encounters with their own reflections. Third, Narcissus fails to make the largest transition of all: from life to death. Although experiencing the death of his mortal body, he attains a sort of vegetal immortality (appropriately asexual, as Gildenhard and Zissos note). In the end, his failure

follows him even to the next world, where he gazes eternally upon his own reflection in the river Styx (3.504–5, *se...in Stygia spectabat aqua*).

Boris Chrubasik
University of Toronto, Mississauga

From Kleomenes I to Kleopatra VII: Thinking about Hellenic Imperialism. (**Session 8d**)

Imperialism and Greek history are terms that are rarely brought together, particularly for Greek history before Alexander the Great's conquest. Yet from Lakedaimonian claims over the Peloponnese, to Athenian ambition during the fifth century BCE, the conquest of Alexander III of Macedon, and the Achaean League's final redrawing of the Peloponnesian map before its destruction by Roman power in 146 BCE, imperial ambition is one of the most visible characters of Hellenic political action from the Archaic to the Early Roman periods. Imperial action was part of the daily lives of Hellenic warfare even if much of its political theory places a strong emphasis on the autonomy and the workings of its traditional categories such as the *polis* and federal states. This paper seeks to address the topic of Hellenic imperial ambition and raise the question as to whether individual imperial encounters that are transmitted in ancient historiography are mere historical episodes or whether there are underlying patterns of Hellenic imperial ambition that transgress the boundaries of the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods and have (perhaps partially due to the traditional approach to periodization) so far eluded scholarly attention. While this paper will focus mainly on political strategies, consideration will also be given to the question of whether imperial ambition is an element confined to the political realm, or whether it also plays a role in other parts of Hellenic lives and experiences.

Catherine Cooper
Royal Ontario Museum

Revisiting Archaic Corinth in the 21st Century (**Session 5a**)

Corinth was an extremely important city in archaic Greece, as evidenced by the accounts of ancient authors and archaeological remains. Cypselus is said to have overthrown the Bacchiads to establish his dynastic tyranny. Corinth was credited with founding early Greek colonies. The archaic city was prominent in crafts and trade: the earliest monumental stone temple was built here; Corinthian potters invented black-figure-decorated pottery, which became popular throughout the Mediterranean; an artificial harbour at Lechaeum and the Isthmian diolkos were probably constructed in this period to facilitate trade.

While evidence about archaic Corinth is relatively abundant, particularly the well excavated and published archaeological investigations by the American School of Classical Studies, nevertheless there has been little attempt at synthesis. The most comprehensive assessment of the historical and archaeological evidence is John Salmon's *Wealthy Corinth* (1984), which is now over thirty years old. Since this work was published, several general issues about archaic Greece which were fundamental to Salmon's interpretation have been the subject to major revision. For example, early Greek colonisation is now generally understood as being the result of a gradual process with mixed populations, rather than the single state-sponsored enterprise suggested by the ancient literature. Further excavation has also expanded knowledge of Corinthian material, both within Corinth and at other sites around the Mediterranean. However, despite these advances, Salmon's book remains the standard text cited for the history of archaic Corinth, and his account continues to be repeated uncritically in more recent publications (for instance Legon's entry "Megaris, Corinthia, Sikyonia" in M.H. Hansen & T.H. Nielsen (edd.) *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford 2004: 465–468). As a result, recent work on Corinth remains unappreciated and features little in general accounts of archaic Greece. In this paper I build on Salmon's work to review and update the picture of archaic Corinth in the light of new evidence, and new interpretations of existing evidence, in order to re-assess the city in its historical context.

Craig Cooper
University of Lethbridge

Athenian Law and Middle Comedy (**Session 8c**)

> In Athens everything is sold together in the same place (agora), figs, summoners, grapes, turnips, pears, apples, witnesses, roses, medlar fruit, haggis, honeycombs, chick-peas, private suits, beestings, curds, myrtle, allotment machines, hyacinth, lambs, water-clocks, laws, indictments.

> Eubulos, *Olbia* F 74 (Edmonds)

According to comic poet, the Agora was a bustling place, busy with the buying and selling, not only of fruits and vegetables and other perishable items, but also of lawsuits and laws. Athenian litigation was closely associated with the Agora. The courts themselves were located in or around the Agora; preliminary proceedings were held before magistrates whose offices were located in the Agora; public and private arbitration could be held in a Stoa with the Agora; summons was issued here; criminals caught and arrested here; witnesses procured from bystanders in the Agora. Notices of upcoming trials were all posted in the Agora. The character of Athenian litigation, then, was shaped by the physical space and the various activities of the Athenian Agora, and here we see Eubulos using this fact to comic effect.

Often, when we think of political and legal comedy, we think of Aristophanes (*Knights*) or the plays of Menander (see V. Wohl. 2014. "Comedy and Athenian Law," in M. Rivermann. *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Comedy*. Cambridge: 322–335; A. Scafuro. 1997. *The Forensic Stage*. Cambridge). In this paper I would like to look at the new comedy to see what the fragments of Eubulus and other middle-comic poets can tell us about Athenian Law and how they used the law to comic effect.

Altay Coskun
University of Waterloo

Queen Dynamis of the Bosporos: Granddaughter of Mithradates Eupator and Friend of the Romans (**Session 5d**)

The Bosporan Kingdom largely covered today's eastern Crimea and western Taman peninsula. Rome's 'archenemy' Mithradates Eupator added it to his inherited realm of Pontos around 110 BCE. His son Pharnakes II succeeded him after the Third Mithradatic War (63 BCE). He reignited hostilities with Rome by invading Pontos (48/47 BCE). During this campaign, his deputy Asandros revolted and established himself on the Bosporan throne. In 19 BCE, the latter was ousted by a certain Scribonius, who, in turn, was killed when Polemon of Pontos tried to seize power also in the Bosporos (16/14 BCE). The coup finally succeeded with the support of Marcus Agrippa, who ordered Queen Dynamis to marry Polemon. She was the daughter of Pharnakes II and the widow of Asandros and Scribonius. Dynamis' later life is full of uncertainties. Did she die soon after 14 BCE, or did Polemon repudiate her (at least Pontos he bequeathed to his younger wife Queen Pythodoris)? Did Agrippa take Dynamis to Rome (some scholars see her represented on the Ara Pacis, 13 BCE)? Did she lead the revolt of the *Aspurgianoi* against Polemon in 8 BCE (and thus defy Roman hegemony)? Did she continue to rule over the Bosporos until 7/8 CE (as coin monograms might imply)? Did she ever co-rule with Aspurgos, who is firmly attested as (sole) king only as of 14 CE (many regard him as her son)? No new evidence can be produced, but most of the vexing problems concerning the period from 47 to 13 BCE have been resolved recently. Many of the findings also have implications for the subsequent 'troubled' years. At all events, Dynamis emerges as a queen who aptly dwelt on both her Mithradatic lineage and her friendship with the Roman imperial house, to gain or stabilize her long-term rule over the Bosporos.

Jody Ellyn Cundy
York University

(Im)material Collections: the Lindian Chronicle, paradoxography and Pausanias' Periegesis Hellados (**Session 4c**)

The so-called 'Lindian Chronicle'—a monumental Hellenistic inscription preserving the noteworthy dedications to Athena Lindia in Rhodes and epiphanies of the goddess—was commissioned by magistrates in 99 BC with instructions that the *stele* be erected in the sanctuary proper. The intent of the inscribed catalog is the preservation of the memory of the dedications that have been lost over time (A4); it both emphasizes the antiquity and prestige of the sanctuary, and draws a direct correlation between the impetus to offer dedications to the goddess and her epiphanies (A2–3). The commissioned compilation and inscription of these dedications therefore compensates for the material loss of these dedications by creating of a virtual collection that any visitor to the sanctuary can experience by reading *stele*, which is itself a monument in stone.

The decree suggests that the compilers work "from the letters and public records and from the other evidence" (A6–7). Higbie (2003) observes that twenty-one of the twenty-three sources named are authors of histories or antiquarian works. She notes that "a 'document-mindedness' which has few, if any, parallels this early in the Greek World" is the most striking element of the *stele*. This paper argues that Hellenistic paradoxography and the *Lindian Chronicle* articulate a rhetoric of the local founded on marvels and epiphanies as material *semata*. The argument first addresses the heroic relics among the dedications recorded in the *Lindian Chronicle*. Second, the 'document-mindedness' that Higbie observes in the *Lindian Chronicle* is also characteristic of the compilation methodology evident among paradoxographers and antiquarians. Third, the virtual collection of dedications recorded in stone evokes the special relationship between Lindos and the patron goddess Athena Lindia as effectively for the ancient reader as the material artifacts would. These aspects of the *Lindian Chronicle* are approached comparatively through the lens of catalogs of dedications in Pausanias' *Periegesis Hellados.*

Elena Dahlberg
University of Calgary

Evurte Jollivet's Fulmen in Aquilam (1636): A Protestant Aeneid (**Session 6c**)

The Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) generated a flurry of Latin epics, composed by writers from both sides of the religious divide. All of these ambitious works rely on ancient prototypes, Virgil being their main source of inspiration. Appropriating the *Aeneid* allowed these poets to portray their respective countries as rising empires and their rulers as new *Aeneae* (e.g. Philip Hardie 2014). Examples *par excellence* of this literary phenomenon are the Latin epics about Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (r. 1611–1632), a Lutheran king who had transformed his nation from a political and cultural nonentity into a military superpower and who successfully defended the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years' War.

This paper will discuss a neo-Latin epic penned by the French Protestant Evurte Jollivet (1601–1662). Published in 1636 and divided into twelve books, *Fulmen in Aquilam seu Gustavi Magni…bellum Sueco-Germanicum* celebrates Gustavus Adolphus's military intervention in the war against the Habsburg Emperor (whose traditional iconographic symbol is the Eagle, hence *aquila* in the title) up until the king's tragic death in 1632. While previous scholarship has described Jollivet's work as "very bad" (Hans Helander 2003) and "infantile" (Ludwig Braun 2007), the poem is a fascinating case of the early modern re-use of an ancient model for ideological purposes. My contribution will focus on exactly this kind of appropriations of the

Aeneid in Jollivet's epic and uncover their religious, cultural and political implications.

Drew Davis
University of Toronto

"For Here We Have No Gentlemen:" Reinterpreting the Classics at the University of Toronto (1842–1947) (**Session 4b**)

Several recent studies have highlighted the prominent role Classical education has had in the imperial projects of the European powers. In a similar manner to "Oriental Studies" (Said 1979), the Classics, with its claims of being the "font" of civilization, was used to authorize and justify imperial expansion. But even outside of the realm of imperial discourse and rhetoric, Classical education was tightly integrated into the systems of colonial government itself, as access to such a "gentleman's" education played a key role in determining who had access to said government. In particular, several recent studies have shown how for the British Empire the role of the Classics in education became a point of contention between the colonizers and colonized in India, Africa, and Egypt (Vasunia 2013; Goff 2013; Reid 2002). However, there remains one area where the intersection between "the Classics" and imperial power systems has hitherto been largely ignored––Canada. This paper seeks to begin such a discussion, focusing on the role of the Classics at the University of Toronto (UofT) and the power structures of Ontario and Canada more broadly in the first century of the University's existence (1842–1947). By studying both the testimonies of students and professors of Classics at the University and graduation records, this paper seeks to trace how "the Classics" was justified and fit into the educational scheme of the University and the province, and how this changed over time. Consequently, this study will examine how UofT's approach to Classical education compared to elsewhere in the British Empire. It will argue that unlike the Classics of the Oxbridge schools, a degree in Classics from UofT quickly lost any direct connection to government, but nevertheless was reinterpreted and found a home in the provincial education system as a means of teaching a distinct set of "Canadian," not "English" values.

Christopher Dawson
Thorneloe University at Laurentian

honore contentus pecuniam remisit: Public Honours as Performance in Africa Proconsularis (**Session 4c**)

Six inscriptions from Gigthis[1] in Africa Proconsularis record that the *populus* used private money to pay for honorific statues after its honorands had refused the public money originally voted for them. Three times the *populus* was joined in this action by the decurions and the *incolae* of Gigthis, but three times the *populus* acted alone. In the last four decades, scholars, particularly François Jacques (1984) and Claude Briand-Ponsart (2013), have seized upon these six inscriptions as evidence for the organisation of the *populus* and its active participation in the public life of North African cities during the Principate. In brief, they interpret the inscriptions as indicating that the *populus* was more independent from the *ordo decurionum* than previously thought.

This paper will reassess that reading of the inscriptions by understanding the award of honorific statues as a process in which the various participants performed roles. It will place the six inscriptions in the broader context of remittances, the relatively common practice of honorands remitting the cost of their statue. The formulaic nature of the 51 inscriptions recording remittances in Africa Proconsularis attests to an underlying script: the decurions and/or *populus* initiate the honour, which they sometimes heighten with a mass demonstration (*postulatio*) of communal consensus; they then settle on a payment method for the statue, usually public funds; the honorand, however, demonstrates self-control and humility by refusing to allow this expenditure of money on his or her behalf; finally, at Gigthis at least, the *populus* could go one step

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1 *CIL* VIII 11039, 11040, 32+p.921=11034, 22737, 22738; *ILAfr.* 21

further by insisting on setting up the statue with private money. I argue that the *populus* was not displaying independence from the decurions, so much as performing the characteristic trait of *populi* in Roman ideology. The honorands might have been able to prevail upon the sober decurions to heed their wish to pay for the statue themselves, but not the passionate, youthful *populus*. The people's stereotypical exuberance is being used to demonstrate all the more the appropriateness of the original decision to honour.

Filip De Decker
Universiteit Gent

The augment in Epic Greek (**Session 9c**)

Greek past tense forms of the indicative (imperfect, aorist and pluperfect) are marked by the addition of a prefix *e-* to the verbal form. While mandatory in Classical Greek prose, the prefix appeared facultative in earlier Greek poetry and this absence is often explained as a poetic licence and a metrical tool. We argue that the use in the oldest Greek literature (Homer, Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and the fragments of the Epic Cycle) was not random but explainable by morphometric, syntactic and semantic reasons. Later, these rules were no longer understood and the prefix became the mandatory marker of past tense in prose, while its absence in Homer and Hesiod was reinterpreted as a poetic licence and was imitated by later (epic) poets. Our investigation first treats the transmitted forms and establishes if they are secured by the metre; if not, we check if their value can be determined by internal reconstruction and comparison (as was done in Taida 2007, 2010 and De Decker 2016, 2017, based on Barrett 1964:361–362). Then, we proceed to the actual analysis. Starting from earlier scholarship on the issue that described the augment *as a deictic marker that marked the completion of the action in the presence of the speaker* (Platt 1891:227; Bakker 2005:147), we show that and explain why the augment is used/preferred in

a) similia and gnomic aorists (Platt 1891, Bakker 2005:131–135, Faulkner 2005:68–69);

b) speech introductions with an addressee (De Decker 2015);

c) actions in the immediate past (Platt 1891; Drewitt 1912a,b; Bakker 2005:114–153);

d) in speeches (Koch 1868, Basset 1989);

e) when new and/or important information was communicated (Mumm 2004);

and it is avoided in verb forms

a) referring to repeated actions in the past, often with αἰεί;

b) with the -σκ-suffix, referring to repeated actions or one action repeated by many (Pagniello 2007);

c) occurring in narrative and mythical stories (Koch 1868, Basset 1989);

d) describing a remote past, mythical stories or timeless activities (Hoffmann 1967, West 1989);

e) describing background actions, especially in subordinate clauses (De Decker 2016:298–299);

f) followed by a clitic, such as δέ, γάρ, μέν, τε, ἄρα and ῥα (Drewitt 1912b:104);

g) in negative sentences, especially in narrative passages (De Decker 2017:144–146);

h) in the beginning of a verse or sentence.

An example will make the distinction between foreground and background clear:

> ὃς τότ᾽ ἐν ἀκροπόλοις ὄρεσιν πολυπιδάκου Ἴδης
> <u>βουκολέεσκεν</u> βοῦς δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ἐοικώς.
> τὸν δὴ ἔπειτα ἰδοῦσα φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη
> <u>ἠράσατ᾽</u>, ἐκπάγλως δὲ κατὰ φρένας ἵμερος <u>εἷλεν</u>.

> "(Ankhises, who) pastured his cattle on the top of mountains of
> Ida, rich in fountains, in stature he resembled the gods. Then lovely-smiling Aphrodite saw him,
> longed deeply for him and a strong desire for him took mercilessly control over her mind." (Homeric

Hymn to Aphrodite, *HH* 5,54–57).

This passage taken from the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* clearly shows the use and absence of the augment: the unaugmented βουκολέεσκεν describes the background and habitual action of Ankhises's being a shepherd; the augmented ἠράσατ᾽ and εἷλεν describe something new and unexpected, namely his sudden erotic desires for Aphrodite when he notices her.

Stephanie Dennie
Western University

Antigone Grieving and Betrayed (**Session 6a**)

Grief is a universal experience. Betrayal often causes conflict. What happens when an individual experiences a loss and attempts to mourn that loss in an environment of betrayal? This paper provides a new reading of Antigone's moral position by applying the psychological principles of grief and betrayal. By adapting the psychology of both grief and betrayal to a close reading of Antigone's speeches in Sophocles' *Antigone*, I demonstrate that Antigone is an individual unable to properly express her grief through mourning because of her experience of betrayal. This betrayal complicates the grief process, as outlined by evolutionary psychology, and results in what Jonathan Shay calls a shrinking of her social and moral horizon (*Achilles in Vietnam*). I first establish the methodological framework for this reading of Antigone's moral perspective and then apply this method to a reading of the *prologos* (1–99) and the fourth *epeisodion* (883–943), including Antigone's *rhesis*. John Archer's *the Nature of Grief* provides the theoretical foundation for my understanding of the psychology of grief and its universality. Blending Archer's approach to grief with Shay's understanding of betrayal, I examine how Antigone expresses universal features of human nature through her grief which is complicated by the effect of betrayal. I pay close attention to Antigone's use of φίλος and ἐχθρὸς in order to discuss Antigone's expression of betrayal and to define her social and moral horizon. Additionally, this analysis of Antigone's moral position through the use of evolutionary psychology contributes to on-going scholarship concerning Antigone as a moral agent and Antigone and Kreon as representations of contrasting and incompatible moral views. This reading provides an example of how Greek tragedy can express timeless conflicts and universal features of human begins to a contemporary audience.

Amanda Devitt
McMaster University

The Fandom-Bound Identity: Spectator Identification and Fandom at the Roman Circus (**Session 7d**)

The intense loyalty and rivalry among the four factions of the circus engaged people from every tier of society, and while not every Roman had the same degree of interest in the races, a significant number became deeply invested, long-term supporters. Tacitus (*Dial.* 29.3–4) remarks that, for many, such love of spectacles developed early, almost in the womb. Indeed, eager spectators might choose to wait through the night outside the circus ahead of the race day (Suet. *Gaius* 26.4; Amm. Marc. 28.4.28–31). I will argue that a fan's identity was entwined with their fandom and that they internalized their faction's successes and shared in the feeling of failure. The application of modern sports psychology models can be used here to understand better the motivations and actions of Roman circus fans. In particular, 'basking in reflected glory' (BIRGing) and 'cutting off reflected failure' (CORFing) are recognized as tactics available to modern sports fans for maintaining a positive identity in relation to their fandom. By examining the extant evidence of circus fandom, including graffiti, small finds, and artwork, I will argue that although devoted circus fans employed the technique of BIRGing, their fervent support of their preferred factions, not unlike some modern sports fans, made the practice of CORFing nearly impossible. The organization of the races in the four distinct factions cultivated communities of fans with fierce partisanship and a strong sense of allegiance to their factions. I propose that the most ardent circus fans identified too closely with their faction to distance

themselves; rather, they were bound to the fortunes of the faction both to and by their fandom.

Lindsay Driediger-Murphy
University of Calgary

Imperii pignora certa? Movable Signs and Roman Theology (Session 8b)

Romans reflecting on the struggle for dominance over Italy told several stories about signs or omens of divine support which moved, or threaten to move, from one place to another (what Gerschel [1952] dubbed 'présages mobiles'). These include the 'Sabine cow' (which promised *imperium* to the citizen of whichever *civitas* sacrificed it to Diana on the Aventine); the *quadriga* of Veii (a terracotta statue foretelling greatness which, though crafted in Veii, fortuitously made its way to Rome); and, most famously, the 'Capitoline Head' (a human head found on the Capitoline, whose promise of becoming *caput rerum* was almost stolen by a crafty Etruscan diviner).

What are we to make of these stories? One approach has been to see them as evidence for an early Roman belief that the gods had destined the site of Rome for superiority over neighbouring peoples (Borgeaud 1987). Another approach has been to see them as evidence that Romans, unlike Greeks, were confident in their own ability to shape or create the meaning of divinatory signs, almost irrespective of what the gods may have intended (Bloch 1964; Lateiner 2005). What these strands of interpretation leave under-explored, however, is the uncomfortable fact that in some sense, the signs in these stories are explicitly not linked to, nor fully controlled by, Rome. This paper will explore the ways in which these stories may express, not Roman confidence in the gods, but Roman anxiety about the gods' intentions and the fragility of their support for Rome.

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Jonathon Edmondson
York University

Possible New Epigraphic Evidence for a Jewish Synagogue at Augusta Emerita (Mérida, Spain) in the First Century CE (Session 3c)

In 2006–2007 remains of numerous incineration burials dating to the later 1st century CE were discovered in excavations near the Roman circus in Mérida, the Roman colony of Augusta Emerita. In these excavations a more or less intact white marble plaque was discovered reused in the rubble covering a late-first century tomb. Its unpublished epitaph reveals that it had originally been set up by a freedman called Vicarius to commemorate his patron. This patron's name—DEMETRIVS AZZANITES—poses problems of interpretation. This paper explores several ways to construe it: (1) that "Demetrius" is a rare case of the name being used as a *gentilicium* (cf. *CIL* IX 5749: M. Demetrius Epictetus, *mil(es) cla(ssis) pr(aetoriae) Rav(ennatis)*), while "Azzanites" is a *cognomen*, which, though unparalleled in Latin epigraphy, is attested as the name of the medical writer quoted by Galen, Oribasius and the 4th-century CE Michigan Medical Codex (*P. Mich.* 758); (2) that he was a man with a single name Demetrius, whose ethnic origin was outlined in line 2, with "Azzanites" an erroneous form of "Aezanites", i.e., an immigrant from Aezanoi in Phrygia. A third option is also explored, which, if correct, would throw significant light on the Jewish community in Emerita in the later first century CE. According to Epiphanius of (Cyprian) Salamis (*Panarion* 1.2.30.11.4), an "azanites" was an assistant to the *archisynagogus* in a Jewish synagogue. Thus Demetrius may have played just such a role in the synagogue at Emerita. If this proposed interpretation of the new funerary plaque is correct, it would provide the earliest evidence yet known for a Jewish community at Emerita. The paper concludes by

discussing which of the proposed interpretations is the most plausible.

Rory Egan
University of Manitoba

The Second Staging of Aristophanes' Frogs: a Comedy of Philological Errors (**Session 7a**)

An ancient *hypothesis* to *Frogs* apparently claims, on authority of the Peripatetic scholar Dicaearchus, that the play was restaged because of admiration for its parabasis: οὕτω δὲ ἐθαυμάσθη τὸ δρᾶμα διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παράβασιν ὥστε καὶ ἀνεδιδάχθη. Absent supporting evidence for the re-performance, this testimony stands as a familiar fixture of Aristophanic scholarship, embellished with a baroquerie of conjectures on such matters as the date and circumstances of the second performance and evidence of re-writing for the occasion reflected in the received text of the play. Modern editors (e.g. Dover) have even been confident enough to enhance the text of the *hypothesis* (or the 'fragments' of Dicaearchus) by interpolating material from a *Vita* of Aristophanes that mentions neither Dicaearchus nor a restaging of *Frogs*. Even more cautious scholars (Goldhill, M. Griffith), sceptical about the reality of the second performance, apparently accept the notion that Dicaearchus did report on it.

On the basis of his words relaying information from Dicaearchus it is here suggested that the author of the hypothesis might have himself misconstrued what Dicaearchus said or at least led his modern readers to do so. The Greek phrases quoted above can be plausibly construed as follows. "Because of its parabasis the play caused such puzzlement (or curiosity) that it is subject to reinterpretation(s)." Such a statement, unlike the putative re-staging, remains verifiable today, specifically on the evidence of the many puzzling elements in the parabasis itself. This reinterpretation, moreover, utilizes a meaning of ἀναδιδάσκειν frequently attested in the century and a half before Dicaearchus and copiously thereafter, whereas the traditional reading of the *hypothesis* presumes a niche meaning, not inherently unsuitable in the context, but sparsely and problematically attested and not demonstrably current in Dicaearchus' time.

Marcelo Epstein and Ruth Spivak
University of Calgary

Latin Through Science (**Session 2b**)

Many Canadian universities offer courses of Latin for science majors. In general, these courses introduce Latin through the study of medical and scientific terms. Rarely are science majors taught Latin for the purpose of reading from a corpus of thousands of scientific works written over a period of more than two millennia. Yet, many of these works are pivotal to the development of civilization as we know it, and many volumes could be filled even by just sticking to these pivotal works and neglecting all the rest.

This paper will discuss a course that has been running for over twenty years at the University of Calgary, "The Latin of Science". This course's main purpose is to attract non-Classics majors to an active awareness of one of the most important components of our cultural heritage, namely, the vast literary output of scientific works written in Latin over a period of twenty centuries. The course consists of two parts, each extending over one academic term. The first part of this course is devoted to a fast-paced comprehensive introduction to Latin grammar. The second part of the course is devoted to the reading and translating of actual scientific texts.

The sense of achievement of our students, deriving from the miraculous quality of the process of going from complete ignorance to a reasonable mastery of a language within such a short period of time, has been conveyed to us time and again in explicit terms.

We will focus our discussion on the methodology and rationale of our intensive one-semester Latin grammar course that leads students to the reading of authentic scientific texts in Latin. In addition, we will discuss how our book, "The Latin of Science" may be beneficial for both Classics and non-Classics majors alike.

Franck Fassion
University of Lyon

Économie de la Cité, organisation des territoires. Le cas de la cité arverne entre la fin du second âge du fer et le haut-empire (Session 5a)

Le développement de programmes de recherches interdisciplinaires associant des études historiques, archéologiques et paléoenvironnementales a totalement bouleversé notre perception de l'occupation du sol et des mises en valeur des espaces montagnards en Europe occidentale à l'époque romaine. Longtemps considérés comme pauvres d'un point de vue économique et culturel, et peu favorables à l'occupation humaine, les données acquises à partir des années 1980 montrent, au contraire, que les espaces de hauteurs étaient densément occupés et bénéficiaient de mises en valeur variées (présences d'agglomérations et de voies de communication, pastoralisme, activités minières, charbonnières etc.) (Alpes: Court-Picon *et al.* 2007, Segard 2009; Pyrénées: Ejarque *et al.* 2009, Rendu *et al.* 2013, Massif Central: Fassion 2013, Trément 2011–2013). Ce renouvellement des connaissances a également suscité une modification profonde de notre perception de l'organisation des territoires par la mise en évidence des relations entre les espaces de montagnes et de plaines. Tel est notamment le cas de la cité des Arvernes entre la fin du second âge du Fer et le Haut-Empire. L'association de recherches archéologiques et paléoenvironnementales (pollen, macrorestes végétaux, flux de microcharbons, diatomées), ainsi que l'utilisation d'un SIG a permis d'identifier une hétérogénéité du développement du territoire de la cité, reflet des stratégies et des choix socio-économiques selon le relief et le climat, les ressources disponibles (espaces pour l'agriculture, l'exploitation du bois et vraisemblablement du minerai), ainsi que la proximité du réseau viaire et des principaux centres urbains (Trément *et al.* 2014; Fassion soumis en 2017).

Marta Fernández Corral
York University

Women's nomenclature in Roman Spain: the example of the Conventus Cluniensis. (Session 3c)

In 1977 M. L. Albertos, in a study that addressed the indigenous onomastics of the Roman province of Hispania Citerior, proposed that women's nomenclature could be more conservative than men's, since they were apparently using indigenous names more often than men were. Although the paper was written decades ago, there have been only a few partial studies that have tried to confirm or deny her proposal and these have reached different conclusions. Whereas studies on Lusitania have shown no difference in the use of indigenous names by men and women (Navarro Caballero 2009), others focusing on some regions of Hispania Citerior have confirmed the proposal (Gallego Franco 2000, 2014).

The aim of this presentation is to examine this topic in more detail and study the situation in the Conventus Cluniensis, in the north of the province of Hispania Citerior, regarding the use of indigenous and Latin names by women. The first part addresses the general situation about the study of women's nomenclature in the Roman Empire, especially in Spain. After that, we examine the case of the Conventus Cluniensis, taking into account all the nomenclatures attested in the epigraphical record. Female and male nomenclature will be compared considering both their onomastic structure (indigenous/Roman) and their linguistics (indigenous/Latin/Greek/others). For this end, it will be especially interesting not only to evaluate the names quantitatively, but also to pay particular attention to those inscriptions that attest men and women from the same family. Finally, we examine some local variations that demonstrate the complex situation of onomastics in Hispania during the Roman imperial period.

Judith Fletcher
Wilfred Laurier University

Toxic textiles and the gifts of the Lemnian women in Apollonius' Argonautica (**Session 3a**)

The chorus of Aeschylus' *Choephori*, comparing Clytemnestra to the husband-killing Lemnian women, concludes that: "Through their god-despised pollution their race has vanished, dishonored by mortals." This paper argues that Apollonius draws on the Aeschylean idea of miasma, including its devastating effects on fertility, in his account of another kin murder, the slaughter of Medea's brother Apsyrtus in *Argonautica* 4, which is surrounded by numerous allusions to the *Oresteia.* The killing is constructed as an episode in a narrative of pollution and purification originating with the love affairs between the Argonauts and Lemnian women, and apparently concluding with the expiatory ritual performed by Circe, which borrows heavily from Aeschylus' account of the purification of Orestes. But does miasma still cling to Jason after Circe's ritual? A subtle deployment of the textile motif suggests that it might.

By periodically mentioning gifts of cloaks from Hypsipyle and her subjects Apollonius keeps the Lemnian women in our peripheral vision throughout the epic. Most significantly Jason and Medea use a robe gift from the Lemnian queen to entice Apsyrtus into their fatal trap. Apollonius seems to have melded two complementary ideas: the physical contagion of miasma, and the age-old symbol of the curse as a garment. The toxic textile, a long-established metaphor dating back to Ancient Near Eastern cultures, influenced tragedies such as Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Euripides' *Medea*; both texts are evoked in Apollonius' account of the murder of Apsyrtus. Yet despite allusions to the purification of Orestes, we know that the carnage will not end with Circe's intervention. The robe imagery is an unavoidable reminder of that. By an intricate web of allusions, Apollonius has tethered Jason's impending catastrophe and sterility to the polluted Lemnian women, whose gifts of textiles transmit an infectious miasma.

Harrison Forsyth
York University

Names and Family Relations in the Provinces: Onomastic Practice as a Cultural Marker in the Conventus Pacensis (**Session 3c**)

The rôle of onomastic practice as a cultural marker within the context of the family in the Roman Empire has received little scholarly attention, especially within the Iberian provinces. This paper will explore the ways in which onomastic practices shifted across time and space within one region of Roman Lusitania, namely, the *Conventus Pacensis* and the implications of these shifts in terms of acculturation between the 1st and 3rd centuries CE, the period from which the majority of epigraphic evidence in the region originates. Evidence from funerary epitaphs often provides a snapshot of the family through the relations articulated therein, usually through the expression of relations between dedicator and deceased. Especially in the case of epitaphs involving parents and children, we can observe changes in naming practice over the course of a generation. In some cases individuals whose parents possess indigenous names were given or adopted completely Latin onomastic patterns, while in other cases we can observe shifts toward hybridized onomastic patterns which may include any combination of Latin, Greek, and indigenous names. The adoption of the Roman *tria nomina* in the provinces has typically been viewed as a consequence of enfranchisement as a Roman citizen, wherein Roman naming practices serve to advertise one's status and privileges as a citizen. If this is the case, then it is necessary to gauge the extent to which indigenous naming practices were afforded continuity in this process and, moreover, the extent to which the continuity of indigenous names across generations were of importance locally as a cultural marker. By examining the nuances of name change within the family, this paper aims to assess the effects of interaction between Roman and local cultural elements, particularly those of naming practice and citizenship, on the family in Roman Lusitania.

Rachel Foulk
Ferris State University

Framing the View: Landscape, Painting, and Architecture at the Villa della Farnesina in Rome (**Session 9a**)

Landscape frames the dynamic experience of place at the Villa della Farnesina, a late first century B.C.E. riverside residence in Rome, which has been associated with Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and her husband, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa. Interior wall paintings at this imperial residence simultaneously reflect and inform viewers' experience of its architecture and exterior landscape, connecting real and painted landscape scenes, as well as public and private realms. This paper argues for site-specificity in the interpretation of landscape paintings and stuccoes by considering the villa's spectacular prospect architecture, which framed landscape vistas along the Tiber River to the north and the Janiculum Hill to the south.

Landscape imagery features prominently in the decoration of the Villa della Farnesina's extant rooms: a *triclinium*, two major corridors, three *cubicula*, and an enclosed garden (*viridarium*). Changing perspectives—wide panoramas, middle grounds, closer immediate ranges—frame the experience of landscape paintings with different points of view, working to activate the experience of environment as one moves among this villa's carefully planned rooms. Indeed, I argue that the shifting perspectives of these painted views were designed deliberately to coincide with the architectural functions of rooms, encouraging movement in passageways and more stationary contemplation in ceremonial rooms and secluded gathering spaces. Furthermore, this suburban villa was nestled within a luxurious garden zone and linked directly via a new bridge, the *pons Agrippae*, to Augustus and Agrippa's major building projects in the Campus Martius, including the Pantheon and Agrippa's Baths. The villa's painted riverside scenes and garden spaces evoke the emerging urban landscape of Augustan Rome. Ultimately, the depicted, constructed, and natural landscapes are carefully integrated at the Villa della Farnesina, communicating a view of place unique to the city of Rome that is embedded in imperial politics and power.

Joann Freed
Wilfred Laurier University

A Problematic Statue of Victory from Roman Carthage (**Session 8a**)

The National Museum of Carthage features a colossal Roman statue of an 'Alighting Victory,' identified by her costume and stance, 2.4m in height, without her head, but otherwise well preserved. She stands between bas-reliefs of Victories that were found on the Byrsa Hill and may be from a second-century arch placed at the crossing of the decumanus maximus and the cardo maximus. The statue of Victory, on the other hand, was found on the southwest side of Carthage, within a large rectangular area I identify as the military camp. Because of her size, the statue was likely the cult statue of a temple or shrine. Her baroque style dates her to the second half of the 2nd century A.D. She was found in the same general area as four other pieces of sculpture; a 'draped Roman woman,' torsos of Apollo and Diana, and the body of a horse, all displayed in the Museum garden today.

Although the Victory was noted in brief publications in 1896 and 1899, and photographs of it often appear in popular publications on Carthage, there has been no modern discussion of this statue. In fact the identification is highly problematic: this 'Victory' has no wings. Although wings were often a secondary addition to statues of Victory, the Carthage Victory has no place for wings to be attached. Furthermore her himation is rising behind her head. The himation blowing in a curve around the head is associated with minor goddesses and with Diana Lucifera, but never with a Victory. Since many parallels, including the Athena/Victory from Bulla Regia, show that composite Roman goddesses were common in the 2nd c. A.D., I consider possible interpretations for the Victory as a composite goddess suitable to a military camp.

Carrie Fulton and Naomi Neufeld
University of Toronto

Digital technology, anchorages, and maritime trade networks at Maroni-Tsaroukkas, Cyprus (**Session 1a**)

Using data from a recent survey of an anchorage at Maroni-*Tsaroukkas*, Cyprus, this paper discusses advancements in underwater survey methodologies to refine our understanding of maritime trade along the southern coastline of Cyprus. Recent advances in digital recording technologies through photogrammetry have greatly enhanced the speed and accuracy of documenting underwater remains, yet applications are generally limited to discrete sites or individual objects. Surveys of large areas are time intensive when divers record transects through traditional methods, and the results have larger spatial error when surveys are conducted more quickly. In this paper, we discuss the results from the use of a computerized camera system to capture high-resolution photographs for use in photogrammetry to rapidly conduct geo-referenced survey transects of an anchorage at Maroni-*Tsaroukkas*, Cyprus. While an underwater survey conducted in this area in the 1990s discovered fifty stone anchors within 300m of the current coastline, a comprehensive survey was not possible then given the available technology. We briefly returned to the anchorage in 2014 and again in 2017 to conduct a comprehensive and accurate survey of the area using photogrammetry and digital methods. In addition to Late Bronze Age ceramics that were found alongside stone anchors, we also recorded sherds of late Roman transport vessels and large architectural blocks. From the location of these materials, we propose that the anchorage was utilized in the Bronze Age but the area was active through the late Roman period, with another anchorage close by perhaps for Roman use. The multi-season investigation of the anchorage addresses fundamental issues with underwater survey methods that inform our interpretation of anchoring practices and maritime activity at Maroni-*Tsaroukkas* across the *longue durée*.

Melissa Funke
University of Winnipeg

Pinking the Classics: Marketing Ancient Myth to Girls in the 21*st *century (**Session 5c**)

Over the last twenty years, the marketing of toys has become increasingly segmented by gender, with items from books to action figures sorted into the pink or blue sections of toy stores. While many of the books through which North American children are first introduced to Greco-Roman myth are promoted to both boys and girls (e.g. the Harry Potter series or Rick Riordan's books), classical mythology is not immune to recent trends in gendered marketing. This paper discusses two means through which characters and stories from classical myth are marketed to girls between ages 6 and 12: dolls and book series, specifically Joan Holub's *Goddess Girls* series. Its goal is to analyze how current conceptions of gender influence the ways that girls in particular are encouraged to engage with antiquity.

I begin with a general overview of classically-oriented toys, games, and books from the last 40 years, considering how these items were originally marketed and received in popular culture. I then discuss more recent trends in marketing toys to girls, with a focus on dolls inspired by figures from classical myth. In the final section of this paper, I turn to children's literature, with an overview of the *Goddess Girls* series and its companion series for boys, *Heroes in Training*. I explore the responses of a group of 8–10 year-old girls to the *Goddess Girls* series and how these girls have connected to ancient culture through these books. Ultimately I argue that such marketing offers its intended audience a complex matrix of benefits and drawbacks, introducing contemporary girls to the ancient world and creating space for them in its stories at the same time as it reiterates confining expectations for girls in 2018.

Kathryn Furtado
University of Alberta

The Completeness of Nicomachean Ethics 1 (**Session 3d**)

In book 1 of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle defines εὐδαιμονία as "activity of the soul … in accordance with the best and most complete excellence" (ψυχῆς ἐνέργεια … κατὰ τὴν ἀρίστην καὶ τελειοτάτην [ἀρετήν], 1.7 1098a16–18). Although this τελειοτάτη ἀρετή is never explicitly defined, a number of commentators (Hardie, 1968; Cooper, 1987; Kraut, 1989; Lear, 2004; Lisi, 2014) identify it as σοφία on the basis of book 10's definition of εὐδαιμονία as "activity in accordance with excellence, reasonably, the highest one," (ἡ εὐδαιμονία κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν ἐνέργεια, εὔλογον κατὰ τὴν κρατίστην, 10.7 1177a12–13; identified with σοφία, 10.7 1177a24). In other words, these commentators read elements of book 10 back into book 1, despite acknowledged textual and philosophical difficulties (Nussbaum, 2001; Brown, 2014). In this talk, I challenge these two assumptions—that book 1's definition is incomplete, and that the book 10 account was written to finish it—and argue that Aristotle intended book 1's treatment of εὐδαιμονία as a complete and independent account.

At 1.7 1098a20–22, Aristotle notes that the definition provided a few lines earlier is only a sketch to be filled out later. In light of the piecemeal nature of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (Kenny, 1978), I critique reading lines 10.6 1176a30–b6 and 10.7 1177a12–13 as the fulfillment of this promise. I then argue for 1.8–10 as the actual completion of the sketch, based on: verbal consonance; the widely overlooked methodological unity of chapters 1.5–10; and the initial definition of εὐδαιμονία in 1.7. This reading bolsters the suggestions of Nussbaum (2001) and Brown (2014) that books 1 and 10 originally belonged to distinct works, and so preserves the integrity of each book's argument.

Chelsea Gardner
Mount Allison University

Digital Pedagogy and 'Women in Antiquity': Open-access projects for the 21ˢᵗ century classroom (**Session 4b**)

The 21ˢᵗ-century classroom is continually evolving, and the pressure to incorporate technology and digital resources increases every year. As instructors in a traditionally 'archaic' field, we must adapt our courses on ancient history, classics, and archaeology to reflect these changes in order to meet the needs of the modern university and to recruit students. The instruction of Digital Humanities incorporates skills such as website-building, database management, and artifact digitization into Classics classrooms that will impart valuable knowledge and skills, and benefit students regardless of their future career endeavours. With this in mind, I have developed an open-access, collaborative Digital Humanities project for teaching 'Women in Antiquity' that is designed for implementation in the university classroom. In this project, students are asked to research a topic of their choosing related to women in the ancient Graeco-Roman world, and are then required to populate a website dedicated to 'Women in Antiquity' (http://womeninantiquity.wordpress.com)—this imparts the student with traditional research skills as well as introduces them to the processes involved in website creation (metadata, coding, etc.), all the while contributing to the existing online resources for the study of the ancient world. This project was featured in the Women's Classical Caucus, and is being developed into a multi-national collaborative project with instructors at Rutgers University-Camden and the University of Illinois at Chicago. In this paper, I present the history of this project, its progression over the past year, and future goals, including how participants in this panel can become involved and use this project within their own classrooms.

Kyle Gervais
Western University

No cock-up: Sophisticated Classical Allusion in a Medieval Pseudo-Ovidian Metamorphosis (**Session 6c**)

I offer an intertextual reading of the so-called "*Altera sed nostris…*", a medieval pseudo-Ovidian metamorphosis comprising 44 lines of hexameters found in the margin of a 14th century manuscript of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The poem tells the story of a flamen dialis who rapes a chief Vestal and her fellow priestesses, after which Jupiter transforms them all into a cock and a flock of hens. The passage was first published by W. S. Anderson (1975), whose edition and commentary were primarily interested in demonstrating that it was not, in fact, a genuine work of Ovid. A subsequent article by W. D. Lebek (1978) treated the text with more sympathy and placed it in its appropriate medieval Christian context (it is, in fact, an allegory for the misadventures of a bishop with a group of nuns). Thus far, however, no full account has been made of the text's use of its Classical models. My investigation along these lines has revealed a sophisticated network of references to Virgil and Ovid (supplemented by a few allusions to Lucretius, Lucan, Statius, and perhaps Corippus). I will discuss how this allusive program not only establishes the poem's Virgilian-Ovidian credentials, but also articulates its central theme (love as a blasphemous, destructive force) and advances a self-conscious claim to the poem's place within the long tradition of Latin poetry. Along the way, I would like to think a little bit about the prejudices that we bring to our texts. Why, for instance, would a scholar as astute as W. S. Anderson, and one who had worked hard to resist counterproductive prejudices against Ovid, bring similar prejudices to a pseudo-Ovidian text? Or, why does an intertextual gesture that would be considered "clever appropriation" if found in Virgil or Ovid look like "slavish imitation" when found in a medieval text?

Matt Gibbs
University of Winnipeg

Tattoos, Taxes, and Tribulations: The Punishment of Members of Professional Associations in Roman Egypt and Asia (**Session 9d**)

In a famous inscription from Ephesos dating to the second century AD (*I.Eph.* 215), we are told about a group of bakers who apparently caused a disturbance and were threatened by the Roman proconsul of Asia. Members of this group were banned from attending any meeting that was "contrary to orders," or "starting any tumult or *stasis*," and that they would be punished by the "fitting penalty" should they do so; moreover should anyone (presumably including these bakers) hide from the authorities, having committed any act contrary to this edict, they would have "*decuria*" branded on their foot, while anyone helping them would be subject to the same punishment. This inscription, when compared to other examples, largely from Egypt, seems to be an outlier; but was it really? How were members of professional associations punished and what does this say about the legal status of professional groups in the provinces of the eastern Roman Empire?

This paper will examine several instances of reported punishments for professional associations and their members in Asia and Egypt during the first two centuries of Roman rule, in an attempt to consider whether there was any coherent policy that the Roman administration enforced therein. To that end, this paper will argue that the issue of punishment inherently reveals not only the associations' position in law that was promulgated by Roman emperors in the first and second centuries AD, but also suggests that Roman legislation, in some instances, used earlier precedents—sometimes Hellenistic decrees—in dealing with professional associations.

Gillian Glass
University of British Columbia

Passio Charikleae et Theagenous (**Session 7b**)

Scholars comparing Heliodorus' 4ᵗʰ c CE opus to contemporary Christian fiction, highlight how Christian authors were influenced by classical thought and *paideia*. They point to common themes such as virginal and suffering bodies and the defense of chastity as examples of common concerns in both genres. While fruitful, this approach fails to consider influences traveling in the opposite direction.

In this paper, I argue that Heliodorus' representation of the afflicted Theagenes and Chariklea, whose suffering bodies served as vehicles to their salvation, stemmed from the same socio-cultural constructs of gender and class as the Christian authors of martyrologies. This paper analyses the incarceration of the protagonists in Book VIII of the *Aethiopika*, a section that exhibits Heliodorus' views of both class and gender through *sōphrosynē*. In this book, both hero and heroine are tortured, and the heroine is nearly executed by fire. The salvific terms in which the torture of Theagenes and Chariklea is recast show a considerable debt to martyrdom narratives, although Heliodorus weaves the protagonists' resistance into archaicizing aristocratic values instead of undermining Roman social structures. *Sōphrosynē* is thus a hybrid virtue in this novel, incorporating aspects of both the classical Greek virtue and the Christian ideal. This syncretic narrative integrates both literary traditions: the attempted murder of Chariklea reveals a debt to both Herodotus' *Histories* and *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*. By the 4ᵗʰ c, knowledge of martyrologies was wide spread, and pagans would have heard of them, even if they had not read them. Ultimately, this study reveals a more complex exchange of thought in Late Antiquity, and invites a revaluation of literature based on its intents and narrative, rather than the author's religious self-identification.

Allison Glazebrook
Brock University

Out of Place: Timarchos in Aeschines 1 (**Session 8c**)

In Aeschines 1, *Against Timarchos*, the idea of place plays a prominent role in marginalizing Timarchos despite his prominence as a public speaker at Athens. At the time of the trial, Timarchos was an established politician who had played an important role on council, participated in important embassies, proposed more than 100 decrees, and commonly served as a prosecutor in the courts (Fisher 2001: 20–23). He was an active citizen well-known to the jurors.

Near the start of the speech, however, Aeschines conjures an image of Timarchos speaking at a recent assembly only to mark his location there as out of place. In addition to contrasting Timarchos' performance with past speakers like Solon, Themistokles, and Perikles, he comments that decent citizens covered their eyes at the sight of him (1.26). Despite Timarchos' public presence, and thus the jurors' knowledge of his activities, Aeschines' speech successfully removes him from view and disrupts Timarchos' position of prominence within democratic Athens. His common location in the assembly and public life contrasts with the places he occupies in the speech. He spends his time in obscure locations throughout the city. He occupies the *oikoi* of various men, spends time in a *sunoikia*, and is associated with the *oikemata* of sex labourers. Language associated with these locations purposely obscures his activities, while indicating his intimate association with these spaces. Aeschines even suggests that Timarchos is homeless, having sold all his property (1.105).

Although Aeschines begins with Timarchos in the assembly (a common sight), his absence from public view in the rest of the speech as well as his lack of place highlight his meretricious activity and compel his displacement from the *polis* more generally.

Mark Golden
University of Winnipeg

Representations of the Classicist in Contemporary Anglophone Fiction (**Session 5c**)

Those of us familiar with the Rev. Edward Casaubon, the pathetic pedant in George Eliot's *Middlemarch* whose death frees his young wife to marry an attractive suitor more fitting for her, were likely surprised by one of Jennifer Lopez's recent roles. In *The Boy Next Door*, J Lo plays a high school classics teacher so gifted and so sexy that she inspires a hunky student to give her a first edition of Homer's *Iliad*. (He picked it up at a garage sale for a dollar.) This naturally provoked a lot of hilarity, among bibliophiles and those who frequent garage sales as well as classicists. Something more interesting has gone generally unnoticed, however: Lopez's Claire Peterson is not the only classicist to emerge from contemporary culture. On the contrary, we have suddenly become disturbingly prominent. In this paper, I survey some representations of the classicist in present-day English-language fiction. What do such figures say about perceptions of our profession and its practitioners?

Chiara Graf
University of Toronto

The Cacophony of the Georgics: Pity and Envy in Vergil and Lucretius (**Session 7c**)

The nature and purpose of the intertexts in Vergil's *Georgics* have been widely discussed. A number of scholars have argued that Vergil frequently recalls authors with irreconcilable worldviews, drawing attention to conflicting textual voices without ever resolving them [e.g. Farrell (1991), Gale (2006)]. The *Georgics* thus emerges as a "cacophonous" text that resists meaning by highlighting and amplifying clashes between worldviews. Following in this strand of scholarship, this paper will analyze a multilayered intertext at *Georgics* 2.498–9, arguing that these two lines evoke both a passage in Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* (3.75) and a passage elsewhere in the *Georgics* itself (1.466–8; 1.503–4). The two passages referenced in *Georgics* 2.498–9 express opposing takes on pity and envy: Lucretius encourages his readers to abstain from pity and envy, and, while Vergil seems to echo this Lucretian sentiment in *Georgics* 2.498–9, his language also recalls a passage in the *Georgics* in which the gods express these very emotions towards the human sphere. The tension present in this line further points to a larger internal ambivalence throughout the *Georgics* as to the role of emotion. Thus, the *Georgics* amplifies its own fissures, resisting the extraction of a single, coherent message.

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Bradley Hald
University of Toronto

Sight, Sound, and Affect in Thucydides (**Session 9d**)

Aurality in Thucydides' *History*, unlike visuality, has gone largely unexamined in the scholarship. Rather, vision is usually considered to be the "privileged sense" in this text (Connor 1984: 10). Yet vivid visuality, in the narrative, is frequently accompanied with equally vivid depictions of sound, the two types of sensory phenomena conspiring together as complementary vectors for affect, each with the capacity to help or harm historical agents. For this paper, I want to look at two episodes that illustrate the material, causal capability of auditory and affective forces in Thucydides' *History*. First, the skirmish on the island of Sphakteria in book four, where an Athenian force manages to corner and capture some 300 Spartan soldiers. It's an episode so historically significant that, in Thucydides' judgement, it could have ended the Peloponnesian War altogether. And, it's one in which affective forces play a central causal role. Auditory affect on the battlefield at Sphakteria,

works as an ally to the Athenians, helping them to victory. But in the night battle at Epipolai, in book seven, my second example, auditory-affective dynamics have become, instead, a catalyst for dissonance and disruption, that actively assaults the Athenians. Both these episodes share a common thematic motif: they are both scenes of profoundly impaired visuality, in which auditory dynamics play a central thematic role. Epipolai is one of the rare military actions in the *History* that's undertaken at night: vision is compromised from the start. And at Sphakteria, the Spartan army has been all but blinded—by a stifling cloud of dust and ash that has been stirred up in the commotion of battle. In the absence of clear vision, in both these scenes, auditory affect takes center stage, colliding with the historical actors, and exerting its causal influence over the course of historical events.

John Harris
University of Alberta

The Role of the 'God's Gift' Metaphor in Plato's Apology (Session 2d)

While everyone is familiar with Socrates' infamous simile in which he likens himself to an annoying gadfly (*Ap.* 30e1–5), they might be less familiar with his equally outrageous metaphor: he is god's gift to Athens (τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δόσιν, 30e1; cf. ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ πόλει δεδόσθαι, 31a10). How could this man—a man on trial for corrupting the youth, for not worshipping the gods the city worships but other strange gods—how could this man possibly be a gift from god? But even before he plants his provocative metaphor, Socrates has already prepared the ground by claiming that he believes no greater good has happened for the Athenians in the city than his service to the god (τὴν ἐμὴν τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσίαν, 30a5–7; cf. διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείαν). In the Socratic calculus, then, his service to the Athenians is god's gift to them.

In this talk I analyze the role of this metaphor in light of earlier Greek literature and its implications for the *Apology*. Although Hesiod speaks of the gods as "givers of good things" (θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων, *Th.* 46; cf. 633, 644), the more traditional account regards gifts from gods as neither wholly nor necessarily good. In fact, mortals should expect the gods' gifts to be, at best, a mixture of good and bad, and at worst, unadulteratedly bad. The point is, as Kallidikē says to the disguised Demeter in the *Homeric Hymn* (147–148): "Good mother, we mortals are forced, though it hurt us, / to bear the gifts of the gods (θεῶν … δῶρα); for they are stronger." Yet in the *Republic* (379c2–380c10) Plato's Socrates rejects the view that the gods can be responsible for evil. The conclusion is inescapable: as god's gift, Socrates must necessarily be good for Athens.

Karen Hersch
Temple University

An Etruscan Healer in Rome: The Eternal City's First Fertility Specialist (Session 5d)

Tanaquil is perhaps best known to students of Roman history as the woman who predicted the reigns of two kings (Livy 1.34, 1.39; Dion. 3.47, 4.2). In this paper, I argue that Tanaquil's knowledge of woolworking, divination and fertility were conflated in antiquity, and that Roman women came to seek aid in childbearing from Tanaquil's sacred image.

Notably Dionysius (4.2) recorded that Tanaquil interpreted the significance of a ghostly phallus in the royal palace's hearth, which led to the birth of the next king. Of her woolworking, Pliny (*HN* 8.194) asserted that Tanaquil wove the first *tunica recta*, noting that her distaff and spindle were preserved in the temple of Sancus; Plutarch (*QR* 30) claimed that a bronze statue of Tanaquil with woolworking tools stood there. Significantly, Festus remarked (s.v. *praebia*) concerning the statue's belt, into which Tanaquil herself had mixed healing charms that aided "those in danger" (*periclitantes*). *Periclitor*, importantly, may describe women involved in the dangers of pregnancy and childbirth (Pliny, *HN* 32.133; Celsus, *Med.* 2.1.14).

An association with the Fates may have led to Tanaquil's promotion to healer. While woolworking was emblematic of a woman's virtue (Clark 1981, Pantelia 1993, Larsson Lovén 1998, Milnor 2005), motifs of

the wedding, prophecy and woolworking were famously combined in the Parcae's performance in Catullus' epithalamium (64). The bronze statue of Tanaquil may have been viewed as one of the Parcae; indeed Coarelli (1998) associated this brazen Tanaquil with "luck and destiny, analogous to a Parca, (and) probably with Fortuna."

Modern scholarship on Roman medicine has illuminated the astonishing variety of medical aids used to treat feminine ailments (Flemming 2000, Schultz 2006, Green 2007). In this paper, I show how the bronze image of Tanaquil, mistress of three domains, provided the anxious suppliant assurance that this ancient queen would spin a promising destiny.

Sonia Hewitt
Acadia University

The olive presses in the House of Orpheus at Volubilis (**Session 2a**)

The House of Orpheus at Volubilis was excavated during the 1920s, but not published until 1941. Covering 1700 m^2. It occupies a city block and comprises both residential and commercial facilities. Thouvenot ("La Maison d'Orphée à Volubilis", *PSAM* 6 [1941] 42–81) suggested that the twin press for expressing olive oil supplanted an earlier single olive press at a higher elevation, partly obscured by the construction of the *triclinium* decorated with the Orpheus mosaic. A thorough cleaning of the twin press bed and upper area of the so-called earlier press reveals that in fact the two areas functioned together. The channels and cuttings of the upper bed demonstrate that it operated as an area for placing the crushed olives in preparation for the lower presses, and the channels served for the collection of the first liquid from the olives. Oil production associated with these installations, carried out on a significant scale, was designed to be visually impressive.

Kendell Heydon
University of Nottingham

Spartan masculinity and social constructionism: A case study from Xenophon's Spartan Constitution (**Session 1d**)

Exploration of ancient Greek masculinity is always challenging, due to the generally accepted idea that the concept of "masculinity" in the modern western understanding, did not exist in antiquity. Scholars have argued that the gender-identities in antiquity can only be properly understood in the context of the intersection between a number of subjectivities including biological sex, age, sexual behaviour, and class. Furthermore, because the majority of literature available from the Classical is relatively Athenocentric in origin or focus, most detailed analyses of masculinity in Classical Greece have focused on Athenian mores. However, Spartan masculinity remains a relevant and vital point of reference for representations of manhood in Ancient Greece.

My paper seeks to examine a particular arena in which Spartan masculinities can be seen as constructed. Particularly, it will provide detailed analysis of the selection process of the elite unit of the 300 *hippeis* and the strife for manly virtue between young men which resulted from it, as described in Xenophon's *Spartan Constitution*. This episode is particularly well-suited for this type of analysis as masculine identities in antiquity have been seen as conspicuously enacted in the public sphere, with significant political and societal ramifications, making their constructions especially performative in nature.

I will employ a methodology informed by sociological gender theory to demonstrate that this selection process, as described by Xenophon in his *Spartan Constitution*, can be seen as, in essence, a performative display of hegemonic masculinity; a societal mechanism in which both the chosen and unchosen demonstrated their adherence to prominent Spartan masculine ideology via stylized public competition. In so doing, I will suggest that gender construction by means of performance was a significant purpose of this

important Spartan institution.

Caitlin Hines
University of Toronto

Gendered Landscapes of Power: Ovid's locus inamoenus (**Session 1c**)

Recent scholarship has demonstrated a pattern of male domination over feminized landscapes in Latin epic (e.g. Keith 2000). In Ovid, the formulaic *locus amoenus* ("charming place"—a fertile, peaceful, and pastoral setting) is tied to the staging of violence against vulnerable women (Newlands 2004). This paper examines the inverse literary space of the *locus inamoenus*. This "un-charming place" is sterile, dangerous, and wild; its characteristic ugliness reflects the destructive powers of the women who inhabit and control it. The home of Fames (*Metamorphoses* 8.791–803), Ovid's grotesque personification of ravenous hunger, is one such place: the all-consuming female deity, who inflicts an insatiable appetite upon the mortal man Erysichthon, inhabits a frozen, barren wasteland. The spatial and sensory disquiet in the house of Fama (*Met.* 12.39–63), Ovid's personification of rumor, likewise mirrors the dangerous qualities of its female tenant, who is all-seeing, all-knowing, and capable of disrupting events in the mortal world by cultivating exaggerations and falsehoods. Fittingly, her house lacks proper boundaries, is open and available to vulgar crowds, and echoes with endless, confused chatter. Such un-charming settings channel the anxieties about women most pervasive in ancient ideology: that their undisciplined and excessive natures (e.g. gluttonous appetite, unrestrained sexuality, love of gossip) are a real threat to men and civilized male society. Figures like Fames and Fama are the personifications of such female excess, and so the dangers that they pose are manifested in the inhospitable qualities of the spaces that they occupy. The landscapes of Latin epic thus illustrate hostility toward women from multiple angles: the welcoming *locus amoenus* lures vulnerable women into danger, while the unpleasant *locus inamoenus* requires its female inhabitants to personify the worst qualities ascribed to their sex.

Thomas Hubbard
University of Texas at Austin

Classical Rape and its Modern Relevance (**Session 6b**)

Concerns around rape of students attending college have stimulated significant regulatory, administrative, and legislative reforms during the last several years. In Spring 2016 I designed and taught an undergraduate Classics/Honors seminar on "Mythologies of Rape," convinced that dominant cultural myths and archetypes (Lucretia, the Sabine Women, Phaedra, the Trojan Women, Ovidian metamorphosis after metamorphosis) contribute to embedded modern constructions of rape and can open the door to a historically contextualized conceptual archaeology. Our discipline depends on demonstrating its continuing relevance to issues that our students confront both in the news and their own lives.

The bulk of my paper will describe the course syllabus and think piece assignments. Susan Brownmiller's classic *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (1975) served as a basic textbook for the course, not because it is up-to-date or theoretically informed, but because it remains the most synoptic and historically oriented treatment and had tremendous influence at a critical point in the feminist movement. Classical evidence can contribute to many of the issues Brownmiller highlights as modern concerns: rape in war, rape propaganda to justify racial hatred, pederasty and statutory rape, false rape accusations, the aestheticization of rape and violence against women. Side by side with the relevant classical texts, students were asked to read representative modern scholarship from the fields of law, psychology, criminology, and gender studies.

I also wish to discuss some of the challenges to achieving my goals in teaching such a course. Ideally, a class about how men and women interrelate should have a rough balance of male and female students to share perspectives, but classes on gender seldom do. Engaging male students constructively and sympathetically is essential to changing the environment and attitudes that perpetuate rape, but if the males are not there,

nothing will change.

Angela Hug
McMaster University

Widows at the Roman Imperial Court (**Session 5b**)

The study of the Roman imperial court as a distinct topic is a relatively new development in ancient history, one which has arisen largely in the last two decades. The women of the *domus Caesaris* were recognized in antiquity as key players in the court, despite holding no official positions of authority. The men they married used the status of their wives to enhance their own. Court life, however, could be unpredictable and dangerous, and imperial women often found themselves unexpectedly husbandless. Such women became a threat to the emperor, whether their change in status had resulted from his displeasure or for more mundane reasons like illness or accident. An imperial woman's blood relationship with the emperor, alongside her *auctoritas* at court, meant that marriage to the wrong man could create a rival for the imperial power. Widowed imperial women were a problem that emperors could not ignore.

A number of strategies to neutralize this threat were available and the emperors of the first three centuries A.D. made use of them all. Some women were strongly encouraged, if not compelled, to remain unmarried. They were praised as *univirae*, an unlikely compliment in a society which valued fertility (*fecunditas*) in its women above almost all else and where remarriage was accepted practice. Others were permitted to marry again, but at a cost: their new husbands were of a rank which ensured they could never lay claim to the throne. For dowager empresses, the choices were even more stark: graceful retirement (read: banishment) from court if the new emperor allowed it; death if he did not. Imperial women were imagined by their male kin as *exempla* for the rest of Roman society, but the implications of their widowhoods were unique to the court.

Alison Innes
Brock University

Using Social Media for Public Engagement (**Session 1b**)

The rise of social media presents scholars with a great opportunity to share our research beyond the academy. Tapping into social media gives us access to broad audiences and allows us to go beyond public relations for our discipline and make our scholarship accessible and understandable to the public. By using social media to engage with the public, we can show the relevance and importance of what we do as academics.

With so much opportunity and activity happening on social media platforms, how does one create community and space for conversation? This paper will explore ways in which academics can leverage the opportunities presented by social media to build networks beyond academia and engage the public.

Developing an effective social media strategy requires a number of considerations, including time, budget, platform, content, audience, goals, and risk management. A carefully thought-out plan will improve one's experience using social media for public engagement and therefore increase the dissemination of academic ideas.

Academics from a variety of disciplines are already using social media for public-facing scholarship and this paper will examine how strategies such as hashtag 'games', AMAs (ask me anything), and live tweeting talks, books, and movies can be used to engage and educate the public. Ro-cur (rotating curator) Twitter accounts and Instagram takeovers are additional ways to expand one's audience and network.

Yet another increasingly popular social medium is podcasting, and it lends itself well to making academic research accessible to the public. Podcasting can be useful at several stages of the research life cycle and can take a variety of formats. This paper will conclude by discussing the possibilities podcasting presents for public-facing scholarship. Discussion of specific examples of podcasts will provide a reference point for those wishing to explore the use of podcasting for public engagement.

M. Eleanor Irwin
University of Toronto Scarborough

The olive as an indicator of climate change in the Roman agricultural writers (**Session 2a**)

Olive trees flourish in a Mediterranean climate and are found in abundance in south Italy and Sicily but Columella (*Rust.* 1.1.4–6) had learned from Saserna (1ˢᵗ century BCE) that olives and vines had not grown in Italy, Spain and Africa in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus because of severe winters. Similarly, Pliny (*HN* 15.1) found a reference in the historian Fenestella (c. 52 BCE- c. 19 CE) that in 581 BCE in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus there were no olive trees in Italy, Spain or Africa while in his time they not only grew in these places but also across the Alps and in the middle of Spain and Gaul.

Olives require a Mediterranean climate with hot, dry summers and cool, wet winters. The agricultural writers described the best locations for olive orchards and how to mitigate the effects of a climate that was somewhat too hot or too cool for successful olive growing. They also described changes in climate caused by human activity like the draining of a swampy area.

In my paper, I will describe present the current scientific understanding of climate forcing in the Mediterranean in the Classical period, especially the time known as the Roman Warm Period. I will present palaeobotanical evidence for the olive (*Olea europaea*) in the Mediterranean and its relationship to the wild olive *Olea europaea ssp. oleaster*. I will also discuss the likely introduction of domesticated olive trees from the eastern Mediterranean where they had been cultivated since the Bronze Age to the western Mediterranean and in particular, the role of Greek colonists in establishing the olive there.

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Rebecca Futo Kennedy
Denison University

The Rewards Outweigh the Risks—Advocating for Public Scholarship in an Era of White Supremacy (**Session 1b**)

There are lots of great reasons from someone in a field like Classics to engage in public outreach—it increases visibility of the field, helps entice donors to digs, increases the number of students who may want to study it and reduces the number of parents who don't know what Classics is. My own experiences and those of a number of my colleagues in Classics and ancient history (and also of our Medievalist colleagues), however, have shown the risks as well. The general public that tends to be interested in things Classical is not necessarily the general public that one hopes to attract. While there are good people who took a class or two in college or even did their undergrad in Classics who want to continue to feel connected to the field out of interest, a small subset of the general public interested in Classics is made up of white people who view Classics as the core of a "Western Civilization" that is explicitly for and of "white" history, and also includes openly supremacist and neo-nazis. They appropriate Antiquity in a myriad of ways to support their dreams of a "white nation" in the US, Canada, the UK, and other parts of Europe. Public engagement for some of us, as a result, comes with both risks and rewards.

In this paper, I will discuss the implications of this landscape for doing public scholarship—both the good and the bad—and consider reasons why the rewards outweigh the risks and how we can support our fellow public scholars' work when confronted by "trolls." I will do so with reference to both my own experiences and those of academic colleagues, both within and outside of Classics.

Michael Korngut
Western University

'Holistic' Health and Wellness in Plato? (Session 2d)

Plato's dualism, that the soul is separate from the body is of course well known. Equally as well known is Plato's eudaemonist ethical theory, that the goal of embodied human life is to achieve human flourishing. In this paper, we will explore how the concept of health fits into his dualism and his ethical doctrines. Particularly, we will look at specific discourses from throughout the Platonic corpus where health (τὸ ὑγιαίνειν, and its cognates) features prominently, and ask: what semantic range does the term health encompass for Plato here; what pragmatic work, in the context of each discourse, is the term health performing? We will see that sometimes, in line with the everyday meaning of the word at the time, health seems synonymous with the term 'the good condition of the body' (e.g. *Gorgias*, εὐεξία τοῦ σώμᾰτος). Yet we will also see that in other discourses, Plato's semantic conceptualizing of health seems far broader, extending from the somatic, body-specific domain, into a more holistic concept that includes the state/condition of one's soul. For example, in *Charmides* (156aff.) Plato seems to endorse the holistic position of the Thracian physicians (over that of the Greeks) that providing treatments for bodily aliments and promoting the good condition of the body also involves caring for and promoting the good condition of the soul. And in *Republic* too, the good condition of the soul, virtue, is called 'a sort of health': Ἀρετὴ μὲν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑγίειά τέ τις ἂν εἴη καὶ κάλλος καὶ εὐεξία ψυχῆς (444e1–2). Is this construction mere analogy? This paper will look as these and other discourses, and suggest perhaps not.

George Kovacs
Trent University

Teaching Terminology: Ancient Origins and Digital Futures (Session 3b)

This presentation traces the development of a new course at Trent University: *Origins of Modern Terminology*. This course has presented some significant challenges: to whom should it be addressed? What are the academic standards for student success? How does such a course fit into our traditional curriculum?

Origins of Modern Terminology is designed to meet these challenges, both by looking to other successful offerings across Canada, and by introducing three elements. First, delivery will be digital only. By developing the course from scratch in collaboration with our online department, we make best use of digital pedagogical tools. Second, course curriculum is multivalent. Students will take some common modules to establish the basics of the vocabulary building and terminology formation, but will then choose from a broad swath of modules with different disciplinary emphases. This 'choose-your-own-adventure' format will give students a much greater degree of personal agency in the choice of course content. Third, all course content will be generated specifically for this course. Thus content can be truly multi-disciplinary, but will still allow for a Classics-based approach as students derive new vocabulary from Greek and Roman texts directly. This ongoing process is in consultation with members of other academic units within the university to optimize student engagement and course utility. One of the goals of this process is to situate the classical world as an initial communications hub to better facilitate intra-disciplinary interaction.

This ongoing process has helped to reframe classical content (and our classics program) in the broader university context. In this paper, I report on the ways in which the challenges above are being met and the process of collaboration that has led to the generation of course content. Finally, I will offer some predictions

of future development for the course after its initial offering.

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Marie-Josée Lavallée
Université de Montréal

Between Bad and God Utopia: Some Reflections on Ernst Bloch's Socrates (Session 5c)

Ernst Bloch (1885–1977) was a well-known German Marxist philosopher who devoted most of his work to the topic of utopia. His philosophical enterprise has been a response to the catastrophes of his time, the World Wars, and more specifically to his disappointment toward "real socialism". Bloch's thinking on utopia, hope, and resistance is based on a *Begriffsgeschichte*. While being firmly situated within a Marxist horizon, his writings constantly return to Ancient Greek thought. This is particular, but since this is also the case of several German philosophers of this time, Bloch's uses of Ancient Greek thought should be connected to this "German intellectual trend". This aspect of his work has not attracted much attention. This is an interesting case for reception studies. In this paper, we intend to analyze the contributions of the figure of Socrates to Bloch's general reflection on utopia. Socrates is depicted as a figure of resistance in "Sokrates und die Propaganda", a paper which Bloch wrote in 1936 in reaction to Nazism. Socrates could help to break the spell of "bad utopias". He is convoked again in *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, where Bloch tries to rehabilitate "good utopia" by giving a philosophical dimension to hope. In spite of his appreciation of Socrates, his comments are often ambiguous.

Christopher Lougheed
University of Alberta

Symmachus and cultivation of the powerful in the Letters: a Western innovation in late antique literary self-presentation? (Session 4d)

The senator Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (c. 340–402 CE) is the author and apparently the publisher of a large collection of letters sent to a variety of influential senators and palatine ministers over several decades. Neither the cultivation of powerful friends nor the publication of letters were unusual in themselves, but the obvious positive attention given to cultivation of the powerful in the *Letters* of Symmachus demands explanation. Cultivation, after all, becomes more visible in late antique literature, both Latin and Greek, but is generally attacked rather than celebrated. This paper explains the visibility of the cultivation of powerful friends in the works of Symmachus first with regard to the specific impetus for the publication of the first book. This is to be identified with the grain shortages in Rome during the war against Gildo in 397–8, when Symmachus cooperated with and was blamed for the policies of his "friend" Stilicho, the Western regent. The paper then turns to the reasons why this sort of self-presentation is not paralleled in the Greek East at this time. As the most prominent Eastern elites of the later fourth century were considerably more likely to have specialized training than their Western (Roman senatorial) counterparts, they might very well find cover for their cultivation of the powerful not in altruistic friendship, as Symmachus does, but in the obligations of the philosopher or rhetorician, as Libanius and Themistius do. Libanius, in his treatment of his dealings with Julian in his *Autobiography* (*Oration* 1), denies outright that he cultivated the emperor. Symmachus' focus on the cultivation of friends as a positive feature of his literary self-presentation in his *Letters*, then, is an innovation which reflects his own very particular time and place.

Candace R. MacIntosh
University of Calgary

These Walls that Come Between Us: Roman Domestic Ritual, Movement and Change from "paganism" to Christianity 1ˢᵗ–5ᵗʰ CE (**Session 5a**)

1ˢᵗ–5ᵗʰ century Rome underwent a period of social changes, particularly religious changes, as the Emperor officially converted to Christianity during the reign of Constantine, and eventually, all public "pagan" rituals were banned under Theodosius I. In this climate worship of the *Lares,* domestic deities, became a scandalous and potentially socially dangerous performance, even in one's own home. Between these periods, Christians and "Pagans" were part of mixed households, where the Christian would be witness to and potential participate in the domestic religious spectacle. As Christianity became the more dominant form of religion, most lived in the same residences that had existed previously. Yet, the *Lares*, *Penates* and other household deities, as idols, faded out of existence—the spaces they had inhabited, such as niches and *aedicula*, remained in the houses. As those spaces were reconfigured and reshaped for Christian audiences, it is likely that the domestic rituals and gods were not completely erased—rather, the social functions these religious practices fulfilled were potentially being satisfied elsewhere through Christianity.

This talk posits how domestic space was restructured and recoded to better reflect Christian messages. Applying historical literary source analysis, alongside archaeological spatial analysis from Lullingstone Villa, a "pagan" and Christian house occupied between the 1ˢᵗ and 5ᵗʰ century. I hope to provide further insight into material cultural changes between the pre- and post-Christian period of the Roman empire.

Bonnie MacLachlan
Western University

Mind the Gap: Real Lives Matter and the Hellenistic Evidence (**Session 8d**)

Among the newly-discovered epigrams of Posidippus published in 2001 we find one describing a young bride who trades her lyre-playing and her attendance at girlhood feasts for wedded life. In this funerary epigram (58AB) the poet describes her subsequent years as fifty loving and quiet years spent with her husband. Another epigram in the collection ponders the best path to take in life. A quiet existence is to be found in none of the proposed options, including marriage, which the poet – in Hesiodic fashion – describes as full of cares.

This dissonance is to be expected in poetry, particularly in texts that were commissioned by patrons with different preferences. Does this leave us without access to the real lives lived during the Hellenistic period? Faced with the gap left by the coded rhetoric of poetry, historiography and oratory, scholars have turned to documents preserved in Egyptian papyri, combing marriage contracts, letters and official records in order to get a clearer picture of Greek lives, at least in Ptolemaic Egypt. Living in ethnically diverse communities, Greek families were freed from traditions they had left behind as they intermingled with the native population, and in the papyri we find lives exposed with an immediacy that is missing in literary genres. Among the texts published by Rowlandson (*Women & Society in Greek and Roman Egypt. A Sourcebook*, 1998), we find women engaged as entrepreneurs, a wife cheating her daughter and husband out of the proceeds of begging (#78), a woman pledging in her marriage contract not to put drugs in her husband's food and drink (#255), and a wife deserting her husband and subsequently attacking his second wife (#88, 89). The erasure in the documentary record of non-elite lives has been particularly severe, and this paper is a modest attempt to close the gap.

Duncan Maclean
Mount Royal University

Aristotle's Metaphysics of Education (Session 3d)

Does Aristotle have a metaphysical theory of education? Principles like potency and act could provide an account of how teaching and learning are possible, and Aristotle does make a few comments about it in the *Metaphysics*. We can see him arguing at 9.6 that knowledge and ignorance are respectively potencies to teach and learn. Aristotle emphasizes that educational potencies in humans are different from potencies in non-living beings. For example, circumstances permitting, fire must heat those thing that are potentially heated; however, the knower must have the desire and the will to teach before teaching occurs. Aristotle doesn't expect much from the student, mentioning only her ignorance. He thereby fails to sufficiently distinguish educational acts from other acts of nature, since if the teacher wills it and there are no external hindrances, the student learns. This seems, in practice, to be false.

The problem at 9.6 is that Aristotle's account of the student is too passive, since he treats them like vessels that are potentially filled with knowledge. We get a more realistic account of their potential at 2.3, where he says that to understand lectures, learners must first prepare themselves by becoming familiar with the kinds of arguments that distinguish the sciences. The lecturer, however, conforms to the manner in which the science is delivered. Passivity now seems to shift to the teacher and Aristotle does not ask whether there is anything she can do to facilitate the student's learning. Could the *Rhetoric* help us to deliver lectures? Apparently not, since Aristotle says at *De Interpretatione* 4 that rhetoric does not concern statements, and lectures, for Aristotle, consist of the delivery of true statements. So there is something of a shifting 'problem of passivity' that needs to be addressed in figuring out an Aristotelian metaphysics of education.

Sean Manning
Universität Innsbruck

Responding to the Unthinkable: The Frataraka Coins and Persis in the Seleukid Period (Session 6d)

While the conquest of one kingdom by another was a commonplace in the ancient world, the ruling class of the Achaemenid empire seems to have told themselves that history had ended and their empire would exist forever. The Macedonian invasion must have come as a terrible shock, and created an ideological crisis. While the conquerors' perspective on the victory is recorded in the classical tradition, very few texts or images give us the perspective of the conquered. This paper will explore the response of the Persian elite by looking at the *frataraka* coins minted in Persis sometime in the 3rd or 2nd century BCE.

The ideology of the Achaemenid kings has been the subject of intensive research since the work of Margaret Cool Root in the 1970s. However, recent scholarship emphasizes ideology as a tool which freed the kings from pressure to overextend themselves with endless wars, but also restrained their actions, and which is visible in 'minor' and 'provincial' art as well as monuments and royal inscriptions. Research on the *frataraka* coins tends to focus on the question of their date, and whether they were minted by governors loyal to the Seleukids or by independent rulers hostile to them. While the discovery that some of these coins are overstrikes of those of datable Seleukid kings can contribute to this debate (Klose 2005, Hoover 2008), this paper focuses on how these coins rework Achaemenid iconography.

The ideology which helped the Persian elite control their empire left them with few ways to rationalize their defeat. The *frataraka* coins give a different perspective on their response than the stories about Peucestas learning Persian or Alexander really being an Egyptian under the skin.

Kathryn Mattison
McMaster University

Solon, Aeschylus, and the development of the Athenian poetic voice (**Session 7a**)

The origins of tragedy are notoriously difficult to pinpoint. Critics from Aristotle onward have focused on tragedy's connection to Homeric epic, and the development of tragedy is often examined in the context of tragedians' new approach to the presentation of the hero. Or choral poetry, whose Doric dialect remains a feature of tragic choruses, is placed at the fore of tragedy's generic development. In this paper, I will discuss how tragedy's thematic interests in civic issues reflect neither Homeric epic nor the choral poetry out of which the first actor is said to have stepped, but the tradition of civic engagement through poetry as preserved in Solon's elegies. The connection to Solon suggests a strong connection between tragedy and the traditions of poetry in Athens, and positions tragedy as a descendant of the elegiac voice. While tragedy was innovative and new, it was also deeply entrenched in the tradition of poetic civic engagement.

I will examine Solon's *eunomia* poem alongside Aeschylus' *Eumenides* to illustrate how the early tragedian reshaped the voice of the concerned citizen. While Solon uses metaphor and exhortation to express his exasperation with the behaviour of some of his fellow-citizens, in *Eumenides*, Aeschylus' audience observes Athena's strategic work on behalf of the safety of Athens. Aeschylus demonstrates how tragedians re-shaped the elegiac poetic voice by making it plural and varied. In this way, tragedy not only speaks to democratic institutions but speaks as a democracy: many-voiced, encouraging dissent, and opening itself to show the inner machinations of civic processes. While the mode of expression changes, the influence of the Solonic voice urging the citizens to work for the best in

Craig Maynes
Memorial University

Soldiering Softly: gendered failure and self-destruction in Propertius (**Session 2c**)

The Propertian lover condemns himself to failure through self-destructive, gendered acts. By broadcasting his own passive *mollitia* and lack of self-control, and by eschewing the traditional manly positions and attitudes of his society, the lover ensures that he lacks the material and social capital derived from masculine agency. Without such capital, access to his *puella* is severely restricted; thus, he sabotages his own amatory desires. But this self-inflicted, gendered failure is necessary and fundamental to the erotic rejection and exclusion that enable elegiac discourse.

In order to actually accomplish his erotic goals, the lover must attempt to counteract his self-destructive emasculation by appropriating traditionally masculine ideals, such as *militia*, into his erotic performance. But when (as, for example, in 2.14 and 2.15) these masculine appropriations are at their most effective, when the lover realizes a more traditionally masculine, or even hyper-masculine, performance, he destabilizes his erotic world by ceasing to be rejected and excluded, that is, ceasing to be elegiac. In the elegiac worldview, gender performance is always counter-productive in the one way or the other.

It is only in the closural moves of 3.24/25 that the lover finally reclaims his masculine self-control. Prior to this, his gendered discourse (whether his emasculated performance of *mollitia*, or his misappropriated performance of masculine *militia*) serves only to preserve his elegiac position through failure, or threaten it through success. This vacillation between unmasculine failure and masculine self-destruction in the lover's elegiac world holds up a mirror to the poet's Augustan world, where the nature of competitive aristocratic masculinity was in flux, and where, in the interests of stability and self-preservation, the old, public codes of masculine performance were being appropriated into new, less public settings.

Rachel Mazzara
University of Toronto

Vergil's Poetic Legitimacy and the Table of Contents in Georgics 1 (**Session 7c**)

At *Georgics* 1.344, in describing the appropriate worship of Ceres, Vergil instructs his reader to offer a sacrifice of milk, honeycomb, and wine in a hitherto poorly-understood combination described as "rather strange" (Thomas 1988 *ad loc.*) and identifiable with "no Roman parallel" (Mynors 1990 *ad loc.*). This sacrifice should not, however, be read as perplexing religious advice, but rather as the first *Georgic*'s third iteration of the work's "table of contents." In combination with the opening lines of *Georgics* 1 and the aetiology of *labor* (1.118–59), the worship of Ceres reflects a coherent and bold claim regarding the legitimacy and value of the *Georgics* as didactic poetry.

Georgics 1 begins with a brief survey of the agricultural topics upon which the work provides instruction (1.1–5). This table of contents recurs in altered forms both in the worship of Ceres and in the aetiology of *labor* (1.118–59): while the passage's debt to Hesiod's *Works and Days* is well documented, Vergil updates Jupiter's theft of fire to include the confiscation of the very agricultural products that the *Georgics* addresses: honey, wine, and grain (1.131–4). By including a repetition of the table of contents here, Vergil not only casts himself as a successor to Hesiod, but suggests that the *Georgics*' didactic program is directly necessitated by Jupiter's invention of *labor*. In reiterating the table of contents in the worship of Ceres, Vergil then extends the utility of his instruction from promoting the day-to-day survival of humankind in the post-Jovian present to satisfying the divine requirements of sacrifice. The libation to Ceres is thus not an anomalous ritual, but a demonstration that *Georgics* 1 surpasses Hesiod by not only benefitting humankind but also promoting the agendas of the gods.

Matthew McCarty
University of British Columbia

Mithraic Networks: A View from UBC's Excavations of Apulum Mithraeum III (**Session 1a**)

The recognition that Roman religious practices were deeply enmeshed in social life has led to a host of recent work on the shifting dynamics of cult practices, places, and images across the Roman world that went hand-in-hand with the changing power structures of the empire. At the same time, greater focus on localized social frameworks has tessellated accounts of cult life, even in cults (like strains of Christianity) explicitly aiming for a sense of universalism. Against such a background, strong continuities through time and space demand even greater explanation, and perhaps no other cult-system demonstrates the level of homogeneity in architecture, iconography, and ritual practice as Mithraism. How and why did communities engaged in the worship of Mithras maintain this coherence across the Roman world over several centuries? Using evidence from the excavations of a second-century CE mithraeum that I have co-directed in Apulum, Dacia (modern Alba Iulia, Romania), I argue that high levels of continued connectivity among Mithraic communities contribute significantly to the observed material-cultural stability through the cult. The epigraphic dossier from the site points both to the sanctuary's founder having become familiar with the cult in Pannonian Poetovio and to the existence of intra-provincial prestige networks that included common patrons of far-flung Mithraic communities. Similarly, an under-floor structured deposit with faunal and botanical remains that can be reconstructed as a foundation deposit commemorating a ritualized meal reflects an inaugural rite practiced in mithraea across the empire. The presence of common rites at the moment of foundation speaks to high levels of ritual expertise at the moment of foundation, and perhaps to the existence of ritual experts in the cult who provided a measure of cross-site coherence.

Paul Alexander McGilvery
Western University

Focalized Barriers in Xenophon's Anabasis (**Session 1d**)

Xenophon's *Anabasis* is a work that stubbornly defies genre, yet most would agree that it is at least partly a didactic work on good leadership, exemplified by the author's own "character" Xenophon, who appears in Book 3. Recently there has been increased interest in the way that its author uses distance and geography in his narration to illustrate philosophical precepts, cultural identity and foreign exploration (L'Allier 2006; Purves 2010; Rood 2014), and this paper seeks to explain Xenophon's focalization of spatial waypoints as a programmatic way to identify the habits of a good leader. Taking a narratological approach (following Bal 1985 and De Jong 2014) to the study of the *Anabasis*, I shall show that Xenophon manipulates the portrayal of ground-level physical geography in his story (or "strategic space") in order to emphasize the actions of the good leader, and that the same narrative techniques used in the early books of the *Anabasis* to describe Cyrus are later adapted to describe Xenophon, who becomes the story's leader *par excellence*. In other words, what may seem to the reader to be uninspired enumerations of parasangs, rivers and *stathmoi*, serve a dramatic and didactic purpose as the author alternates between narrating geography from the bird's-eye view to the level of the story's actors, and eventually frames his own "character" as the most important. First, I argue that the use of topographic illustration in the early books of the *Anabasis* functions to heighten the dramatic tension of the narrative by introducing more and more geographical barriers the farther the 10,000 march from Greek territory, and that this tendency conforms to narratological patterns (for example, the use of "embedded narration,"). Secondly, I shall argue that these geographical barriers also serve to establish patterns in character development in books 1 and 2 of the *Anabasis* by emphasizing the participation of a particular actor within a physical space (for example, Cyrus negotiating a difficult mountain pass or road, 1.2.21; 1.5.7). By consistently focalizing spatial waypoints like rivers, walls, defiles and heights, the author shifts emphasis away from the external narrator and toward those characters who experience the story first-hand. This has implications on the reception of these characters by the audience, and adds to the didactic quality of the *Anabasis* by providing positive *exempla*. Finally, I argue that these same narratological patterns slowly become exclusive of the "character" Xenophon through books 3–7 as he becomes the most important actor of the story, without whom physical barriers cannot be surmounted (eg. 4.1.16–21; 4.3.20–21; 6.5.12–27) . This will go some distance in explaining both Xenophon's use of geographical barriers in the first few books of the *Anabasis*, and also the peculiar way in which he withholds the introduction of his own "character" until Book 3.

Aven McMaster
Thorneloe University at Laurentian

Scholarship Out Loud: Moving Beyond the Lone Academic (**Session 1b**)

'Public-facing' scholarship does not only mean making scholarship accessible to non-Classicists—it also means making the process of research and scholarship accessible to other academics, allowing for interaction and development before the publication stage, even before the conference paper stage perhaps. This can be scary, but also immensely helpful and valuable to all parties involved and to the field in general, while at the same time generating interest in the ancient world among the general public. There are many ways to use newer platforms and venues to do public-facing scholarship today. In this paper, I will discuss two of these that I have personal experience with: Twitter and podcasting. My experience using Twitter for research is that it is an invaluable tool for making connections, finding resources, being inspired and generating ideas, collaborating, and receiving emotional support and encouragement through the writing process. Podcasting about Classical subjects has similarly allowed me to make connections with other academics, but it has also provided a platform for engaging non-Classicists with the ancient world and expanding my reach far beyond the students in my classes. There is also an ever-growing number of other Classics-related podcasts

which present a range of formats for engaging people inside and outside of the field, presenting ongoing research, combatting misinformation and misappropriation of Classical material, and amplifying the voices of marginalized, non-traditional, and innovative researchers and teachers in ancient studies.

Aven McMaster
Thorneloe University at Laurentian

Classical Connections: Expanding the Ancient Classroom into the Online World (Session 2b)

Although the central aims of teaching about the ancient world have not necessarily changed much in the last 15 years, the available tools certainly have. In this presentation I will discuss how I incorporate podcasts, YouTube videos, blogs, and Twitter into my classroom teaching, and how I have seen other people do so successfully. I will also talk about my experience co-hosting a podcast and producing an educational YouTube channel, and how these activities are affected by my teaching and in turn expand my educational reach outside of the university classroom. In addition, I will explain some of the ways Twitter has affected my pedagogy and expanded my thinking about teaching, while providing me with resources and connections. I hope to demonstrate that these 'newer' technologies and approaches can complement a 'traditional' classroom approach—since my teaching style is in fact in many ways quite old-fashioned—both by taking advantage of online spaces and platforms which students already frequent, and by training students to expand their own online interactions in thoughtful and intellectually beneficial ways.

Peter Miller
University of Winnipeg

Holding kleos in Your Hands: Objects and Athletic Glory in Archaic Greece (Session 7d)

Some of the earliest inscribed objects associated with athletic sanctuaries are equipment such as *haltēres* or jumping weights. While athletic equipment figures early in the history of dedication according to archaeological excavations, literary and historical sources only infrequently refer to them. Pausanias, for example, mentions one discus, the Disc of Iphitos, which recorded the Olympic Truce and was given a place of honour on a table in the Temple of Hera (5.20); he only mentions *haltēres* in concert with three statues that hold the jumping-weights (5.26.3, 5.27.12, 6.3.10).

If dedications like *haltēres* were rarely mentioned, why were they dedicated and how did ancient audiences interact with them? Literary sources provide some examples of dedicated objects (e.g., Pind. *Pyth*. 5.30–42), but I argue that inscribed *haltēres* and discuses are best understood as objects that prompt story-telling and therefore contribute to the *kleos* of the athlete (like Odysseus' bow, *Od.* 21.53–95). Since they are inscribed, however, *haltēres* and discuses speak their own stories—and act as indexes of victory—and simultaneously constrain readings. *CEG* 391, for example, requires a reader to hold the discus and turn it, following the direction of the text, in order to read the whole epigram (cf. Paus. 5.20.1). Inscriptions on *haltēres* must also be envisioned as read while being held: *CEG* 355, for example, is inscribed on two sides and requires a reader to finish one side and turn the *haltēr* over to complete the epigram. Readers of inscribed athletic objects therefore monopolized the performance of the epigram by virtue of holding the athletic object.

When we contextualize these inscriptions as re-presentations of the original proclamation of victory at the games (Day 2010), epigrams on athletic objects are revealed as powerful multimedia acts of dedication that narrate and provoke emotional responses in readers and audiences.

David Mirhady
Simon Fraser University

Polus and A New Radermacher (**Session 8c**)

In 1951 Ludwig Radermacher published *Artium Scriptores*, a collection of source material for study of the pre-Aristotelian writers of rhetorical treatises; he died within a year. Nevertheless Radermacher's (R's) collection has been the standard reference tool for the study of early Greek rhetoric, as D–K has been for the Presocratics.

But it is time for a New Radermacher, and this paper will illustrate some of the issues involved with regard to one such writer, Polus, who is parodied in Plato's *Gorgias* (R. XIV.). With the help of the Lace: Greek OCR project at Mount Allison University, Radermacher's volume (Greek and Latin texts with brief Latin commentary) has now been digitized, and a complete English translation is in draft form. But there are further issues. Additional source texts can be identified through TLG and PHI searches, and elsewhere; they must be integrated. Many of R's source texts can include more contextual material. Additional scholarly bibliography is available. For a volume of sources of technical handbooks, indices of technical terms are clearly desirable. Schools of rhetorical theorists need to be identified.

However, for many reasons it seems best to honour the work of this great philologist and so to refer to this project as a New Radermacher and to preserve the original structure of his collection.

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Jaclyn Neel
Temple University

Lifelong learning in cyberspace: blogging as a form of instruction (**Session 1b**)

"Public scholarship" is an elusive term, but one that is often highlighted as a desideratum for "out-of-touch" academics (recently: Shafak 2017; Greif 2015). In this paper, I discuss one way to introduce the public to the practice of conducting high-level academic research: by breaking down the process in a blog. This method has many similarities to teaching, but has the ability to reach much more broadly than the traditional classroom. My presentation will also address some of the difficulties involved in maintaining an active internet presence, including potential solutions that could be undertaken by the CAC or other interested parties: funding for the production of public scholarship, recognition of such activities in tenure and promotion reviews, and increasing incentives for activities beyond the academy. The potential payoff for such activities is great: increasing knowledge of and interest in classics among the general population can lead to increased student participation in classical activities. However, the most critical work of public scholarship is engagement with contemporary concerns, and such engagement comes at a price for academics in non-traditional contracts.

Cillian O'Hogan
University of British Columbia

Women's books and books as women: gendered reading in late antiquity (**Session 7b**)

The Gallo-Roman author Sidonius Apollinaris, writing in the middle of the fifth century, has preserved for us a remarkable description of the country villa of Ferreolus, the contents of whose library are divided by gender: we are told that devotional texts are kept near the women's benches, while a wider range of authors, Christian and pagan, are kept by the men's benches (*Ep*. 2.9). This fleeting reference to books appropriate for women is valuable evidence for reconstructing late antique reading habits. Yet it also points to a recurring tendency in late antique literature to describe problematic books and texts as specifically *feminine*. Writing half a century earlier, Jerome compares luxury copies of the Bible (with deficient texts) to women who are concerned only with external beauty and adornment. Roughly contemporary with Jerome, Prudentius genders the act of reading itself by describing heretical texts as feminine snares which can lure in the unsuspecting reader.

In this paper, I bring together these three authors to argue that the way in which they relate books to gender marks a decisive shift in the history of reading: for the first time, we have clear instructions given as to the relative propriety (or impropriety) of women reading particular texts. Simultaneously, however, the potential for deception that lurks in the act of reading is figured as being specifically feminine: establishing a gendered grammar of reading that endures through the Middle Ages and beyond.

Edward Parker
University of Toronto

Abstract: Philanthrōpia, Democracy, and the Proof of Power (**Session 8c**)

My paper focuses on an emergent political buzzword in fourth-century Athens: *philanthrōpia* or "generosity." Far from remaining an innocent term for a commendable personal virtue, *philanthrōpia* was quickly dragged into the public arena of contemporary political debates. While some wanted to mint it as a specifically democratic value, others wished to cast it as a traditionally aristocratic one. For democrats, *philanthrōpia* had the potential to represent the "gentle" virtues of tolerance, civility, and sociability— dispositions necessary for the smooth functioning of an "open society" like Athens'. For those with more aristocratic sympathies, *philanthrōpia* (in the sense of "beneficence") offered a ground on which a *philanthropic* aristocracy could found its moral superiority and stake its claim to power.

Building on the work of Matthew Christ,[1] I argue that Demosthenes attempts to "democratize" *philanthrōpia* in opposition to authors like Xenophon and Isocrates, who figure it as an aristocratic virtue. However, while Christ considers the identity of the represented philanthropic figure as determinative of whether an author's conception of *philanthrōpia* is "democratic" or "aristocratic," I posit that attending to the precise conceptual differences between "democratic" and "aristocratic" *philanthrōpia* can provide us with more robust reasons for coming to these conclusions. To demonstrate this, I examine *philanthrōpia* in Xenophon

1 Christ, M. R. 2013. "Demosthenes on *Philanthrōpia* as a Democratic Virtue." *CP* 108, No. 3: 202–222.

and Demosthenes, where the concepts of autonomy, gratuitousness, hierarchy, and desert serve to distinguish their rival conceptions of *philanthrōpia*. By means of these concepts, Xenophon transforms *philanthrōpia* into a way of mystifying power relations, while Demosthenes fashions it into a communally negotiable value. As I hope to show, this dispute over *philanthrōpia* can provide insight into Athenian democracy and society by giving us a window into the cut and thrust of the ideological struggle between aristocratic and democratic values in Athens.

Sergios Paschalis
Harvard University

"Playing the Bacchants": Euripides and Golding's Lord of the Flies (**Session 4a**)

Scholars have long noted that one of the main intertexts of William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* is Euripides' *Bacchae* and have pointed out its close affinities with the Greek play (Baker 1963, Dick 1964, Roncase 1997, Friedman, 1999). Jack assumes the role of Dionysus, in the sense that he establishes a new cult revolving around a beast-god and characterized by orgiastic rituals. Ralph, Piggy, and Simon, on the other hand, each embody different aspects of Pentheus: Ralph is a young ruler who strives to impose order in his community, while repressing his own subconscious desire to participate in the new cult; Piggy is the voice of reason and skepticism in the novel; and Simon openly challenges the beast-god by viewing a forbidden spectacle. The escalating conflict between Ralph and Jack reenacts the clash between the Theban king and the wine-god and both confrontations ultimately result in unbridled violence. Pentheus' dismemberment by the maddened Bacchants is evoked by Simon's *sparagmos* at the hands of the boys against the backdrop of a frenzied hunting ritual.

This paper re-examines Golding's engagement with Euripides and argues that the presence of the *Bacchae* in the novel as a subtext is far more pervasive than previously thought. *Lord of the Flies* echoes the plot of the Greek play by reworking all of its main scenes, including Dionysus' arrival in Thebes in the prologue, the debate between Pentheus and Tiresias in the first episode, the Theban king's interrogation of Dionysus in the second episode, the Bacchants' dismemberment of cattle in the first messenger speech, the destruction of Pentheus' palace by Dionysus' earthquake in the third episode, Pentheus' confrontation with the maenads in the second messenger speech, and finally Dionysus' epiphany as a *deus ex machin*a in the *exodus*.

Francesca Patten
Brock University

Role-Playing a Murderer: Using Creative Pedagogies to Teach About Women's Lives in Antiquity (**Session 6b**)

This paper presents the lesson plans and reflections which were composed for the leading of two seminars of twenty students each which I taught at Brock University for *Women in the Ancient World,* a course offered by Professor Nadine Brundrett in the Department of Classics at Brock University in the 2017 Fall semester. Based on the life of Appia Annia Regilla Atilia Caucidia Tertulla, students were instructed to read one chapter of Sarah Pomeroy's *The Murder of Regilla* (2010) each week and participate in mandatory hour-long seminars for five consecutive weeks. In these seminars students discussed topics regarding women's lives, focusing on women's social, political, and cultural spheres, such as domestic violence and maternal mortality. This paper considers both the benefits afforded by providing students with small class environments for the discussion of complex topics, as well as the necessary considerations of using various pedagogies to facilitate this discussion while being sensitive to student's unique experiences and backgrounds.

The paper focuses particularly on two seminars which attempted engaging methods of presenting information on women's lives which I created. The first is the creation of social network visualizations, of which Regilla was the center, to re-envision her social and political connections outside of the context of her male counterparts. The second was a role-playing debate in which students assumed the roles of various

male members of Regilla's life to debate who likely murdered her. This method, although well-received, also required careful consideration as it resulted some students defending or making humorous discussions of domestic violence. These two lessons, as well as three other smaller activities, will be presented, and the considerations necessary for teaching in complex issues in environments in which participation is considered a requirement will be discussed. The findings of this paper are based on lesson plans, post-seminar reflections, and both solicited and unsolicited student feedback.

Germain Payen
Université Laval

From the "Pontic" Polemonids to the "Thracian" Tiberii Claudii: a dynastic transition revisited (**Session 5d**)

In the first century AD, the Bosporan kingdom was ruled by the Polemonid dynasty, heir to the dynasty of Mithridates VI of Pontos. Their territory covered both sides of the Straits of Kerch, in the northern Black Sea. In 45, Mithridates VIII was deposed by the Roman emperor Claudius, who acknowledged as king Cotys, Mithridates' brother. Then, Cotys himself was deposed in 63 by the emperor Nero, starting a short period of Roman direct rule over Bosporus. This phase came to an end in 68, with the acknowledgement of Cotys' son Rhascuporis (68–90) as king of the Bosporus. As of then, the representatives of this dynasty bore the Roman names *Tiberius Claudius*. They ruled over the Bosporus until the Hunnic invasion in the 4th century.

Several aspects concerning those dynastic successions in the 1st century appear irregular and are not yet fully understood. First, the very sequence of events remains obscure, due to the scarcity and biased nature of the available evidence, mainly fragments of Tacitus' *Annals* and Bosporan coins. Secondly, the historical interpretations of the relationship that those kings entertained with Rome on the one hand and with their own subjects on the other have been affected by the struggle between Russian national ideology and western historiography: in these traditions, Rome was often seen as either imperialist oppressor or as guarantor of security. My paper will show that ethnicizing constructs are difficult to sustain, and that more plausible reconstructions can be obtained by contextualizing the problems more broadly within the larger framework of dynastic rivalries in the orbit of the Roman Empire.

Thierry Petit
Université Laval

Les sphinx sur le Vase François et sur l'olpé Chigi (**Session 8a**)

Les sphinx représentés aussi bien sur le Vase François (quatre occurrences) que sur l'olpé Chigi (une occurrence) n'ont fait l'objet d'aucune interprétation satisfaisante. Les exégètes se montrent tous très dubitatifs sur leur sens, quand ils ne les passent pas tout simplement sous silence (Torelli 2007). L'interprétation proposée ici se fonde sur les travaux antérieurs de l'auteur, dans lesquels il a proposé une nouvelle hypothèse : les sphinx seraient le symbole de la Survie héroïque *post mortem*, voire de l'apothéose. Cette interprétation permet de compléter et de corroborer d'autres travaux antérieurs qui proposaient une interprétation des programmes iconographiques développés sur les deux vases (Hurwitt 1992, D'Acunto 2013, Torelli 2007, etc.), mais qui étaient restées muets ou imprécis sur la signification de la figure.

Mariapia Pietropaolo
University of Missouri

The Aesthetics of Narcissism in Ovid's Story of Galatea and Polyphemus (**Session 1c**)

In Book 13 of the *Metamorphoses*, Galatea tells the story of Polyphemus admiring his own reflection and imagining himself as her lover, while she lies in the arms of her actual lover, Acis. As an internal narrator, Galatea resembles Ovid, and her narrative voice may be considered an internal reflection of his own. This is

true of all internal narrators, but Galatea is distinguished from them in that, in her narrative activity, besides displaying a compositional method that is similar to Ovid's own, she alludes to Ovid's story of Narcissus in Book 3. This paper explores the aesthetic and hermeneutical implications of Ovid's view of internal narration in the episode of Galatea and Polyphemus, showing that self-gazing and self-echoing are an integral part of both the poetics and the aesthetic base of the *Metamorphoses*.

Galatea, *qua* narrator, makes use of Theocritus' *Idylls* about Polyphemus, while also weaving into her account echoes of the story of Narcissus as told by Ovid himself. Like Ovid she modifies the stories that she retells, making them her own in a single new creation. In the case of Narcissus, she does this by reading Ovid's account of Narcissus through the literary filter of parody and the aesthetic one of the grotesque. Galatea deforms the original accounts by Theocritus and Ovid and re-forms them as a new, integrated original. In her refashioning of the material, Polyphemus, as Galatea's character, describes himself in language and imagery that echo Ovid's from his story of Narcissus. This internal echoing process joins the innermost level of the narrative to the outermost one, in which the narrator is Ovid himself. In creating an internal narrator so very much like himself, Ovid displays his own literary and aesthetic Narcissism.

Emilie-Jade Poliquin
Université Laval

Pour une définition du mode didactique: les exemples de Vitruve et de Columelle (Session 2a)

La notion de didactisme, pour les antiquisants, est bien souvent associée presque exclusivement au genre de la poésie didactique, ce style littéraire qui marie dans un même ouvrage science et technique avec forme poétique. Or, si ce genre est généralement reconnu comme tel par les Modernes, il n'en allait peut-être pas de même chez les Anciens: l'appellation « poésie didactique » n'est apparue qu'à une époque tardive—on peut la retrouver par exemple dans l'*Ars grammatica* de Diomède qui date du IVe ou Ve siècle après J.-C.—, ce qui peut laisser croire que les Anciens ne considéraient pas ces œuvres dans une catégorie à part. Cette absence dans les théories littéraires de l'antiquité classique ne signifie toutefois pas pour autant qu'il n'existait pas à l'époque une tradition didactique à laquelle les auteurs auraient pu se rattacher. Selon l'hypothèse de Katharina Volk, cette tradition, avant même de se développer en un genre littéraire spécifique, aurait été tout d'abord visible en prose. C'est ce qu'elle appelle le mode didactique (cf. Volk 2002, p. 43 et sq.).

Pour mieux définir quelles seraient les caractéristiques de ce « mode didactique », nous avons choisi d'analyser pour cette présentation deux ouvrages importants de la littérature latine du début de la période impériale, le *De architectura* de Vitruve et le *De re rustica* de Columelle. De prime abord, ces deux traités monumentaux, l'un en dix livres sur l'architecture et l'autre en douze volumes sur l'agriculture, se ressemblent beaucoup de par leur technicité et leur aridité.

Or, nos analyse nous ont montré que ces auteurs emploient tous deux diverses stratégies pour mieux partager leur savoir. Nous nous intéresserons aujourd'hui plus particulièrement à l'une d'entre elles, qui est un élément fondamental de la littérature didactique: la relation maître-élève.

Spencer Pope
McMaster University

It takes money to make money: some economic considerations on the production of coinage in antiquity (Session 6d)

The role of coinage is a central component of the study of the ancient economy. The advent and widespread adoption of coinage by cities in the Greek world is well-documented and is significant for understanding trade and political authority in the archaic period. This paper examines a less conspicuous aspect of the use of coins: the factors involved in their production and the costs outlaid in the sourcing, extraction, and minting of gold, silver, and bronze coins. As finished artistic products, coins had a value added

to them through casting the flan, engraving dies, and striking, but these steps are often seemingly invisible in determining the worth of the financial instruments. How were these costs managed and how was the process subsidized by the issuing authorities? While the utility of coinage in the Greek economy is clear, the process behind their manufacture can be reconstructed in part from quantitative numismatic studies, inscriptions and the literary record, and archaeological evidence.

In addition to examining the extraction of raw materials and the process of striking coins, consideration is given the artists and craftspeople responsible for the objects, including attribution studies in Greek numismatics and the moment of signed engravers from late fifth century Sicily. The paper will also present preliminary results of metallurgical analyses (PIXE and neutron activation analysis) of Greek coins from the McMaster Museum of Art.

Amber J. Porter
University of Calgary

Bringing Classics to the Masses: Teaching Large Survey Courses (**Session 3b**)

As university class sizes grow, more classics professors and instructors are finding themselves standing in front of 100, 200, or even 300+ undergraduates in first-year survey courses. Faced with such a large audience, and sometimes little assistance in the form of teaching assistants, how do we ensure a quality learning experience for the students? What does that even look like in a classroom of hundreds? Is there a way to make lecturing more intimate and engaging? What other strategies can we introduce to further student learning?

In this paper I will tackle some of ways in which we can engage learners in large groups, covering topics such as lecture style, learning activities, technology, and assessment. I will address research on large-group learning and provide concrete examples of techniques and approaches that instructors can incorporate into their own classes.

Although we may at first see large survey courses as a disadvantage, or even onerous, I will make the argument that, with the right approach, large classes can provide pedagogical opportunities that small classes cannot and be an excellent learning experience for both student and instructor.

Mark Pyzyk
Stanford University

Die Production and State Power in Archaic and Classical Greece (**Session 6d**)

Numismatists have been producing large die linked studies for nearly a century, though we are far from full coverage of the Greek world. Nevertheless, quantification of such corpora is now possible for the purpose of comparing state outputs of coinage (see especially De Callataÿ 1997, 2003). I propose that such quantification will be useful for measuring state power, as well. Each individual die represents a small, but meaningful input of state capacity: given the extraordinary body of data that such dies represent, our picture of big—but critically also, small—states' die output ought to be invaluable for deepening and broadening our picture of Archaic and Classical state formation. This is especially true in light of the extraordinary survival rate of die links (if not the dies themselves), since even one coin produced by a die is evidence for its existence. In this paper, I will present my data—new data which was produced from dozens of die linked studies—along with the methodological assumptions underpinning the project, and demonstrate its usefulness through two case studies (one big, one small): Syracuse and Damastion. One city's numismatic output is well known and well studied: the other is a small city of which we know relatively little. My data, however, lends insight to both. In this manner, I hope to offer a new, complementary and methodologically sound source of data to scholars of ancient state formation.

Melanie Racette-Campbell
Memorial University

Propertius 4.6: the poetics of cautious critique (**Session 2c**)

Elegy 4.6, on the temple of Palatine Apollo and the Battle of Actium, has been seen as Propertius' capitulation to pressure to praise Augustus and as the fulfillment of the promises he made in elegy 2.l0 to turn away from love poetry (Williams 1990, Cairns 2006). But both in the framing passages and the description of the battle, intratextual allusions to passages in Propertius' erotic elegy critiquing the princeps and Roman *militia* invite doubt about this seemingly patriotic poem. In 4.6, Propertius offers a subtler critique than is on display in his *recusationes* (2.1, 3.3, 3.9) and repeated references to controversial events in Octavian's triumviral days (e.g. 1.21, 1.22, 2.1). But this more muted criticism should not be misread as unconditional praise.

This paper explores the connections with Propertius' earlier work and viewpoints in elegy 4.6. First, the invocation of the muse of epic, Calliope (4.6.12) and the presence of Apollo both link the poem with earlier poems, 2.1 and 3.3, which feature Propertius' rejection of epic and military values. Apollo's speech (4.6.41–44) also refers to the conflict between Romulus and Remus, thus situating the poem and battle in a context of the civil conflict that has plagued Rome since its beginning, especially since at the end of the poem Propertius has an anonymous banqueting poet link Augustus' retrieval of Crassus' standards with Remus. Finally, I compare the characterization of Antony and Cleopatra in 4.6 with that in 3.11, where Antony serves as a positive exemplum for the lover-poet. The lover-poet may appreciate the peace that came after the civil wars, but it does not follow that he wholeheartedly approves of the events of those civil wars (Nethercut 1961). Propertius can praise some of Augustus' actions without being entirely pro-Augustan, just as he can criticize without being entirely anti-Augustan.

Gillian Ramsey
University of Regina

"For I am a widow": self-representations of widowhood in Hellenistic communities (**Session 5b**)

A small number of papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt contain petitions by self-identified widows. The documents' uniqueness is twofold: they are women's own words, and they are self-identifications as widows. Examples of ancient women's voices, even if mediated through a male scribe, are rare enough, but it seems to have been quite exceptional in Ptolemaic documents for a woman to describe herself as a widow. Why did these women do so? The context was important, since they were petitioning male employers and government officials and seeking specific kinds of aid and redress. The typical editorial commentary notes that calling herself a widow assists her pathetic appeal. More might be going on with the choice to claim widowhood in these cases. We see widowhood situated in a social context, where it is germane to the problem or solution.

This paper explores the widows' situations and choices in writing their petitions. Comparisons with a few further petitions in which women refer to their old age offer another view on the conditions leading women to articulate their own status as that of widow.

Jonathan Reeves
McMaster University

'I have many friends. Many, many friends. The best friends' Personal Connections of the Elite and Military Leadership in Democratic Athens. (**Session 8d**)

In this paper, I explore the ways in which democracy reconciled itself to the tensions and contradictions that arose between private and public interest, and between egalitarianism and elitism, by virtue of military command being entrusted to a narrow elite in classical Athens.

Election to the *stratêgia* represent a less fully democratic process than the lottery system used to staff most civic offices. Furthermore, although generals were in principle elected 'from the whole' (*ex hapantôn*), elections were *de facto* from the socio-economic elite, that is, from the pool of those citizens who might reasonably have the leisure time to devote to military study. Thus, the retention of election to the *stratêgia*, it has been suggested, bespeaks the rationality of a demos willing to compromise democratic principle in the practical interest of preserving the security of the city (Fornara 1971, Hamel 1998, Hornblower 2002, Hansen 1991).

On the other hand, the lengths to which the *Demos* went to control its generals (frequent *eisangeliai*, routine *euthynai*) surely reflect the people's fear of the consolidation of military power and its attendant political influence in the hands of elite individuals—even if this distrust was somewhat assuaged by the collegial nature of the *stratêgia*.

Nevertheless, despite the oversight that the democracy placed on its military leaders, there is not the slightest hint in our sources that the Athenians had any shortage of men eager to serve as *stratêgos*. The harsh strictures imposed upon generals for misconduct and the *Demos*' domination of the decision-making authority concerning military resources and foreign policy have given scholars like Finley pause to examine why the elite at Athens would bother to seek office in the *stratêgia* at all (1978). This is an admittedly skeptical reading that largely disavows philotimic or patriotic motivations on the part of the elite, but Finley was right to question the sentimentality of a system that, as he saw it, offered the elite merely "glory or power-as-such."

In this paper, I survey other socio-political factors at work in the *stratêgia*. I argue that rather than simply deferring military leadership to elite citizens, the democracy seems to have leveraged the foreign connections and regional expertise of its wealthy cosmopolitan leaders. For example, Miltiades, Dieitrephes, Hagnon, and Thucydides, serve as famous *Thrakopoitai* (recently examined by Sears 2012); Phormio and his son Asopios, Demosthenes, and Eurymedon are all found in Thucydides as active and frequent commanders in Western and Greater Greece where they exploit personal ties of guest-friendship (*xenia*) and foreign economic interests to the advantage of the expeditionary forces they lead. Through the institution of the *stratêgia*, the *Demos* availed itself not merely of the military expertise of elite Athenians, but also, and perhaps as importantly, their personal fortunes, and personal contacts while countenancing, even encouraging, the cultivation of these.

Candace Rice
University of Alberta

Agricultural specialization and economic demand: contextualizing the productive infrastructure of the Roman villa in Vacone, Italy (**Session 5a**)

The Roman villa in Vacone, located in the Upper Sabina region of Lazio, is currently being excavated as a collaborative project between the University of Alberta and Rutgers University (NJ, USA) along with the support of the Soprintendenza Archeologia del Lazio e dell'Etruria Meridionale and the Comune di Vacone. Excavations have uncovered an extensive late-Republican through mid-Imperial multi-phase villa with an elaborately decorated residential area. We have excavated, documented and conserved 35 rooms, many of which preserve mosaics, (including 20 polychrome mosaics) and painted frescoes in-situ. During the early imperial period, the villa specialized in the export-oriented production of olive oil and excavations have revealed one of the largest olive oil production installations in central Italy (one of only three known from

central Italy with more than three press beds), clearly indicating export-orientated production. By the second century AD, however, specialized production had ceased and was replaced by diversified production of oil and wine. This paper situates the Vacone villa within its local and regional context of surrounding Sabine farms and villas and the market town of Forum Novum, and explores the broader historical and economic context in which the productive changes took place. The diversification of production at Vacone came in response to changes in the wider economic landscape, seen elsewhere across central Italy. The widespread nature of these changes suggests that demand at Rome was key to shaping central Italy's economic landscape. While such observations are scarcely new, investigations at the Vacone villa and surrounding sites allow for a detailed look at local responses to wider economic change, both as the owners invested in specialized infrastructure for olive oil and then later diversified to keep up with changing market demands.

Pauline Ripat
University of Winnipeg

Divination and Folk Medicine in Roman Society (**Session 8b**)

Diagnosis was a critical element of Roman medical practice. It may be supposed that diagnosis was no less important in folk medicine, and in this case, diagnosis and divination may blend. That individuals sought medical advice through divination is clear, for example, in Lucian's description of Alexander's services at his oracle site in Paphlagonia, which included healing the sick (*Alex.* 24); similarly, Philostratus (*Apoll.* 6.11.17) mentions women who advertised to shepherds their ability to cure sick animals through divination (*mantikê*). The conjoined functions of diagnosis and healing may explain why "witches" in literary and textual evidence were variously presented as diviners, purifiers, and poisoners (Paule 2014; Ripat 2016). Information about preventative and curative measures in folk medicine is presented in evidence such as the works of Pliny the Elder, lapidaries, and the physical record itself; less information, however, exists about the methods of medical diagnosis in the folk tradition. This paper considers the particular case of the evil eye—the envious look that was thought to cause illness in its victim—to explore the possibility that folk healers may have deployed the senses, and particularly smell, as a primary means of diagnosis/divination. This reading finds support in recent work on the function of the senses in ancient medical practices (King and Toner, 2014) and, perhaps, in the association of Roman witches with animals (e.g., Spaeth 2014).

Christina Robertson
Auckland University

Quid verbis opus est? Rhetoric and reinterpretation in Ovid's Contest of Arms (**Session 1c**)

As Ovid's 'Little Iliad' draws to a close, he interrogates the epic tradition through two speeches which recapitulate the events of the war: Ajax's and Ulysses' rhetorical entries in the Contest of Arms (*Met.* 13.1–383). Ajax and Ulysses compete for rhetorical control of epic fame and memory, and for the physical manifestation of κλέος, Achilles' arms; through the speeches' retelling of the major events of the war, Ovid negotiates his own place in the lengthy tradition of Trojan narratives.

Papaioannou (2007) has argued that Ajax appears as the straightforward representation of Homeric storytelling; Ulysses, by contrast, may be read as a figure for the Ovidian narrator's ingenious innovations (Pavlock 2009). This paper argues that a spatial reading of the Contest of Arms, analysing the speakers' depictions of space and their use of place names, sheds light on both Ulysses' rhetorical victory and Ovid's engagement with the Trojan literary tradition. The Trojan plain functions as a *lieu de mémoire*, underpinning the Greeks' social memory of the heroes' deeds and the poetic memory which is continually at work in Ovid's representation of the war.

Ulysses successfully inscribes himself into the epic landscape, associating himself with the famous places of the Trojan narrative; at the same time, Ovid finally and obliquely brings his poem down to these literary

landmarks. Ulysses' redeployment and reinterpretation of Ajax's arguments dramatise and draw attention to Ovid's poetic strategy of reworking, reinterpretation and reappropriation; in the game of poetic appropriation, both Ulysses and Ovid emerge victorious.

Gabriele Roccella
University of Calgary

A letter to the "lost sheep": some aspects of Augustine's communication with the Donatists in the Epistula ad Catholicos de secta Donatistarum (**Session 4d**)

Public letters in Antiquity were important means of diffusing ideas, discussing claims and advocating one's position with regard to matters of perceived broad interest. It is my contention that in Augustine's *Epistula ad Catholicos de secta Donatistarum*, written as an answer to a widespread letter by the Donatist bishop Petilianus, while turning to the Scriptures as the only authoritative judge on the Catholic/Donatist schism, the author also altered the "battlefield" and the weapons of the controversy, voiding the earlier and blunting the latter. Augustine goes from verbal and physical clashes in the streets of the province of *Numidia* to the pages and verses of the Scriptures, in a sincere attempt to strengthen the faith of Catholic believers and recompose the unity of the Church. Furthermore, while invoking the Scriptures as the ultimate judge, and finding them to be incontrovertibly in favour of the Catholics, he gives a description both of the strategies employed by the Donatists to further their cause and, now subtly now overtly, of the Donatists in general. It then becomes possible to analyze how Augustine outlines distinctions between them and the Catholics: it is my contention that Augustine also used a variety of methods and arguments (some of which of clear rhetorical descent), together and behind, so to speak, the overtly displayed appeal to clear and plain passages from the Scriptures which he used for backing his views and depicting, at the same time, the Catholic unity (and inclusiveness) and the Donatist heresy. Lastly, I intend to show how, with this *Epistula*, Augustine, while apparently encouraging a reply from the Donatists, at the same time actively denies them any possibility of a future victory on the new setting which he has built.

Luke Roman
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Reframing Classical Landscape: Pontano's Garden (**Session 9a**)

This paper will explore the space of the garden as represented in the neo-Latin writings of the Neapolitan humanist Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503). Gardens, for Pontano, are beautiful, evocative places that look both forward and backward in time: they are associated with memory and loss, but also with regeneration and the promise of immortality. In order to appreciate Pontano's layered understanding of the garden as site of commemoration, aesthetic splendor, and eternity, I will trace the significance of gardens in two of Pontano's works: his Virgilian didactic poem on citrus fruit, the *De hortis Hesperidum*; and his Ciceronian dialogue *Aegidius*. Pontano's understanding of the garden is deeply influenced by classical literature on gardens such as Virgil's *Georgics*, Columella's *De Re Rustica* Book 10, and Palladius' *De Insitione*. At the same time, contemporary developments equally define Pontano's perspective. First, the Christian concept of the garden adds a religious dimension to his representation of horticultural space: earthly gardens have associations with the garden of Eden and heavenly paradise. Second, Pontano's concept of the social value of gardens is informed by developments in landscape architecture in Aragonese Naples, and in particular, the Aragonese construction of the splendid, classicizing villa at Poggioreale. Built a few miles northeast of Naples, the villa featured extensive gardens, including orange groves.

This project closely coheres with Pontano's literary interests in gardens, citrus fruit, and antiquity. His *De hortis Hesperidum* introduces the novel topic of orange trees into the didactic genre, while the *Aegidius* explores the commemorative and regenerative aspects of the garden in classical and Christian terms. Pontano's garden

thus becomes a site of dialogue between antiquity and modernity; between pagan and Christian concepts of death and regeneration; and between the authority of the classical tradition and the bold innovations of the early modern era.

Jessica Romney
University of Victoria

Women have always fought: moving beyond a tourist model for teaching women in antiquity (**Session 4b**)

Feminist scholarship and teaching in Classics has progressed to the point where the majority of Canadian Classics departments offer dedicated 'women in the ancient world' courses and/or ancient gender and sexuality courses. Such courses seek in part to address the 'Great Man in history' narrative, challenging the normative assumption that men make history, while women are its objects. Yet as C.T. Mohanty argues in *Feminism without Borders*, these 'explorer' and 'tourist' models of teaching actually reinforce unquestioned binaries of power and gender (2003: 239–45), which here separate men-as-actors from women-as-objects. Tourist classes or explorer courses such as 'women in ancient Greece,' then, paradoxically reinforce the norm of "citizen Greek men" while women are kept separate and exoticized.

This paper turns to an alternative pedagogical approach in line with Mohanty's 'integrated-feminist pedagogy' and how it might operate in the Classics classroom. After discussing Mohanty's pedagogical models and their connection to current trends in teaching about the ancient world, I turn to my own strategies for adopting an integrated-pedagogical model and better integrating women, slaves, Greek aliens (e.g., Athenian metics or Greeks abroad), and non-Greeks in an introductory Greek history survey course. These strategies include the use of Think-Pair-Share exercises on topics such as women's voices during the Peloponnesian War, class discussions on the evolving status of women in line with broader political developments, and the integration of lecture material on the interdependence of the constructs of 'man' and 'woman.' I conclude with my reflections on the integrated-pedagogical model and a discussion of how to move forward in integrating women, as well as minority groups, into the narrative so that the binary of 'regular history' (Greek citizen men) and 'other history' (women, slaves, foreigners, etc.) can be replaced with a holistic approach to the crowded streets of the ancient world.

Jeremy Rossiter
University of Alberta

Festival 'merch': the Pythia at Carthage and the local souvenir trade (**Session 7d**)

Tertullian (*Scorpiace* 2.6.2–6) records that during the reign of Septimius Severus the city of Carthage was granted imperial permission to host an Iso-Pythian festival. Archaeological evidence suggests that this important civic honour was supported by investment in local infrastructure, particularly in the building and restoring of amenities needed to accommodate the festival's various competitions. Among these amenities was a new theatre—now usually referred to as the 'Odeon'—which was built in the northern part of Carthage. At the same time renovations were carried out on some of the city's older facilities such as the earlier 'Augustan' theatre and the circus. In addition to discussion of these infrastructure projects, this paper examines another line of evidence, not previously considered, which points to the hosting of the Pythian festival at Carthage. In the early 1990's excavations by Mark Garrison and the late Colin Wells (Trinity University) in the vicinity of the Carthage Odeon brought to light a large number of pottery lamps, now about to be published, a significant number of which date to the Severan period. Many of these Severan lamps show scenes of festival activity, e.g. dramatic performances, charioteers, athletic champions. While it could be argued that such images are merely generic, I believe that is not the case here. I think rather that they reflect contemporary events in Carthage, more specifically that they illustrate some of the events of the new Pythian festival which was brought to Carthage at this time. Like modern day merchandise ('merch'), these lamps were produced as

'souvenirs' of the festival's various competitions and were sold at the venues where these events took place.

Catherine Rubincam
University of Toronto

How were battlefield dead counted in Greek warfare? (**Session 1d**)

The recent celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge (April 9–12, 1917) evoked a spate of media reports on the continuing campaign to recover and identify the remains of soldiers killed in that battle whose bodies were never identified. For a historian investigating how ancient Greek states counted their war dead, these modern reports inspire some comparative reflections. Today's more advanced technology undoubtedly provides much more sophisticated tools for searching out and identifying bodies left on the field, as well as for generating and keeping reliable records of casualties, while on the other hand, its success in producing weapons of mass destruction increases the likelihood that some battlefield dead may be impossible to find or identify.

This paper tries to reconstruct the details of how ancient Greek armies kept track of casualties. Its point of departure is a study published in 1991 of the human casualty numbers in Thucydides (C. Rubincam, "Casualty figures in Thucydides' descriptions of battle", *TAPA* 121:181–198), which drew attention to two types of patterning that would not be expected to occur in numbers resulting from chance rather than from human decisions: rounding to multiples of 10, 100, and 1,000, and the suspiciously frequent occurrence of a few such round numbers, which coincide significantly with those most frequently occurring in another group of numbers, produced not by chance but by human decisions, namely, those of troops going into a battle or out on a campaign.

Given Thucydides' high reputation among Greek historians for diligence in collecting information and the generally accepted assumption that he relied largely on oral sources whom he interrogated shortly after the events happened, it is surely worth asking how these suspicious patterns came to infect his casualty numbers.

David W. Rupp
Canadian Institute in Greece

Fieldwork of the Canadian Institute in Greece: 2017 (**Session 1a**)

The Canadian Institute in Greece is pleased to report results of field work carried out by Canadian scholars in Greece under its auspices. Projects in the field this past year included Prof. Jacques Perreault's Université de Montréal excavations at the Archaic to Hellenistic period site of Argilos in northern Greece, Brendan Burke's University of Victoria excavations at the Bronze Age and Classical site of Eleon in Boiotia, and Tristan Carter's McMaster University excavation of the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic chert-knapping site at Stelida on the island of Naxos. These and other current projects and activities will be reported on.

Sveva Savelli
Queen's University

***Before Metaponto: Greeks among the Oenotrians. New Data from the Excavations at Incoronata* (Session 1a)**

The settlement known as Incoronata, located on the Ionian coast along the Basento River, is fundamental in the interpretation of early Greek presence in Southern Italy prior to the foundation of the great *poleis*. Archaeological investigations carried out in 1977–1978 by the Institute of Classical Archaeology (University of Texas at Austin), under the direction of Prof. J. Carter, offer noteworthy insights into the dynamics of interaction and the mode of contact between Greeks and the indigenous population. This paper will present an analysis of the legacy data and provide a vision of the settlement in this crucial moment of the expansion of the Greek world.

In the eighth century BC the plateau of Incoronata was occupied by an Oenotrian community articulated in a complex system of huts of different shapes and functions; in association with the arrival of the Greeks on the Ionian coast, it saw both the reception of an enormous quantity of imported Greek pottery and of locally-produced pottery of Greek tradition and the appearance of new multifunctional rectangular dwellings and some residential/production units with differentiated uses.

The scientific debate has long questioned the reasons for the massive presence of Greek material culture in an indigenous context, the meaning of that pottery, and its effects on the social and political organization of the indigenous settlement prior to the foundation of Metaponto. The "reorganization" of the indigenous settlement with the use of Greek building techniques and craftsmanship was linked to the cultural and economic relationships entertained with the Greek traders attending the Ionian coast and, above all, with the surrounding newly-founded Greek *apoikiai*. The Institute of Classical Archaeology's investigation suggests that Greek merchants and artisans were welcomed on the hill by the Oenotrians, probably thanks their knowledge and their technical capabilities.

Matthew Scarborough
Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History

***On the 'Aeolic' Athematic Inflection of Contract Verbs in the Thessalian and Lesbian Dialects* (Session 9c)**

A notable characteristic of the Thessalian and Lesbian dialects is the shared isogloss of athematic-inflection of the vocalic stem verb classes (i.e. Attic -έω, -άω, -όω), e.g. Lesbian κάλημμι (Sa. 1.16), αἰτιάμενος (Alc. 358.5), δοκίμωμι (Sa. 56.1), etc.; Thessalian διετελει (*IG* 9,2:461.a4), εφανγρενθειν (*IG* 9,2:517.41), περρατει (*IG* 9,2:512.15), etc. This feature has often been understood to unite these two dialects within an Aeolic subgrouping of Ancient Greek dialects, which also includes Boeotian (cf. Blümel 1982:171–172). Historically, the generalization of athematic inflection into originally thematically inflected classes could be reckoned as a common innovation of these two dialects, but the distribution of the athematic-inflected forms as actually attested provides many difficulties of philological and linguistic interpretation, with differing patterns between epigraphic and literary evidence (Hock 1971, Hodot 1990:192–193). This paper will re-examine the evidence for athematic inflection in Thessalian and Lesbian in their specific philological contexts. From this, the paper will conclude that while the evidence for athematic inflection in Thessalian may be possible for the earliest periods of attestation, the epigraphic and literary evidence from Lesbian is contradictory, and consequently the shared feature cannot be regarded as inherited from an earlier dialect ancestral to both Thessalian and Lesbian. This paper will further argue that on the basis of the epigraphic and literary evidence from Lesbian, that the few actually attested athematic-inflected forms (primarily in literary texts) may be best be understood as innovations within a poetic *Kunstsprache* parallel to the Homeric tradition.

As such, this analysis may have further implications for the historical interpretation of similar verbal forms in Homeric Greek.

Kathryn Simonsen
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Theophrastus and Athenian Archon Dates (Session 8d)

The surviving texts of Theophrastus preserve four Athenian archon dates (two in the *Inquiry into Plants*, one in *Causes of Plants* and one in *On Stones*). Unlike the archon dates in the *Athenaion Politeia*, where archon dates appear frequently and are used to indicate the year in which something occurred, Theophrastus' archon dates give a fixed point forward from which or back from which some event took place. Moreover these dates are attached to natural phenomena or inventions rather than military or political events.

This paper will attempt to contextualize these dates within the broader development of chronological systems in the late fourth century. It will also consider to what extent they are evidence for a concern for accuracy in dating found in contemporary historians and whether Theophrastus is being innovative in some manner by employing archon dates in scientific research.

Kevin Solez
MacEwan University

The pattern of feasts in the Iliad (Session 3a)

Banqueting scenes are closely linked to the theme and to the narrative structure of the *Iliad*. It is often stated that the epic consists of three narrative sections (Schein 1997; Kirk 1985), or acts, and I observe that the pattern of the banqueting scenes changes and becomes part of the distinction between the three sections. In the first act, *Iliad* 1–7, there is a reciprocal pattern of divine and human banqueting scenes, which could be understood to reflect the sacrificial relationship. At the end of Book 7, Poseidon complains about the lack of sacrifice in the building of the Achaean wall, and this inaugurates the next act beginning with Book 8. In the second act there is no observable pattern organizing the banqueting scenes. In the third act (18–24), with the Death of Patroclus and the return of Achilles to the fighting the reciprocal pattern of human and divine banqueting returns, and seems to relate to the restoration of Zeus' control over the gods, to the restoration of relations between Achilles and Agamemnon, and to the restoration of normal relations between humans and gods within the story. The pattern of feasts may also reflect sacrifices which could have accompanied the performance of the *Iliad* in various environments, building on Oswyn Murray's (2008) similar argument about the *Odyssey*.

Gaius Stern
University of California, Berkeley

Gender Reassignment (!) on the Ara Pacis Augustae (Session 8a)

Through no fault of the ancient sculptors, some modern scholars who have studied the Ara Pacis have made some peculiar trans-gender reassignments for certain figures on the friezes with highly amusing consequences, a short list of which will entertain the audience. To set the record straight, several of these opinions will be reviewed to explore how the history of interpretation can go awry and lead to scary if funny conclusions. The chief causes for error appears to be 18th century restorations, puzzlement that young Roman girls wore the toga on rare occasions, and the inability to distinguish a toga from a *stola*.

For certain, Romans had much stronger gender distinctions than we do today, and did not intend to include any hint of transvestitism, LGTB expressions, or bi-curious hints in the sculptural presentation of the Ara Pacis. Thus it was a modern restorer in the 18th century who converted the lead female of the North

Frieze into a transvestite Antoninus Pius by adding a beard—which was removed in the 19ᵗʰ century. Two girls wear togas but no *bulla*, confusing early scholars. And Germanicus was briefly misidentified as his sister Livilla (!). Clumsy restoration altered another badly damaged female figure, an error that persists today. But not all of these errors derive from the distant past. As recently as 2015, a girl was misidentified as the long-dead Marcellus (!) by a reputable American scholar. In general, a number of scholars have interpreted a female as a male, not appreciating the role of women in Augustus's vision of the future. If anything, this speaks more about their own limitations to interpret human society than it does about the sculptural ambiguity of the artists to depict Augustus's vision of the New World Order of 13 BC.

David Sutton
University of Toronto

Obscenity, Imperium and the Temples of Domitian in Martial Epigrams Book 9 (**Session 2c**)

There is considerable ongoing scholarly interest in reading sequences and juxtapositions of poems in authorially arranged collections. This general interest has stimulated the attention of scholars interested in Martial; Fitzgerald 2007 discusses the effect of juxtaposing poems about the Emperor Domitian against poems about slaves, and Lorenz 2004 examines how leitmotifs of contrasted colours and water imagery contribute to a complex structure in book 4. Furthermore, some work has focused on conceiving of epigram collections as a space through which the *lector* journeys in the act of reading. Höschele 2007 has examined the travel metaphor in the context of ancient epigram books, and Fitzgerald 2007 first brought up the Parisian *flâneur* as a point of reference in interpreting Martial's collections. This paper will take up *flânerie*, drawing directly on the formulations presented by Walter Benjamin in *The Arcades Project*, as a way to conceive of the *lector*'s journey as a seemingly aimless stroll through the city of Martial's ninth book. In this process a previously unremarked cycle in that book will be presented, a cycle in which poems about male and female obscenities are repeatedly put in contact with poems about the temples of Domitian. The paper will argue that the *lector* as a Roman *flâneur* is presented with these images as if witnessing base and disgusting individuals approaching the temples of Domitian, in direct contradiction of Martial's insistence in the preface to book 8 that only those who have been religiously purified should approach the temples. As a result, I will argue that the overarching structure of book 9 includes a process that consciously draws the imperial power away from its distant, divine status and down to the level of the (sometimes rude and disgusting) man and woman on the street.

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Jelena Todorovic
University of British Columbia

Subverting the Tragic in Jovan Hristić's Orestes (**Session 4a**)

Jovan Hristić (1933–2002) was a poet, theatre theoretician and critic, translator, and playwright. He taught dramaturgy at the Faculty of Dramatic Arts at the University of Arts in Belgrade, and held such prominent positions as the president of Serbian PEN Centre and chair of Serbian Literary Society. A highly distinguished personality of Serbian and Yugoslavian cultural elite, Jovan Hristić focused his work as theatre theoretician and playwright to answering the question "why do we need tragedy today?" No matter how ardent he was in defending the need for tragedy in the modern world, all of his plays seem to systematically undermine the tragic. This subversion lies at heart of Hristić's dramatic writing. One of the means to achieve this is depriving the characters of the very ability to take actions. The "non-action" that Hristić's characters

choose over action is most prominent in his radio-drama *Orestes* (1961). *Orestes* was a commissioned radio-play for Radio Beograd. Hristić's dramatic works have not still been translated into English. In this paper I will give an overview of his tragic works and analyse the absence of action in *Orestes* on several levels: a) the level of the script, as applied to the structure of the plot and building of each of the characters, b) the level of performance, detectable in the director's staging decisions, and c) the level of genre, i.e. how radio-drama lends itself as medium to incarnate the "inactive" verbal theatre.

Jonathan Vickers
Trent University

Engaging with the Classics: Thoughts on Early Career Pedagogy (**Session 2b**)

The transition from graduate student to faculty member deserves both congratulations and considerable thought. In this paper I offer some reflections on the process, with attention to the topic of 'engagement' as a framework for my discussion. I stress from the outset the value in due regard for the 'statement of teaching philosophy', not from the perspective of its utility in applying for jobs, but rather its utility in encouraging reflection on one's own pedagogical stance. This self-review is conducive to effective teaching, and puts the newly-minted faculty member in a position to improve student engagement. I then consider the proven success of using game-based pedagogy in class toward such a purpose. Here I share some of my own approaches, such as playing a weekly ancient Greek 'murder-mystery' game in a first year Greek course (cf. Pike 2015, Paule 2016), or hosting an 'ancient Olympics day' for an athletics course. Finally, I stress the significance of guiding students to apply the study of Classics to their experiences in the modern world, and suggest strategies for doing so effectively.

Matthew Watton
University of Toronto

The Platonic Mysteries: Apuleius and Other Middle Platonists (**Session 2d**)

'Middle Platonism' refers to the form the study of Platonic philosophy took in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. Platonism of this era is characterized by a return to the texts of Plato. Plato was viewed as the source and pinnacle of ancient wisdom; to philosophize was to interpret the truths found in Plato's dialogues. In this paper, I argue that the emphasis on Plato's texts leads Platonists to treat Platonism as a mystery religion.

First, I collect and examine the evidence from various Middle Platonists, primarily from: Alcinous' *Didaskalikos* (a handbook of Platonism); Plutarch's *On Isis and Osiris* and other theologically-oriented works; the fragments of Numenius (preserved in Eusebius) and Celsus (preserved in Origen); and the *de Platone* of Apuleius. These Platonists emphasize the study of Platonic theology, and are committed to belief that only the initiated can access Platonic wisdom. This is attained through interpretation of the enigmatic and esoteric doctrines contained within Plato's writings. It is for this reason that Middle Platonists describe their philosophy as a mystery religion.

Secondly, I turn to Apuleius' autobiographical defense speech, his *Apologia* or *Pro se de Magia*. Apuleius' Platonic credentials are beyond dispute (see *Apologia* 10; 31; 41; 65; *Florida* 15; Augustine *Civ.* 8.12, 14;

9.3; 10.27), yet scholars have not sufficiently explored the connections between Apuleius' philosophical practices and Middle Platonic theorizing. I argue that Apuleius' self-description of his philosophical activities illuminates the religious *way of life* of an initiated *philosophus Platonicus*. Apuleius presents the texts of Plato as providing a template on how the philosopher should piously conduct their life. Apuleius puts into practice the theories of Platonism. Not only do I situate Apuleius' *praxis* in its Middle Platonic context, I close by suggesting that Apuleius anticipates the religiosity and theurgy of later Platonists such as Iamblichus and Proclus.

Jarrett Welsh and Jesse Hill
University of Toronto

The Discovery of Paulus' Epitome of Festus in the Fifteenth Century (Session 6c)

The limited studies of the *codices recentiores* of Paulus Diaconus' epitome of Festus' *De significatu uerborum* have taken the view that the lexicon was known already in fourteenth-century Italy (Thewrewk de Ponor, Woods), and that at least three medieval manuscripts were 'discovered' in the first half of the fifteenth century (Sabbadini). These claims have been based on information about manuscripts or on paratextual features in them; stemmatic analysis of their texts, however, tells a different story.

This paper presents a preliminary account of the discovery and circulation of Paulus' epitome, then regularly called the *Excerpta Pompei Festi*, in humanist Italy. Its argument is based on a survey of significant textual features in over 100 fifteenth-century manuscripts, and collation of sample passages in at least 30 of those. The history that emerges is one not of continuity with late-medieval learning, but of novel discoveries in the fifteenth century of a text then quite unknown, like so many other classical texts sought by Florentine humanists.

We argue that the second of the three medieval manuscripts allegedly discovered by the humanists is a ghost, conjured from a misinterpreted colophon. Stemmatic analysis confirms instead the impression, emerging from letters of Bartolomeo da Montepulciano and Francesco Pizolpasso, that we should think only of two medieval copies coming to light: a mutilated copy found at St Gall probably in January of 1418, and a complete text found apparently in 1432 during the Council of Basel. By tracing the descendants of these two manuscripts we give an account of the diffusion of the text and, especially, of the process whereby humanist scholars made whole their copies of a very useful Latin dictionary.

Conor Whately
University of Winnipeg

Mars is Shaking his Spear: Cannae and Sensory History (Session 9d)

The Battle of Cannae, in which the Romans were massacred at the hands of Hannibal in 216 BC, has attracted no shortage of scholarly and popular attention (Daly 2000). Indeed, it is hard to imagine that anything new and meaningful could be said about the Second Punic War battle. Sensory history, which involves exploring how the senses have shaped experiences in the past, is a two-decades old field in History and a burgeoning field among Classicists (Hamilakis 2013; Butler and Purves 2014; Bradley 2014; Squire 2016), that offers just such a novel analytical framework. Smith's provocative history of the US Civil War (Smith 2015), which showed how some episodes took on particular sensory signatures (the tactile experiences of Confederate submariners, for instance), and which demonstrates how sensory history can illuminate even well-trodden events from military history, serves as the impetus for this study.

The use of modern methodologies to evaluate aspects of the ancient world is hardly unusual, and is best exemplified in the case of ancient warfare by the various "face of battle" studies (Hanson 1989, Goldsworthy 1997, Lenski 2007). Those studies go some way towards recreating the experience of ancient combat, concerned as they are with common soldiers, but they only scratch the surface. Smith's (2015) book goes

further, bringing the war to life from the perspective of the five most common senses; moreover, as Smith has noted elsewhere, (Smith 2003), sensory history offers significant potential for social history too.

In this paper, I explore how a sensory approach to the battle at Cannae with a particular emphasis on sight, sound, and touch, can reveal a great deal about the lived experiences of the participants, both elite and the common soldiery, and illustrate how competing social structures in mid-republican Rome played out on the field of battle.

Kevin W. Wilkinson
University of Toronto

Palladas, Praxiteles, Dolphins, and the Eros of Parium (Session 9b)

Anth. Gr. 16.207 (Palladas) is a four-line *ekphrasis* of a statue of Eros who smiles and is unarmed, holding instead in either hand a dolphin and a flower. Palladas interprets these attributes as representing lordship over sea and land. In the 19th century, K. Stark argued that this was a description of the 4th-century BC marble statue of Eros at Parium sculpted by Praxiteles. This argument seems to have been ignored in subsequent scholarship on Palladas, but it has made occasional appearances (either accepted or rejected) in art historical scholarship. To my mind, the case is ultimately inconclusive, but it is intriguing and it should be considered afresh in light of recent work on Palladas, not least that he can now be confidently placed in Constantinople at some point near its foundation date (330) and that some of his other epigrams are *ekphrases* of statues in the new capital that had been confiscated and imported by Constantine. That Eros is holding a dolphin, rather than riding one, is curious. Whether or not this was true of the Eros of Parium, dolphins (and flowers, of course) hold great significance in the poetic, and more particularly epigrammatic, tradition. Their appearance here, and the poet's interpretive claim that Eros rules land and sea, open up several literary possibilities that also seem to intersect with some of Palladas' other extant *ekphrases*. This epigram may ultimately resist a definitive reading, but it is a fascinating window onto matters of broad historical, art historical, and literary interest.

Carolyn Willekes
Mount Royal University

Who Let the Cats Out? Finding Felis catus in Antiquity (Session 8a)

Perhaps no animal has caused humans a greater degree of consternation than the cat. Felines have been engaged in a mutually beneficial relationship with humans for several thousand years, with the domestic cat originating in Egypt and dispersing from there to the Near East, Mediterranean and onwards. Cats have played an undeniably significant role in maintaining the health and sanitation of farms and cities by killing vermin and protecting food stores. Despite this, however, human feelings towards felines are sharply polarized: cats are either venerated or vilified. This paper will explore the role of the cat in the classical world by investigating the reasons for the paucity of references to domestic felines in the literary and artistic records, as well as the frequent absence of archaeological remains. We know that cats were present in both Greece and Italy from at least the 8th century BCE onwards, yet compared with other domesticated mammals such as dogs, horses, and livestock, cats are rarely commented upon. In other words, there is a striking lack of evidence for the role of felines in the classical world. Yet we know that the cats were there and presumably in large numbers. Why is this? What was it about the cat that relegated them to the shadows, especially when compared with the extensive evidence for other domesticated mammals? This paper seeks to investigate why this absence exists, how it reflects social views of felines, as well as what it suggests about the status of cats from both a secular and sacred standpoint.

Benjamin Winnick
University of British Columbia

Who Gets Credit for Apollo's Birth? Gender Roles in Poetic Accounts of the Birth of Apollo (**Session 9b**)

The dramatic birth of Apollo was the subject of multiple extant Greek poems, the earliest and most influential of which was the *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo*. Although scholars such as Mineur (1984) and Rutherford (1988, 2001) have noted subsequent poems' debt to the *Homeric Hymn*, no one has yet compared these poems side-by-side. Myths of divine birth provide a typically male poet's fantastic reimagining of the inherently feminine process of childbirth. Hence a comparison of these poems reveals each poem's artificial construction of gender identities.

My paper examines the roles of male and female characters in the extant Greek poems on Apollo's birth: *The Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo*, Pindar's fragmentary *Paeans* VIIb and XII, and Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*. An analysis of each poem's narrative, structure, and vocabulary reveals that the presence of men and women in the performative context influenced each poem's construction of gender. A renowned female chorus performed *The Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo* for an audience of all genders, which explains the poem's gynocentrism. Male choruses performed Pindar's *Paeans* to assert their collective masculinity and Callimachus wrote the *Hymn to Delos* for the exclusively male Museum of Alexandria and King Ptolemy II Philadelphus. These androcentric performance contexts led Pindar and Callimachus to diverge from the *Homeric Hymn* by giving more agency to male divinities such as Zeus and Apollo and diminishing the roles of Leto and other female divinities. Unlike the *Homeric Hymn*, Pindar and Callimachus also give Delos an origin as the wandering island Asteria, which allegorizes the patriarchal belief in the wandering womb. Indeed, each poet had performative context foremost in mind when assigning roles to male and female characters in their poems.

Tim Wright
Queen's University

The Python Episode in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (**Session 9b**)

The interpretation of the *Homeric Hymns* has been dominated by Jenny Strauss Clay's fruitful claim that the major hymns take place after the final establishment of Zeus' patriarchy but before the age of heroes, relating how particular Olympian gods acquired the *timai* ('prerogatives') that they have now. While this model works well for the other major hymns, it is problematic for the *Hymn to Apollo* for the simple reason that the chronology does not fit. For example, in the so-called Pythian section of the hymn, Apollo slays Python (300–62), the nurse of Typhon, who is implied to be still alive (367–8). Since Typhon is usually portrayed as the final challenger to Zeus' rule (Hes. *Th*. 820–68), we must conclude that the action of the hymn takes places before Zeus' final establishment at the top and consequently before the distribution of the gods' *timai*. The argument in this presentation, therefore, is that it is better to envision Apollo as being praised in his hymn not through a description of how he came to obtain his *timai*, but through how he established his shrines as a representative and defender of his father Zeus. The fact that Apollo defeats Python and not Typhon deserves especial emphasis. Only Zeus can defeat Typhon if he is to maintain his cosmic supremacy. Should Apollo defeat Typhon, he would naturally himself then serve as a challenger to his father's throne. Apollo, therefore, defeats Python, who serves as a double for Typhon in the hymn. The effect of this passage is to augment Apollo's importance as the conqueror of Python, thereby making an important contribution to the security of his father's patriarchy, but without posing a threat to that same patriarchy by defeating Typhon himself.

Graham Wrightson
South Dakota State University

Notes on the origins of the Macedonian Sarissa phalanx (**Session 1d**)

In his recent and important book on the Hellenistic sarissa phalanx Christopher Matthew lays out a detailed argument for Iphicrates introducing a long pike into Greek warfare as a new armament of hoplites and that this was then adopted in Macedon by Alexander II. His main argument centers on his belief that it was Alexander II mentioned in the famous passage of Anaximenes, as quoted by Harpocration, discussing organizational reforms to a Macedonian phalanx. Matthew examines the ancient sources thoroughly, but at no point does he demonstrate conclusively that Iphicrates or Alexander II implemented a full sarissa phalanx before Philip II. In this paper I argue that the fragment of Anaximenes refers to Alexander I reforming the organization of a small infantry bodyguard as a hoplite phalanx, and later Archelaus, according to Thucydides, further reformed the armament of the hoplite phalanx. Alexander II may have adopted the sarissa for the phalanx following Iphicrates' reforms, as Matthew argues, but there is no evidence for that. I will show that Philip II gained the credit from the ancient authors for revolutionising the Macedonian army, not his predecessor Alexander II, because he was the first general to fully adopt the sarissa in a phalanx as the principal weapon of all of the infantry rather than just in a small elite bodyguard unit and deployed it so successfully in battle.

Florence Yoon
University of British Columbia

The agon(y) of literary lament (**Session 6a**)

The lament has long been recognized as a fundamental Greek ritual with strongly gendered elements, and its literary uses—both affirmative and subversive—have been productively explored through this broad cultural lens. This paper adopts a narrower literary approach to the lament in literature, framing juxtaposed laments as a form of competition comparable to debate or *agon* scenes.

Because of the public nature of literary lament, mourning is not usually undertaken by a single individual; lament speeches accordingly tend to come in twos or threes, with each speaker aiming to define both the qualities of the lamented dead and his/her relationship to the living lamenter. Although mourners do not directly address each other, the juxtaposition of such similar speeches invites comparison and evaluation; the competition may not be intended by the characters, but is created by the author. The stakes of the competition vary and (as with conventional *agon* scenes) competitive lamentation rarely produces a clear "victor", but such scenes perform a range of subtler literary functions by delineating differing perspectives and claims.

This paper examines two well-known examples: the mourning of Hector in *Iliad* 24 and the laments of Tecmessa and Teucer over Ajax in Sophocles' play.
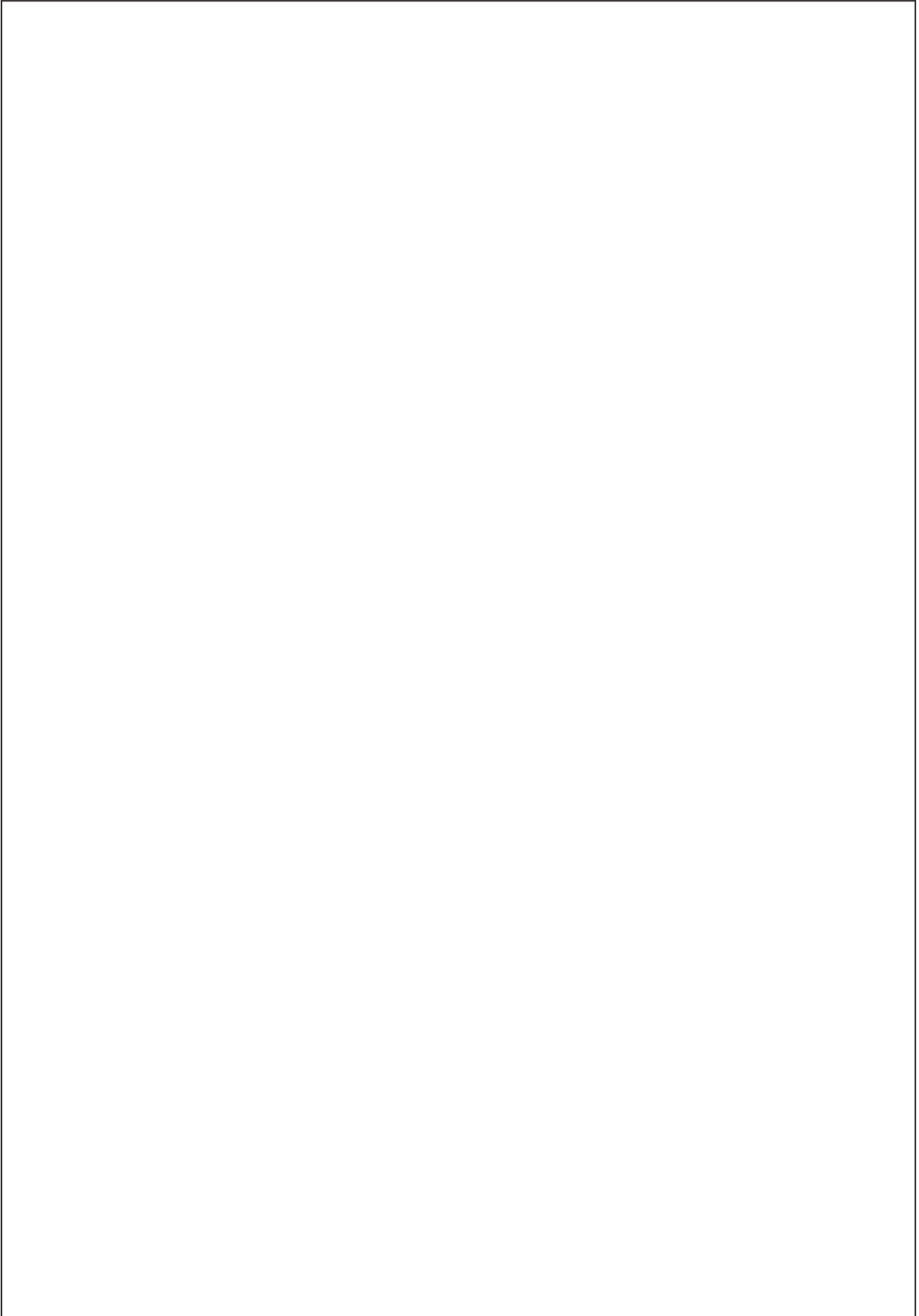
Zachary Yuzwa
St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan

How to Read the Saints: Genre and Exemplarity in Latin Hagiographical Literature of Late Antiquity
(Session 7b)

Christian Latin authors of the late fourth and early fifth centuries, as they attempt to write holiness in words, explore the manifold possibilities of genre and narrative in the context of a still nascent literary project of hagiographical remembering. In the earliest examples of Latin "hagiography"—far from finding a coherent genre—we read texts that engage diverse generic forms in the performance of hagiographical discourse; we read texts that experiment with how to write the figure of the saint and how to inscribe the role of the reader in the work. This paper proposes to map the literary contours of a corpus whose complex structure and novel experimentations in genre take shape over three successive texts, each clearly dependent on classical generic forms. Sulpicius Severus—taking as his subject Martin, fourth century bishop of Tours—first writes a *Life*, then a series of letters, and last a dialogue. It is in this dialogue, *Gallus*, that Sulpicius defines most clearly the role of his imagined readers. He asks there why we write and why we read. The answer is found in the dense rhetoric of exemplarity with which Sulpicius imbues his work. In the regular recounting of heroic, saintly *exempla* the author relates religious practice—in particular the bodily discipline of ascetic obedience—to the production and consumption of literature: writing and reading become a means of sharing in the *virtus* of an exemplary actor. Ascetic discipline and literary performance are merged in the practice of Sulpicius' ideal readers. The *Gallus*—not least because it is a dialogue—is able to show readers in the process of becoming authors: Sulpicius' idealized readers write themselves a saintly life and in the process become like the saints themselves.
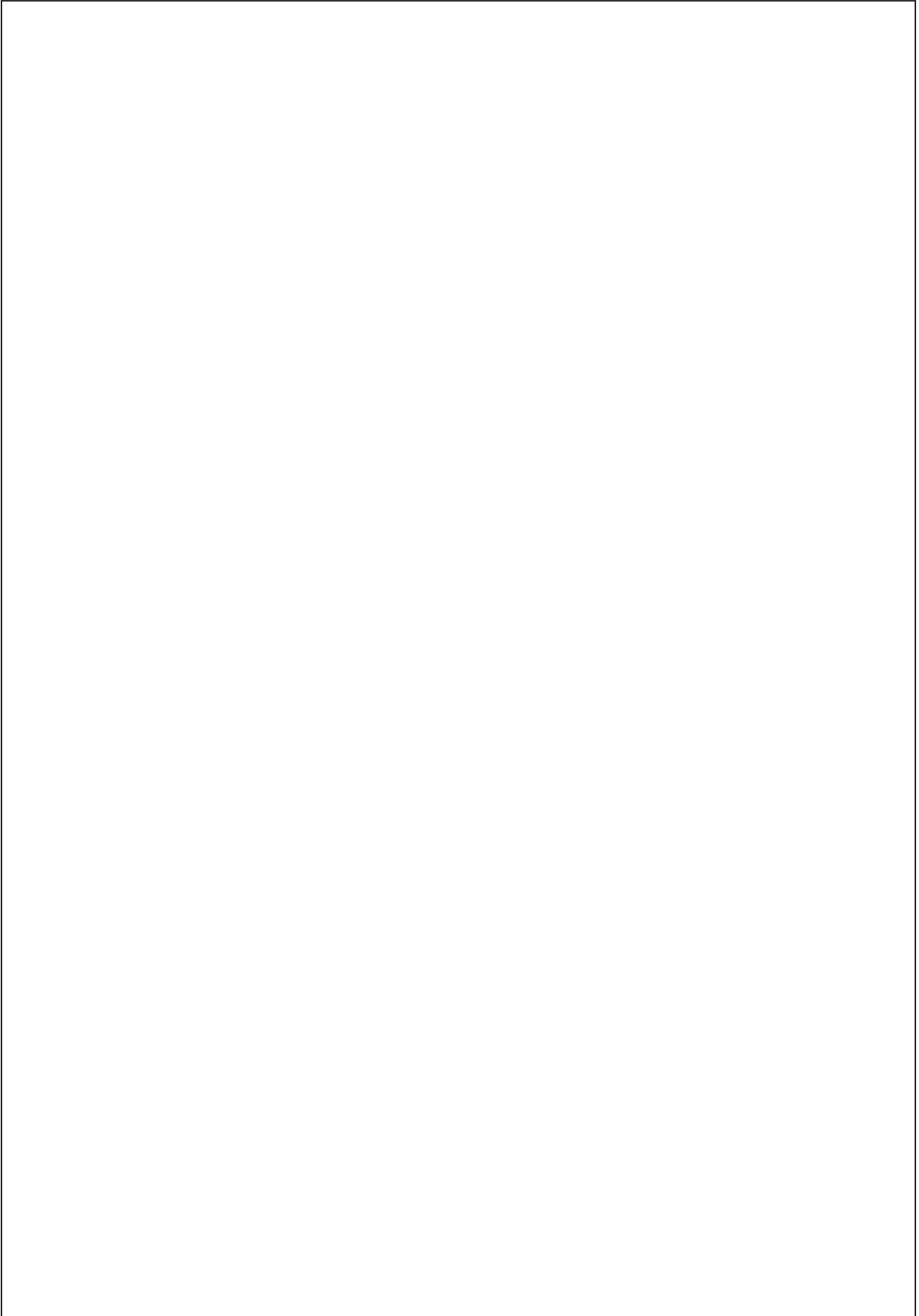
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