# PROGRAMME & ABSTRACTS | RÉSUMÉS



SOCIÉTÉ | CLASSICAL CANADIENNE | ASSOCIATION DES ÉTUDES | OF CLASSIQUES | CANADA CONGRÉS | ANNUAL ANNUEL | MEETING

McMaster University MAY 7-9, 2019

Université McMaster DU MAI 7 AU 9, 2019

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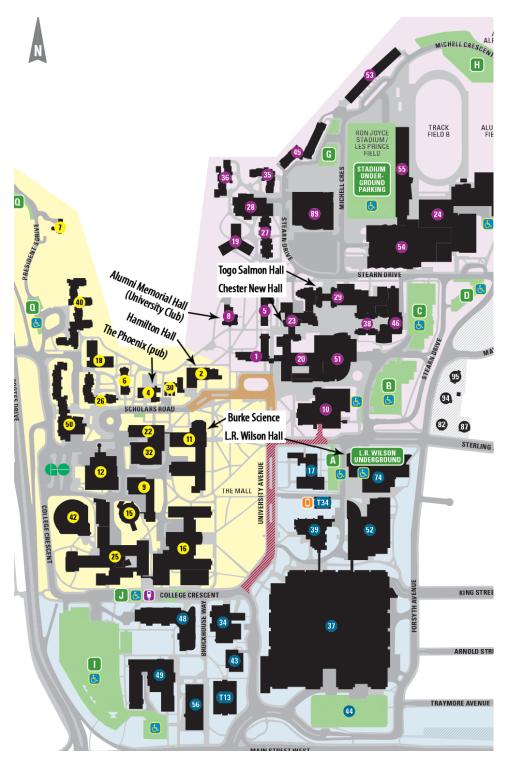
#### Maps

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#### Campus Map

Alumni House7	John Hodgins Engineering Building (JHE)
Alumni Memorial Hall (University Club)	Kenneth Taylor Hall (KTH)
Applied Dynamics Laboratory (ADL) 33	L.R. Wilson Hall (LRW)
Arthur N. Bourns Building (ABB) 25	Les Prince Hall
Bates Residence Building 40	Life Sciences Building (LSB) 39
Bertrand Russell Archives and	Mary E. Keyes Residence 50
Research Centre 82	Matthews Hall
Biology Greenhouse30	McKay Hall
Brandon Hall	McMaster Children's Centre T33
Burke Science Building (BSB) 11	McMaster Divinity College (MDC) 17
Campus Services Building (CSB) 31	McMaster University Student Centre
Canadian Martyrs CES Testing/	(MUSC) 51
Exam Centre (Licensed Space) 91	Michael DeGroote Centre for
Commons Building. 23	Learning and Discovery (MDCL) 52  Mills Memorial Library / Alvin A. Lee
Commons Building	Building / Museum of Art (MML) 10
Laboratory (CRL)	Moulton Hall
David Braley Athletic Centre (DBAC) 54	Nuclear Reactor
David Braley Health Sciences Centre	Nuclear Research Building (NRB) 9
(DBHSC)83	One James North (OJN)85
DeGroote School of Business (DSB). 46	Peter George Centre for Living and
E.T. Clarke Centre (Parking / Security)	Learning (PGCLL)
Edwards Hall	Preliminary Laboratory
Engineering Technology Building	Psychology Building (PS)
(ETB)56	Refectory (The Phoenix / Bridges) 4
General Sciences Building (GSB) 22	Ron Joyce Stadium / Les Prince Field 55
Gilmour Hall (GH)	St. Paul's Anglican Church
H.G. Thode Library of Science and	Temporary Building, Multi-Use TB26
Engineering 42	Temporary Lecture Theatre T34
Hamilton Hall (HH) 2	Temporary Portables, Offices T32
Health Sciences Centre (HSC/MUMC)	Togo Salmon Hall (TSH)
Health Sciences Complex	University Hall (UH)
Parking Structure	Wallingford Hall
Hedden Hall45	Whidden Hall
Information Technology Building	Woodstock Hall35
(ITB)49	47 Whitton Road
Institute for Applied Health Sciences (IAHS)48	96 Forsyth Avenue North
(IAHS)48 Ivor Wynne Centre	106 Forsyth Avenue North 95
(IWC - Athletic Centre)24	182 Sterling Street
LEGEND	
X Parking Lot Zone & Accessil	ole Parking 🔃 Meter Parking
Pedestrian Priority Pedestri	an Priority ency and

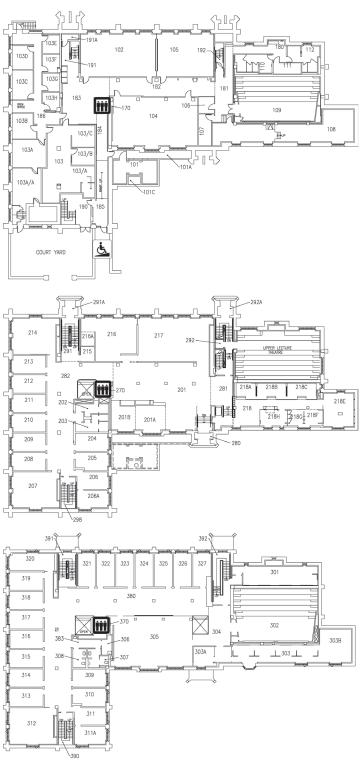
#### **Campus Map**



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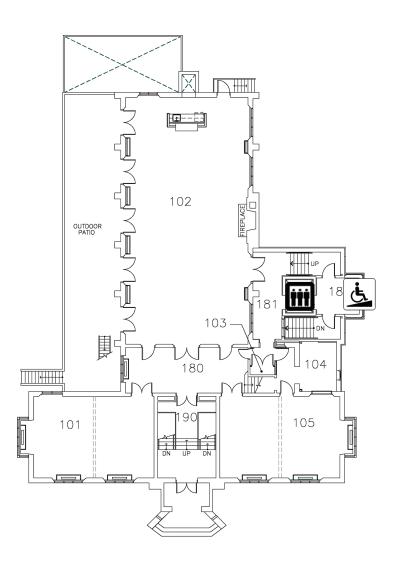
#### **Hamilton Hall**

Hamilton Hall



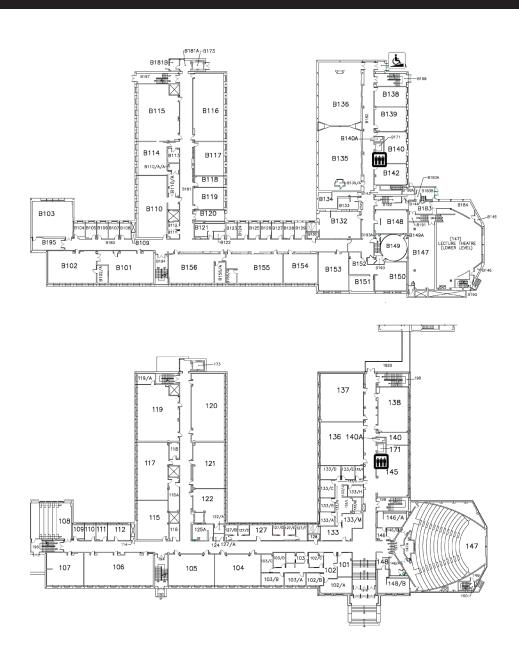
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#### University Club (Alumni Memorial Bldg)



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#### **Burke Science Building**



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#### Food

#### **On Campus**

Phoenix Bar & Grill (\$\$) McMaster University Student Center Food-court (\$)

#### **Hamilton Restaurants**

#### **Downtown**

Aberdeen Tavern (\$\$\$)
Berkeley North (\$\$\$)
Born & Raised (\$\$\$)
Hambrgr (\$\$)
Merit Brewing Co. (\$)
The French (\$\$\$)
The Mule (\$\$)
The Ship (\$\$)
Mezcal (\$\$)
Saltlick Smokehouse (\$)

#### Westdale

Delirious Burger (\$) Locke St. Brux House (\$\$\$) Cima (\$\$\$)

#### **Dundas**

India Village (\$)
Quatrefoil (\$\$\$\$)

#### Statement on Harassment | Déclaration sur le harcèlement

#### STATEMENT ON HARASSMENT

The CAC does not tolerate prejudice, inequity, harassment, or related unethical behaviour, 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.

#### Policy on Tweeting | Politiques concernant le « tweetage »

#### **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 #cacscec2019. Social media use at the conference 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 #cacscec2019. 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/

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#### Monday, May 6 | lundi 6 mai

11:00 AM-7:00 PM Registration | Inscription (Togo Salmon Hall 712)

12:00-2:00 PM Department Heads' Meeting | Réunion des directeurs (Chester New Hall 425)

2:15-5:15 PM CAC Council Meeting | Réunion du Conseil de la SCEC (Chester New Hall 425)

6:00-7:00 PM Dundurn Castle Tour | Visite du Dundurn Castle

# Tuesday, May 7 | mardi 7 mai

8:00-8:30 AM	Breakfast   Petit déjeuner (Hamilton Hall)
8:00 AM-6:00 PM	Registration   Inscription (Hamilton Hall)
8:30-10:30 AM	Session 1
	1a: WN/RF Panel: Modern Representations of Greek and Roman Women   Représentations modernes des femmes grecques et romaines (Hamilton Hall 104)
	1b: The Epistemics of Wonder: Ancient Contexts and Discourses   Les épistémées de merveille: contextes et discours antiques (Hamilton Hall 217)
	1c: Historiography I   Historiographie I (Hamilton Hall 102)
	1d: Individualism and Representation in Antiquity   Individualisme et représentation dans l'antiquité (West Room, University Club, Alumni Memorial Bldg)
	1e: Law & Oratory   Loi et oratoire (Hamilton Hall 305)
10:30-11:00 AM	Coffee break   Pause-Café (Hamilton Hall)
11:00 AM-12:30 PM	Session 2
	2a: Sexuality   Sexualité (West Room, University Club, Alumni Memorial Bldg)
	2b: Epigraphy I   Épigraphie I (Hamilton Hall 102)
	2c: Greek Philosophy I   Philosophie grecque I (Hamilton Hall 217)
	2d: Redirecting Ovidian Perspectives   Réorienter les perspectives ovidiennes (Hamilton Hall 305)
	2e: Greek Poetry I   Poésie grecque I (Hamilton Hall 104)
12:30-2:30 PM	Lunch   Déjeuner
12:30-2:30 PM	Ontario Classical Association roundtable (Burke Sciences Building 105)
12:30-2:30 PM	GSC/CÉCS: Course and Syllabus Design: A Roundtable and Workshop

#### Tuesday, May 7 | mardi 7 mai — Session 1 (8:30—10:30 AM)

Hamilton Hall 104	Hamilton Hall 217	Hamilton Hall 102	West Room, University Club, Alumni Memorial Bldg	Hamilton Hall 305
1a: WN/RF Panel: Modern Rep-       1b: The Epistemics of Wonde resentations of Greek and Roman         Ancient Contexts and Discon Women   Représentations modernes   Les épistémées de merveille: des femmes grecques et romaines	1b: The Epistemics of Wonder: 1c: Historiograph Ancient Contexts and Discourses Historiographie I   Les épistémées de merveille: contextes et discours antiques	1c: Historiography I   Historiographie I	1d: Individualism and Repre- sentation in Antiquity   Individ- ualisme et représentation dans l'antiquité	le: Law & Oratory   Loi et oratoire
Chair/Présidente: M. Racette-Campbell	Chair/Présidente: ÉJ. Poliquin	Chair/Président: C. Eilers	Chair/Président: J. Edmondson	Chair/Président: D. Mirhady
Revolutionary Electra: Miklós Jancsó's Szerelman, Elektra (1974) <b>Annette Baertschi</b> Bryn Mawr College	Paradoxography and Science in Aelian's <i>De natura animalium</i> : Leonidas of Byzantium, the Red Sea and Peripatetic Biology <b>Ephraim Lytle</b> <i>U of Toronto</i>	Interpretatio Romana as Dynamic Equivalence: Tacitus and Translation Studies Rachel Mazzara University of Toronto	Pointing to a Parent: Ancestry and Identity in Roman Slavery Katharine Huemoeller University of British Columbia	Law's Measure: Aischines 3.199–200  Edwin Carawan  Missouri State University
Ridiculous Female Trappings: The Rebirth of Helen in Star Trek's <i>Elaan of Troyius</i> <b>Ruby Blondell</b> University of Washington	Seneca's Comets: Competing Conceptions of Wonder in the Natural Questions Chiara Graf University of Toronto	How Augustus: Leader and Party became The Roman Revolution (1939) Jonathan Scott Perry University of South Florida	Fringes on Roman Clothing: Representing Identity in Roman Art <b>Kelly Olson</b> University of Western Ontario	Legal Talk as Sex Talk in the Fragments of Middle Comedy <b>Craig Cooper</b> University of Lethbridge
Wonder Woman (2017) & the Classical Amazon: Ancient & Modern Scripts of Female Superheroes  Natalie Swain  University of Bristol	Et in Arcadia Ego: Metamorphosis, tradition, and the limits of Roman power in the Periegesis Hellados Jody Ellyn Cundy University of Oxford	The Emperors' Private Devotions Fanny Dolansky Brock University	Community, Labor, and Occupational Identity in the Mines of Hispania <b>Linda Gosner</b> University of Michigan	The Ideological Contestation of <i>Epieikeia</i> in Demosthenes and Isocrates <b>Edward Parker</b> University of Toronto
	Inspired Encyclopaedism: The Antischolasticism of the Catalogue of Giants in Philostratus' Heroikos  Kenneth Yu  University of Toronto	Romulus, οἰκιστής and νομοθέτης: The 'Romulean Constitution' in the <i>Roman Antiquities</i> of Dion. Hal. <b>Beatrice Poletti</b> University of Alberta	Between Reality and Representation: Depicting the Roman Soldier in Rome and the Provinces Elizabeth M. Greene University of Western Ontario	Arkhe and Kratos John McGuire University College Dublin

# Tuesday, May 7 | mardi 7 mai

8:00-8:30 AM	Breakfast   Petit déjeuner (Hamilton Hall)
8:00 AM-6:00 PM	Registration   Inscription (Hamilton Hall)
8:30-10:30 AM	Session 1  1a: WN/RF Panel: Modern Representations of Greek and Roman Women   Représentations modernes des femmes grecques et romaines (Hamilton Hall 104)  1b: The Epistemics of Wonder: Ancient Contexts and Discourses   Les épistémées de merveille: contextes et discours antiques (Hamilton Hall 217)  1c: Historiography   Historiographie   (Hamilton Hall 102)  1d: Individualism and Representation in Antiquity   Individualisme et représentation dans l'antiquité (West Room, University Club, Alumni Memorial Bldg)
	1e: Law & Oratory   Loi et oratoire (Hamilton Hall 305)
10:30-11:00 AM	Coffee break   Pause-Café (Hamilton Hall)
11:00 AM-12:30 PM	Session 2
11:00 AM-12:30 PM	Session 2 2a: Sexuality   Sexualité (West Room, University Club, Alumni Memorial Bldg)
11:00 AM-12:30 PM	
11:00 AM-12:30 PM	2a: Sexuality   Sexualité (West Room, University Club, Alumni Memorial Bldg)
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11:00 AM-12:30 PM	2a: Sexuality   Sexualité (West Room, University Club, Alumni Memorial Bldg) 2b: Epigraphy I   Épigraphie I (Hamilton Hall 102) 2c: Greek Philosophy I   Philosophie grecque I (Hamilton Hall 217) 2d: Redirecting Ovidian Perspectives   Réorienter les perspectives ovidiennes
11:00 AM-12:30 PM 12:30-2:30 PM	2a: Sexuality   Sexualité (West Room, University Club, Alumni Memorial Bldg) 2b: Epigraphy I   Épigraphie I (Hamilton Hall 102) 2c: Greek Philosophy I   Philosophie grecque I (Hamilton Hall 217) 2d: Redirecting Ovidian Perspectives   Réorienter les perspectives ovidiennes (Hamilton Hall 305)
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# Tuesday, May 7 | mardi 7 mai — Session 2 (11:00 AM—12:30 PM)

West Room, University Club (Alumni Memorial Bldg)	Hamilton Hall 102	Hamilton Hall 217	Hamilton Hall 305	Hamilton Hall 104
2a: Sexuality   Sexualité	2b: Epigraphy I   Épigraphie I	2c: Greek Philosophy I   Philosophie grecque I	2d: Redirecting Ovidian Perspectives   Réorienter les perspectives ovidiennes	2e: Greek Poetry I   Poésie grecque I
Chair/Présidente: Kelly Olson	Chair/Président: Léopold Migeotte	Chair/Président: Mark Johnstone	Chair/Présidente: Mariapia Pietropaolo	Chair/Président: Peter Miller
Tiresias v. Narcissus: Knowledge, Power, and Sexuality in Ovid Metamorphoses 3 Jeffrey Carnes Syracuse University	Athènagoras, évergète xanthien à l'époque impériale <b>Patrick Baker</b> Université Laval	Aristotle's definition of time: an old instance of the timeless 'continuous' vs. 'discrete' paradox Pierre-Luc Boudreault  University of Western Ontario	Janus in <i>Fasti</i> I: Looking in Other Directions <b>Melanie Racette-Campbell</b> Memorial University	Hesiod and the Poetics of Hunger <b>Diana Librandi</b> University of California, Los Angeles
Group Sex, Exhibitionism /Voyeurism, and Male Homosociality Thomas Hubbard University of Texas, Austin	Une nouvelle inscription xanthienne <i>Logikôs</i> Inquiry in Aristotle's et la liste des préfets du prétoire Natural Science d'Orient sous Théodose <b>A.W. Woodcox Gaétan Thériault</b> Université du Québec à Montréal	Logikôs Inquiry in Aristotle's Natural Science <b>A.W. Woodcox</b> University of Western Ontario	Iterative Structures in Ovid's <i>Amores 2</i> <b>Alison Keith</b> University of Toronto	Disassociating the <i>Orchestris</i> : The Sexualization of Female Dancers in Classical Athens <b>Jonathan Vickers</b> U. of British Columbia
	Truth, Propaganda, and the Good Use of Allusion. Traces of the Inscription from the Lost Arch of Titus in Tacitus and Josephus <b>Tommaso Leoni</b> York University	Pyrrhonian skepticism: philosophical system or psychological attitude? <b>Ashkan Parchizadeh</b> <i>University of Western Ontario</i>	Pyrrhonian skepticism:  philosophical system or and the Representation of Happiness Context of Bacchylides 16 psychological attitude?  In Ovid's Tristia  Ashkan Parchizadeh  Lessica Western Ontario  University of Western Ontario  Double Bionysian  Warren Huard  Dalhousie University  Dalhousie University  Dalhousie University	Herakles in the Dionysian Context of Bacchylides 16 <b>Warren Huard</b> Dalhousie University

# Tuesday, May 7 | mardi 7 mai

12:30-2:30 PM	Lunch   Déjeuner
12:30-2:30 PM	Ontario Classical Association roundtable (Burke Sciences Building 105)
12:30-2:30 PM	GSC/CÉCS: Course and Syllabus Design: A Roundtable and Workshop   Concevoir des cours et des programmes: une table ronde et un atelier (Burke Sciences Building 104)
2:30-4:00 PM	Session 3  3a: Greek History   Histoire grecque (Hamilton Hall 104)  3b: Pedagogy   Pédagogie (West Room, University Club, Alumni Memorial Bldg)
	3c: Greek Theatre   Théâtre grec   (Hamilton Hall 305)
	3d: Reception   Réception   (Hamilton Hall 217)
	3e: Religion   Religion (Hamilton Hall 102)
4:00-4:30 PM	Coffee break   Pause-Café (Hamilton Hall)
4:30-6:00 PM	Session 4
	4a: Roman History   Histoire romaine (Hamilton Hall 305)
	4b: WN/RF Panel: Pedagogy: How to Engage with Difficult Material   Pédagogie: comment s'engager avec du matériel difficile (Hamilton Hall 217)
	4c: Homer   Homère (Hamilton Hall 104)
	4d: Reception II   Réception II (Hamilton Hall 102)
6:15-8:00 PM	Opening Night Reception   Soirée d'ouverture (Great Hall, University Club [Alumni Memorial Building])

# Tuesday, May 7 | mardi 7 mai — Session 3 (2:30-4:00 PM)

Hamilton Hall 104	West Room, University Club (Alumni Memorial Bldg)	Hamilton Hall 305	Hamilton Hall 217	Hamilton Hall 102
3a: Greek History   Histoire grecque	3b: Pedagogy   Pédagogie	3c: Greek Theatre I   Théâtre grec I	3d: Reception I   Réception I	3e: Religion   Religion
Chair/Président: Ben Akrigg	Chair/Président: George Kovacs	Chair/Présidente: Kathryn Mattison	Chair/Président: Mark Joyal	Chair/Président: Christian Raschle
Kinship & the Early Greek Phratry  Emily Varto  Dalhousie University	Teaching the Language of Medicine La « scène de Cassandre » (Esch. to Students Who Know More About Ag. 1072-1330): une lamentation Medicine than We Do tragique atypique <b>Stephen Russell Tiphaine Lahuec</b> McMaster University Université de Montréal		Deserta per ardua: Petrarch's Ascent Les oracles ichthyoman- of the Capitoline tiques de Lycie: état de la  Luke Roman question  Memorial University Magalie Laguë Maltai  Université du Québec.	Les oracles ichthyoman- tiques de Lycie: état de la question Magalie Laguë Maltais Université du Québec à Montréal
Searching for the Sanctuary of Leukothea in Kolchis <b>Altay Goskun</b> University of Waterloo	Visualizing Mythology: Using Universal Design for Learning to Teach Greek Mythology Alison Innes & Lianne Fisher Brock University	Narrative Competence and the Limits of Human Knowledge in Sophocles <i>Trachiniae</i> Adriana Brook  Lawrence University	How John Dee Read His Lucretius <b>Robert Weir</b> University of Windsor	Hephaestus at Populonia? Economy, Metallurgy, and Cult in a New Graffito from the Acropolis Seth Bernard University of Toronto
Practical and Symbolic Honours: The Proxenia of two Sikel Kings  Jayden Lloyd  University of British Columbia	Cambridge Latin, the Familia Caecilii and the House of Caecilius Project Margaret-Anne Gillis Ontario Classical Association	Sophocles and the Art of the Con Lost Underworlds in Classical  David (Josh) Beer  Literature and Italian Renaiss Philology  Larleton University  Lorenza Bennardo University of Toronto	Lost Underworlds in Classical Literature and Italian Renaissance Philology <b>Lorenza Bennardo</b> <i>University of Toronto</i>	Titans of Industry: Profession and Deity Choice in Imperial Votive Dedications  David Wallace-Hare  University of Toronto

### Tuesday, May 7 | mardi 7 mai

12:30-2:30 PM	Lunch   Déjeuner
12:30-2:30 PM	Ontario Classical Association roundtable (Burke Sciences Building 105)
12:30-2:30 PM	GSC/CÉCS: Course and Syllabus Design: A Roundtable and Workshop   Concevoir des cours et des programmes: une table ronde et un atelier (Burke Sciences Building 104)
2:30-4:00 PM	Session 3 3a: Greek History   Histoire grecque (Hamilton Hall 104) 3b: Pedagogy   Pédagogie (West Room, University Club, Alumni Memorial Bldg) 3c: Greek Theatre I   Théâtre grec I (Hamilton Hall 305) 3d: Reception   Réception I (Hamilton Hall 217) 3e: Religion   Religion (Hamilton Hall 102)
4:00-4:30 PM	Coffee break   Pause-Café (Hamilton Hall)
4:30-6:00 PM	Session 4 4a: Roman History   Histoire romaine (Hamilton Hall 305) 4b: WN/RF Panel: Pedagogy: How to Engage with Difficult Material   Pédagogie: comment s'engager avec du matériel difficile (Hamilton Hall 217) 4c: Homer   Homère (Hamilton Hall 104) 4d: Reception II   Réception II (Hamilton Hall 102)
6:15-8:00 PM	Opening Night Reception   Soirée d'ouverture (Great Hall, University Club [Alumni Memorial Building])

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### Tuesday, May 7 | mardi 7 mai — Session 4 (4:30-6:00 PM)

Hamilton Hall 305	Hamilton Hall 217	Hamilton Hall 104	Hamilton Hall 102
4a: Roman History   Histoire romaine	4b: WN/RF Panel: Pedagogy: How to Engage with Difficult Material   Pédagogie: comment s'engager avec du matériel difficile	4c: Homer   Homère	4d: Reception II   Réception II
Chair/Président: Christer Bruun	Chair/Présidente: Catherine Tracy	Chair/Président: Jonathan Burgess	Chair/Président: Luke Roman
Ex pecunia publica: Italian Public Spending and Urbanization in the Late Republic <b>Drew Davis</b> University of Toronto	Beyond Hermaphroditus: Transgender and Intersex Issues in the Classics Classroom Mark Nugent University of Victoria	Odysseus and the Poetics of Failure <b>Stamatia Dova</b> <i>Hellenic College</i>	Galluzzi, l'élégie et l'imitation poétique Emilie-Jade Poliquin Institut national de la recherche scientifique
Arena of the Senses <b>Michael Carter</b> Brock University	Talking about Rape in a Myth Class: Preparation, molyuntic Hephaistos Course Design, and Classroom Practices  Ingrid Holmberg  Vurie Hong  Custavus Adolphus College	πολύμητις Hephaistos Ingrid Holmberg University of Victoria	"Measured Lines and Footsteps": Salvatore Quasimodo, Poet and Translator of Greek <b>Drew Griffith</b> Queen's University
Opposites Attract: The Literary Artistry of Caesar's <i>Bellum Givile</i> <b>Debra Nousek</b> University of Western Ontario	Respondent: <b>Christina Vester</b> University of Waterloo	"Rage, Sing": Injury and Art in <i>Iliad</i> Book One <b>Aara Suksi</b> University of Western Ontario	Re-Writing the Roman Past: Identity and Exemplarity in the Latin Literature of New France  Zachary Yuzwa St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan

# Wednesday, May 8 | mercredi 8 mai

8:00-8:30 AM	Breakfast   Petit déjeuner (Hamilton Hall)
8:00 AM-6:00 PM	Registration   Inscription (Hamilton Hall)
8:30-10:30 AM	Session 5 5a: Presidential Panel: Engaging with the Public: Ancient Ideas, Modern Contexts   Panel Présidentiel: communiquer avec le public: idées anciennes, contextes modernes (Hamilton Hall 104)
	5b: Greek Archaeology I: Fieldwork in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean   Archéologie grecque I: travaux sur le terrain en Grèce et dans la Méditerranée orientale (Hamilton Hall 102)
	5c: Greek Philosophy II: Plato   Philosophie grecque II: Platon (Hamilton Hall 217) 5d: Epigraphy II   Épigraphie II (Hamilton Hall 305)
10:30-11:00 AM	Coffee break   Pause-Café (Hamilton Hall)
11:00 AM-12:30 PM	Session 6 6a: GSC/CÉCS Panel: Preparing for an Academic Career, from Grad Student to Tenure-track and Points In-between   Préparation à une carrière universitaire, de l'étudiant(e) diplômé(e) à la permanence et aux points intermédiaires (Hamilton Hall 102) 6b: Second Sophistic & Late Antiquity   La Seconde Sophistique et Antiquité tardive (Hamilton Hall 217) 6c: Warfare   La guerre (Hamilton Hall 305) 6d: Latin Literature I: Aeneid   Littérature latine I: L'Énéide (Hamilton Hall 104)
12:30-2:30 PM	Lunch   Déjeuner GSC AGM   AGA du CÉCS (Burke Sciences Building 104) Mouseion Board Meeting   Réunion du Bureau de Mouseion (Togo Salmon Hall 701) Group Work in Classics roundtable; organizers: Melissa Funke & Gwynaeth McIntyre (Burke Sciences Building 121; participants are invited to bring examples of their group work assignments) WN/RF WCC Wiki roundtable (Burke Sciences Building 105) Phoenix Board Meeting   Réunion du Bureau de Phoenix (Chester New Hall 425)

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### Wednesday, May 8 | mercredi 8 mai — Session 5 (8:30—10:00 AM)

Hamilton Hall 104	Hamilton Hall 102	Hamilton Hall 217	Hamilton Hall 305
Sa: PP: Engaging with the Public: Ancient Ideas, Modern Contexts   PP: communiquer avec le public: idées anciennes, contextes modernes	Sb: Greek Archaeology I: Fieldwork in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean   Archéologie I: travaux sur le terrain en Grèce et dans la Méditerranée orientale	Sc: Greek Philosophy II: Plato   Philosophie grecque II: Platon	Sd: Epigraphy II   Épigraphie II
Chair/Présidente: Allison Glazebrook	Chair/Président: Spencer Pope	Chair/Présidente: Heidi Northwood Chair/Président: Tommaso Leoni	Chair/Président: Tommaso Leoni
On Thinking with Classics <b>Clifford Orwin</b> University of Toronto	Ceramics and LBA Maritime Networks: Results from the 2018 Underwater Survey of Maroni-Isaroukka  Carrie Fulton  University of Toronto		Plato's Bed: Essence and Archetype in Epigraphic Reception of the Ovidian Text at the Theory of Forms  John Thorp  Gianmarco Bianchini & Gian Luca Gregori  University of Western Ontario  University of Toronto, Università di Roma
Archaeology and Community  Margriet Haagsma, Sophia Karapanou,  & Vasso Noula  University of Alberta; Ephorate of  Antiquities, Larissa; Mun. of Pharsala	Le premier palais cypriote de l'Âge du Fer: le palais royal d'Amathonte à l'époque géométrique <b>Thierry Petit</b> Université Laval	Discourse for Minotaurs: Back in Plato's Labyrinth  Christopher Tindale  University of Windsor	Gladiators at Pompeii: Striking New Evidence from a Monumental Tomb outside the Stabian Gate  Jonathan Edmondson  York University
The Warrior Chorus <b>Peter Meineck</b> New York University	Fieldwork of the Canadian Institute in Greece: Socrates, Athens, and the Law 2018  Joseph Gerbasi Spencer Pope  University of Toronto  McMaster University	Socrates, Athens, and the Law Joseph Gerbasi University of Toronto	Funerary commemoration and family relations in Roman Spain: the example of the Conventus Cluniensis  Marta Fernández-Corral York University
		You Can't Always Get (Exactly) What You Want: Socrates' <i>Eros Deinos</i> for Protagoras <b>Suma Rajiva</b> Memorial University	Roman Birthdays — Fact or Fiction? <b>Christer Bruun</b> <i>University of Toronto</i>

#### Wednesday, May 8 | mercredi 8 mai

8:00-8:30 AM Breakfast | Petit déjeuner (Hamilton Hall)

8:00 AM-6:00 PM Registration | Inscription (Hamilton Hall)

8:30-10:30 AM Session 5

 5a: Presidential Panel: Engaging with the Public: Ancient Ideas, Modern Contexts
 Panel Présidentiel: communiquer avec le public: idées anciennes, contextes modernes (Hamilton Hall 104)

5b: Greek Archaeology I: Fieldwork in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean | Archéologie I: travaux sur le terrain en Grèce et dans la Méditerranée orientale (Hamilton Hall 102)

5c: Greek Philosophy II: Plato | Philosophie grecque II: Platon (Hamilton Hall 217)

5d: Epigraphy II | Épigraphie II (Hamilton Hall 305)

10:30-11:00 AM Coffee break | Pause-Café (Hamilton Hall)

11:00 AM-12:30 PM Session 6

6a: GSC/CÉCS Panel: Preparing for an Academic Career, from Grad Student to Tenuretrack and Points In-between | Préparation à une carrière universitaire, de l'étudiant(e) diplômé(e) à la permanence et aux points intermédiaires (Hamilton Hall 102)

6b: Second Sophistic & Late Antiquity | La Seconde Sophistique et Antiquité tardive (Hamilton Hall 217)

6c: Warfare | La guerre (Hamilton Hall 305)

6d: Latin Literature I: Aeneid | Littérature latine I: L'Énéide (Hamilton Hall 104)

12:30-2:30 PM Lunch | Déjeuner

GSC AGM | AGA du CÉCS (Burke Sciences Building 104)

Mouseion Board Meeting | Réunion du Bureau de Mouseion (Togo Salmon Hall 701)

Group Work in Classics roundtable; organizers: Melissa Funke & Gwynaeth McIntyre (Burke Sciences Building 121; participants are invited to bring examples of their group work assignments)

WN/RF WCC Wiki roundtable (Burke Sciences Building 105)

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Phoenix Board Meeting | Réunion du Bureau de Phoenix (Chester New Hall 425)

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### Wednesday, May 8 | mercredi 8 mai — Session 6 (11:00 AM—12:30 PM)

Hamilton Hall 102	Hamilton Hall 217	Hamilton Hall 305	Hamilton Hall 104
6a: GSC/CÉCS Panel: Preparing for an Academic Career   Préparation à une carrière universitaire	6b: Second Sophistic & Late Antiquity   La Seconde Sophistique et Antiquité tardive	6c: Warfare   La guerre	6d: Latin Literature I: Aeneid   Littérature latine I: L'Énéide
Chair/Présidente: Rowan Ash	Chair/Président: Conor Whatley	Chair/Présidente: Kathryn Simonsen	Chair/Président: Riemer Faber
Preparing for the Job Market in Classics <b>Randall Pogorzelski</b> University of Western Ontario	Sex work and the sophist: Lucian's Dialogues of the Courtesans as a reflection of imperial Greek culture  Emelen Leonard  University of Toronto	ἀριστεύσας τότε Άθηναίων: <i>aristoi</i> and Moving Images, Refugee Viewer: <i>aristeia</i> in fifth-century Athenian armed Reconsidering Aeneas in the Temforces  Carolyn MacDonald  Jonathan Reeves  WαMaster University	Moving Images, Refugee Viewer: Reconsidering Aeneas in the Temple of Juno <b>Carolyn MacDonald</b> University of New Brunswick
In the Thick of It: From the Trenches of the Job Market in North America and Abroad <b>Marion Durand</b> University of Toronto	Honorific milestones and the AD 337"Summer of Blood" <b>Guy Chamberland</b> Thorneloe University at Laurentian	Equites sagittarii indigenae at ancient Hauarra <b>Milorad Nikolic</b> Memorial University	Guilt and Civil War in Vergil's <i>Aeneid</i> and Lucan's <i>Bellum Civile</i> <b>Michelle Sugar</b> University of Western Ontario
The Sessional Life Cycle from 'Woohoo!' to 'What are you teaching next year, professor?'  Jessica Romney  Dickinson College	lsidore de Péluse, un conseiller des fonction- naires impériaux et politiciens locaux au Ve siècle de notre ère. <b>Christian Raschle</b> <i>Université de Montréal</i>	The Republican <i>dilectus</i> and the Jews: Lentulus in Ephesus (Jos. AJ 14, 228ff.) <b>Claude Eilers</b> McMaster University	Positioning Aeneas: A Proposed Emendation to <i>Aeneid 7.5</i> <b>Kyle Gervais</b> University of Western Ontario

# Wednesday, May 8 | mercredi 8 mai

12:30-2:30 PM	Lunch   Déjeuner GSC AGM   AGA du CÉCS (Burke Sciences Building 104)
	Mouseion Board Meeting   Réunion du Bureau de Mouseion (Togo Salmon Hall 701)
	Group Work in Classics roundtable; organizers: Melissa Funke & Gwynaeth McIntyre (Burke Sciences Building 121; participants are invited to bring examples of their group work assignments)
	WN/RF WCC Wiki roundtable (Burke Sciences Building 105)
	Phoenix Board Meeting   Réunion du Bureau de Phoenix (Chester New Hall 425)
2:30-4:00 PM	Session 7
	7a: Roman Theatre   Théâtre romain (Hamilton Hall 305)
	7b: Indigenization & Classical Studies   Indigénisation et les études classiques (Hamilton Hall 217)
	7c: Roman Art & Archaeology   Art et archéologie romain (Hamilton Hall 102)
	7d: Greek Poetry II   Poésie grecque II (Hamilton Hall 104)
4:00-4:30 PM	Coffee break   Pause-Café (Hamilton Hall)
4:30-6:00 PM	Session 8
	8a: Roman Provincial Archaeology   Archéologie provinciale romaine (Hamilton Hall 102)
	8b: Greek Theatre II   Théâtre grec II (Hamilton Hall 305)
	8c: Reception III   Réception III (Hamilton Hall 217)
	8d: Difficult Situations in Academic Settings: A Workshop in Bystander Intervention Training   Situations difficiles en milieu universitaire: un atelier sur la formation pour l'intervention des témoins (Hamilton Hall 104)
6:15-7:45 PM	Keynote Address   Conférence plénière (Concert Hall, LR Wilson Hall) Catherine Morgan, All Souls College, University of Oxford
	'Writing Histories in the Ionian Archipelago'
7:45-8:30 PM	Reception   Soirée (LR Wilson Hall, Lobby)
8:30 PM	Graduate Student Social hosted by McMaster graduate students   Événement social pour les étudiants aux cycles supérieurs organisé par des étudiants de McMaster (Phoenix Bar & Grill [Refectory])

### Wednesday, May 8 | mercredi 8 mai — Session 7 (2:30—4:00 PM)

Hamilton Hall 305	Hamilton Hall 217	Hamilton Hall 102	Hamilton Hall 104
7a: Roman Theatre   Théâtre romain	7b: Indigenization & Classical Studies   Indigénisation et les études classiques	7c: Roman Art & Archaeology   Art et archeologie romain	7c: Roman Art & Archaeology   Art 7d: Greek Poetry II   Poésie grecque II et archéologie romain
Christina Vester	Unair/Presidente: Lee Maracle	Chair/President: Martin Beckmann	Chair/ Presidente: Elsa Bouchard
Puer surruptus: gender and cultural identity in Plautus' Menaechmi	identity Students as Stakeholders: A Student Driven Approach to Indigenization in Classical Studies	Inscribed Vessels, Ritual, and Identity at the Sanctuary of Gravisca	Inscribed Vessels, Ritual, and Identity at Sappho's weddings and their surprising the Sanctuary of Gravisca tranquility
<b>Cassandra Tran</b> McMaster University	David Meban Campion College, University of Regina	<b>Naomi Neufeld</b> University of Toronto	<b>Vichi Gocani</b> Babes-Bolyai University
Plautus' Pseudolus: Advocating Masculinity Teaching the Aeneid on Colonized Land Through the Exploration of Food  Aven McMaster  Brittny Del Bel  Thorneloe University at Laurentian Memorial University	Teaching the Aeneid on Colonized Land <b>Aven McMaster</b> Thorneloe University at Laurentian	The Eleusis Portrait Type of the Empress Athletic Bodies and Epinikian Fame Sabina  Peter J. Miller  Fae Amiro  University of Winnipeg  McMaster University	Athletic Bodies and Epinikian Fame <b>Peter J. Miller</b> University of Winnipeg
The Court of Nero in the <i>Octavia</i> <b>Angela Hug</b> McMaster University	Sprung from the Earth: Indigeneity and the Ancient History Classroom <b>Katherine Blouin</b> University of Toronto	The Young Roman Girl as Muse <b>Michele George</b> <i>McMaster University</i>	Pindar's Epiphany of Alcmaeon ( <i>Pyth.</i> 8.55-60) <b>Christopher Brown</b> University of Western Ontario

# Wednesday, May 8 | mercredi 8 mai

12:30-2:30 PM	Lunch   Déjeuner GSC AGM   AGA du CÉCS (Burke Sciences Building 104)
	Mouseion Board Meeting   Réunion du Bureau de Mouseion (Togo Salmon Hall 701)
	Group Work in Classics roundtable; organizers: Melissa Funke & Gwynaeth McIntyre (Burke Sciences Building 121; participants are invited to bring examples of their group work assignments)
	WN/RF WCC Wiki roundtable (Burke Sciences Building 105)
	Phoenix Board Meeting   Réunion du Bureau de Phoenix (Chester New Hall 425)
2:30-4:00 PM	Session 7
	7a: Roman Theatre   Théâtre romain (Hamilton Hall 305)
	7b: Indigenization & Classical Studies   Indigénisation et les études classiques (Hamilton Hall 217)
	7c: Roman Art & Archaeology   Art et archéologie romain (Hamilton Hall 102)
	7d: Greek Poetry II   Poésie grecque II (Hamilton Hall 104)
4:00-4:30 PM	Coffee break   Pause-Café (Hamilton Hall)
4:30-6:00 PM	Session 8
	8a: Roman Provincial Archaeology   Archéologie provinciale romaine (Hamilton Hall 102)
	102)
	102) 8b: Greek Theatre II   Théâtre grec II (Hamilton Hall 305)
6:15-7:45 PM	102) 8b: Greek Theatre II   Théâtre grec II (Hamilton Hall 305) 8c: Reception III   Réception III (Hamilton Hall 217) 8d: Difficult Situations in Academic Settings: A Workshop in Bystander Intervention Training   Situations difficiles en milieu universitaire: un atelier sur la formation pour
6:15-7:45 PM	8b: Greek Theatre II   Théâtre grec II (Hamilton Hall 305) 8c: Reception III   Réception III (Hamilton Hall 217) 8d: Difficult Situations in Academic Settings: A Workshop in Bystander Intervention Training   Situations difficiles en milieu universitaire: un atelier sur la formation pour I'intervention des témoins (Hamilton Hall 104)  Keynote Address   Conférence plénière (Concert Hall, LR Wilson Hall)
6:15-7:45 PM 7:45-8:30 PM	8b: Greek Theatre II   Théâtre grec II (Hamilton Hall 305) 8c: Reception III   Réception III (Hamilton Hall 217) 8d: Difficult Situations in Academic Settings: A Workshop in Bystander Intervention Training   Situations difficiles en milieu universitaire: un atelier sur la formation pour l'intervention des témoins (Hamilton Hall 104)  **Keynote Address   Conférence plénière (Concert Hall, LR Wilson Hall) Catherine Morgan, All Souls College, University of Oxford

### Wednesday, May 8 | mercredi 8 mai — Session 8 (4:30—6:00 PM)

Hamilton Hall 102	Hamilton Hall 305	Hamilton Hall 217	Hamilton Hall 104
8a: Roman Provincial Archaeology   Archéologie provinciale romaine	8b: Greek Theatre II $ $ Théâtre grec II	8c: Reception III   Réception III	8d: Difficult Situations in Academic Settings: A Workshop in Bystander
Chair/Présidente: Michele George	Chair/Présidente: Florence Yoon	Chair/Président: Randall Pogorzelski	Intervention Training   Situations dif- ficiles en milieu universitaire: un atelier
Provincializing Roman Dacia: UBC's Apulum Roman Villa Project Matthew McCarty University of British Columbia	Euripides' Trilogy' of 422 BCE Ian Storey Trent University	Homopoetics and the Good Gay Odysseus: Greer's <i>Less</i> <b>Judith Fletcher</b> Wilfrid Laurier University	sur la jornation pour i miervention des témoins Leaders/Dirigeantes: Christina Vester & Catherine Tracy
Triumph in the desert? A Possible Depiction of a Triumphal Scene from the Roman Fort at Humayma (Ancient Hauarra), Jordan <b>Craig A. Harvey</b> University of Michigan	Ritual Impasse: Hermione's Tragic Marriage in Euripides' <i>Andromache</i> <b>Valeria Logacheva</b> University of Western Ontario	Prophetess of the Divine: The Sibyl of Cumae's Embodied Voice in Virgil and the Christian Tradition  Laurie Wilson  Biola University	
The Urban Location of Thermae in Roman Greece  Amanda Hardman  McMaster University	Once More a Weasel: Actors' Mistakes and Parody in Greek Drama  Matthew Farmer  Haverford College	Breaking the glass ceiling to translating Plato: Georgiana, Lady Chatterton, Florence Nightingale and Florence Melian Stawell	
	0	<b>Eleanor Irwin</b> University of Toronto	

# Thursday, May 9 | jeudi 9 mai

8:00-8:30 AM	Breakfast   Petit déjeuner (Hamilton Hall)
8:00 AM-12:30 PM	Registration   Inscription (Hamilton Hall)
8:30-10:30 AM	Session 9 9a: Sensing the Past   Sentir le passé (Hamilton Hall 305)
	9b: Inside Out & Outside In: Public Scholarship in Classics   Recherche publique sur les études classiques (Hamilton Hall 104)
	9c: The Greek Novel   Le roman grec (Hamilton Hall 217)
	9d: Historiography II   Historiographie II (Hamilton Hall 102)
10:30-11:00 AM	Coffee break   Pause-Café (Hamilton Hall)
11:00 AM-12:30 PM	Session 10
	10a: Coinage & Chronology   Monnayage et chronologie (Hamilton Hall 217)
	10b: Greek Archaeology II: Edges of the Greek World   Archéologie grecque II: extrémités du monde grec (Hamilton Hall 102)
	10c: Greek Poetry III   Poésie grecque III (Hamilton Hall 104)
	10d: Latin Literature II: Ennius & Catullus   Littérature latine III: Ennius et Catulle (Hamilton Hall 305)
12:30-2:30 PM	Lunch   Déjeuner
	WN AGM   AGA du RF (Burke Sciences Building 104)
	Awards Committee Meeting   Comité de sélection (Togo Salmon Hall 701)
2:30-4:30 PM	CAC AGM   AGA de la SCEC (Concert Hall, LR Wilson Hall)
4:30-5:00 PM	CAC Council Meeting   Réunion du Conseil de la SCEC (Chester New Hall 425)
6:00-7:00 PM	Art Gallery of Hamilton Tour   Visite du Galerie d'art de Hamilton
7:00 PM	Banquet (Art Gallery of Hamilton) Gratiarum actio: Selina Stewart, University of Alberta

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### Thursday, May 9 | jeudi 9 mai — Session 9 (8:30—10:30 AM)

Hamilton Hall 305	Hamilton Hall 104	Hamilton Hall 217	Hamilton Hall 102
9a: Sensing the Past   Sentir le passé	9b: Inside Out & Outside In: Public Scholarship in Classics  Recherche publique sur les études classiques	9c: The Greek Novel   Le roman grec	9d: Historiography II   Historiographie II
Chair/Président: Michael Carter	Chair/Présidente: Katherine Blouin	Chair/Président: Jeffrey Carnes	Chair/Président: Patrick Baker
The Senses of Danger: Contagion and Tactility <b>Pauline Ripat</b> University of Winnipeg	The Changing Face of Public Scholarship <b>Amy Pistone</b> <b>University of Notre Dame</b>	The Semantic Impertinence of the Body in Aelius Aristides' <i>Hieroi Logoi</i> and Apuleius' <i>Metamorphoses</i> Artemis L. Brod  Indiana University	Paul-Émile et Scipion Émilien dans les <i>Historia</i> i De Polybe: La construction janusienne d'un héros romain <b>Pierre-Luc Brisson</b> Université du Québec à Montréal
"Dulce aliquis munus pro munere poscit amaro?" The Taste and Significance of Mulsum in the Roman World <b>Matt Gibbs</b> University of Winnipeg	Podcasting and the Power of Conversation ${\bf Darrin}$ Sunstrum ${\it Brock\ University}$	Sentiments et mise en scène de l'âme dans le roman grec <b>Anne-France Morand</b> <i>Université Laval</i>	Tragic History' and Pausanias' Account of the Sack of Kallion (279 BC)  Jody Ellyn Cundy  Oxford University
Sounds of the Classical Battlefield: the On Being a 2 Phalanx, Dramatic Choruses, and the Aulos <b>Jeff Wright</b> Melissa Funke University of Winnipeg	On Being a 21⁴ Century Homeric Bard Jeff Wright	Chaereas and the Plot of Chariton's Callirhoe  Matthew Clark  York University	Fear and the Cause of Historical Events in Thucydides <b>Kathryn Simonsen</b> Memorial University
The Sight, Sound, and Taste of Victory: Alexander at Issus Conor Whately University of Winnipeg	#WCCWiki: Using Wikipedia for Public Engagement and Mobilising Change <b>Victoria Austen-Perry</b> <i>King's College London</i>	Lupus in Fabula, seriously? Traps and Fables in Daphnis and Chloe 1.11-12 <b>Hugh Mason</b> University of Toronto	Aristotle's "Constitution of the Ithacans" and the Odyssey  Jonathan Burgess  University of Toronto

#### Thursday, May 9 | jeudi 9 mai

8:00-8:30 AM Breakfast | Petit déjeuner (Hamilton Hall) 8:00 AM-12:30 PM Registration | Inscription (Hamilton Hall) 8:30-10:30 AM Session 9 9a: Sensing the Past | Sentir le passé (Hamilton Hall 305) 9b: Inside Out & Outside In: Public Scholarship in Classics | Recherche publique sur les études classiques (Hamilton Hall 104) 9c: The Greek Novel | Le roman grec (Hamilton Hall 217) 9d: Historiography II | Historiographie II (Hamilton Hall 102) 10:30-11:00 AM Coffee break | Pause-Café (Hamilton Hall) 11:00 AM-12:30 PM Session 10 10a: Coinage & Chronology | Monnayage et chronologie (Hamilton Hall 217) 10b: Greek Archaeology II: Edges of the Greek World | Archéologie grecque II: extrémités du monde grec (Hamilton Hall 102) 10c: Greek Poetry III | Poésie grecque III (Hamilton Hall 104) 10d: Latin Literature II: Ennius & Catullus | Littérature latine III: Ennius et Catulle (Hamilton Hall 305) 12:30-2:30 PM Lunch | Déjeuner WN AGM | AGA du RF (Burke Sciences Building 104) Awards Committee Meeting | Comité de sélection (Togo Salmon Hall 701) CAC AGM | AGA de la SCEC (Concert Hall, LR Wilson Hall) 2:30-4:30 PM 4:30-5:00 PM CAC Council Meeting | Réunion du Conseil de la SCEC (Chester New Hall 425) 6:00-7:00 PM Art Gallery of Hamilton Tour | Visite du Galerie d'art de Hamilton 7:00 PM Banquet (Art Gallery of Hamilton)

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Gratiarum actio: Selina Stewart, University of Alberta

# Thursday, May 9 | jeudi 9 mai — Session 10 (11:00 AM—12:30 PM)

Hamilton Hall 217	Hamilton Hall 102	Hamilton Hall 104	Hamilton Hall 305
10a: Coinage & Chronology   Mon- nayage et chronologie	10b: Greek Archaeology II: Edges of the Greek World   Archéologie grecque II: extrémités du monde grec	10c: Greek Poetry III   Poésie grecque III	10d: Latin Literature II: Ennius & Catullus   Littérature latine III: Ennius et Catulle
Chair/Président: Seth Bernard	Chair/Président: Thierry Petit	Chair/Président: Christopher Brown	Chair/Président: David Meban
The Miniaturists of Classical Sicily: Overlapping Specialization among Gem and Die Engravers Mark Pyzyk	Tracing the Frontier of a Greek Polis: the Metaponto Archaeological Project  Spencer Pope & Sveva Savelli  McMaster University & Queen's University	Le sort de Daphnis dans la première Idylle de Théocrite <b>Elsa Bouchard</b> Université de Montréal	Catullus, Ennius, and the Pursuit of Novelty  Jesse Hill  University of Toronto
Dating Dilemmas in Early Greece? <b>Kate Cooper</b> Royal Ontario Museum	Applications of Geographic Information Systems in Surface Survey  Christine Davidson & Patrick DeLuca  McMaster University	"Aeschylean silence" and "Aeschylean absence"  Florence Yoon University of British Columbia	Ennius and Lykophron: Hellenistic Literary Aesthetics in Early Republican Poetry? <b>Riemer Faber</b> University of Waterloo
The Chronology of the Coinage of Hadrian <b>Martin Beckmann</b> <i>McMaster University</i>		Aristogeiton and Prometheus <b>David Mirhady</b> Simon Fraser University	Omnibus e Meis Amicis Antistans: Catullus, Veranius and the Homosocialities of Male Friendship David Sutton

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# **Keynote Address | Conférence plénière**

# Wednesday, May 8<sup>th</sup> | Mercredi, 8 mai 6:15-7:45 PM Concert Hall, LR Wilson Hall

Reception | Soirée: 7:45-8:30 PM (LR Wilson Hall, Lobby)

#### **Writing Histories in the Ionian Archipelago**

Catherine Morgan All Souls College, Oxford

The central Ionian islands – from Corfu to Zakynthos - have captured the western imagination for centuries. From the late 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the quest to locate Homer's *Odyssey* in the physical landscape of Ithaca and neighbouring islands spawned endless scholarly debate. Archaeological involvement grew steadily through the 19<sup>th</sup> century, culminating in a series of major international campaigns in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the search for Odysseus' Ithaca ran parallel to the Italian quest for Aeneas at Butrint and across the Adriatic. All fed local aspirations for identity, creating what remain living traditions, passionately felt. Yet the wealth of new information of all periods rapidly outstripped the Homeric frame, and in recent decades, extensive survey and excavation has greatly enhanced the picture. The challenge of shaping a new agenda for the archipelago is addressed in this lecture, with primary reference to the period from 800 – 300 BC.

In this complex environment, basic questions such as the political and social shaping of communities within shifting regional contexts, the relationship between economic activity and state politics and institutions, or the social construction of land- and seascapes, encourage us to draw together research themes which are currently subjects of lively debate. These include the nature of ancient federalism; Classical economies; the place of the material in expressing identities; and, following from Horden and Purcell's *Corrupting Sea*, issues of analytical scale, the role of the maritime, local impacts, responses, and agency. After a brief introduction to the archipelago and to key trends in scholarship, the lecture will examine a series of research themes from different angles and material perspectives.

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#### **Session 1a**

# WN/RF Panel: Modern Representations of Greek and Roman Women | Représentations modernes des femmes grecques et romaines

Chair/Présidente: Melanie Racette-Campbell

Annette Baertschi, Bryn Mawr College

Revolutionary Electra: Miklós Jancsó's Szerelman, Elektra (1974)

In this paper, I would like to explore a little-known, but fascinating film adaptation of the classical revenge story of Electra. In Szerelmem, Elektra (Electra, My Love) Miklos Jancso (1921-2014) provides a radical re-interpretation of the myth, transposing it to the post-1956, Soviet-occupied Hungary and turning it into a political fable against tyranny and oppression. The film is set in the vast plains of the Hungarian *puszta* and chronicles Electra's revolt against the bloody regime of Aigisthus and her eventual overthrow and killing of the usurper together with Orestes. Jancso avoids narrative logic as well as naturalistic acting and psychological motivation, using instead a highly abstract and stylized form of storytelling including carefully choreographed, pageant-like compositions of actors (and animals) and geometric patterns along with gliding camera movements and extremely long takes. In my paper, I will focus especially on the powerful visual narrative of the film and show, drawing on the idea of the "mass ornament" by German sociologist and film theorist Siegfried Kracauer, that the complex system of horizontal, vertical, and diagonal lines created by Jancso's elaborate orchestration serves to emphasize the manipulation of people under a totalitarian system and the loss of individuality and personal freedom. In addition, I will argue that Electra's rebellion against Aigisthus' tyranny is not only motivated by her desire for revenge, but also by her intention to rouse the lethargic populace and encourage them to reclaim their power. This is particularly evident in the film's final scene, which – in a surprising deus ex machina moment - depicts Electra and Orestes take off and return to earth in a small red helicopter, while Electra recounts the story of the firebird, thus illustrating the need for perpetual revolution, but also the (self-)destruction necessary for regeneration and rebirth.

Ruby Blondell, University of Washington

# Ridiculous Female Trappings: The Rebirth of Helen in Star Trek's Elaan of Troyius

The original *Star Trek* often uses ancient Greek themes to convey the obsolescence of mythology and the past. *Elaan of Troyius* (1968), however, suggests Helen of Troy's con-

tinuing relevance as a mythic archetype, by presenting her in a way that engages with the contemporary social and political turmoil surrounding race, gender, and the Vietnam War.

The title character shares Helen's superhuman power to arouse male desire, but departs from most other stereotypes about ancient Greek beauty. She is portrayed by the French-Vietnamese actor France Nuyen, accessorized with an array of exotic signifiers that evoke both the contemporary counterculture and various racial tropes. Physically, Nuyen embodies Asian stereotypes and the threat of Vietnam, but as Elaan, she is also given dark skin and "Cleopatra" braids, which racialize her as African-American and evoke the militant claim that "black is beautiful."

Elaan also embodies the perceived threat of contemporary feminism as unruly, emasculating, and destructive. She demands obedience from men, and rejects the accourtements of femininity--an elegant gown and jewelry--as "ridiculous female trappings," which she literally hurls across the room. Along with her exotic appearance, such behavior shows her, in the rubric of *Star Trek*, to be a "savage" ripe for "civilizing."

The threat of female beauty and self-assertion thus still exists in the 23rd century, but Captain Kirk turns out to be more effective than his heroic Greek forbears in containing it. His influence transforms Elaan from a racial threat into a "model minority," and from a militant "feminist" to a paragon of feminine submission. As such she accedes to a repellant arranged marriage, thereby forestalling interplanetary nuclear war. The episode thus reverses the Trojan War story, producing peace at the price of a beautiful woman's erotic autonomy.

# Grotesque accoutrement de femme. Le retour d'Hélène dans *Star Trek*

La série originale *Star Trek* recourt souvent à des motifs grecs antiques pour exprimer le caractère démodé de la mythologie et du passé. L'épisode *Elaan of Troyius* (1968), pourtant, laisse entendre que la figure d'Hélène de Troie, en tant qu'archétype mythique, reste d'actualité. Le réalisateur en effet place le personnage dans un contexte social et politique troublé où se mêlent les problématiques liées à la race, au genre et à la guerre du Vietnam.

L'héroïne de l'épisode est dotée de la prodigieuse capacité d'Hélène à susciter le désir masculin mais elle se distingue d'elle par l'absence de la plupart des autres stéréotypes sur la beauté grecque. Le rôle d'Elaan est interprété par l'actrice franco-vietnamienne France Nuyen. Celle-ci est affublée d'une panoplie d'accessoires exotiques évoquant à la fois la culture alternative contemporaine et des origines ethniques variées. Par son corps même, Nuyen incarne les stéréotypes asiatiques et la menace vietnamienne mais, en outre, en tant qu'Elaan, elle a la peau sombre et porte une tresse « à la Cléopâtre » qui la racialise comme une Afro-Américaine, tout en évoquant le slogan militant « Black is beautiful ».

A ce titre, Elaan incarne la menace actuelle du féminisme, perçu comme hors norme, castrateur et destructeur. Elle exige en effet la soumission des hommes et refuse de porter les ornements féminins (robe élégante et bijoux) – « grotesque accoutrement de femme » – qu'elle projette

littéralement à travers la pièce. Un tel comportement, associé à son apparence exotique, fait d'elle, selon le scénario général de la série, une « sauvage » destinée à être civilisée.

La menace de la beauté féminine et l'affirmation de soi existent donc encore bel et bien au XXIII° siècle, mais le Capitaine Kirk se révèle être bien plus efficace que son ancêtre héroïque grec pour la contenir. Son influence transforme Elaan : d'une incarnation racisée d'une menace, il fait une « minorité modèle » ; d'une « féministe » militante, il fait l'idéal de la soumission féminine. C'est à ce titre qu'elle est donnée à un époux dans le contexte d'un terrible mariage arrangé destiné à éviter une guerre interplanétaire. Cet épisode, alors, renverse la logique de la Guerre de Troie : la paix se fait au prix de la liberté sexuelle de « la plus belle » des femmes.

Natalie Swain, University of Bristol

# Wonder Woman (2017) & the Classical Amazon: Ancient & Modern Scripts of Female Superheroes

Despite the accolades given to Jenkins' *Wonder Woman* (2017) for open rejection of the male gaze so often found in comic book movies, if we look back to classical accounts of the Amazons on which Wonder Woman's people are directly based, they share many similar elements with the 2017 film. Yet beyond the superficial similarities, such as ongoing reference within the film to the Greek pantheon, it is the narrative script of *Wonder Woman* that is most reminiscent of the classical tales of the Amazons, as found in Homer, Quintus Smyrnaeus, Plutarch, and Herodotus.

In this paper, I will examine the ways in which both classical Amazonian narratives and *Wonder Woman* rely on these women's identities as "other" in order to demonstrate traits anathema to the expectations of their contemporary societies. Further, I will examine the particular appearance of Antiope in Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*, and compare the appearance here of a married Amazon with the love story of Diana and Steve Trevor in the 2017 film. In so doing, I will examine the narrative script that is used in the presentation of these women, attempting to show that, for all that our attitude towards these figures may have changed, narratologically, we have yet to push them outside of the bounds of our traditional narrative scripts.

#### **Session 1b**

# The Epistemics of Wonder: Ancient Contexts and Discourses | Les épistémées de merveille: contextes et discours antiques

Chair/Présidente: Emilie-Jade Poliquin

The High Roman Empire has been characterized as a Wunderkultur infatuated with the collection and display of marvellous animals, relics and artefacts from across the empire (Ni' Mheallaigh 2014). From the bones of giants and heroic relics collected in the Emperor's gardens (Suet. Div. Aug. 72), to Pliny's totalizing compass in his encyclopaedic compilation Naturalis Historia (Carey 2003) and Aelius Aristides' autobiographical account of miraculous healing in the Hieroi Logoi (Petsalis-Diomitis 2010), the sensational and anomalous hold a privileged place in the discourses of political power, scientific knowledge, and religious experience of the Imperial period. Despite the renaissance in scholarly interest in wonders and marvels in classical literature (e.g., Geremolou 2018), there has been little systematic evaluation of the category over the longue durée across Greek and Roman literature. Our panel interrogates the category of wonder in Greco-Roman antiquity from various literary, philosophical, and historical angles, but with a particular focus on the construction and circulation of marvellous compilations in Hellenistic libraries and the reception of discourses of wonder in Roman imperial literature. We therefore query current approaches to and presuppositions about wonder in texts as diverse as Greek paradoxography and its Aristotelian background, ancient ethnographic literature, and Roman ethical philosophy. Indeed, do Greek and Roman writers treat superlunary, historical, biological, religious and cultural wonders as species of the same genus? How might scholars understand the conceptual relations between thaumata, mirabilia, and paradoxa in ancient discourses on nature and the gods across cultural contexts and genres? How do distinct generic conventions constrain or channel the epistemic and affective potential of wonders in different ways and to what ends? Our papers, and the debate that will arise from them, will enlarge our understanding of how marvels were described, classified and manipulated by different scholarly communities, as well as how discourses of wonder circulated in both learned and popular contexts in Greco-Roman antiquity.

Some guiding questions of the panel include:

Where and how is the discourse of the marvellous situated between science and religion?

How do particular marvels (i.e., marvels associated with particular places, events, etc.) relate to the marvellous as a generic category (i.e., marvels as they are found in compilations, compendia, and encyclopaedia)?

#### Ephraim Lytle, University of Toronto

#### Paradoxography and Science in Aelian's *De natura animalium*: Leonidas of Byzantium, the Red Sea and Peripatetic Biology

It has long been understood that many of the accounts of noteworthy marine fauna in Aelian's *De natura animalium* rely on a second-century CE prose treatise on fish and fishing by an otherwise obscure author, Leonidas of Byzantium (Wellmann 1895; Keydell 1937; Richmond 1973). Like Aelian's fascinating miscellany (Smith 2014), Leonidas' *Halieutica* seems to have combined ethical interests with a focus on the display of marvelous or unusual phenomena. Careful study will also show that Leonidas' work was itself a kind of compilation and much of its interest was likely owed to the fact that its author seems to have had access to a peripatetic book collection that included a number of rare and remarkable early Hellenistic treatises.

In this paper I argue that a coherent series of accounts in Aelian concerning the marine fauna of the Red Sea – *NA* 3.18, 3.28, 10.13, 10.20, 11.21, 11.23-24, 12.24-25[24] and 12.27[25] – are all taken from the same section of Leonidas of Byzantium's *Halieutica*. Paradoxographic elements occur in some of these accounts – divers lose limbs to giant clams (10.20), pearls are said to form when oyster beds are struck by lightning (10.13) – but I show that the one feature common to all is a core of careful Aristotelian description. I argue that Leonidas made use of a peripatetic biological treatise that was the product of a systematic program of research conducted at a Ptolemaic settlement on the Red Sea probably sometime in the latter half of the third century BCE. These conclusions are important both for the history of science – scholars have long assumed that biological research was abandoned in the Peripatos in the early third-century BCE and never taken up elsewhere (Lennox 2001) – and for our understanding of how scientific texts were reshaped by the discourses of Roman imperial literature.

#### Chiara Graf, University of Toronto

# Seneca's Comets: Competing Conceptions of Wonder in the Natural Questions

The relationship between wonder and knowledge has been the subject of both ancient and modern philosophical discussions. Is wonder a symptom of ignorance, which should spur us to scientific inquiry but ultimately be supplanted by knowledge, as Aristotle claims (*Metaphysics* 982b-983a)? Or can wonder arise as a response to knowledge and apprehension of the divine, as suggested by Balbus in Book 2 of Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*? In Book 7 of the *Natural Questions*, which treats the nature and causes of comets, Seneca negotiates the relationship between two major competing iterations of wonder (*miratio*). In some cases, *miratio* arises in response to unusual and shocking phenomena and is symptomatic of our ignorance of rational causes. More discerning viewers of nature, on the other hand,

might experience wonder when they have grasped the divine order pervading natural phenomena. In this paper, I argue that, while Seneca clearly privileges the latter iteration of *miratio*, he paints it as essentially inaccessible, situating even his own narrative voice firmly within the realm of stupefied wonder. Indeed, the narrator's own epistemic limitations constitute a major theme of Book 7, as he argues that comets are planetary bodies with orbits, but that our current lack of data prevents us from identifying these orbits. These blind spots keep us from experiencing comets as regularities and consequently feeling elevated *miratio* in their wake. Nevertheless, at the end of Book 7, Seneca formulates a quasi-Stoic cosmic vision rooted in our lamentable but inevitable experience of common *miratio*. In his description of nature as an artist, Seneca draws upon our experience of the unusual as beautiful in order to imagine a unifying aesthetic vision underlying even the most surprising celestial phenomena.

#### Jody Ellyn Cundy, University of Oxford

# Et in Arcadia Ego: Metamorphosis, tradition, and the limits of Roman power in the Periegesis Hellados

In his description of 'Lamb spring' in Arcadian Nestane, Pausanias declares that his attitude toward the divine has changed over the course of his travels, and he will now trust traditional knowledge on matters related to divinity because there is in fact some wisdom in ancient myths about the gods (8.8.2-3). Veyne influentially interpreted this passage as an expression of religious conversion (1983). The occurrence of the 'conversion' passage late in the text (in the eighth of ten books) undermines uncritical acceptance of Pausanias' claim in light of the relatively consistent treatment of the sacred throughout the Periegesis Hellados. What is the significance of the deployment of the 'conversion' passage in the description of Arcadia if the chronology of the 'conversion' is fictional but the conviction is not? This 'conversion' passage is in fact one of several "opinionated manifesto statements in on matters religious, political and ethical" clustered in the book on Arcadia (Hutton 2009). Some of these 'manifesto statements' target the credibility of marvels, such as metamorphosis narratives centered on the family of the legendary Arcadian king Lycaon, the physical appearance of gryphons and voices of tritons (8.2.3-7), but one is the emphatic denial that humans can become gods in Pausanias' day and age (8.2.5). The latter amounts to one of the most explicit rejections of the central tenet of the Imperial Cult in any ancient author (Hutton 2005). This paper argues that the clustering of statements on matters religious, political and ethical in the Book 8 of the *Periegesis Hellados* reflects a deliberate attempt to engage with Roman traditions about their ancient Pelasgian/Aracadian ancestry, primarily exemplified through the heroic figures Lycaon, Evander and Heracles. In his description of the wonders of Arcadia (e.g., the metamorphoses of Lycaon and Niobe, the aversion of flies from the festivals at Antiphera, 8.26.7), Pausanias exploits the antiquarian and religious information on Pallantium (Palatine), the Ara Maxima, and the Lupercalia to frame traditional Roman religion as Hellenic, or more precisely Pelas-

gian/Arcadian. This antiquarian and religious information recorded in Roman sources (e.g., Varro) and reproduced by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*RA* 1.31-33), Livy (1.5.1) and Ovid (*Fasti* 2.267-302). In the climate of religious contestation that characterizes the second-century AD, Pausanias' apophatic critique of Roman imperial religious ideology (innovative, globalizing) advocates for a return to traditional (Greek) practice through a discourse of the marvellous in time and space.

#### Kenneth Yu, University of Toronto

# Inspired Encyclopaedism: The Anti-scholasticism of the Catalogue of Giants in Philostratus' *Heroikos*

This paper examines the catalog of giant bones in the *Heroicus* (7.9-8.17) in light of contemporary collections of wonders. I show how the passage gestures at ancient Greek paradoxography (with its emphasis on totalizing knowledge; the recurring meta-language associated with wonder discourse; and the signal importance of the locality of marvels). I argue, however, that the dialogue between the vinedresser and the Phoenician about the relics of giants is patently anti-scholastic or anti-Aristotelian at root and thus undermines the values and knowledge practices related to the paradoxographical genre and other technical literatures. My focus on the text's relationship to adjacent genres complements recent scholarship on the *Heroicus* that has focused predominantly on issues of Greek cultural identity under Rome (e.g., Aitken and Maclean 2004; Whitmarsh 2009; Whitmarsh 2013).

My aim therefore is to map out these competing discourses of wonder in the Heroicus: the giant bones in the vinedresser's list were either viewed first hand or divinely reported, intimating the sensorially and religiously charged nature of his catalog, and which contrasts with the technical practice of paradoxography of gathering and sifting marvels from numerous textual sources for countless new compendia. Indeed, this institutionalized, technical mode of capturing wonders is implicitly criticized as uninspiring at 4.5-10, where the vinedresser opposes the scholarly life in the city (δισδασκάλοις χρώμενοι καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντες) to the superior wisdom he derives from Protesilaus. What is ultimately at stake, I argue, is the means and authority by which one can access wonders of the distant past as well as how one ought to recount them. Against the mechanical and textual reproduction of thaumata in urbane scholarly centers of the Empire, Philostratus insists that the maintenance of Hellenism under Rome requires unmediated access to heroes like Protesilaus who can reactualize wonders of the past in the present.

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#### **Session 1c**

## Historiography I | Historiographie I

Chair/Président: Claude Eilers

Rachel Mazzara, University of Toronto

# *Interpretatio Romana* as Dynamic Equivalence: Tacitus and Translation Studies

Tacitus' phrase *interpretatio Romana*, introduced in a discussion of the religion of the Nahanarvali at *Germania* 43, poses interpretative challenges ranging from the linguistic to the historical (Rives 2011). Consequently, approaches to the phrase have varied from traditionally philological (Rosenfeld 1940) to more recent postcolonial methods (Woolf 2013), but as yet none have applied current theories of translation studies. I propose that Tacitus' *interpretatio Romana* can be productively understood as a process of intercultural translation resembling Eugene Nida's principle of dynamic equivalence, developed for Biblical translation in the 1960s and widely adopted since as an ideal for transparent translation of any text. Dynamically-equivalent translations attempt to replicate the effect that the source text has upon its original readers in the readers of the target text; correspondingly, I demonstrate that at *Germania* 43, Tacitus implies that, through the translation process of *interpretatio Romana*, the Alci hold the same significance to the Nahanarvali that the Dioscuri hold to contemporary Romans.

Postcolonial translation theorists such as Lawrence Venuti (2008) view dynamic equivalence as a "domesticating" translation strategy, a form of intercultural violence that allows readers of the target text to appropriate the source text by effacing its original cultural context. I argue that Venuti's position parallels scholarship that views Tacitus' ethnography as a symbolic imperial conquest of northern Europe (O'Gorman 1993): like dynamic equivalence, *interpretatio Romana* and seeks to translate a foreign culture into terms familiar and accessible to Romans. I conclude by proposing that adopting the vocabulary of translation theory into our study of the *Germania* opens emerging scholarship on two-way intercultural interaction between Romans and non-Romans (Woolf 2014, Feeney 2016) to the productive influence of current theories of cultural translation such as Emily Apter's "translation zone" (2006).

Jonathan Scott Perry, University of South Florida

# How Augustus: Leader and Party became The Roman Revolution (1939)

2019 marks the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the publication of (later Sir) Ronald Syme's magisterial *The Roman Revolution*. This paper will place the book against its immediate context, principally by describing the relevant archival materials that are currently held in the Bodleian's Special Collections at Oxford. The bulk of the paper will analyze the various drafts of sections of *TRR*, and particular attention will be paid to Syme's changing titles and arrangement of the manuscript chapters. These titles illuminate the connections between the developing book and the wider world of 1938-1939, as contemporary allusions, in the earlier drafts, were dropped in favour of less resonant ones.

The paper will then describe a fascinating collection of materials, also contained in this archive, which originated from Syme's activities in June and July of 1939. While the Second World War would not begin until September 1939, Syme had been invited to meetings of the Ministry of Information, specifically its "Publicity Division: Planning Section". Although he was officially in the role of an "area representative" for Jugoslavia (work that he would famously continue during the war itself), Syme seems to have picked up several pamphlets that were on offer at the meeting, including advisory reports on Jugoslavia and on his native New Zealand. The paper will conclude with a brief excursus on one of these reports, which dealt with Canada—and which drew a sharp distinction between Anglophone and Francophone Canadians in their likely reaction to a conflict with Nazi Germany.

# Comment Augustus: Leader and Party est devenu The Roman Revolution (1939)

L'année 2019 marque le 80e anniversaire de la publication du livre magistral de Sir (par la suite) Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution*. Cette communication traite du contexte historique de cet ouvrage, en décrivant principalement les documents d'archives qui se retrouvent dans les collections spéciales du Bodleian à l'Université d'Oxford. Elle s'attarde aux différents brouillons des parties *TRR* et plus particulièrement aux changements apportés aux titres ainsi qu'à l'organisation des chapitres. Ces titres lèvent le voile sur les liens entre la préparation du manuscrit et le contexte des années 1938 et 1939, puisque des références explicites à ce contexte, contenues dans les premières versions du manuscrit, sont remplacées par des références plus générales.

Cette communication décrit également la richesse de cette collection, provenant de ces archives qui ont été créées à partir des activités de Syme en juin et juillet 1939. Bien avant le déclenchement de la Seconde Guerre mondiale en septembre, Syme a assisté à des réunions du Ministère de l'Information, plus précisément de la *Publicity Division: Planning Section.* Bien qu'il occupe le poste de représentant de la Yougoslavie, fonction qu'il conserve pendant le conflit mondial, Syme semble avoir ramassé plusieurs brochures

distribuées lors des réunions, y compris des rapports consultatifs sur la Yougoslavie et sur la Nouvelle-Zélande, son pays natal. La dernière partie de cette communication traite de l'un de ces rapports qui porte spécifiquement sur le Canada et qui établit une nette distinction entre les Canadiens anglais et les Canadiens français et leurs réactions à l'éventualité d'un conflit avec l'Allemagne Nazie.

#### Fanny Dolanksy, Brock University

#### The Emperors' Private Devotions

Ancient literary sources contain many detailed descriptions of individual emperors' expressions of personal religiosity within the relative privacy of the imperial palace. Of particular interest were the specific deities certain emperors favoured. Augustus, for example, fostered a unique relationship with Vesta, even installing her in his domus (Dio Cass. 54.27.3, Ov. Fast. 3.415–28), while Domitian was especially devoted to Minerva (Suet. Dom. 15.3, Dio Cass. 67.6.1, with Girard 1981 and Pollini 2017). Hadrian reportedly worshipped a small bust of a young Augustus, a gift from the biographer Suetonius, which he kept in a shrine (lararium) in his bedchamber alongside his lares (Suet. Aug. 7). One of Severus Alexander's lararia allegedly housed statues of deified emperors and 'rather holy souls' (animas sanctiores) including Apollonius of Tyana, Christ, and Orpheus, among other objects of veneration; images of Virgil, Cicero, Achilles and other great heroes resided in another shrine (SHA Alex. Sev. 29.2-3, 31.4–5, with Bodel 2008). The number and variety of descriptive reports such as these bear witness to the considerable interest the emperors' religious proclivities held for ancient commentators. In contrast to existing studies, which have tended to focus on public aspects of imperial religious practice, I aim to draw critical attention to the religious activities emperors engaged in privately. Through thoughtful analysis of the literary evidence, I will identify rhetorical features that transform accounts of emperors' private worship into narratives of praise or condemnation. Various authors, as I will demonstrate, drew on established literary traditions to characterize and distinguish emperors by their private religious acts, elevating stereotypically 'good' rulers (e.g., Augustus and Vespasian) and maligning notoriously 'bad' ones (e.g., Nero and Domitian).

#### Beatrice Poletti, University of Alberta

# Romulus, οἰκιστής and νομοθέτης: The 'Romulean Constitution' in the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus

Since Emilio Gabba's 1960 study (*Athenaeum* 38: 175-225), the section of the *Roman Antiquities* known as 'the Constitution of Romulus' (2.7-2.30) has often been viewed as an insertion into Dionysius' text of a pamphlet of either Sulla's or Caesar's age, elaborated *ad hoc* by Dionysius to suit his literary and historiographical purposes. Recent scholarship, however, has supported the idea of an original creation by Dionysius. Yet, not much has been done to fully explore the aims and complex background of this section, which in fact

is crucial to understand Dionysius' overall construction of the Roman past and, possibly, his own political thought.

While the figure of Romulus as a lawgiver ( $vo\mu o\theta \acute{e} \tau \eta \varsigma$ ) was not unknown in the Roman tradition, more emphasis was generally placed on his act of foundation and his military achievements. In Dionysius' history, Romulus' constitutional activity is paramount and has a central ideological significance for Rome's later development. His overarching body of laws, which covers every aspect of Roman public and private life, is set by Dionysius both against Greek precedents and at the foundation of the city's prosperity and 'uninterrupted' internal harmony ( $\dot{o}\mu\dot{o}vo\iota\alpha$ ). Dionysius indeed depicts the early Roman government as a prototype of the mixed constitution, highly effective not only thanks to Romulus' wise policies, but also because of his use of (and improvement on) Greek institutions.

As I demonstrate, the parallel with these serves a twofold aim: to claim the Greek derivation of the Roman institutions and ultimately to stress the superiority of the latter over the Greek ones. In addition, the frequent references to Greek precedents has the effect of presenting Roman customs and offices in a familiar form to Greek readers and promoting an image of Romulus as a Greek-type lawgiver comparable to Cleisthenes or Lycurgus. Lastly, throughout his account of Romulus' legislation Dionysius uses and adapts Greek political theories (especially Isocrates, Aristotle, and Polybius) to depict the early Roman state as an ideal society ruled by the best possible regime and governed by ὁμόνοια—an aspect that marks Rome out not only as superior to the other Greek cities, but as a Greek city itself.

## **Session 1d**

## Individualism and Representation in Antiquity | Individualisme et représentation dans l'antiquité

#### Chair/Président: Jonathan Edmondson

In antiquity visual messages were employed broadly to define the identity of an individual, a community, one's social class or political affiliation, among other things. It is clear now that complex interplay exists between reality and representation, which can include display in personal adornment, artistic representation, epigraphy, literary description, or the built environment. New approaches evaluate how visual culture was employed to express and negotiate identity in the Roman world. How an individual or group represented itself—or was represented by others—was often an expression of class, social status, communal identity, ethnic identification, or gender affiliation, and was employed differently in varied circumstances across the empire. Markers of identity were meant to publicize these characteristics and can now help us to understand how material expressions helped to mark both inclusivity or individualism in Roman antiquity.

This session focuses on how different groups and individuals sought to represent important aspects of identity in Roman antiquity. The papers take as their case studies both individual and community representation, and all focus on how visual culture is employed to symbolise identity or group belonging. Whether through epigraphic and literary communication, artistic representation, or through personal adornment and fashion, papers present different ways that identity was created and communicated in antiquity.

#### Katharine Huemoeller, University of British Columbia

#### Pointing to a Parent: Ancestry and Identity in Roman Slavery

In the Roman world, ancestry, and particularly paternity, was key to an individual's identity. A child born as a slave, however, was considered parentless. Under Roman law the enslaved had no recognized familial relationships, a legal condition that is represented as a social one, too, in, for example, comedy and invective poetry (Plaut. *Amph.* 28, Mart. 10.27). This natal alienation of the slave—to use the influential formulation of Orlando Patterson—has long been understood to be a fundamental mechanism for the marginalization of slaves in Roman society (Patterson 1982, Mourtisen 2011, Bodel 2016).

In this paper, I shift the perspective and examine our main source for how the enslaved and free chose to represent their own parentage: epitaphs. On an epitaph, an individual could communicate his/her ancestry by a number of different means including iconography, familial titles, the order and layout of the text, and nomenclature. Often the message was mixed. A freedman might, for example, assert his ancestry by commemorating his *pater* while the conventions of nomenclature continued to highlight his former owner (libertination) in place of his father (filiation). And yet the name of the patron, while supplanting that of the father, served to link the freedman to his mother, since both slave status and ownership was passed down through the maternal line. In highlighting the ways in which the epigraphic medium both facilitated and undermined slaves and former slaves' claims to ancestry, this paper explores the possibilities for the expression of familial—and, to a large extent, self—identity for this population.

#### Kelly Olson, University of Western Ontario

#### Fringes on Roman Clothing: Representing Identity in Roman Art

This paper will examine the presence and meaning of fringed garments in Roman art and literature. Usually, fringe was simply the warp end of weaving left unfinished (Barber 1991, 274) although inlaid fringe does occur (ibid, 151-2). While it appears on Egyptian and Persian garments with some regularity (Barber 1991, 146-7; Cleland *et al.* 2007, 74-5), and to a certain extent on Greek, fringed garments in Roman society do not seem to have been as common.

In Latin literature, fringe is described as being on some religious garments (such as the *rica*; Fest. 368L; Paul *ex* Fest. 369L; and on the cloak of the goddess Isis at Apul. *Met.* 11.3). Fringed blankets are described at Var. *L.* 5.79 and Cels. 2.6.6. But it is also implied that, at least in the late Republic and early Empire, fringes were effeminate or somehow inappropriate wear for a man: Caesar is described as being "remarkably" dressed in a tunic with fringed, wrist-length sleeves (*usum enim lato clavo ad manus fimbriato*; Suet. *Iul.* 45.3). The upstart Trimalchio wears at his neck a napkin with a broad stripe and fringes hanging from it all round (*laticlaviam immiserat mappam fimbriis hinc atque illinc pendentibus*; Petr. *Satyr.* 32).

Fringe is found elsewhere as well. We see clothing fringe on a bronze statuette of an Etruscan priest now in the Vatican (fourth century BCE); on the military *paludamentum* of a bronze statue of Augustus (12-10 BCE; found in the Greek east); on garments on the Ara Pacis (two women and two young boys); and on a cloak on a female statue now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome (late second- early third century CE), among others. This paper will examine the appearance of fringe on garments as well as its cultural resonances and implications for identity, whether effeminate, Eastern, Egyptian, or religious.

#### Linda Gosner, University of Michigan

# Community, Labor, and Occupational Identity in the Mines of Hispania

Displayed prominently in the new Roman archaeology exhibition of the National Museum of Archaeology in Madrid is the tombstone of four-year-old Quintus Artulus. The young boy is depicted as a miner, wearing a tunic and holding the essential tools of the trade – an iron pick for carving underground tunnels and an esparto grass basket for hauling ore out of the mines. While his image is the centerpiece of a series of objects used to illustrate the economic importance of mining and metallurgy in the province of Hispania, other visual depictions of miners are exceedingly rare both in the Iberian Peninsula and other parts of the Roman Empire. Instead, we must rely on other types of material and written evidence to learn more about the communities who lived and labored in Roman mining landscapes.

This paper investigates the formation of community and occupational identities among laborers in the mines of Hispania, with a primary focus on the large-scale copper and silver mines of southern Lusitania and western Baetica in the early imperial period. I provide an overview of the few visual representations of miners that have been preserved, including the tombstone of Quintus Artulus himself and a fragmentary relief depicting a group of miners from Palazuelos, Jaén. I then discuss other material and epigraphic evidence from mining landscapes that can help us learn about who lived and worked in these areas, such as the mines themselves, settlements and houses, and cemeteries at sites such as Aljustrel and Rio Tinto. A close look at this evidence shows that diverse groups of people (including women, children, slaves, and immigrants) were incorporated into mining communities and interacted

with one another on a daily basis. Ultimately, I argue, these interactions across varied groups cemented both individual and communal identities associated with the profession of mining.

#### Elizabeth M. Greene, University of Western Ontario

# Between Reality and Representation: Depicting the Roman Soldier in Rome and the Provinces

One need not look further than the center of Rome to find depictions of soldiers fighting for the glory of the Roman Empire. Another quick look at the column, however, and it becomes clear that soldiers were depicted in very different ways. It appears that legionary soldiers had a certain range of activities and forms of representation that differed from those of the auxiliary soldiers. If we look at something closer to self-representation of soldiers on burial monuments, such as the auxiliary rider reliefs in the provinces, it is clear that the identity as a soldier, and a well adorned one at that, was important for men to express a Roman soldierly identity. However, it is not always known if these representations reflect reality or an idealized image of the masculine soldierly identity.

To investigate the difference between reality and representation, this paper turns to the archaeology of a Roman auxiliary fort on the British frontier. Vindolanda provides us with extraordinary evidence that can be used to reconstruct the actual adornment of auxiliary soldiers and how this might differ from representations of soldiers on state and private monuments. The complex interplay between reality and representation allows new approaches in Roman archaeology to understand how visual culture was employed to express and negotiate identity in the Roman world. As an example, the footwear assemblage at Vindolanda shows that there were certain sartorial expectations put on the children of soldiers (presumably sons) to "look the part" of a military man, potentially even from a very young age. In fact, the assemblage of over five thousand shoes at Vindolanda allows an interesting comparison between artistic representation and the reality of actual material finds. This paper investigates these and other issues with the aim to illuminate differences between the representation of the elite masculine soldier and the reality of the archaeological record.

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# Session 1e Law & Oratory | Loi et oratoire

Chair/Président: David Mirhady

Edwin Carawan, Missouri State University

Law's Measure: Aischines 3.199–200

In 330 BC, arguing against Ktesiphon's decree to honor Demosthenes, Aischines posed a puzzling analogy to describe the jury's decision: he pointed to the "little plank" ( $\sigma\alpha\nu i\delta\iota\sigma\nu$ ) that presented the decree alongside the laws that it violated, and he told the judges to use it as they would use a  $\kappa\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}\nu$  in "construction" ( $\tau\epsilon\kappa\tau\sigma\nu\iota\kappa\dot{\eta}$ ); then he challenged Ktesiphon to read out those parallel texts and show that they are "consonant" ( $\sigma\nu\mu\phi\omega\nu\sigma\tilde{\nu}\nu\tau\alpha$ ). Lykourgos used a similar device in his case against Leokrates (9). For explication, scholars sometimes invoke a commonplace of modern jurisprudence in the US: the court's decision in ruling a law invalid is simply a matter of laying the statute alongside the Constitution, to see if it "squares" (Gagarin 2014: 27–8). But that T-square method does not fit the ancient argument.

After all, Aischines' "plank" or *sanis* has a set of parallel texts, the targeted decree alongside the laws that contradict it: the *kanōn* he had in mind is not simply a straight-edge but a board or stele with material extending in two dimensions. We can reconstruct it from inscriptions (e.g., IG i³ 474 and 475) and a few extant fragments such as the "Salamis Stone" (first published, Dekoulakou-Sideris 1990): a worksite template including a straight ruler (a  $\kappa \alpha v \tilde{\omega} v$  in the strict sense) along with standard figures for the foot, cubit, and fathom. It was probably that familiar device that inspired Polykleitos to title his treatise on the human figure the  $Kan\bar{o}n$ .

On this model Aischines' argument makes better sense. After all, in 330 the first count of the indictment, against crowning-before-accounting, had lost its edge. Instead Aischines had to portray Demosthenes as the author of Athenian defeat, a figure at odds with "all the laws" governing public honors—all those listed on his  $\sigma\alpha\nu(\delta\iota\sigma\nu)$ .

Craig Cooper, University of Lethbridge

#### Legal Talk as Sex Talk in the Fragments of Middle Comedy

At last year's CAC in Calgary, I gave a paper on Athenian Law and Middle Comedy, in which I looked at a variety of fragments ranging from Old Comedy to Middle Comedy, partly showing that there is a continuity in the comic treatment of the law between Old

and New Comedy. At least, Middle Comic poets, like Eubulus, exploit comic themes from Old Comedy, which they turn on their heads and infuse with legal language. In this paper I would like to focus more directly on Middle Comedy, particularly on the fragments of Eubulus, Anaxandrides, Xenarchus, and others, where we find the comic poets exploiting legal language, terminology and procedures for comic effect, by infusing the comic scene with sexual innuendo and double entendre. In examining these fragments I follow the premise of Adele Scafuro (1997: Forensic Stage. Cambridge) that the characters on stage "exhibit a forensic disposition; that their behaviour is influenced by the pervasive effect of Athenian law" (9). I also assume that the viewing audience shared that forensic disposition, being, as they were, intimately familiar not only with the laws, but also the legal process, many of them having served as dikasts in the court system. That legal familiarity is exploited by the poets for good, comic effect.

#### Edward Parker, University of Toronto

# The Ideological Contestation of *Epieikeia* in Demosthenes and Isocrates

My paper offers a new way of conceptualizing the Greek value of *epieikeia* ("decency"), drawing on readings of the value in Demosthenes and Isocrates. Whereas scholars traditionally bisect the semantic range of *epieikeia* into "equity/fairness" and "goodness/decency," I argue for a unified theory that sees both of these senses as species of *epieikeia*'s larger function as an *oppositional*, *contrarian* value. In my account, *epieikeia* is always set in opposition to (what it presents as) a more traditional conception of the good. *Epieikeia* and this "more traditional conception of the good" do not have a fixed content, only a fixed positionality with respect to each other. To demonstrate the flexibility and inherent contentlessness of the term, I examine its use in Demosthenes and Isocrates, who assign it diametrically-opposed ideological meanings.

Demosthenes presents *epicikeia* as a democratic, egalitarian answer to the traditionally aristocratic conception of *aretē*. Conforming to the model of what A. W. H. Adkins calls "the new *aretē*," *epicikeia* stands for the cooperative behaviors of rule-following, financial trustworthiness, and rhetorical honesty. Each of these domains countenances a certain loss of competitive excellence (*aretē*) in exchange for more cooperative behaviors that are ultimately better for the collective. Isocrates also opposes *epicikeia* to a traditional conception of aristocratic *aretē*—good breeding and inherited excellence—but does so in order to reassert the moral authority of an elite of *actualized* virtue—specifically, philosophical wisdom. In both cases, *epicikeia* is given specific content ("the new *aretē*," actualized virtue) through its opposition to a traditional conception of the good (*aretē*, inherited excellence), revealing critical fault-lines in the ideological struggle between aristocratic and democratic values in fourth- century Athens.

#### John McGuire, University College Dublin

#### Arkhe and Kratos

As part of a larger project concerning the ways political behaviour is perceived and judged, I will delineate two distinctive notions of 'power' in the context of 4th and 5th century Athens. Within political theory there is a long-standing assumption that the specific *power* underlying democratic systems is best understood as 'self-rule' by a sovereign people who encounter one another as equals before the law. But this definition conflates the modus of archê (encompassing the mandates of political 'office,' as well as foundational acts of revolution or constitution-making) and kratos (which more clearly conveys a sense of 'prevailing' through struggle). The significance of this admittedly archaic distinction lies in the way subsequent political aims and outcomes are characterised as democratic or undemocratic—a distinction which I believe serves an unacknowledged and highly restrictive normativity about political participation. To collapse 'democracy' into archê is to assume that the only constructive expressions of democratic will are those that facilitate political canvassing, constitution-making, and other creative 'artefacts' of power. Missing here is the more 'negative' and disruptive 'event' of kratos which, I will argue, finds its clearest contemporary parallels in the #MeToo movement and Black Lives Matter, the political aims of which are most often expressed in terms of ending abuse and holding abusers accountable. Far from heralding a regression to anarchic 'mob rule,' as their critics often claim, the extrajudicial pressures exerted by these movements must also be understood as embodying democracy in its fullest sense.

# Session 2a Sexuality | Sexualité

Chair/Présidente: Kelly Olson

Jeffrey Carnes, Syracuse University

# Tiresias v. Narcissus: Knowledge, Power, and Sexuality in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3

The story of Tiresias' snake-induced sex change found in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.316-38, while apparently consistent with the earliest versions of the story, acts in ways both obvious and subtle to further Ovid's poetic and ideological agendas. The Tiresias we encounter here is described in Roman terms, yet remains thoroughly Greek, and is tied to the Oedipus cycle in his practice of agonistic, zero-sum prophecy.

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While Tiresias, like Semele and Actaeon before him, is a victim of divine caprice--a mere marital quarrel leads to his blindness--he loses no time in inflicting similarly capricious damage on others. As Gildenhard and Zissos (2000) have shown, the figure of Oedipus is a looming absence throughout Book 3, and Tiresias' prophecy is not only a potent reminder of Oedipus' relevance to the tale, but continues the sort of agonistic, zero-sum prophecy exhibited in Sophocles' *Oidipous Tyrannos*. There Tiresias acts at the behest of Apollo, who (as Peradotto 1992 shows so well) not merely predicts Oedipus' doom, but actively causes it. In Ovid Tiresias first puts his newfound gifts to use in predicting Narcissus' doom, responding to Liriope that her son will see old age "si se non noverit," deliberately invoking Apollo by turning on its head the famous Delphic maxim gnōthi sauton. This is not a warning to aid Liriope or Narcissus, but rather a prediction designed to show off Tiresias' prophetic skills and increase his fame (3.311-12; 3.339).

There is in addition an important element of gender and sexuality in the first of Tiresias' prophecies. Narcissus' self-infatuation is an erotic attraction and has him in effect stuck in the middle of a gender transition--from *erastēs* to *erōmenos*, in the Greek pederastic context Ovid takes pains to establish. Tiresias, by contrast, achieves his transition with a simple flick of his staff, and his experience as a woman establishes him as an expert on sexuality, one who "knows both kinds of sex" (*Venus huic erat utraque nota*, 3.3), placing him in a superior position to Narcissus in the complex of self-discovery, sexuality, and blindness as punishment lying at the center of the Oedipus story. While Narcissus' quest for eros and self-knowledge reads as a failed philosophical quest (Bartsch 2006.84-95), Tiresias stands above him in his smugly superior prophetic and sexual knowledge.

#### Thomas Hubbard, University of Texas, Austin

#### Group Sex, Exhibitionism / Voyeurism, and Male Homosociality

Alastair Blanshard (2015) has recently argued that most depictions of group sex on Attic vases were satirical illustrations of drunken excess rather than titillating or aspirational, much less what actually went on at symposia. However, his interpretation relies on only a handful of all-male interactions. I believe the evidence for what group sex (or fantasies about it) actually conveyed to the purchasers of these vases deserves a broader examination, including the evidence of complex bi-sexual scenes that involve two or more men and one or more women, and relevant literary texts.

Against Neaera 33-35 tells us that Phrynion took Neaera to many symposia and enjoyed having sex with her in front of other guests, and at one party shared her with other men, including servants. Timarchus' lovers purchased courtesans and flute girls for him to enjoy at symposia, presumably in their company (Aeschines 1.75). At the very least exhibitionism and voyeurism were pleasures enjoyed by some Greek men in the company of male friends after much drinking. A series of vases displays a woman between two men who either penetrate or are about to penetrate her; most of these code one man as older (bearded) and

the other as a youth (unbearded). In at least one notable case, the man's gaze is not focused on the woman, who is old and flabby, but on the youth with whom he shares her, whose pleasure is more fascinating to him than anything about the woman. Other examples show either a youth watching men and women perform or a man watching a youth and woman; sometimes the voyeur appears ready to join. I would evaluate such scenes in terms of what Sedgwick (1990) has called "male homosociality," in which men manifest desire for one another through common pursuit of a mediating, but ultimately unimportant woman.

# Session 2b Epigraphy I | Épigraphie I

Chair/Président: Léopold Migeotte

Patrick Baker, Université Laval

#### Athènagoras, évergète xanthien à l'époque impériale

En 2001, parallèlement aux travaux de prospection de la Mission épigraphique canadienne de Xanthos-Létôon, la fouille archéologique des soubassements du portique est de l'agora supérieure a permis la découverte d'une imposante base cylindrique. En assez bon état de conservation, celle-ci porte une inscription honorifique votée par les Xanthiens, sans doute vers la fin du II° s. p.C., pour un bienfaiteur local jusque-là inconnu appartenant à l'illustre famille des Veranii. Marcus Aurèlius Athènagoras dit Ktèsiklès, au soir de sa vie, fils de Sextus Veranius Preiscianus Sôsiklès, affichait le pedigree habituel des familles de notables de l'époque impériale en Asie Mineure : ainsi, sa parentèle comptait-elle consuls et sénateurs, lyciarques et magistrats fédéraux du koinon lycien. Athénagoras avait, pour sa part, rempli diverses fonctions tant à l'échelle locale c'est-à-dire dans sa cité qu'à celle du *koinon* lycien; deux fois, sa patrie l'avait choisi pour une ambassade. La succession était assurée puisque, précise le texte, un fils avait occupé l'archiphylaxie, comme son père naguère, et le vieil Athénagoras avait assuré le secrétariat du *koinon* en compagnie de « ses enfants » pendant sept années. Sans être exceptionnel, ce texte offre une page intéressante de l'histoire xanthienne à une époque où la cité se targuait du titre de métropole des Lyciens et qu'elle organisait la grande panégyrie des Létoa pour laquelle Athénagoras avait été l'agonothète. La fin du texte est malheureusement corrompue, mais l'on a pu replacer des fragments qui énoncent les bienfaits d'Athénagoras en même temps que ses vertus. Il y est notamment question du groupe des seitometroumenoi andres attesté pour la première fois à Xanthos et pour lequel l'assez riche historiographie n'offre pas encore d'explication définitive. Cette communication présentera ce texte encore inédit, fera le point sur les institutions lyciennes mentionnées ainsi que sur les sitométria, les « distributions de céréales ».

Gaétan Thériault, Université du Québec à Montréal

# Une nouvelle inscription xanthienne et la liste des préfets du prétoire d'Orient sous Théodose

L'été 2007, la prospection de la mission épigraphique canadienne de Xanthos a conduit à la découverte d'une inscription remontant à l'époque d'un Théodose et qui s'avère d'un intérêt particulier. Il s'agit d'une base de statue en l'honneur de l'Empereur, honoré par le préfet du prétoire d'Orient, Flavius Cæsarius. Selon toute vraisemblance, le texte est complet mais les quatre dernières lignes, sur lesquelles apparaît le nom du préteur, ont été retranscrites sur une surface martelée. Or, les textes législatifs de l'époque font connaître Cæsarius et il est communément admis qu'il occupât la préfecture du prétoire d'Orient à deux reprises, d'abord du 30 novembre 395 au 1er juillet 397, puis après le 12 juillet 400 jusqu'en 401 ou 403. Le problème est que Théodose I<sup>er</sup> étant décédé le 17 janvier 395, il ne pourrait, en principe, s'agir de lui, puisque Cæsarius n'allait entrer en fonction que plusieurs mois plus tard. Quant à Théodose II, il est arrivé au pouvoir en 408 et rien n'indique, dans les sources, que Cæsarius ait été préfet sous son règne. La nouvelle inscription xanthienne soulève donc un problème épineux. Faut-il songer à attribuer à Cæsarius une troisième charge de préfet du prétoire, nullement attestée, soit sous Théodose I<sup>er</sup> ou sous son petit-fils Théodose II? Faut-il dans ce cas revoir la liste des préfets du prétoire d'Orient, dont les données littéraires et les dates posent de multiples problèmes. À moins que la question ne repose dans les faits que sur le martelage des lignes sur lesquelles figure le nom de Cæsarius.

Tommaso Leoni, York University

# Truth, Propaganda, and the Good Use of Allusion. Traces of the Monumental Inscription from the Lost Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus in Ancient Historiography (Tacitus and Flavius Josephus)

Despite the contrary opinion expressed by Hans Ulrich Instinsky (1948), there are good reasons to believe that the dedicatory inscription from the lost Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus (*CIL* 6.944 = Dessau, *ILS* 264) deliberately ignores the previous captures of Jerusalem by all the generals and commanders before 70 CE, thus showing an intentional disregard for historical truth. The triumphal arch that the Senate and the Roman People dedicated to the second Flavian emperor was part of a painstakingly planned and all-embracing 'theology of victory' (to borrow an expression by Sandro De Maria [1988]). The conquest of Jerusalem immensely increased Titus's stature as a military leader, and he appears to have had few scruples about promoting and exaggerating the magnitude of his own exploit. But how did residents of or even casual visitors to Flavian Rome (and beyond) react to the overly celebratory tone of the honorific inscription in the Circus Maximus? In this connection, two major historians come to mind. First, there is Tacitus, who in the *Historiae* (5.9.1) declares in an emphatic fashion that Gnaeus Pompeius was the first of the Romans to subdue the

Judaeans and (in the next sentence) that on that occasion the walls of Jerusalem were levelled to the ground. Second, Flavius Josephus provides in his works a wealth of information about the numerous attacks endured by Jerusalem during her long and eventful history. These two interesting cases suggest that in Imperial Rome (veiled) criticism of the powerful – including the *princeps* himself – may have been more widespread than scholars normally assume.

#### **Session 2c**

# Greek Philosophy I | Philosophie grecque I

Chair/Président: Mark Johnstone

Pierre-Luc Boudreault, University of Western Ontario

# Aristotle's definition of time: an old instance of the timeless 'continuous' vs. 'discrete' paradox

Aristotle's definition of time – the number of movement with respect to the before and after (*Phys.*, IV, 11, 219b1-2) – has been discussed since the Antiquity. One problem raised by this definition is why time is said to be a number, a discrete quantity, while Aristotle thinks that it is a continuous quantity. Attempting to resolve this paradox, which instantiates the timeless 'continuous' vs. 'discrete' problem, modern scholars have generally developed interpretations which amount to say that by defining time as a number, Aristotle simply means that it is the measure of movement. Coope (2005), the only recent commentator to depart from this line of interpretation, argues that 'number' should not even be construed as a quantity for Aristotle simply conceives of time as the order of change.

Two texts generally ignored by this literature – *Metaphysics* V, 13 and *Categories* 6 – in which Aristotle expounds his conception of quantity, number and measure, suggest a different solution to the problem. In light of such a background, I will argue that Aristotle defines time as a number because movement, which time is the quantity of, has parts that exist in succession. Movement can exist as a quantity, a whole divisible in parts, only in the mind. This happens when the mind distinguishes movement, introducing actual divisions in it. Movement then forms a plurality of parts which, insofar as these can be counted, constitute a number for Aristotle. However, this number defines a continuous quantity for the parts of motion are not divided in reality. I will also argue that being the measure of motion is a property of time distinct from its nature, which cannot therefore be used to define it.

#### A.W. Woodcox, University of Western Ontario

#### Logikôs Inquiry in Aristotle's Natural Science

Aristotle makes use of several different modes of inquiry in his works on natural science (e.g. eulogôs, logikôs, phusikôs, analytikôs, etc.). Commentators usually reduce these modes to two, finding a strict distinction between natural scientific and dialectical inquiry. Although both might be used within a single treatise, only the natural scientific mode is able to yield proper scientific knowledge (epistemê), since dialectical inquiry relies on reputable opinions (endoxa) rather than causal first principles. The reductive reading has been challenged in recent years as scholars have turned their attention to the particular features of the different modes of inquiry in Aristotle's scientific works, giving rise to a much more complex and dynamic picture of Aristotelian method. This paper aims to contribute to the growing literature by clarifying the distinct and essential nature of the *logikôs* mode of inquiry. *Logikôs* inquiry is traditionally identified with a kind of dialectical inquiry that essentially relies on principles drawn from *outside* the domain of natural science in order to impart conviction. I argue, against this view, that *logikôs* inquiry can in some cases rely on principles that are proper to the domain of natural science, although these principles remain general relative to the specific question under investigation. In other words, I argue that *logikôs* inquiry is essentially general *relative to a question*, not relative to a science. I support this thesis by focusing on the application of *logikôs* inquiry to the discussion of mule sterility in *Generation of Animals* II 7-8.

#### Ashkan Parchizadeh, University of Western Ontario

# Pyrrhonian skepticism: philosophical system or psychological attitude?

In the first book of the *Outline of Pyrrhonism* Sextus defines Pyrrhonian skepticism in two different ways. The first definition is a relative or comparative definition. According to this definition, Pyrrhonian skepticism is a philosophical system which is in contrast with dogmatism and academic skepticism. However, in the second definition, which is a direct definition, he explains what Pyrrhonian skepticism is in itself. According to this second definition, "Skepticism is an ability, or mental attitude, which opposes to judgments in any way whatsoever, with the result that, owing to the equipollence of the objects and the reasons thus opposed, we are brought firstly to a state of mental suspense and next to a state of 'unperturbedness' or quietude."

Sextus clearly defines skepticism as a philosophical system in his first definition, but in the second definition, he calls skepticism an ability or mental attitude. Calling skepticism a mental attitude can cause a serious confusion in the understanding of the nature of Pyrrhonian skepticism. Because Sextus calls it a mental attitude, skepticism has been interpreted

as just a psychological ability. Therefore, the notion of skepticism as a philosophical or epistemological system has been eclipsed.

How, then, are we to understand Pyrrhonian skepticism? Is it a philosophical system or a psychological attitude? Can it be both? and if yes, how can we work out their reconciliation?

This paper addresses the apparent disconnect between Sextus' two definitions of Pyrrhonian skepticism, and it suggests a way in which the two might be reconciled.

#### **Session 2d**

# Redirecting Ovidian Perspectives | Réorienter les perspectives ovidiennes

Chair/Présidente: Mariapia Pietropaolo

"Redirecting Ovidian Perspectives" is a panel sponsored by the International Ovidian Society, an association dedicated to advancing the study of Ovid, his reception and his influence at all levels. With this panel, it introduces its activities to the CAC, seeking to facilitate a useful exchange of ideas among scholars engaged in research and in promoting knowledge of Ovid in the wider public.

This panel is concerned with the fact that, at crucial points of the text, Ovid invites his readers to examine his poetry from a changing perspective, enriching it with his understanding of the same idea in an earlier period. Ovid was very much aware of the appeal of such a re-grounding of perspective in the course of the reading process, and he made use of it as a creative device. In his poetry, we frequently encounter images and motifs that invite us to shift both the focus and the vantage point of our interpretative gaze. We are momentarily sent by the text to seek the key to its meaning in an earlier work or period of the poet's life and to incorporate it into our interpretative paradigm. The dynamic nature of this approach leads to a fuller experience of Ovid's poetry and to the discovery that the possibility of assuming a changing perspective may be a core aspect of its fabric.

This possibility is explored by our speakers in complementary ways. The first panelist focuses on the figure of Janus in the *Fasti*, arguing that the two-faced god prompts us to assume different perspectives on Ovid's poetry. The second panelist identifies in *Amores* 2 that Ovid's penchant for structures of iteration displays a poetics of doubling that includes both repetition and reversal. The third panelist considers how, in the *Tristia*, the dialectic between poetry of happiness and sadness parallels his new position as isolated exile visà-vis the Roman community.

#### Melanie Racette-Campbell, Memorial University

#### Janus in Fasti I: Looking in Other Directions

Many have noted the contradictions in Janus' speeches in *Fasti* I.63 – 294 (DeBrohun 2007 provides an overview). Interpretations of this passage sometimes consider other appearances of Janus in the *Fasti*, especially Book VI, and the *ianitor* of *Amores* I.6 (e.g. Green 2000, DeBrohun 2007, Green 2008). But they seldom connect the Janus of the *Fasti* with Janus elsewhere in Ovid.

In this paper, I connect the *Fasti*'s Janus to his appearances in Ovid's other works, at *Metamorphoses* XIV.334, 785, and 789 and *Ex Ponto* IV.4. The passages in the *Metamorphoses* insert Janus into the material of *Aeneid* X and Livy's first book. In the earlier passage, Janus is named as the father of Canens, daughter of Venilia, the mother of Turnus and Juturna (*Aeneid* X.76). The second passage associates Janus and the site of his temple with Venus' thwarting of Juno's attempt to aid the invading Sabines by unbarring Rome's gates: Venus recruits water nymphs to close off the *Iani ora*. Both of these passages situate Janus in alternative versions of myth and history, as Ovid explores incidents and themes connected to but left out of other authors: the other child of Turnus' mother and a version of early Roman history highlighting the mythological elements generally de-emphasized or entirely omitted by Livy. I contend that the multi-faceted and unreliable god we see in *Fasti* I brings the same characteristics to these earlier appearances and sets them right in the heart of Rome's foundations

I end, like Janus, by also looking forward, to Janus' final appearance in Ovid. *Ex Ponto* IV.4 is addressed to Sextus Pompeius: Janus, as turner of the year, oversees the beginning of his consular honours and duties. Ovid implies Pompeius can ease his exile, but the looming two-faced god reminds readers that nothing in Ovid is straightforward.

#### Alison Keith, University of Toronto

#### Iterative Structures in Ovid's Amores 2

A famous anecdote reported by Seneca Rhetor bears eloquent witness to Ovid's delight in rhetorical figures of doubling (*Contr.* 2.12). Nor is Ovid's interest in the related phenomena of repetition and reversal is not confined to figures of speech alone. Other rhetorical and metrical figures of repetition and reversal – such as internal and end rhyme, paranomasia and punning – are frequent in Ovidian poetry. The frequency of these figures of doubling bears stylistic witness to a related interest in the formal compositional structures of doubling which can organize a poem, such as ring composition and the more complex doublings available from "Chinese-box" structures. This interest in doubling – exemplified by repetition and reversal – is visible even in the larger context of Ovid's poetic output as a whole, for example in the relationship between the *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia amoris*.

Perhaps the most famous doublet of Ovid's career, however, is the second "edition" of the *Amores*. Prefaced by an epigram that explains the three-book collection as a revised and reduced version of an earlier five-book collection, the *Amores* stand as themselves a doubled collection that repeats and replaces an earlier, now lost, volume of *Amores*. The epigram invites a rereading of the collection, and thereby doubles the reading of the *Amores* as the poet has doubled its writing. Nowhere is this interest in iterative structures more apparent than in the second book of this doubled collection. *Amores* 2 doubles *Amores*1; and thus offers the poet a vantage point from which to consider doublets. In this paper, I consider what I call a poetics of doubling in *Amores* 2, defining the figure of the "doublet" loosely in order to include both repetition and reversal on as many levels as possible.

Jessica Westerhold, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

# Poems Full of Happiness: Nostalgia and the Representation of Happiness in Ovid's *Tristia*

In a collection entitled "sad things" (*Tristia*), the relegated Ovid reflects nostalgically about the happiness he has lost. Scholars have studied philosophical definitions of happiness (Annas, Capuccino, Graver in Caston, Holowchak, Moss) and its representations in literature and art (Caston, Mutschler). This paper seeks to contribute to this previous work by exploring how a Roman who identifies as unhappy describes and defines a state of happiness.

The sixth century CE grammarian, Isidorus (*Orig.* 1.27.14) derives "happiness" (*laetitia*) from "broadness" or "copiousness" (*latitudine*) "whose opposite is "sadness" (*tristitia*), which causes "narrowness" "distress" (*angustiam*)." Isidorus' etymology reflects Ovid's own definition of sadness as lack and loss in opposition to happiness as plenitude. In *Tristia* 5.1, the first poem of the book ending this collection, Ovid expounds on the themes of happiness and its absence, sadness. He describes happiness as overflowing. "Should the anger of a Caesar after he has been won over, become more gentle to me, then I will give you poems full of happiness (*carmina laetitiae plena*, 42)," which, when absent, can be represented only as nostalgia. "Since tearful is our situation, so our poem is tearful" (*flebilis ut noster status est, ita flebile carmen*, 5).

Throughout *Tristia*, happiness is generated only within the community of Rome (1.7.3; 4.2.15). Ovid can imagine its return should Augustus allow Ovid to come closer to this lost community, but it cannot be generated outside of the community (5.12.3), even on the poet's birthday (3.13.20). Although happiness sometimes manifests a dark side when it inspires risky behavior that may be punished (5.1.7-8) or is inspired by envy (3.11.58; 5.8.21, 33), Ovid still understands happiness as interpersonal in nature and connected exclusively to Rome. For this reason, a state of happiness is unattainable to him in Tomis, compelling him to compose "sad things" instead.

#### Session 2e

## Greek Poetry I | Poésie grecque I

Chair/Président: Peter Miller

Diana Librandi, University of California, Los Angeles

#### **Hesiod and the Poetics of Hunger**

Although *limos* occurs relatively infrequently in archaic Greek poetry, hunger is a compelling theme of Hesiod's work. Hunger-related actions, such as Zeus' ingestion of Metis, mark narrative turning points in the *Theogony*, as the poet also invokes hunger scenarios to deter Perses from acting unjustly in the Works and Days. Moreover, limos occurs both in the Catalogue of Women (43a MW), in relation to Aithon's insatiability, and in the Shield of Heracles (265), where Death itself cowers in hunger. In an attempt to exploit the overlooked potential of 'hunger' as interpretative key for Hesiod's poetics, in this paper I argue that Hesiod skillfully charts a poetic course through the mutual interference between hunger narratives (i.e. narratives on hunger) and narrative hunger (i.e. hunger for the progression of the narrative). For instance, in the *Theogony* Gaia's biting sickle propels the narrative forward, for it ends the supremacy of Uranus and marks the beginning of Cronus's rule. Yet, this and other hunger-related images can also interfere with the progression of the narrative and, therefore, generate a repetitive narrative schema, of which Mestra's recurring metamorphoses (Eoai 43a-b MW) and Cronus's repeated ingurgitation of his offspring are examples. Cronus's gulps in particular, which in turn evoke Scylla and Charybdis' ingestive and emetic movements in *Odyssey* 12, show that the threat of repetition, invariability, and predictability, operates not only in relation to human hunger, but also in relation to immortal gods and monsters, who do not need to satisfy their hunger in order to survive, yet whose hunger-related actions influence the forward progression of the narrative. In Hesiod's poetics, then, hunger constitutes a looming threat not merely for the life of mortals (*Erga* 299-316), but also for the sweet flow of epic poetry.

Bien que le mot *limos* soit peu usité dans la poésie grecque archaïque, la faim est un thème fon- damental dans l'oeuvre d'Hésiode. Les actions liées à la faim, telles que l'ingestion de Métis par Zeus, marquent un tournant dans la *Théogonie*, et, dans *Les Travaux et les Jours*, le poète in- voque également des scénarios de faim pour dissuader Perses d'agir injustement dans. De plus, on retrouve *limos* dans le *Catalogue des femmes* (43a MW), en relation à l'insatiabilité de Aithon, et dans le *Bouclier* (265), où la mort elle-même est apaisée par la faim. Pour tenter d'ex- ploiter le potentiel négligé de la faim en tant que clé interprétative de la

poétique de Hésiode, je soutiens dans cet article que l'auteur trace habilement un parcours poétique à travers l'inter- férence mutuelle entre récits sur la faim et la faim de progression du récit. Par exemple, dans la *Théogonie*, la faux aux dents tranchantes de Gaia fait avancer le récit, car elle met fin à la supré-matie d'Uranus et marque le début du règne de Cronos. Cependant, cette image, ainsi que d'autres images liées à la faim, peuvent également interférer avec la progression du récit et, par conséquent, générer un schéma narratif répétitif, comme les métamorphoses récurrentes de Mes- tra (*Eoai* 43a-b MW) et l'ingurgitation répétée de sa progéniture par Cronus. Les gorges de Cronus en particulier, qui évoquent à leur tour les mouvements d'ingestion et d'émétique de Scyl- la et Charybde dans l'*Odyssée* (12), montrent que la menace de répétition, d'invariabilité et de prévisibilité agit non seulement en ce qui concerne la faim humaine, mais également par rapport aux dieux immortels et aux monstres, qui n'ont pas besoin de satisfaire leur faim pour survivre, mais dont les actions liées à la faim influencent la progression du récit. Dans la poétique d'Hé- siode, la faim constitue donc une menace imminente, non seulement pour la vie des mortels (Erga 299-316), mais également pour le flot doux de la poésie épique.

#### Jonathan Vickers, University of British Columbia

# Disassociating the *Orchestris*: The Sexualization of Female Dancers in Classical Athens

In this paper I examine the sexualization of the professional female dancer (orchestris) in Classical Athens, and take a stance against the common assumption that female performers at symposia provided two sorts of entertainment for male guests: first mousike, and later sex. I argue that the sexualization of the *orchestris* in our evidence has much to do with the genre of Comedy, and that by no means should one consider that "ancient female dancers were for the most part specialized prostitutes" (Kapparis 2011: 239-40; cf. Olsen 2017: 20-21); rather, the sexual status of the *orchestris* is ambiguous. Comedy capitalizes on the erotic appeal of female dancers, certainly (e.g. Ar. Ach. 1089-94, 1198ff., Ran. 513-16, 519-20; cf. 410-15, Crates fr. 34 K-A), but sexualization does not, of course, necessarily mean venal sex, and only sometimes is there an unmistakable link between 'orchestris' and 'prostitute' (e.g. Ar. Nub. 996-7, Thesm. 1210-11, Metagenes, fr. 4 K-A; cf. Ar. Ran 541-46b). To be duly noted here is the genre at hand, given that Old Comedy tends to over-sexualize its subject material (cf. Goldman 2015 and Starr 1978 on the auletris) and in some non-comic instances there is no implicit or explicit association between dancers and prostitutes at all (e.g. Pl. Leg. 813b, Arist. EE 8.1.1 = 1246a25-36; cf. Pl. Prot. 347c-d). At the most, we can say that some *orchestrides* might both dance and engage in venal sex with symposiasts, but others might not.

#### Warren Huard, Dalhousie University

#### **Herakles in the Dionysian Context of Bacchylides 16**

The fragmentary remains of Bacchylides'  $16^{\rm th}$  dithyramb present us with one of the earliest extant accounts of the fatal poisoning of Herakles by his wife Daïaneira. The details of the address made to Apollo preceding this mythic account are such that to critics they are typically thought to suggest the poem's performance at Delphi during a festival of Dionysos, a time of Apollo's absence from his sanctuary. The resulting situation, in which a story about the death of Herakles is performed by a chorus during Dionysos' festival, has been regularly understood to be indicative of the way in which the mythic narratives of choral lyric poetry often have little to do with the contexts of its performance.

Without wishing to challenge this general principle here, I would like to suggest that the particular mythic narrative of Herakles' death in Bacchylides 16 is in fact far more pertinent to performance at a festival of Dionysos than has heretofore been generally recognized. In short, I argue that, beginning in the 6th century BCE, Herakles' death becomes almost inseparable from his apotheosis: significantly, the two are linked in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, in which the tale of Deïaneira—the daughter Oineus, a Dionysian figure—is briefly told for the first time in extant Greek literature. Simultaneously, Dionysos begins in the second half of the 6th century BCE to be depicted in Athenian black-figure pottery as a kind of divine patron to Herakles, helping him to take his place among the gods. The death and apotheosis of Herakles thus emerge as distinctively Dionysian phenomena in certain contexts, and I argue that Bacchylides' 16th dithyramb is among those contexts in the 5th century BCE. Thus we should not be surprised to hear about Herakles at Dionysos' Delphic festival.

#### Héraclès dans le contexte dionysien de l'ode 16 de Bacchylide

Dans le fragment du 16e dithyrambe de Bacchylide nous trouvons l'un des premiers récits de l'empoisonnement fatal d'Héraclès par sa femme Déjanire. Les détails du discours à Apollon précédant le récit mythique sont tels que, pour les érudits, ils indiqueraient que le poème était exécuté à Delphes lors d'un festival de Dionysos, un temps durant lequel Apollon serait absent de son sanctuaire. Le résultat, une histoire qui raconte la mort d'Héraclès et qui est exécutée par un chœur lors d'un festival de Dionysos, est habituellement invoqué comme preuve que les récits mythiques de la lyrique chorale ont souvent peu en commun avec les contextes entourant leurs exécutions.

Sans vouloir ici remettre en question ce principe, je voudrais suggérer que l'exécution du récit mythique de la mort d'Héraclès dans le 16° dithyrambe de Bacchylide est en réalité plus pertinente à un festival de Dionysos que ce que l'on croyait jusqu'à présent. J'argumente que, dès le VI° siècle avant notre ère, la mort d'Héraclès devient presque inséparable de son apothéose : il est significatif que les deux sont liés dans le texte hésiodique *Le Catalogue des femmes*, dans lequel l'histoire de Déjanire — la fille d'Œnée, un personnage dionysien — est racontée pour le première fois en littérature grecque. Simultanément, la

céramique à figures noires athénienne commence durant la deuxième moitié du VI° siècle à représenter Dionysos comme étant un dieu protecteur d'Héraclès qui l'aide à prendre sa place parmi les dieux. La mort et l'apothéose d'Héraclès émergent donc comme étant des phénomènes qui sont distinctement dionysiens dans certains contextes, et je soutiens que l'exécution du 16° dithyrambe de Bacchylide est l'un de ces contextes au V° siècle avant notre ère. Il n'est donc pas surprenant d'entendre une histoire d'Héraclès à un festival de Dionysos à Delphes.

#### **Session 3a**

## **Greek History | Histoire grecque**

Chair/Président: Ben Akrigg

Emily Varto, Dalhousie University

#### Kinship & the Early Greek Phratry

Most interpretations of the early Greek *phratry* hinge upon a brief passage from the *Iliad* (Il. 2.362-63). The passage, however, reveals no more than that the *phratry*, in Homer, was one of the ways men could be organized for battle. The blanks that these Homeric lines leave can and have been been filled in multiple ways to fit and support different models and ideas of early Greek military and state development. Nineteenth-century scholars assigned the *phratry* a key role in social evolution. Since the demise of evolutionary schemes, scholars have been far more tentative not only in defining the *phratry*, but in placing it in early Greek communities and state formation. Where does the phratry belong and what was its significance? The language of kinship is embedded in the phratry from the very beginning. Kinship was a powerful integrating idea in early Greek communities. Groups of men fighting together and the idea of kinship at their core were part of networks of mutual support upon which early poleis grew and depended. The phratry was thus part of the foundation of the emerging *polis*, supporting a founding integrating ideology of mutual dependence and communal action understood and expressed through the powerful imagery of kinship. Drawing on the evidence of kinship in early Greek communities and by recent reassessments of early Greek warfare that observe great continuity in archaic warfare, I propose that the early Greek phratry was a group of men looking out for those they considered their own, their kin. Whether or not the grouping was based on biological kinship ties is unknowable and perhaps not particularly significant. The more significant idea behind the *phratry* may have been the common support and defence that created and reinforced a kinship of shared experience and mutual dependence.

#### Altay Coskun, University of Waterloo

#### Searching for the Sanctuary of Leukothea in Kolchis

Strabon of Amaseia mentions a sanctuary of Leukothea, together with an Oracle of Phrixos, in the Moschike somewhere in Kolchis (11.2.17 and 18 [498 and 499C]). O. Lordkipanidze (1972; 2000; cf. Tsetskhladze 1998; Radt 2008) suggested a location in modern Vani at the confluence of the Sulori and Rioni (Phasis) Rivers. In contrast, D. Braund (1994; cf. Roller 2018) proposed an area much farther to the east in the Lesser Caucasus (Moschian Mountains), slightly north of Borjomi, in the valley of the upper Mtkvari River (Kyros). Both identifications are difficult to accept. First, the Theban queen Ino, wife of Athamas and stepmother of Phrixos, called Leukothea after her apotheosis, was a sea goddess. As such, her cult was widespread along the northern coast of the Mediterranean. Its only attested branch in the Black Sea region should therefore not be sought in the hinterland or far-away mountains. Second, Strabon's indications do not point to a location east of (the mouth of ) the Phasis, but rather south of it, where the westernmost foothills of the Lesser Caucasus reach the open sea. Third, we are now in a position to contextualize Strabon's historical references in detail: most importantly, the sack of the sanctuary by Pharnakes II occurred after his defeat at Zela in Pontos by Caesar and before his final battle against Asandros near Pantikapaion. Since both battles occurred within no more than a month, Pharnakes had no time to march through the Kolchian hinterland, let alone to lay siege to fortifications, when sailing back to Pantikapaion in August 47 BC. As a result, the Leukotheion most likely served as a landmark, visible from afar, for sailors on their way from Trapezus to Phasis. The Mtsvane Kontskhi ('Green Cape'), which is now covered by the Batumi Botanical Garden, might have been an ideal location.

Jayden Lloyd, University of British Columbia

# Practical and Symbolic Honours: Considering the Proxenia of two Sikel Kings

In this paper, I examine the pledge of hospitality given in Greek *proxenia* granted to foreign kings. Hospitality was an important facet of Greek life at both a private and civic level. Decrees of *proxenia* were granted to formalize a relationship between the *polis* and a foreign individual who performed some service to the city. This institution, which was in use across the Mediterranean from the Archaic to the Roman Imperial period, facilitated the creation of a complex network of interactions between *poleis* and foreign individuals (Mack, 2015). Nevertheless, although the practice of *proxenia* was a complex civic institution, at its most fundamental, it was a promise of hospitality, mirroring the private practice of *xenia*.

In the late fifth century, Archonides and Demon, two Sikel kings who aided the Athenians during the Sicilian Invasion, were recognized as *proxenoi* and *euergetai* of Athens, and were granted the right to be treated in the same manner as an Athenian citizen if ever killed or

injured in any place ruled by Athens, as well as to be given special treatment by the Athenian magistrates ( $IG I^3 228$ ). Although these two men were granted these rights within the Athenian territory, there is no evidence that they ever visited Greece.

In this paper, I explore an interesting facet of the *proxenia*: that while the language used is that of hospitality, the formalized relationship does not necessarily entail that the *proxenos* visit the granting *polis*. Therefore, using the *proxenia* decree of Archonides and Demon as a jumping-off point, this paper argues that the language of hospitality was so symbolically charged for the classical *poleis*, that it was the language chosen for *proxenia* decrees to honour friends of the city, regardless of whether the recognized individual would make use of his new honorific rites.

#### **Session 3b**

## Pedagogy | Pédagogie

Chair/Président: George Kovacs

Stephen Russell, McMaster University

# Teaching the Language of Medicine to Students Who Know More About Medicine than We Do: How to Embrace the Challenge

As classicists, a fundamental challenge in teaching the classical roots of the language of medicine to undergraduates is recognizing that many of our students, most of whom are planning to enter the medical professions, will inevitably know much more about anatomy than we do. My paper will focus on how I have learned to treat this as a feature, and not a bug. The students are not looking for us to show them how the body functions. Rather, they want us to help clarify the relationships between parts of words, and how these word-parts come together to form meaningful patterns in the world of medicine. In other words, they want us to teach them how to think about the language of medicine. I argue that medical roots courses are best taught by classicists, but that we can serve ourselves, and our students, much better by simplifying our approach, focusing on the formulaic structures of English medical terms and completely refining the way we teach medical Latin to non-classicists. I will also talk about how to avoid the bad habits of medical roots classes – such as spending too much time on social history, pure etymology, or even mythological digressions – since these themes often run counter to the expectations and needs of the students.

Most importantly, I will address how surprisingly easy it is for classicists to teach such material to a large number of pre-med students by following a very methodical approach to the subject matter, and how comfortable and enjoyable it becomes when we allow ourselves to use their anatomical knowledge rather feel constrained by our own lack thereof.

Alison Innes (Brock @InnesAlison) and Lianne Fisher (Brock University; @LianneFisher)

# Visualizing Mythology: Using Universal Design for Learning to Teach Greek Mythology

The relationship between learning, note taking and class preparation is not always articulated, or explicitly taught to students. These skills can be challenging to teach along with course content in introductory classes. Our recent redesign of a first-year mythology course sought to introduce students to a variety of note taking skills, while practicing close reading and textual analysis.

By incorporating the idea of Universal Design for Learning (UDL), we encouraged students to engage with various methods of organizing information including Cornell notes, annotating text, and sketchnoting. Over the course of the semester, students practiced visual note taking skills alongside traditional written responses in weekly assignments. Such assignments challenged students to translate their knowledge of a text into a non-textual format, challenging and deepening their learning experience. Visual note taking is a natural fit for the teaching of mythology, as myths were experienced in audio and visual formats in the ancient world, through storytelling, art, and theatre.

A key part of UDL is allowing students the opportunity to demonstrate their learning beyond the traditional essay format. Students were given the option to submit their final essay as a visual essay. We developed clear assessment guidelines to ensure such assignments were equally rigorous to written essays. A selection of these were digitized and displayed in the university library, allowing students to participate in the production and mobilization of scholarship. With the students' permission we will share some of these educational artefacts in this session.

Key to the success of the course was supporting the Teaching Assistant team. Through a series of workshops, TAs had the opportunity to learn ways in which they could model information organization strategies in the classroom. This provided first-year graduate student TAs the opportunity to engage critically with pedagogy.

Margaret-Anne Gillis, Ontario Classical Association

# Cambridge Latin, the Familia Caecilii and the House of Caecilius Project

Since 1965, the Cambridge Latin Course has introduced the Pompeian Banker, Lucius Caecilius Iucundus, to countless thousands of students around the world. Students learn the fundamentals of Latin embedded in topics of Roman culture; they meet Caecilius' family and learn about his daily adventures but most of all, they learn about the other "Eternal City": Pompeii. Students read stories about gladiators fighting in the arena, and of course, those final hours when Vesuvius' wrath shrouds the city. The stories immerse the students in the history of Pompeii; this is one of the primary motivators for teachers to travel with their students to Pompeii. More powerful still is that moment when students arrive at the scavi. As the tour winds through the forum to the Via Nolana, past the House of the Faun (which should never be omitted) and then left on Stabiae Street, Vesuvius brooding in the distance, the students see it: Domus di L Cecilio Giocondo. This unassuming house stands silent, sealed from eager visitors by iron gates which bar entry into the interior left fragile by years of exposure to the elements, and stray Allied bombs. The moment is charged with elation and disappointment. The solution to the problem is simple: open the house. However, this is a much more complex proposition than it seems. .. This is the story of how the Cambridge Latin Course inspired a Canadian Latin class' trip to Caecilius' house in 2006 and how that established the Familia Caecilii.

### **Session 3c**

## Greek Theatre I | Théâtre grec I

Chair/Présidente: Kathryn Mattison

Tiphaine Lahuec, Université de Montréal

# La « scène de Cassandre » (Esch. *Ag.* 1072-1330): une lamentation tragique atypique

En tant que lamentation tragique, la « scène de Cassandre » dans l'Agamemnon d'Eschyle (1072-1330) est inhabituelle à plusieurs égards. Loin de conclure une pièce ou d'en être le point de départ, elle opère plutôt une transition nécessaire à l'intrigue: Agamemnon passe de roi indigne et sacrificateur impie à noble roi victime d'un crime abominable qui doit être vengé, tandis que Clytemnestre acquiert pour de bon sa qualité de monstre

contre nature. De plus, la prédominance du contenu mantique interrompt et fragmente la lamentation, dont les différentes parties sont disséminées tout au long de la scène. Enfin, cette lamentation déborde du cadre strict du *kommos* pour se poursuivre dans l'épisode suivant, et n'est donc pas exclusivement lyrique. Toutes ces particularités ont pendant longtemps gêné l'identification de la scène en tant que lamentation.

Dans cette communication, je démontre que la scène de Cassandre présente les principales caractéristiques des lamentations tragiques, tant formelles que référentielles. Tout d'abord, le passage comprend un *kommos*, c'est-à-dire un chant antiphonique, entre Cassandre et le Chœur; cette antiphonie se retrouve ensuite dans l'épisode, qui présente une structure quasi strophique. De plus, les figures de style – assonances, allitérations, anaphores, oxymores – typiques des lamentations sont présentes, tant dans le *kommos* que dans l'épisode. Enfin, le contenu référentiel caractéristique des lamentations est présent: en plus des *topoi* du genre, on observe la présence du lexique spécialisé de la lamentation rituelle ( $\theta \rho \bar{\eta} vo\varsigma$ ,  $\gamma \acute{o}o\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa \omega \kappa \acute{v}\omega ...$ ), qui confirme la nature de lamentation de la scène comme lamentation. Les incongruités observées sont quant à elles dues au contexte inhabituel de cette lamentation, qui est faite en amont des événements déplorés et dont l'objet principal n'est autre que la lamentante elle-même.

# The « Cassandra Scene » (A. Ag. 1072-1330): an atypical example of tragic lament

The "Cassandra Scene" from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* is unusual among tragic laments in several respects. First of all, far from concluding or starting a play, it represents a turning point within the plot: Agamemnon, previously undignified ruler and impious sacrificer, is turned into a noble king who falls victim to a crime so abominable that it must be punished. At the same time, Clytemnestra becomes permanently assimilated to a perverted monster. Second, the prominence of the prophetic content interrupts and divides the lament throughout the scene. Finally, this lament goes beyond the *kommos* to continue into the episode, thus losing its lyric quality. All these peculiarities have long hindered the identification of the scene as a lament.

Adriana Brook, Lawrence University

# Narrative Competence and the Limits of Human Knowledge in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*

Sophocles' Trachiniae consists almost entirely of narratives and yet, from the prologue, the clarity and reliability of these stories is challenged (Kraus 1991). Deianeira's tale of Heracles' courtship contains a critical lacuna, and her two contrasting versions of the oracle regarding Heracles' fate resist clear interpretation. In the *parodos*, the chorus offers a response to this narrative uncertainty, positioning itself as a trustworthy guide to the play's storytelling. Bridging the space between the mythical world onstage and the historical world of the audience (Henrichs 1994/1995, Rutherford 2007), the chorus models three narratological principles that both respond to the uncertainties of the prologue and collectively suggest a strategy for confronting the drama's remaining narratives: 1) the importance of focalizing a story correctly; 2) the importance of identifying a story's narratee; 3) the importance of autopsy. Applying these principles, Deianeira and the chorus (and the audience with them) successfully uncover the truth behind Lichas' misleading narrative about Heracles' Oechalian campaigns. However, the three subsequent episodes expose the deficiencies of the chorus' approach: these principles fail to uncover the true nature of Nessus' "love potion" and the chorus fails to anticipate Deineira's suicide. In the final ode, the chorus cedes its authority on narrative, unable and unwilling to interpret the spectacle of Heracles' suffering, and in the exodos their narrative precepts prove ineffectual. The end of the story – Heracles' apotheosis and the Heraclid descendants of Hyllus and Iole – is not visible to the characters onstage; the perspective of the gods contriving this story is ineffable. Allowing the audience a taste of this divine perspective, the *Trachiniae* stresses the limits of human knowledge while simultaneously upholding tragedy as the narrative genre that offers the most reliable instruction for correctly interpreting the stories that can be known to mortals.

# La compétence narrative et les limites de savoir dans *Les Trachiniennes* de Sophocle

Les Trachiniennes de Sophocle consiste presque entièrement en récits. Pourtant, dès le prologue, la clarté et la fiabilité de ces histoires sont mises en question (Kraus 1991). Le récit de Déjanire à propos de la cour d'Héraclès contient une lacune importante et ses versions contrastées de la prophétie concernant le destin d'Héraclès ne permettent pas une interprétation transparente. Dans le parodos, le chœur offre une réponse aux spectateurs à cette incertitude en se positionnant comme un guide fiable des histoires racontées dans la pièce. En liant le monde mythique sur scène avec le monde historique des spectateurs (Henrichs 1994/1995, Rutherford 2007), le chœur démontre trois principes narratologiques qui offrent une réponse aux incertitudes du prologue et suggèrent collectivement une stratégie d'interprétation pour les récits qui restent dans la pièce : 1) l'importance de focaliser correctement une histoire; 2) l'importance d'identifier la personne à qui une

histoire est racontée; 3) l'importance de voir en personne. En appliquant ces principes, Déjanire et le chœur (et les spectateurs) découvrent la vérité qui se cache derrière le récit trompeur de Lichas à propos du siège d'Héraclès contre Oechalie. Cependant, les trois épisodes suivants révèlent les faiblesses de l'approche du chœur concernant les récits: ces principes ne peuvent pas découvrir la véritable nature du «philtre d'amour» de Nessus et le chœur ne réussit pas à anticiper le suicide de Déjanire. Dans leur dernière ode, le chœur cède son autorité narrative, incapable et réticent d'interpréter le spectacle de la souffrance d'Héraclès. Dans l'*exodos*, leurs principes narratifs sont inutiles. La fin de l'histoire – l'apothéose d'Héraclès et l'avenir des Heraclides – n'est pas visible pour les personnages sur scène; la perspective des dieux que mènent cette histoire est ineffable. En offrant les spectateurs une expérience brève de la perspective divine, *Les Trachiniennes* insiste sur les limites de savoir pour les mortels, tout en montrant que la tragédie est le genre narratif qui offre l'instruction la plus fiable pour interpréter correctement les récits que peuvent comprendre les mortels.

#### David (Josh) Beer, Carleton University

#### Sophocles and the Art of the Con

There are many forms of confidence tricks. Some involve three players: the "MARK", the "OUTSIDER", and the "INSIDER" (terms vary). The MARK (or "sucker") is cheated of his money by hope of gain. The "OUTSIDER" (or "roper") engages the MARK and delivers him to the "INSIDER" who controls the operation from behind the scenes. The confidence trick may not be the oldest profession in the world but it comes close. The story of the Trojan Horse is an ancient example of a confidence trick, most well-known from Virgil's *Aeneid*. In this the Trojans are the "suckers", Sinon is the "roper" and the wily Ulysses is the inside schemer.

As the one who introduced a third actor Sophocles was clearly aware of his dramatic potential. In *Philoctetes* the hero with his bow is the mark; Neoptolemus is the roper and Odysseus the scheming insider. Philoctetes' hope of gain is to be rescued from Lemnos. In *Electra* Clytemnestra and Aegisthus are the marks for whom Orestes' death will be a gain; the tutor is the roper and Orestes the insider seeking to win by stealth  $(\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega)$  his inheritance. The schemes do not work out quite as planned, for Sophocles is not simply writing plays of intrigue but using the frame of the confidence trick to explore complex moral and ethical issues.

La tragédie sophocléenne présente souvent une tension entre Illusion,  $\delta \delta \xi \alpha$ , et réalité,  $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\dot{\eta}\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , l'exemple le plus célèbre étant *Oedipe Roi. Philoctète* et Électre jouent ouvertement avec cette notion d'illusion, car les personnages conçoivent une intrigue trompeuse  $(\delta\delta\lambda\circ\varsigma)$  à l'intérieur de l'intrigue principale en vue de parvenir à leurs fins. On pourrait analyser cette technique sous la rubrique de métathéâtre, mais je vais proposer que ces tragédies montrent également une connaissance distincte de l'art de la ruse.

Il existe plusieurs formes de ruse ou d'attrape. Certaines impliquent trois joueurs: la CIBLE, le COMPLICE et l'ARNAQUEUR (les termes varient). La CIBLE (ou dupe) se fait dépouiller de son argent par appât du gain. Le COMPLICE (ou rabatteur) attire la CIBLE et la livre à l'ARNAQUEUR qui gère l'opération dans les coulisses. L'arnaque n'est peut-être pas le plus vieux métier du monde, mais presque. L'histoire du cheval de Troie est un exemple célèbre de ruse, connue surtout grâce à l'Énéide de Virgile. Dans cette histoire, les Troyens sont les dupes, Sinon le complice et le rusé Ulysse l'arnaqueur.

C'est Sophocle qui a introduit un troisième acteur et il était clairement conscient du potentiel dramatique de celui-ci. Dans *Philoctète* le héros avec son arc est la dupe; Néoptolème est le complice et Odysseus l'arnaqueur. L'appât du gain pour Philoctète est d'être sauvé de Lemnos. Dans Électre Clytemnestre et Égisthe constituent les cibles, pour qui la mort d'Oreste sera un gain; le précepteur est le complice et Oreste l'arnaqueur qui cherche à s'emparer de son héritage par la ruse ( $\kappa\lambda \acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega$ ). Les ruses ne réussissent pas tout à fait comme prévu, car Sophocle ne crée pas de simples pièces d'intrigue mais se sert du cadre des ruses pour explorer des problèmes complexes d'ordre moral et éthique.

#### **Session 3d**

#### Reception I | Réception I

Chair/Président: Mark Joyal

Luke Roman, Memorial University

#### Deserta per ardua: Petrarch's Ascent of the Capitoline

On Easter Sunday, 1341, Petrarch ascended the Capitoline Hill to receive the laurel crown for his poetic accomplishments. This episode is often interpreted as a revival of antiquity: Petrarch refashioned a classical emblem while tracing an itinerary evocative of a range of classical memories from the Capitoline *ludi* to the Roman triumph. His ascent, he claimed, was a return to the lost, originary Parnassus of the classical poets, which he regarded as deserted by his contemporaries. Yet Petrarch's ascent, which he pre-arranged

and stage-managed, introduces a complicating circularity, shaping the very categories that define it. Both his laureation and the Latin speech he delivered at the ceremony, the *Collatio Laureationis*, set up a novel relation between contemporary authorship and classical antiquity—a relation emphasizing distance and parity, loss and restoration, that even now informs our conception of what "the classical tradition" means. Hence Petrarch's "return to classical origins" cannot be accepted uncritically, since his own definition of classical antiquity as a lost origin underlies his gesture of revival or return. In exploring such themes, this paper will devote particular attention to the underappreciated *Collatio Laureationis*, which both draws on classical literature to reframe the canonicity of Greco-Roman authors and establishes Petrarch's position as the restorer of a lost civilization. This analysis will be complemented by consideration of how the broader corpus of his vernacular and Latin writings develop the associations of the laurel (Laura/laurea) and the ascent narrative (*Ep. Fam.* IV.1, the ascent of Mt. Ventoux) in order to articulate new, and subsequently influential, configurations of post-classical authorship.

#### Robert Weir, University of Windsor

#### **How John Dee Read His Lucretius**

Among his many accomplishments, the polymath, magus, and royal advisor John Dee (1527-1609) amassed the largest library in Elizabethan England, one of about 4,000 printed and manuscript volumes that attracted many noted figures to his home in Surrey (cf. Roberts and Watson, John Dee's Library Catalogue, London, 1990). This paper will be the first public presentation of one of the books in that library, namely a Latin text of Lucretius that was printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1515 and is now in a Canadian collection. Although the book's pages were washed, probably circa 1800, traces of inked annotations can still be picked out, especially with the aid of near-infrared imaging, and they indicate Dee's interaction with Lucretius's text. For instance, one inscription on the title page notes that Dee bought this book in Venice in June, 1563. Given the controversial nature of certain Epicurean doctrines, Dee's foreign purchase of the DRN was a necessity, since no edition of it was published in England until 1675 (or 1656, if one counts John Evelyn's translation of DRN 1). This paper will note and discuss the significance for Dee of the occasional passages throughout the DRN that he highlighted with marginal annotations, e.g. his distinctive monas hieroglyphica symbol. Some of the passages that caught Dee's interest, e.g. Lucretius's notion of infinite worlds in infinite space (2.1023–1174), indeed ran counter to the religious norms of the day. Further annotations suggest that this book also passed through the hands of both the astronomer Thomas Digges and the renegade friar Giordano Bruno. The latter would be burned at the stake in Rome in 1600 for espousing some of the iconoclastic ideas that he had found in Lucretius, possibly in this very copy of Lucretius.

#### Lorenza Bennardo, University of Toronto

## Lost Underworlds in Classical Literature and Italian Renaissance Philology

In his note on Silius, *Punica* 13.552, Domizio Calderini rapidly surveys the classical tradition about the *poemata de inferis*, suggesting the priority of the lost orphic tradition in establishing one of the most successful topoi in Greek and Latin literature. References to lost katabaseis (in terms of both mythical narratives and literary compositions) occur in ancient literature (see, e.g., the reference to Lucan's *Orpheus* in Statius, *Silvae* 2.7.59) and in the ancient exegetical tradition (see, e.g., Servius' reference to an Orphic tradition of Hercules' katabasis in his note on Virg. *Aen.* 6.392). How much do Renaissance commentators engage with controversial evidence and exegetical debates on lost katabaseis in ancient sources? Starting from a consideration of two among Calderini's notes on Silius' *Punica* (on 13.552, mentioned above, and on 5.463) as case studies, the paper will attempt to offer some broader observations on how ancient discussions about katabasis and, in particular, about 'lost underworlds' captivated the erudite taste of Italian Renaissance philologists.

#### Session 3e

#### **Religion | Religion**

Chair/Président: Christian Raschle

Magalie Laguë Maltais, Université du Québec à Montréal

#### Les oracles ichthyomantiques de Lycie: état de la question

En Lycie, région située au sud-ouest de l'Anatolie (Turquie actuelle), se trouvaient des oracles où la réponse divine était soumise aux consultants par l'entremise de poissons, une méthode nommée « ichthyomancie ». Actifs au moins depuis la fin de l'époque hellénistique et le début de l'époque romaine, ces sanctuaires dédiés à Apollon ont piqué la curiosité d'auteurs anciens, notamment Plutarque, Pline l'Ancien et Élien, qui en ont fait mention à quelques reprises dans leurs œuvres. Les témoignages à leur sujet sont cependant empreints d'une certaine notion d'étrangeté qui laisse présager que leurs racines remontaient au-delà du monde grec dans un passé bien plus lointain. Par leur caractère unique, les oracles ichthyomantiques lyciens ont également fasciné les historiens modernes qui ont tenté d'établir leur nombre, comprendre leur mode de fonctionnement, leurs particularités et faire la lumière sur la question de leur origine. En effet, ne pouvant s'appuyer

sur aucun équivalent dans le monde gréco-romain, les chercheurs se sont interrogés sur la provenance de ces curieux oracles et ont détecté dans une pratique divinatoire semblable issue de l'âge du bronze, plus précisément de l'Empire hittite, un procédé similaire. Nous nous proposons donc de brosser le portrait des oracles ichthyomantiques lyciens, à l'aune des découvertes archéologiques, épigraphiques et littéraires les concernant; découvertes ayant été réalisées, depuis le milieu du XX° siècle, par une poignée d'historiens (nous sommes particulièrement redevables au travail de Daniela Lefèvre-Novaro et d'Alice Mouton [*Anatolica*, 2008, p. 7-51]). Cette communication se veut donc une synthèse sur ce phénomène divinatoire fascinant et typiquement lycien qu'était l'ichthyomancie.

#### The Fish Oracles of Lycia: State of the Question

Curious oracles where the divine answer was conveyed by fishes, a method named "ichthyomancy", were to be found in Lycia, a region of southwestern Anatolia. Actives at least since the hellenistic period and the beginning of the Roman era, these sanctuaries dedicated to Apollo have piqued the curiosity of ancient authors, such as Plutarch, Pliny the Elder and Aelien who mentioned them in their works. Testimonials about them are however imprinted with a certain strangeness which suggests that their roots went back beyond the Greek world into a much more distant past. By their uniqueness, the Lycian fish oracles have also fascinated modern historians who have tried to establish their exact number, to comprehend their operating mode, their particularities and to shed light on the question of their origin. Indeed, since they could not rely on any equivalent in the Greco-Roman world, the specialists wondered about the origin of these oracles and detected in a similar divination practice from the Bronze Age, specifically from the Hittite Empire, a similar process. We therefore propose to paint a portrait of the Lycian ichthyomanic oracles in the light of the archaeological, epigraphic and literary discoveries concerning them; discoveries that have been made since the mid-twentieth century by a handful of historians (we are particularly indebted to the work of Daniela Lefèvre-Novaro and Alice Mouton). This communication is thus a synthesis of this fascinating and typically Lycian divinatory phenomenon that was ichthyomancy.

#### Seth Bernard, University of Toronto

## Hephaestus at Populonia? Economy, Metallurgy, and Cult in a New Graffito from the Acropolis

This paper presents a newly discovered archaic Latin inscription from the Etruscan/Roman site of Populonia. Lying directly on the Tyrrhenian coastline across from Elba and Corsica, Populonia was considered in antiquity the foremost center in Italy for the production and trade of iron. An inscribed black-gloss bowl dating to the third or second centuries BC was found during excavations on the acropolis undertaken by a collaboration of the Superintendency of the provinces of Pisa and Livorno and the Universities of Siena and Toronto. I begin with a brief overview of the site and the scope of the collaborative

project to provide context. Next, I turn to the graffito, which I read as a Latin inscription naming and perhaps recording a dedication to the forge-god Hephaestus. As Etruscan, not Latin, remained the most prominent language of Populonia's epigraphy at that date, both the language and the transliterated Greek theonym require explanation, and I offer justification for both epigraphic choices. If my reading is correct, the inscription importantly confirms the worship of Hephaestus at Populonia. Considering the town's metal industry, scholarship has speculated about this possibility for some time, but never on the basis of good evidence, while the religious topography of Populonia yields comparatively few signs of this or any other specific deity's cult. More broadly, such confirmation would reinforce the overlap at Populonia between the city's economic identity and its religious institutions, a connection that may seem obvious to us in retrospect, but was in fact rarely found so explicitly in the Greco-Roman world. The paper closes with by noting some strikingly close parallels between economic production, urban identity, and the cult of Hephaestus at Populonia and elsewhere in the ancient Mediterranean.

#### David Wallace-Hare, University of Toronto

## Titans of Industry: The Relationship Between Recorded Profession and Deity Choice in Imperial Votive Dedications

In 2013 Ulrike Ehmig investigated explicit cases in the Latin epigraphic record where the rational for the commissioning of a votive dedication was given. Vows motivations were explicit if a causal preposition was used in the dedication, like *pro* plus the ablative, e.g. *pro salute Cornelii*. Ehmig then tabulated the range of votive motives and compared them against recorded causes of death in inscriptions from the Empire. In doing so she hoped to determine whether situations that dedicants deemed risky accurately reflected realistic causes of fatality in the Roman world.

Ehmig found that migration and travel were among the foremost grounds given for votive dedications, with dedicants expressing relief over a safe journey accomplished (Ehmig 2013:128-131). Causes of death relating to bandit attack (*latrones*) or murder abroad corroborated votive emphasis on migration as a source of unease (Ehmig 2013:146-142). Equally, causes of death related to sickness, medical failure, or birth complications mentioned in epitaphs mirrored the high percentage of votive dedications linked to illness, ear and eye complaints, and birth (Ehmig 2013: 142-145). While innovative and productive, Ehmig's thesis is predicated on somewhat shaky methodological foundations. Only 130 votive dedications out of over 12,000 include explicit indications of the cause of the initial vow; most omit such information. Furthermore, while Ehmig's model elegantly demonstrated that some votive dedication categories provide useful correlations with larger public safety concerns, other categories did not translate well into recorded deaths. At 12 votive dedications, Ehmig's votive grounds category of "Agriculture, Trade, and the Working World," the largest category after mortality-related votives, goes unexplained.

The following paper explores the idea that work-related issues could motivate votive acts through a survey of votive dedications in which a dedicant cites his or her profession and whether this impacts deity choice.

### Session 4a

#### Roman History | Histoire romaine

Chair/Président: Christer Bruun

Drew Davis, University of Toronto

## *Ex pecunia publica*: Italian Public Spending and Urbanization in the Late Republic

This paper reassesses the Late Republican municipalization of Italy from an economic perspective. Scholarship attributes the wave of urbanization over the last two centuries BCE in Italy to elite euergetism as Italian notables, newly enriched by Rome's Mediterranean expansion, sought to increase their socio-political power at home through public donations largely in the form of monumental civic building (Torelli, 1995). Such an assumption understates other possibilities of funding and the role of public finances in the municipalities of Italy. Two recent monographs on the economic history of the Late Republic have emphasised the importance of public money at Rome. Successful conquest led to increases in public spending which brought about significant economic and social change, and access and control of this spending played a key role in the political crises of the Late Republic (Kay 2014; Tan 2017). However, the situation regarding the use of public money, pecunia publica, outside of the urbs has largely been neglected. This paper seeks to fill in the gap by offering a full analysis of public municipal finances in the second and first centuries BCE. First, it challenges the scholarly assumption of euergetism by offering a rereading of a series of building inscriptions from this period, arguing that the language used in them pertains to public rather than private finance. This new reading then offers a reconsideration of municipal finances more generally since the acknowledgement of significant public expenditure on building implies that municipalities had more financial resources at their disposal than previously thought. It then suggests that the evidence for the sources of municipal public wealth and other public expenditure supports this interpretation. This study of Italian public spending then not only questions the scholarly focus on wealth in the hands of either the Roman state or private elites in the history of the Late Republic, but also proposes that Italian communities had more financial autonomy than

previously assumed and offers further insight into the process of Italian municipalization and urbanization.

#### Michael Carter, Brock University

#### Arena of the Senses

When we consider the Roman Arena spectacles, we think primarily of their visual aspect: passive spectators watching shows for their pleasure. The games were "spectacles" after all. Ancient descriptions of the effect of arena spectacles on a viewer, however, suggest that the experience was multisensory and dynamic. Augustine's account of Alypius' famous visit to the Flavian Amphitheatre is an example (*Conf.* 6.8). Reluctant to go but cajoled by his friends, Alypius sat with his eyes shut, attempting to achieve a sort of sensory deprivation, until the roar of the crowd "hammered him", provoked his curiosity, and caused him to open his eyes. What followed was a complete sensory overload. One sensory stimulation triggered all the others. The sounds of the crowd acted on his soul and compelled him to look, and that caused him to draw in the savage images, to taste them and possibly even smell them, to become inebriated and lose himself. Augustine describes a powerful synaesthetic experience that involved all of Alypius' senses.

Academic interest concerning the senses has grown considerably over the last several years, resulting in what David Howes has called a "sensorial revolution" (2006). Our senses allow us to know the world around us. They affect memories, and what we sense can elicit powerful emotional responses. Recent scholarship indicates that, although our senses physiologically operate in the same way (for example, Roman eyes or ears biologically function as ours do), how we understand the information provided by these senses is partly shaped by our society and culture. This paper will draw on this recent scholarship to consider how a Roman spectator might have viewed and heard (and smelt, tasted, and felt) the experience in the amphitheatre and will consider how this might provide us with a fuller understanding of the Roman arena.

#### Debra Nousek, University of Western Ontario

#### Opposites Attract: The Literary Artistry of Caesar's Bellum Civile

Of Caesar's two forays into historiography, the *Bellum Gallicum* has often been viewed as the more literary endeavor. Caesar's second work, a highly partisan account of the onset and conduct of the Civil War, has instead been interpreted as overly political or propagandistic (Rambaud 1966; Collins 1972; cf. Krebs 2018). But as scholarly appreciation of Caesar's literary talent has grown (e.g., Riggsby 2006; Batsone and Damon 2006; Grillo 2012; Grillo and Krebs 2018), so too has awareness of the care with which Caesar composed the *Bellum Civile*, too.

In the contested moral and political battleground of the *Bellum Civile*, Caesar is at pains to show not just his own worthiness, but the utter bankruptcy of his opponents. It is significant, I argue, that Caesar evokes the specter of Sulla in his explanation of Lentulus' motives for war (1.4.2: *seque alterum fore Sullam*), only to later have himself complain that Sulla's stripping of the powers of the tribunate was less oppressive than what Pompey had done (1.7.3). Further, Caesar closes Book 2 with a scene of senatorial subservience to the Numidian king Juba (2.44.3: *Ipse* (sc. Iuba) *equo in oppidum vectus prosequentibus compluribus senatoribus...*), only to open Book 3 with a display of himself at his most constitutional (3.1.1: *is enim erat annus quo per leges ei consulem fieri liceret*), which is itself followed by an almost epic catalogue of Pompey's eastern and royal allied forces. This deliberate juxtaposition is further encapsulated in the near-mirror images of the two armies, and their leaders, in the lead up to the culmination of the work, the Battle of Pharaslus. In this way, Caesar creates patterns in the text that lead the reader to identify with him as the true protector of *libertas* and SPQR.

Entre les deux œuvres historiographiques de César, le *Bellum Gallicum* a souvent été considéré le plus littéraire. Le deuxième ouvrage de César, un récit très partisan du début et du déroulement de la guerre civile, a semblé trop politique ou trop propagandiste (Rambaud 1966; Collins 1972; cf. Krebs 2018). Mais à mesure que l'on appréciait de plus en plus le talent littéraire de César (par exemple, Riggsby 2006; Batsone et Damon 2006; Grillo 2012; Grillo et Krebs 2018), la réputation du *Bellum Civile* s'améliore.

Dans le *Bellum Civile*, César a bien du mal à faire preuve non seulement de sa valeur, mais aussi des defauts de ses adversaires. Il est significatif, selon moi, que César évoque le spectre de Sulla dans son explication des motifs de guerre de Lentulus (1.4.2: *seque alterum fore Sullam*), pour se plaindre ensuite de ce que Sulla lui ait retiré le pouvoir du tribun moins oppressant que ce que Pompey avait fait (1.7.3). En outre, César clôt le livre 2 avec une scène de soumission sénatoriale au roi numide Juba (2.44.3: *Ipse* (sc. Iuba) *equo in oppidum vectus prosequentibus compluribus senatoribus...*), seulement pour ouvrir le livre 3 avec un affichage de lui-même le plus constitutionnel (3.1.1: *is enim erat annus quo per leges ei consulem fieri liceret*), suivi lui-même par un catalogue presque épique des forces alliées royales et orientales de Pompée. Cette juxtaposition délibérée est en outre résumée dans les images quasi-miroir des deux armées et de leurs chefs, dans la perspective du point culminant du travail, la bataille de Pharaslus. César crée ainsi des motifs dans le texte qui amènent le lecteur à s'identifier avec lui comme le véritable protecteur de la *libertas* et du SPQR.

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#### **Session 4b**

# WN/RF Panel: Pedagogy: How to Engage with Difficult Material | Pédagogie: comment s'engager avec du matériel difficile

Chair/Présidente: Catherine Tracy

Respondent: Christina Vester

Mark Nugent, University of Victoria

## Beyond Hermaphroditus: Transgender and Intersex Issues in the Classics Classroom

This paper proposes some approaches to teaching transgender and intersex issues in undergraduate Classics curricula. Transgender issues are at the forefront of the contemporary culture wars: in Canada and elsewhere, gender pronouns are a subject of ongoing controversy in the popular media; in the United States, "bathroom bills" have become a prominent and highly divisive political concern. While these current debates might seem remote from the field of Classics, the ancient world has emerged in recent years as a particular locus of political contestation, notably around issues of gender and race (e.g., Zuckerberg 2018), and it can be expected that Classicists will increasingly encounter calls to engage with transgender and intersex issues in our scholarship and teaching (e.g., Maisel 2019). It seems an opportune moment to start thinking about how Classicists can responsibly and sensitively study and teach transgender and intersex issues.

My paper outlines some theoretical and political problems involved in the study and teaching of (dis) continuities between ancient sex-gender systems and modern transgender identities. It proposes a set of Greek and Roman cultural topics that could profitably be discussed with students under a rubric of transgender and intersex issues, including: mythical, historical, and medical accounts of sex change; literary and material depictions of bodies that today would be classified as intersex; religious belief and transgender/intersex persons; the social position of eunuchs; and non-conforming gender identities. The paper also provides a survey of Greek and Roman sources that treat instances of sex change—beyond the familiar myths of Tiresias and Hermaphroditus—and that could form a coherent thematic unit in a course on gender and sexuality in the Greek and Roman world.

Yurie Hong, Gustavus Adolphus College

## Talking about Rape in a Myth Class: Preparation, Course Design, and Classroom Practices

According to a national study for the Department of Justice in 2011, nearly 1 in 5 women and 1 in 71 men in America will be the victim of rape or attempted rape, the vast majority by the age of 25 (80% for women, 78% for men). Given these numbers, it must be assumed that, a large number of college students come into the classroom with some firsthand experience of sexual violence. When teaching ancient texts, how do we address such a topic in a way that 1) is sensitive to the needs of rape survivors and 2) enhances students' critical understanding of the ancient world? How do we prepare ourselves and our students to engage with a topic as sensitive as rape and how do we respond when the issue arises unexpectedly via uninformed comments, casual jokes, or poorly phrased questions?

The first part of this paper will provide some suggestions for preparing oneself and one's students for discussing the topic of sexual violence. The next portion of the paper will outline a model for managing classroom discussions and suggest assignments and activities that encourage intellectual engagement in a rigorous yet sensitive way. The paper will conclude with a case study of a myth course designed to address topics of rape, power, gender roles, and the many factors that contribute to the prevalence of rape narratives in Greek and Roman myths. This paper will hopefully be useful for instructors who anticipate discussing rape in their class as well as for those teaching classes where the topic of sexual violence may not be an explicit part of the course.

## Session 4c Homer | Homère

Chair/Président: Jonathan Burgess

Stamatia Dova, Hellenic College

#### **Odysseus and the Poetics of Failure**

Recent scholarship (Bonifazi) has demonstrated the multiplicity and significance of individual *nostos*-narratives in the *Odyssey*, also highlighting the impact of their failed outcomes (Christopoulos, Shay) within the framework of the epic tradition (Danek, West 2013). This

paper examines episodes of the *Odyssey* where the group's safety depends on Odysseus' ability to employ leadership skills, negotiate the polarities between personal and collective interest, and check his or his crew's impulses. By identifying Odysseus' inadequacy as a captain in the encounters with Polyphemus, Aeolus, and the Laestrygonians as well as on Aeaea and Thrinakia, this discussion revisits concepts of Homeric *kleos* (Nagy, Segal, Van Nortwick) in the context of the *Odyssey*'s authorial intention (Clay Strauss, West 2014). When, contrary to the proem's programmatic statement (Louden, Nagler, Walsh), the *nostoi* of Odysseus' men end badly due to a combination of his and their shortcomings (Finkelberg), it becomes clear that he alone (olos) is meant to return home.

Indeed, in the *apologoi*, Odysseus sets himself apart from his companions, often by means of the modifier oloç; through close readings of all passages featuring Odysseus as *oloç* in the *Odyssey*, this analysis explicates how his *nostos* unfolds at the expense of multiple failed homecomings that function as a foil to his. Not only do the *apologoi*, despite their bard-protagonist's occasional revisionism, exonerate Odysseus of any failure in leadership, but they also adopt and promote a disparaging view of his companions, whose noetic focus on *nostos* is depicted as seriously flawed throughout the poem (Frame 1978 and 2009, Heubeck-Hoekstra). As the contrast between captain and crew takes over the *nostos*-narrative of the *Odyssey*, the poetics of failure remains in eloquent tension with the story of the hero's *nostos*, also proving pivotal for the making of the poem.

#### Ingrid Holmberg, University of Victoria

#### πολύμητις Hephaistos

In *Iliad* 21, Hephaistos is both πολύμητις (21.355) and πολύφρων (21.367), two epithets associated almost exclusively with Odysseus. This is the only time in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* that πολύμητις is not associated with Odysseus, for whom it is used eighty-six times in the nominative case (see Parry and Austin). Even though Hephaistos receives the epithet πολύφρων twice in the *Odyssey* (8.297 and 8.327), πολύφρων is also typically used for Odysseus, always in the *Odyssey*, in a formulaic structure (1.83; 14.424, 20.239 and 21.204, 20.329). Despite the significance of the distinctive πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς for Parry's establishment of the formulaic system, this lone example for Hephaistos has not aroused interest among scholars (see Parry 138 and Whallon 1969.6). Similarly, although Holmberg, Newton, and Olson have established similarities between Hephaistos and Odysseus in the Odyssey, none investigates πολύμητις for Hephaistos in the Iliad. An understanding of the eccentric uses of πολύμητις and πολύφρων in *Iliad* 21 can expand our understanding of the flexibility of the formulaic system and its capacity for innovation (see Hainsworth 1968, 1978, 1993; contra Parry 21). I also argue that the use of these particular epithets reveals complex intertextuality or allusion between the Odyssey and the Iliad (see Bakker, Burgess, Currie, Danek, Dowden, Pucci, Rutherford).

The flexibility of the formulaic system can capitalize on the shared characteristics of Odysseus and Hephaistos across the Homeric epics. Furthermore, the availability in the Homeric tradition of generic epithets which would fit the metre for Hephaistos encourages speculation that the two eccentric adjectives become "meaningful" (Currie 2016.11, 33, 261). I propose that the *Iliad* utilizes Odyssean adjectives for Hephaistos which associate the god closely with Odysseus's cunning as part of a larger narrative strategy through which the *Iliad* subtly embeds and embraces aspects of the Odyssean text.

#### Aara Suksi, University of Western Ontario

#### "Rage, Sing": Injury and Art in Iliad Book One

'μῆνιν ἄειδε', the first two words of the *Iliad,* programmatically juxtapose the injurious rage of Achilles and the art of divine song. Book one extends this relationship between rage and song. At its beginning it names Apollo as the angry god driving the mortal conflict, his bow inflicting injurious death on so many Greeks. At its ending it presents Apollo with his lyre, leading a divine song for the Olympians. In the *Iliad,* Apollo is the god of rage and song while its hero Achilles is distinguished as the only mortal to both rage with weapons and sing to the accompaniment of a lyre.

What is the relationship between rage and song? Why does the *Iliad*, this artfully composed song, have chaotic rage and injury as its subject? I address this question with reference to Elaine Scarry's work in *The Body in Pain* (Oxford 1987). Demonstrating that injuries inflicted in torture and war take place in the context of a challenge to an abstract assertion (like a claim to sovereignty), Scarry argues that injured or dead bodies provide objectified and materialized realizations of these abstract assertions. Such bodily injuries destroy worlds, both in a material sense, and also by obliterating human memory, imagination, and intention. In contrast, the process of creating inverts that of injury, making and restoring the world as a materialization of abstract memory, imagination, and intention, in artifacts that become available to others. The weapon and the tool are the respective instruments employed in these inverted processes of injury and making. Scarry shows how the narratives of the Old Testament reflect these processes. I will trace the inverse dynamics of injury and creation in *Iliad* book one, and suggest how "Rage, sing" can guide a reading of the epic as a whole.

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# Session 4d Reception II | Réception II

Chair/Président: Luke Roman

Emilie-Jade Poliquin, Institut national de la recherche scientifique

#### Galluzzi, l'élégie et l'imitation poétique

En affirmant aux lignes 24, 60a7-8 de sa *Poétique* que « le poète doit parler le moins possible en son nom personnel, puisque, ce faisant, il ne représente pas », Aristote écrit ici des mots qui ont alimenté maints débats chez les poéticiens qui ont redécouvert son texte à la Renaissance : comment ce savant a-t-il pu exclure du champ de la poésie des hommes tels que les Lyriques et les Élégiaques, ces poètes par excellence ? Si une bonne part des commentateurs d'Aristote — nommons Robortello, Castelvetro, Piccolomini ou Patricius par exemple abordent brièvement cette question, un seul poéticien l'affronte directement : Tarquinio Galluzzi. Ce jésuite publie en effet en 1621 les Virgilianae vindicationes et Commentarii tres de tragoedia, de comoedia et elegia, une œuvre bigarrée comprenant un commentaire à l'Enéide de Virgile ainsi qu'un traité consacré aux trois genres littéraires de la tragédie, de la comédie et de l'élégie. Farouche néo-aristotélicien, Galluzzi entend, dans cette œuvre, mieux définir ces trois genres à la lumière du cadre théorique développé dans la Poétique. Si ce projet s'accorde généralement bien à la pensée d'Aristote, le troisième cas de figure, celui de l'élégie, est fort intéressant à étudier : comment Galluzzi arrive-t-il à replacer les Élégiaques, ces poètes du « je », au sein de l'imitation poétique ? Cette conférence nous fournit une parfaite occasion de présenter la première traduction en langue moderne de ce texte largement méconnu qui donne pourtant une définition non traditionnelle de l'élégie.

Drew Griffith, Queen's University

## "Measured Lines and Footsteps": Salvatore Quasimodo, Poet and Translator of Greek

Salvatore Quasimodo (1901-1968), winner of the 1959 Nobel prize for literature, translated Greek lyrics and other texts, notably Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* and epigrams by the Hellenistic Leonidas of Tarentum. This paper argues that Quasimodo's life-long study of Greek poetry profoundly affected his treatment in his own original work of the link that connects poetry to memory, naming and time. We will consider Quasimodo's self-identification with Aeschylus, who died in exile in the former's native Sicily, and his incorporation of his own name as a Theognis-like "seal" in his poetry both through

anagrams and through a double allusion via his bell-ringer namesake in Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris* to his fellow Sicilian, the Cyclops Polyphemus.

Salvatore Quasimodo (1901-1968), gagnant du prix Nobel pour la littérature, a traduit des poèmes lyriques et autres textes grecs, surtout les *Choéphores* d'Eschyle et des épigrammes du poète hellénistique Léonidas de Tarente. Cette communication soutiendrait que l'étude de la poésie grecque, qui occupait l'écrivain italien pendant toute sa vie, a influencé profondément le lien manifeste dans ses propres oeuvres entre la poésie d'un côté et la mémoire, l'onomastique et l'au delà de l'autre. Je mettrais en evidence que Quasimodo s'identifie à Eschyle (mort, pour sa part, exilé en Sicile), et qu'il cache dans ses vers son propre nom, comme le sceau de Théognis, en faisant allusion aussi bien à son homonyme, le sonneur de cloches de Notre-Dame de Paris, qu'à son paysan sicilien, Polyphème le cyclope.

#### Zachary Yuzwa, St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan

## Re-Writing the Roman Past: Identity and Exemplarity in the Latin Literature of New France

This paper interrogates the abiding power of the Latin language and its literature in a moment of cultural contact far removed from the ancient Roman past. Our understanding of the early contact period in what is now Canada has been defined by the writings of seventeenth-century Jesuit missionaries whose education, in fact whose entire world view, is permeated with classical learning and the cultural assumptions that undergird it. In this context, Latin serves as a powerful—and polyvalent—cultural marker, not just of a particular learned discipline but of the imperial and colonizing interests its disciples ultimately serve.

In this paper, I track some of the ways that classical intertexts are deployed in the writings of Jesuit missionaries to New France. I argue that authors like Jean de Brébeuf and Jérôme Lalemant write their experience in Canada and their encounters with indigenous peoples there through the frame of classical literature. Writing in Latin and in French, these authors deploy an exemplary discourse founded on Roman models, in order to write this new world and its peoples into a universal history that fuses epic (especially Vergilian) narrative into their contemporary *relations*. Brébeuf, for example, imagines the Wendat people as Trojans, wandering lost, searching for a home in the face of ruin. In Wendat stories Brébeuf finds both *sottises* and the heroic virtue of ancient epic. This tension re-inscribes the contours of colonisation: the Wendat seek to found a new home, but the home they seek can be found only by taking up the "Roman" faith brought to their shores by these Jesuits. By examining the classical intertexts that permeate the Jesuit *relations* and cognate documents, I will consider the ways in which Jesuit authors use the discursive power of the Roman past to construct identity and difference in seventeenth-century New France.

#### **Session 5a**

#### Presidential Panel/Panel Présidentiel: Engaging with the Public: Ancient Ideas, Modern Contexts | Communiquer avec le public: idées anciennes, contextes modernes

Chair/Présidente: Allison Glazebrook

As researchers, we are encouraged more and more to make our work accessible and available to the public via open access, social media, outreach, and public lectures. But how do we engage with the public while doing scholarship, research, and creative work? This panel explores transdisciplinary approaches to the field by bringing together scholars who engage with the public as part of their scholarly praxis. Each panelist will discuss the engagement, thinking about motivation, implementation, and the results of such exchange both for the public and for research.

#### Clifford Orwin, University of Toronto

#### **On Thinking with Classics**

From 1998 to 2006, Clifford Orwin was a regular contributor to the *National Post*. Since 2006 he has contributed regularly to the *Globe and Mail*. He has appeared frequently on TVOntario's public affairs discussion show *The Agenda*, as well as on CBC Radio's *Sunday Edition* with Michael Enright. His work on policy-related issues has been the subject of articles in the *Toronto Star*, the *Ottawa Citizen*, the *Vancouver Sun*, and numerous international publications. He collaborated with his former student and current CBC Radio *Ideas* producer Nicola Luksic on award winning programs on Thucydides and Machiavelli.

Margriet Haagsma (University of Alberta), Sophia Karapanou (Ephorate of Antiquities, Larissa), Vasso Noula (Municipality of Pharsala)

#### **Archaeology and Community**

Over the years, the Kastro Kallithea Archaeological Project (KKAP) in Thessaly, Greece, co-directed by Margriet Haagsma and Sophia Karapanou, has made teaching, learning and community outreach an integral part of its research activities. Rooted in a philosophy

of ethical practice, the project includes a field school which exposes students to knowledge mobilization directed towards local communities and the continuous dialogue with regional stakeholders. The sustainable and successful work relationship with the Municipality of Pharsala has contributed to the development of a series of annual presentations, a permanent exhibition, local heritage preservation policies and an educational program for schools in the region.

Peter Meineck, New York University

#### The Warrior Chorus

Under Program Director Peter Meineck, "The Warrior Chorus: Our Trojan War" builds on Aquila Theatre's extensive experience in implementing innovative and award-winning humanities based public programming to bring the veteran community and the public together in deep discussions inspired by classical texts. Led by veterans and assisted by scholars and artists both inside and outside of the veteran community, these programs explore significant themes that investigate the connections between classical literature and contemporary America as they relate to the issues affecting the veteran community and the broader American public.

#### **Session 5b**

Greek Archaeology I: Fieldwork in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean | Archéologie grecque I: travaux sur le terrain en Grèce et dans la Méditerranée orientale

Chair/Président: Spencer Pope

Carrie Fulton, University of Toronto

Ceramics and LBA Maritime Networks: Results from the 2018 Underwater Survey of Maroni-Tsaroukka

The anchorage of Maroni-*Tsaroukkas* lies directly offshore from a late Cypriot complex along the south-central coast of Cyprus (Manning et al 2002; Urban et al 2014). Because of the complex and changing underwater environment, the extent of the anchorage is currently being investigated using innovations in underwater recording methodologies. Over the past two summers, researchers have conducted traditional survey as well as survey by

remotely operated vehicle to digitally record the seafloor and cultural remains. In these two seasons, 26 anchors have been recorded and mapped, along with 6 architectural stone blocks. A small number of ceramics were scattered in the nearshore region across the site, but over 200 Late Bronze Age sherds were recorded in one small region (ca 20m x 25m) approximately 25m from the present coastline during the 2018 survey. The majority of these ceramics belonged to local Cypriot wares, such as Late Bronze Age Plain White storage jars and several sherds of Proto-White Slip, Black slip, and red-on-black ware. However, there were also imports, including Caananite jars and one well-preserved base of a Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware juglet. Variantions of the Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware were manufactured in Egypt as well as in the southern Levant (Kaplan 1980). While other examples of this juglet have been found within tomb and settlement contexts in Cyprus (Åström 1972; Crewe 2012), this is one of the few examples from a trade context. This paper contextualizes the Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware juglet alongside the wider assemblage of anchorage ceramics, the distribution of anchors, and previously excavated tomb materials from the late Cypriot settlement on shore. In doing so, it argues for an integrated multi-scalar network shown by the convergence of local and inter-regional maritime trade.

#### Thierry Petit, Université Laval

## Le premier palais cypriote de l'Âge du Fer: le palais royal d'Amathonte à l'époque géométrique

Des sondages stratigraphiques menés sous les niveaux archaïque et classique du palais d'Amathonte ont révélé l'existence d'un premier état remontant au Cypro-Géométrique III (900-750). La chronologie de ce premier état est fermement établie par la chronotypologie céramique (céramique locale et importée) et par des datations au <sup>14</sup>C. L'étude des vestiges architecturaux est en cours, mais on peut d'ores et déjà établir leur extension et en préciser plusieurs caractéristiques architecturales. On envisagera aussi le marquage ostentatoire du paysage par l'édifice dans la topographie générale de la région.

#### Spencer Pope, McMaster University

#### Field work of the Canadian Institute in Greece: 2018

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.

#### **Session 5c**

#### Greek Philosophy II: Plato | Philosophie grecque II: Platon

Chair/Présidente: Heidi Northwood

John Thorp, University of Western Ontario

#### Plato's Bed: Essence and Archetype in the Theory of Forms

In Book X of the *Republic* Plato advances a memorable argument about the three beds: the Form of Bed, the actual physical bed made by a carpenter, and the artist's painting of the bed. He portrays these three beds as ranked in descending order of reality, with the painted bed in last place.

This paper picks at a small inconsistency in Plato's discussion here, which, as you consider it closely, balloons into a major problem for the Theory of Forms. That problem is that he hasn't decided whether he wants the Forms to be archetypes or essences.

An archetype would be a truly marvellous exemplar of the kind of question. The archetypal bed would be, I suppose, of olive wood (recalling the most famous bed in Greek lore, the marriage bed of Odysseus and Penelope); it would have only one leg, namely the trunk of the tree that grows out of the ground of the house; it would, perhaps, have one magnificent headboard ( $\grave{\epsilon}\pi \iota \kappa \lambda \iota \nu \tau \rho o \nu$ ), and so forth.

An essence, by contrast, would be a rather bare sort of entity, basically the necessary and sufficient conditions for being a thing of that kind; the essence of bed would be something like "a raised wooden platform for lying on" – without any further specifications: it has no definite number of legs, it is wooden but of no particular wood, it has either one or two headboards, and so forth.

Which of these does Plato want? He can't have both. Essences are more useful in metaphysics, but they seem to be impossible entities. Could there be a Form of Flower that is coloured, but of no particular colour? Could there be a Form of Human that is gendered, but of no particular gender?

This unfamiliar problem spells major trouble for the Theory of Forms.

#### Le lit de Platon: essence et archétype dans la théorie des Formes

Au livre X de la *République* Platon propose un argument percutant à propos des trois lits : le Lit-en-soi (ou la Forme du lit), le lit particulier, réalisé par un ébéniste, et le lit représenté

sur une toile de peintre. Ces trois lits sont rangés en ordre de réalité décroissante, le lit du peintre étant en dernier lieu, le moins réel.

La présente communication met en lumière une petite incohérence dans le texte de Platon. L'étude de cette incohérence révèle une ambigüité importante dans la théorie des Formes : Platon semble ne pas avoir décidé s'il conçoit les Formes comme archétypes, ou comme essences.

Un archétype serait un exemple merveilleux, un parangon, du type en question. L'archétype du lit, je suppose, serait un lit à baldaquin, taillé en chêne ; il porterait un dosseret sculpté magnifique, et ainsi de suite.

Une essence, par contre, serait un objet plutôt simple, austère, dépouillé : en gros, les conditions nécessaires et suffisantes du type en question; l'essence du lit serait quelque chose comme « un meuble en bois sur lequel on se couche » -- sans autres spécificités. Il est en bois mais non en un bois particulier; Il a évidemment une taille, mais non une taille définie; il pourrait être, oui ou non, muni d'un dosseret, et ainsi de suite.

Lequel de ces deux choses bien différentes ambitionne Platon dans sa théorie des Formes? Il ne peut avoir les deux. Les essences sont plus utiles pour les tâches métaphysiques, mais elles semblent être des entités impossibles. En effet, pourrait-il y avoir une Forme de Fleur qui soit colorée, sans être d'une couleur particulière? Pourrait-il y avoir une Forme d'Être humain qui soit sexuée, sans être d'un sexe particulier?

Ce problème inusité annonce de forts embarras pour la théorie des Formes.

#### Christopher Tindale, University of Windsor

#### Discourse for Minotaurs: Back in Plato's Labyrinth

The early dialogues of Plato involve elaborate labyrinths of speech in which interlocutors find their statements moving around, and out from which they despair of escaping. The *Euthydemus* makes clear that the escape, apropos the lessons of Daedalus, is upwards, towards the sun.

But the philosophers of the middle dialogues return to the labyrinth to fulfill their political role, part of which is to engage the polis with ideas of justice. Back in the labyrinth, the first task is to tame the savage beast that rules there, presented in the *Republic* in the person of Thrasymachus. Bound by arguments that tame him, Thrasymachus plays the role of spectator for the rest of the dialogue, usually without making a comment.

But the domain of the labyrinth (in which language has no fixed bases and commitments are under threat) is still the domain of the great beast. People are no longer enamoured of the discourse that operated so effectively in the early dialogues (*Rep* 487b). Now Plato must find a different way of speaking and different devices for conveying ideas to the great strong beast of the polis (*Rep* 493b)—a discourse for minotaurs. This is not a labyrinth

from which to escape, but one to colonize with ideas from outside, brought back by the philosophical *theoroi*, but conveyed through the language-devices of the polis. And then there is the curious matter of what Thrasymachus says in Book VI.

#### Joseph Gerbasi, University of Toronto

#### Socrates, Athens, and the Law

This paper provides an interpretation of Plato's *Crito*, informed by late fifth-century transformations in Athenian political ideology concerning, specifically, the nature of obedience to the city's laws. In the *Crito*, Plato depicts Socrates refusing to escape from prison, where he awaits execution, and arguing that to break the law would be to harm the common good. It is likely that Socrates' argument should be read in the context of pre-existing Athenian political ideology, for which the validity of the laws depends on the citizenry's obedience to those laws. Socrates' obedience, then, is constitutive of his image as a good citizen; this is fitting, given the dialogue's apologetic purpose.

However, such a contextualization of Socrates' argument involves a tension. For, throughout Socrates' argumentation in this dialogue, the citizen who obeys the law is portrayed not as a freely obeying adult citizen, but rather as a childish and rebellious slave (e.g. 46c, 49a-b, 50e, 52d, 53e). While citizens of Athenian democracy pride themselves on "equality" (*isonomia*), the relationship between Socrates' obedient citizen and the laws is described as "unequal" (*anisos*, 52e). To account for this tension, I point to a late 5<sup>th</sup> century transformation in the Athenian attitude towards the relationship between the law, the community, and the individual citizen. This transformation involves the novel belief that the laws have sovereignty regardless of the citizenry's adherence to them. I argue that Plato's depiction of Socrates's trial can fruitfully be read as taking part in this transformation. The ideal citizen depicted and developed by Plato's Socrates is one for whom the demands of the community and the demands of the laws are distinct. In this way I suggest that Plato's political idealism is more enmeshed in his historical moment than is commonly assumed.

#### Suma Rajiva, Memorial University

## You Can't Always Get (Exactly) What You Want: Socrates' *Eros Deinos* for Protagoras

Recently Vincent Tafolla has argued that Platonic scholarship often affirms Socrates at the expense of his interrogators. Focusing on *Protagoras* as showing a "crisis in community" precipitated by Socratic dialectic, Tafolla argues that the sophists reveal more concern for community and real dialogue than Socrates. By contrast, Michael Gagarin argues that Socrates and Protagoras have a common pedagogical project involving virtue. However, the relation between the two is also puzzling right from the dialogue's opening, where

Socrates reveals a peculiar intellectual desire for Protagoras, something few scholars comment on. Why would Socrates, a noted critic of the sophists, express such a desire for one of them? How could Protagoras's intellectual beauty captivate Socrates so much that he supposedly forgets the earthly charms of Alcibiades? Is he being ironic or comical? Gagarin argues that Socrates desires Protagoras as the wisest of all, but on this argument, Socrates certainly fails to get what he wants by the end of the dialogue. Instead, using material from the *Symposium* I will argue that Socrates *succeeds*: the mutual questioning of Protagoras and Socrates and the unsatisfied departure of the latter show Socrates gaining something he wanted from Protagoras, though not *exactly* what he wanted. He wanted answers which would satisfy and he got answers which did not. However, though leaving without the truth, he leaves with an *image* of it, as Yancy Hughes Dominick has put it, and thus one step further toward truth. Thus the beauty of Protagoras has a pedagogical value akin to models in the *Symposium* and the *Republic* and explored further by Socrates' claim in *Theaetetus* that he has an *eros deinos* for the *exercises* of truth. His desire for Protagoras thus forms part of Socrates' own education.

# Session 5d Epigraphy II | Épigraphie II

Chair/Président: Tommaso Leoni

Gianmarco Bianchini (University of Toronto) and Gian Luca Gregori (Università di Roma)

## Epigraphic Reception of the Ovidian Text at Pompeii: The Case of CIL, IV 1595 = CLE 927

After its edition in CIL, IV 1595, the Pompeiian graffiti in the form of a snake has been the subject of various studies on its metre (the text consists of two elegiac couplets) and on the interpretation of the *serpentis lusus* evoked in l. 1. Until now, the reading of the fourth verse has not been questioned: according to the studies of Guarini and Garrucci, researchers have read: *sic habeas* [lanc]es s[emp]er ubiq[ue pares]. The authors of this contribution propose an alternative possibility: *sic habeas* [facil]es s[emp]er ubiq[ue deos], from a verse by Ovid (her. 16, 282): *sic habaes faciles in tua vota deos*.

## Réception épigraphique du texte ovidien à Pompéi: le cas de CIL, IV 1595 = CLE 927

Après son édition dans le CIL, IV 1595, le graffiti de Pompéi représentant les anneaux d'un serpent a fait l'objet de diverses études sur sa métrique (le texte se compose deux distiques

élégiaques) et sur l'interprétation des lusus serpentis évoqués au v. 1. Jusqu'à maintenant, la lecture du quatrième vers n'a pas été remise en question : suivant les études de Guarini et Garrucci, les chercheurs ont lu sic habeas [lanc]es s[emp]er ubiq[ue pares]. Les auteurs de cette contribution proposent une autre lecture également possible : sic habeas [facil] es s[emp]er ubiq[ue deos]; à partir d'un vers d'Ovide (her. 16, 282) : sic habaes faciles in tua vota deos.

#### Jonathan Edmondson, York University

## Gladiators at Pompeii: Striking New Evidence from a Monumental Tomb outside the Stabian Gate

In his recent article in the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* (31, 2018, 310-322), Massimo Osanna, Director of the Parco Archeologico di Pompei, has made available to the scholarly community with exemplary speed the first study of an extraordinary new inscription from a monumental tomb discovered in 2017 outside the Stabian Gate at Pompeii. On the tomb's western façade was cut an elegant inscription of seven lines, each spanning more than 4m. There are no problems in reading the text, which survives in its entirety and which is an inscribed *elogium* of the deceased, praising various acts of civic euergetism provided during his lifetime by a member of the local elite. The honorand's identity is not preserved, but Osanna's arguments that he was the well-known Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius seem convincing. However, other elements of his translation and commentary raise a series of questions about the text's meaning that merit further discussion.

This paper explores several issues regarding the honorand's gladiators and his sponsorship of several gladiatorial *munera*: (a) the "great and splendid" *munus gladiat(orum)* that he sponsored after he had assumed the *toga virilis*; (b) the *munus* that he put on "before the *senatus consultum*", which must refer to the prohibition on gladiatorial spectacles at Pompeii imposed by the senate after the riot in the amphitheatre in A.D. 59 (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14.17); and (c) the emperor's permission that he alone could bring his own gladiatorial *familia* back to Pompeii at a time when all other gladiatorial *familiae* had to be kept "beyond the 200<sup>th</sup> milestone". In so doing, it presents alternative explanations of these sections of the text to those advanced by Osanna. This new inscription requires us to revise our understanding of the scale of gladiatorial *munera* put on by the elite in an Italian community such as Pompeii.

## Gladiateurs à Pompéi : de nouvelles informations frappantes provenant d'une tombe monumentale à l'extérieur de la Porte de Stabies

Dans son récent article paru dans le *Journal of Roman Archaeology* (31, 2018, 310-322), Massimo Osanna, directeur du Parco Archeologico di Pompéi, a mis à la disposition de la communauté scientifique avec une rapidité exemplaire la première étude d'une nouvelle inscription extraordinaire d'une tombe monumentale découverte en 2017 à l'extérieur

de la Porte de Stabies à Pompéi. Sur la façade ouest du tombeau a été gravée une élégante inscription de sept lignes de plus de 4 mètres chacune de largeur. Il n'y a aucun problème de lecture du texte, qui survit dans son intégralité et qui est un éloge du défunt, louant divers actes d'evergétisme civique fournis pendant sa vie par un membre de l'élite locale. L'identité de l'honorand n'est pas mentionnée, mais les arguments d'Osanna selon lesquels il était le célèbre Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius semblent convaincants. Cependant, d'autres éléments de sa traduction et de son commentaire soulèvent une série de questions sur la signification du texte qui méritent d'être examinées plus profondément.

L'objectif de cette communication est d'examiner plusieurs questions concernant les gladiateurs du honorand et son édition de deux *munera gladiatoria*: (a) le « grand et splendide » *munus gladiat(orium)* qu'il a édité après avoir assumé la *toga virilis*; (b) le *munus* qu'il a édité « avant le *senatus consultum* », ce qui doit se référer à l'interdiction des spectacles de gladiateurs à Pompéi imposée par le Sénat après l'émeute dans l'amphithéâtre pompéien en 59 apr. J.-C. (cf. Tac. *Ann*. 14.17); et (c) la permission impériale accordée à l'honorand de ramener à Pompéi ses propres familles de gladiateurs à une époque où toutes les autres *familiae gladiatoriae* devaient être maintenues « au-delà de la 200° borne milliaire ». En discutant les sections pertinentes du texte, nous présentons des explications alternatives à celles avancées tout récemment par Osanna. Cette nouvelle inscription nous oblige à revoir notre estimation de l'échelle des *munera gladiatoria* édités par l'élite d'une communauté italienne telle que Pompéi.

#### Marta Fernández-Corral, York University

## Funerary commemoration and family relations in Roman Spain: the example of the Conventus Cluniensis

The study of Roman epigraphy and funerary commemoration has drawn attention to the importance of the nuclear family in the dedication of epitaphs. The predominance of the closest family members in funerary contexts is a general characteristic of the Roman provinces and its analysis helps us to understand not only the importance of family connections in funerary commemoration but also the varying representation of different members of the family group. However, as some general studies have shown, it is necessary to conduct regional studies that examine in more detail the nuances of this representation. As the pioneering paper of Saller and Shaw revealed (1984), and more recent studies have confirmed (Saller 1994, Edmondson 2005), the Spanish provinces show some particularities in comparison with other Roman western provinces, such as the higher presence of women as dedicators or the persistence of dedications from parents to their children after the age in which we think they would already be married.

The aim of this presentation is to study the territory of the Conventus Cluniensis, in the north of the province of Hispania Citerior, regarding patterns of funerary commemoration. First, the funerary epigraphic record of the region is presented and then attention focuses

on relations between family members, including the age and gender of the dedicators and the deceased. Finally, the paper compares the results of this analysis with the rest of the data available from the Roman western provinces and examines whether the particularities identified in the other Spanish provinces also existed in this region.

#### Christer Bruun, University of Toronto

#### Roman Birthdays - Fact or Fiction?

The calendar was important in the Roman world. Many religious festivals took place on particular fixed days and thereby determined the rhythm of Roman life. Other days were marked by imperial celebrations. Primarily the *dies imperii* and the *dies natalis* were celebrated, both those of the ruling emperor and of certain important past rulers. In addition, towns were allowed to establish their own local days of celebration.

The impact these days had on social behavior in the Roman world is seen in the days that were chosen for the public dedication of statues and public buildings. The works by Snyder 1940 and Herz 1975 showed how dedications tend to occur on one of the special days described above. In addition, the Romans favoured the *Kalendae* and the *Idus* of each month for dedications (less the *Nonae*), because these days had an inherently festive character suitable for public events.

This background is necessary for understanding the topic of this paper, which is concerned with the dates on which Roman birthdays fell. At the outset, such an investigation might appear outright silly: children are born throughout the year – it is a biological process which cannot be influenced by politics – and birthdays are celebrated accordingly. What's there to study?

Since this is so, a table showing the dates of Roman birthdays, as they are recorded in the epigraphic sources, should look very different from a table showing the dates of public dedications (which, as we know, cluster on imperial and religious festivals and on the *Kalendae* and *Idus*).

In brief, the collected epigraphic material (aiming to be exhaustive) is not distributed in such a random way. Rüpke 2007 claimed, based on a passage in Martial, that the Romans celebrated their birthday on the *Kalendae*. That is not accurate either. The result of this investigation underlines the importance of the public days of celebration in the Roman world. They influenced also the choice made by private individuals about the day on which to celebrate their birthday.

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#### Session 6a

GSC/CÉCS Panel: Preparing for an Academic Career, from Grad Student to Tenure-track and Points In-between | Préparation à une carrière universitaire, de l'étudiant(e) diplômé(e) à la permanence et aux points intermédiaires

Chair/Présidente: Rowan Ash

Randall Pogorzelski, University of Western Ontario

#### **Preparing for the Job Market in Classics**

The job market in Classics is frightening. Since 2008, according to the SCS Placement Service, there have been jobs for roughly one third of candidates, and tenure-track jobs for roughly one tenth of candidates. This presentation summarizes the state of the market and offers practical advice for graduate students preparing to look for an academic job in Classics. The presenter has extensive experience of the post-2008 job market both as a candidate and as a search committee member.

Marion Durand, University of Toronto

#### In the Thick of It: From the Trenches of the Job Market in North America and Abroad

No matter how prepared we are, the reality of being on the job market is hard. This presentation will discuss the mechanics of applying for academic jobs and the experience of doing the rounds as an ABD and early graduate. It will cover the Canadian and US markets, as well as offer some insight on applying to jobs in Europe, especially the UK.

Jessica Romney, Dickinson College

## The Sessional Life Cycle from 'Woohoo!' to 'What are you teaching next year, professor?'

The decrease in tenure-line faculty employment has been matched by a rise in short-term contingent contracts (adjunct, sessional, Visiting Assistant Professor: here, "sessional") both in the US and in Canada. Sessional teaching has thus become a common track for new (and not-so-new) PhDs, and it presents its own challenges to the would-be faculty

member. This paper reviews the "life-cycle" of the sessional instructor, from August/September to April/May, and what you can expect as you move through the academic year as a sessional.

#### **Session 6b**

#### Second Sophistic & Late Antiquity | La Seconde Sophistique et Antiquité tardive

Chair/Président: Conor Whately

Emelen Leonard, University of Toronto

## Sex work and the sophist: Lucian's Dialogues of the Courtesans as a reflection of imperial Greek culture

Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans* is one of a number of imperial Greek texts to display a fascination with hetaerae (courtesans). As discussed by various scholars and reviewed in the first section of this paper, imperial representations of hetaerae often reflect concerns of the so-called Second Sophistic: nostalgia for classical Athens, which these literary hetaerae were imagined to inhabit; rhetorical performance, self-display, and the contested roles of pleasure and the body therein; literary artifice and other forms of deceptive appearance. In the later Greek cultural imagination, hetaerae could thus embody the desire (central to the project of *paideia*) of recovering the lost Hellenic past, but they could also be negatively invoked to stigmatize the wrong kinds of public performance; in either case, the hetaera was an emotive and ideological figure.

After considering the role of hetaerae in cultural discourses of the Second Sophistic, I turn to focus on Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*. Does Lucian's ventriloquization of hetaerae depart meaningfully from the opposing tendencies toward nostalgic glamorization and stigmatization that so often characterized the representation of hetaerae? Following Gilhuly (2007, 60), I see Lucian's fictional hetaerae as being "endowed [...] with contemporary identities that were subject to the conflicts and pressures of his own time," and suggest that Lucian stages among them scenes that resonate with preoccupations of imperial Greek intellectual culture (and the wider Lucianic corpus), including education, self-representation, competitive performance, and the scrutiny of the body. But what is the effect of reimagining these processes, more often associated with the subject formation and status competition of male orators and *pepaideumenoi*, among socially marginal women? Lucian depicts the struggles of hetaerae as they, often uncomfortably, learn and perform

a professional role predicated on male desires, but he may also offer an unsettling, critical perspective on sophistic role-playing.

#### Guy Chamberland, Thorneloe University at Laurentian

#### Honorific milestones and the AD 337 "Summer of Blood"

As Richard Burgess pointed out in the 2008 *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, the source material on the "Great Massacre" of 337 is so poor that "virtually every aspect of the massacre is contested: the names of those who met their end, the dates of their deaths, whether there was one massacre or two, who prompted the assassinations, and the reason(s) behind them." I hope to contribute, however modestly, to better understand this obscure episode by adopting a rather unusual, experimental approach.

The paper starts from (1) a well known fact: that by Late Imperial times, the setting up of new milestones was often meant to honor emperors and heirs more than to mark distances; (2) an observation: that, based on the names appearing on such monuments, a high number of milestones seems to have been set up for Constantine I ("the Great") and his three sons (Constantine II, Constantius II, Constans), but not Dalmatius Caesar, in the period from 25 December 333 (when young Constans was made Caesar) to 22 May 337 (when Constantine I died); and (3) a hypothesis: that most of those milestones were actually set up after Constantine's death and before 9 September 337, when the three sons finally assumed the title of Augustus. If this hypothesis is right, the erection of those milestones may well have been undertaken on the three sons' (or just Constantius') command, following their father's death, so to obtain Empire-wide pledges of allegiance. It is also possible that the initiative was undertaken by some provincial authorities feeling a need to show their allegiance at a time of (foreseen) political instability. While the hypothesis will probably never be proved beyond reasonable doubt (and could potentially be disproved), this paper aims to discuss its likelihood and its contribution to our understanding of the "Great Massacre"..

Les témoignages anciens sur le « grand massacre » de 337 laissent tellement à désirer que « presque tous les aspects du massacre sont contestés : les noms des victimes, les dates de leurs morts, s'il y a eu un massacre ou deux, qui a incité les assassinats, et la ou les raison(s) qui les justifiaient » (Richard Burgess, *Dumbarton Oak Papers*, 2008). L'objectif de cette communication est de contribuer, très modestement, à une meilleure compréhension de cet obscur épisode en adoptant une approche plutôt inhabituelle et expérimentale.

Cette enquête s'articule autour (1) d'un fait bien connu, que les milliaires du Bas-Empire servaient souvent à honorer les empereurs plus qu'à indiquer des distances ; (2) d'une observation, qu'un nombre élevé de milliaires semble avoir été érigé pour honorer Constantin I<sup>er</sup> « le Grand » et ses trois fils (Constantin II, Constance II, Constant), mais pas Dalmatius César, dans la période qui va du 25 décembre 333 (quand Constant fut

fait César) au 22 mai 337 (quand Constantin I<sup>er</sup> meurt); et (3) d'une hypothèse, que la plupart de ces milliaires ont en fait été érigés *après* le décès de Constantin et avant le 9 septembre 337, quand les trois fils assumèrent enfin le titre d'Auguste. Si cette hypothèse est valide, l'érection de ces milliaires aurait fort bien pu avoir été entreprise sur l'ordre des trois fils (ou de l'un d'entre eux) après la mort de leur père, avec l'objectif d'obtenir des serments d'allégeance à l'échelle de l'Empire. On peut aussi envisager la possibilité que certaines autorités provinciales ont elles-mêmes pris cette initiative pour ne laisser planer aucun doute sur leur allégeance dans cette période d'instabilité politique pressentie. Quoique l'hypothèse proposée ici ne sera probablement jamais prouvée définitivement (et pourrais aussi s'avérer invalide), cette communication cherchera à établir la mesure de sa vraisemblance et la contribution qu'elle pourrait apporter à notre connaissance du « grand massacre ».

#### Christian Raschle, Université de Montréal

## Isidore de Péluse, un conseiller des fonctionnaires impériaux et politiciens locaux au Ve siècle de notre ère.

Suite aux réformes provinciales entre Constantin et Arcadius, la ville de Péluse en Égypte devient la capitale de la province Augustamnica prima, et les notables de la ville gagnent un accès privilégié à l'administration impériale, ce qui engendre une nouvelle dynamique politique au niveau local. Parmi ces notables, l'abbé Isidore est le personnage le mieux connu grâce à son corpus épistolaire de 2000 lettres. Malgré les efforts soutenus de son dernier éditeur P. Évieux (édition des lettres 1214 à 2000 dans les Sources chrétiennes 1997-2018) l'auteur et acteur historique reste peu connu, ainsi que les recherches récentes se sont surtout penchées sur les aspects théologiques et spirituelles de la correspondance en relation avec les Apophtegmes des Pères (cf. L.I. Larsen « The letter collection of Isidore of Pelusium ». Dans: Chr. Sogno et al. dir., Late antique letter collections: a critical introduction and reference guide, 2016, 286-308). Cependant Isidore est à considérer comme un sophistes, qui écrit dans une prose attique digne des meilleurs écrivains de la ci-dite « Troisième sophistique ». Notre contribution se concentrera sur les relations, que l'abbé Isidore entretien avec les administrateurs impériaux (104 noms en 413 lettres) et les politiciens locaux (34 noms en 136 lettres), et surtout sur les conseils pratiques qu'il leur donne pour l'accomplissement de leurs charges impériales ou municipales. En proposant des comparaisons thématiques avec le corpus de Basile de Césarée, de Grégoire de Nazianze, de Libanios, et de Théodoret de Cyr, sous forme d'étude de cas, nous allons démontrer comment Isidore est enraciné dans la culture traditionnelle (dans la ligne de la Seconde Sophistique) afin d'agir comme conseiller important dans la métropole d'une province impériale.

## Isidore of Pelusium, as adviser to imperial officials and local politicians in the fifth century AD

In the aftermath of the provincial reforms between Constantine and Arcadius, the city of Pelusium in Egypt became the capital of the province Augustamnica prima. The leading citizens gained privileged access to the imperial administration, that generated a new political dynamic at the local level. Among these citizens, Isidore is the best known character thanks to his 2000-letter letter collection. Despite the sustained efforts of its last publisher, P. Évieux (edition of the letters no. 1214 to 2000 in the Sources Chrétiennes Series between 1997-2018), the author and historical actor remains little known, because also recent research has focused mainly on the theological and exegetical topics in his correspondence and his relation to the Apophthegmata Patrum (see L. Larsen "The letter collection of Isidor of Pelusium." In: Chr -286, Sogno et al., Late antique letter collections: a critical introduction and reference guide, 2016 308). Yet Isidore should also be considered a "sophists", who writes in an Attic prose worthy of the best writers of the so-called "Third Sophistic" and who engages in public matters. Our contribution will focus on the relationships Isidore entertains with the imperial officials (104 names in 413 letters) and local politicians (34 names in 136 letters), and especially on the practical advice he gives them for the fulfillment of their imperial or municipal duties. By proposing thematic comparisons with the corpus of Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Libanius, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, in the form of a case study, we will demonstrate how deeply Isidore is also rooted in the ancient traditional culture (in the line of the Second Sophistic) to act as an important advisor in the metropolis of an imperial province.

# Session 6c Warfare | La guerre

Chair/Présidente: Kathryn Simonsen

Jonathan Reeves, McMaster University

#### άριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων**: aristoi and aristeia in fifth-century** Athenian armed forces

In this paper I explore the Herodotean fascination with *aristeia* in the light of audience expectations in Peloponnesian-War Athens and against the background of the Athenian military institution of granting the *aristeion*. Historians often note how examples of acts of martial prowess that recalled the *aristeiai* of Homeric heroes, like Diomedes, were condemned by classical authors as 'rash' or 'unmeasured.' The classic exemplum is the action of Aristodemos the Spartan at Plataea (Hdt. 9.71.3). It has, furthermore, been noted that Herodotus stands out

among Greek historians in his concern for individual *aristeia* throughout his work (Pritchett *GSW* II, 276-90) and this has suggested to some that the Greeks of the late-fifth century became less concerned with individual achievements in combat. The standard opinion holds that for classical Greeks acculturated to phalanx fighting there was "no room for *aristocratic aristeiai*" (e.g., Raaflaub and Wallace 2007, 35; Finley 1964, 133).

There are two assumptions underlying these assertions that stand to be scrutinized: that the pursuit of distinction and excellence was a uniquely aristocratic or 'heroic' preserve that was wholly abrogated or adapted by the civic community in the classical polis; and that the competitive display of martial prowess and individual achievement was incompatible with classical modes of combat and its communal ends. In this paper, I present evidence for the constructive force of competitive rivalries among regular soldiers within Athenian armed forces in the late-fifth century. In doing so, I demonstrate that while Herodotus' reporting of *aristeiai*, to be sure, represents a certain 'epic colouring' that extends poetic traditions, it also reflects a contemporary preoccupation with martial distinction, as revealed by consonant descriptions of personal *aristeia* and claims of *aristeuein* with respect to military performance in later historiographical and oratorical texts.

#### Milorad Nikolic, Memorial University

#### Equites sagittarii indigenae at ancient Hauarra

According to the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the Roman fort at ancient Hauarra (modern Humayma, Jordan), originally built in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE, housed a unit of *equites sagittarii indigenae*, a locally recruited cavalry force. What did this indigenous cavalry unit in the Jordanian Desert look like? The term *equites* would indicate that the unit was mounted on horseback. As local Arabs, however, would they not more likely have been mounted on camels? In that case, should the *Notitia Dignitatum* not refer to (otherwise well-attested) *dromedarii*? Literary, epigraphic, and faunal evidence provide certain clues, but the determining factor is the harsh local environment. This paper attempts to resolve from the scant available information whether these *equites* were mounted on horses or camels.

#### Equites sagittarii indigenae dans l'ancienne Hauarra.

Selon la *Notitia Dignitatum*, le camp romain de Hauarra (actuellement Humayma, en Jordanie), construit au début du II<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C., abritait une unité d'equites sagittarii indigenae, une force de cavalerie recrutée localement. À quoi ressemblait cette unité de cavalerie autochtone dans le désert jordanien? Le terme equites indiquerait que l'unité était montée à cheval. En tant qu'Arabes locaux, cependant, n'auraient-ils pas plutôt été montés à chameau? Dans ce cas, la *Notitia Dignitatum* ne devrait-elle pas faire référence aux *dromedarii* (bien attestés ailleurs)? Les preuves littéraires, épigraphiques et fauniques fournissent certains indices, mais le facteur déterminant est l'environnement local sévère. Cette communication tente de résoudre, à partir des rares informations disponibles, si ces equites ont été montés à cheval ou à chameau.

#### Claude Eilers, McMaster University

## The Republican *dilectus* and the Jews: Lentulus in Ephesus (Jos. *AJ* 14. 228ff.)

In 49 BCE, while levying troops in Ephesus, the consul Lentulus Crus exempted Jews from serving in them. A group of six documents preserved by Josephus in *AJ* 14 relate to this decision, including three slightly different copies of the edict itself (*AJ* 14.228f., 234, 238ff.) and three documents that refer to it (14.230, 231f., 236f.).

The documents themselves present a tangle of textual problems, owing in part to a complicated history of transmission that began before they came into Josephus' hands. They also present three questions concerning Lentulus' decision that can be clarified (I argue) by considering these documents in the context of what we know about the Roman dilectus, or military levy.

First, Lentulus exempts from service in the legions πολῖται Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαῖοι ('Jewish citizens of Rome'). Doubt has been expressed whether these were Roman citizens in the full juridical sense, which is probably misplaced, given that Lentulus was in Asia raising citizen legions.

A second problem is how wide the exemption was meant to apply. Lentulus mentions only Ephesus, but the letter of Ampius Balbus refers to this decision applying to 'the Jews of Asia'. Some have explained this as an error on the part of either Balbus or a copiest, but that is probably unnecessary: to judge from Polybius' description (6.19-20) of the Roman dilectus, citizens were required to report from far and wide, so citizens from outside of Ephesus were expected to report. Indeed, Lentulus' reference to Ephesus in his edict signals only the place where the dilectus was held, not the residency of exemptees.

Third, and finally, considering Lentulus' exemption within the context of the dilectus highlights the strangeness of the document introduced as a 'Decree of Delos' (AJ 14.231), which reports official instructions not to harass the Jews because of the exemption. The document cannot come from Delos, but the concern over the possibility of a negative reaction outside Ephesus would nonetheless be noteworthy. I argue the document comes from Ephesus itself.

All this goes to reinforce the important observation of Rajak that the exemption was not meant to be a universal ruling applicable henceforth. Again, the context of the dilectus implies that Lentulus' decision applied only to this particular levy.

#### **Session 6d**

#### Latin Literature I: Aeneid | Littérature latine I: L'Énéide

Chair/Président: Riemer Faber

Carolyn MacDonald, University of New Brunswick

## Moving Images, Refugee Viewer: Reconsidering Aeneas in the Temple of Juno

Over half a century of scholarship on the Aeneid 1 ekphrasis of Juno's temple in Carthage has produced a remarkably consistent assessment of Aeneas as a subjective, emotional viewer, hopelessly or happily deluded in his optimistic interpretation of a cycle of paintings depicting the Trojan War (Otis 1963, Johnson 1976, Leach 1988, Putnam 1998, Syed 2005, Beck 2007, inter alia). Parallels between the paintings and the content of the Aeneid itself have encouraged metaliterary analyses, which take Aeneas as a positive or (more often) negative exemplum for the reader (e.g. O'Hara 1990, Bartsch 1998). This paper presents a new approach. Drawing on the work of contemporary globalization theorist Arjun Appadurai, I argue that the scene in Juno's temple is less about Aeneas' interpretive abilities and more about the semantic unsettling that inevitably occurs when 'moving images', like the Trojan cycle, meet 'deterritorialized viewers', like our refugee hero. In dramatizing this particular kind of visual encounter, endemic to a globalized and globalizing city like Augustan Rome (cf. Hingley 2005, Pitts and Versluys 2015), the scene refracts and reflects upon the experience of the city's monumental landscape. Indeed, details in the ekphrasis strongly evoke the temple of Hercules Musarum and the Portico of Philippus, where appropriated Greek artworks were used to present triumphalist narratives of Rome's cultural and geopolitical ascendancy (cf. Heslin 2015). In and through Aeneas' response to the Carthaginian temple, I suggest, Vergil raises a crucial question about the stability of these Roman narratives: In a world where images, their creators, and their viewers are all in motion, who gets to identify, and identify with, the message of a monument?

#### Michelle Sugar, University of Western Ontario

#### Guilt and Civil War in Vergil's Aeneid and Lucan's Bellum Civile

This paper is a comparative analysis that focuses on the portrayal of guilt in Vergil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile*. I argue that Lucan adheres to and elaborates upon Vergil's presentation of the relationship between a hero's experience of guilt and the undertaking of civil war by analysing episodes that contain interventions by the gods in the *Aeneid* 

and Fortuna in the *Bellum Civile*. I also analyze episodes that contain dreams, ghosts, and apparitions, especially Aeneas' dream of Hector and his vision of Creusa's ghost in *Aeneid* 2 and Caesar's interaction with Roma and Pompey's dream of Julia in *Bellum Civile* 1 and 3, respectively, and I argue that these represent external manifestations of the guilt each character experiences.

I show that Lucan engages with the *Aeneid* by questioning Vergil's old world and idealized heroism, which Pompey represents, because it is incompatible with the world of the *Bellum Civile*, where actions that incur guilt are required to ensure victory. Lucan subtly criticizes the glory of Aeneas' founding of Rome in his depiction of Caesar, whom he correlates with Aeneas as the progenitor of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Caesar personifies the guilt that pervades the world and, under the patronage of Fortuna, who also embodies this emotion, it becomes a guarantor for success. By associating Aeneas with Caesar, Lucan implicitly suggests that Aeneas initiates a type of hereditary guilt that continues in his own poem because, like the civil war between Pompey and Caesar, Aeneas' guilt, and its manifestation through the destructive force of *furor*, also leads to his own undertaking of civil war. In this way, Lucan uses Caesar to engage with the *Aeneid* and remove the glorious façade that Vergil created to describe Aeneas' war in Italy.

#### Kyle Gervais, University of Western Ontario

#### Positioning Aeneas: A Proposed Emendation to Aeneid 7.5

In this paper, I propose an emendation to *Aeneid* 7.5 and offer a literary reevaluation of the beginning of *Aeneid* 7, in which I argue that Virgil is suggesting cult worship for Aeneas' dead nurse Caieta. The transmitted text of 7.5 (at pius exsequiis Aeneas rite solutis), on the rites performed for Caieta, is suspicious for several reasons, most notably the unparalleled sedes of *Aeneas* (beginning in the middle of a foot). I argue that Virgil wrote at pius **Aeneas sacris iam** rite solutis, and that exsequiis is an intrusive gloss (evidence for which may be found in the ancient manuscripts). With sacris, Virgil seems to be suggesting cult honours as part of a complex allusion to Apollonius' Argonautica and Callimachus' Hecale. I also discuss four verse passages in Ovid, Petronius, and Columella to argue that sacris would suggest a cult and, especially, that Ovid and Columella had a text of Virgil with sacris, not exsequiis.

## Session 7a

#### Roman Theatre | Théâtre romain

Chair/Présidente: Christina Vester

Cassandra Tran, McMaster University

#### Puer surruptus: gender and cultural identity in Plautus' Menaechmi

In Plautus' *Menaechmi*, questions of gender and cultural identity intersect in the portrayal of the long-lost *adulescens*, Menaechmus I, who at the end of the play is found by his identical twin of the same name (Menaechmus II). Set in the city of Epidamnus, the action centres on the gradual displacement of Menaechmus I's daily life, after his brother's arrival to port brings about confusion among the residents, who mistaken the traveller for the local. The comic misunderstandings are eventually resolved in a recognition scene, where Menaechmus I is identified by his brother and is restored as a citizen of Syracuse.

In this paper, I argue that Plautus manipulates comic gender roles to reveal that while Menaechmus I has established a life as a husband and patron in Epidamnus, he does not truly belong in his present society because he was kidnapped and therefore expected, by comic standards, to return home. The playwright accomplishes this in part through the young man's relationship with his wife's *palla* or mantle, which he wears underneath his clothes in order to sneak it out of the house as a present for his girlfriend Erotium (146). The feminizing effect of the adornment is both a rich source of humour and a device used to highlight the dilemma of Menaechmus I's identity the moment he enters the stage. As the *palla* exchanges hands between Menaechmus I, Erotium, and Menaechmus II, Plautus attaches a deeper significance between the lost twin and the mantle in their shared status as stolen objects (*surruptus/surrupta*).

Having been featured prominently as a prop throughout the play, the mantle resurfaces in Menaechmus I's recognition scene (1060ff.), where it takes on another function as a sort of recognition token for the stolen brother. I argue that gender and cultural identity intersect once more in this dramatic resolution by comparing the identification formula used for Menaechmus I to that of the typical Plautine recognition plot, which normally centres on the restoration of a long-lost daughter or *virgo* (Duckworth 1994: 146-59).

Brittny Del Bel, Memorial University

## Plautus' *Pseudolus*: Advocating Masculinity Through the Exploration of Food

Growing modern interest in veganism and vegetarianism has created a social environment where food has become closely associated with different personal characteristics. It is the interest of this work to assess whether similar associations existed, and how they contributed to gender constructions in Hellenistic Rome.

This paper will use Plautus' *Pseudolus* to examine the association between food and masculinity and will argue that the cook's distasteful treatment towards both vegetarians and meat-eaters reflects a greater advocation for moderation as the new cornerstone of Roman masculinity. This paper will analyze the symbolism behind vegetables consumed by Plautus' vegetarians, connecting them with traditional Roman ideals of masculinity, while alternatively connecting meat and fish with newly developing ideals of masculinity. The analysis will connect various methods of food preparation with masculinity, building upon arguments which associate cooking with civilization (Peter Garnsey, Food and Society in Classical Antiquity, p70) and those which link the garnishment of meals with undesirable traits such as gluttony (John Wilkins, Companion to Food in the Ancient World, p65, It concludes that both groups were ultimately unable to exhibit proper masculinity, because of the flaws of raw (vegetarian) and elaborate (carnivorous) cuisines. The claim that extreme abundance or absence of any food is associated with the dietary practises of foreigners (Michael Beer, *Taste or Taboo*, p27-29, 55) further supports the view that Plautus advocates dietary balance, as the playwright negatively treats the extremes of both diets. Finally, the paper will explore both groups' divergence from proper masculine etiquette as both were likened to animals, and includes a disapproving implication that vegetarians dined amidst excrement which was considered obscene (Bradley, Smell and the Ancient Senses, 125-127). Such findings contribute to our understanding of the Hellenistic's worlds impact in Rome on the changing associations between food and gender.

#### Angela Hug, McMaster University

#### The Court of Nero in the Octavia

The *Octavia*, a *fabula praetexta* erroneously attributed to Seneca, has in recent years enjoyed a scholarly renaissance (e.g. Kragelund 2016 and Ginsberg 2017). The play dramatizes a single incident: Nero's decision in AD 62 to set his wife, Octavia, aside in order to marry his mistress, Poppaea. The *aula* – the court – is at the heart of the play, both in terms of its setting and its characters. Written soon after the collapse of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, most likely during the first years of Vespasian's reign, the *Octavia* is one of the earliest portraits of the imperial court at Rome. It deserves more attention from historians.

In this paper, I read the *Octavia* in two ways. The play marks the beginning of the historical memory of Nero's court, but it is also a contemporary understanding of what it meant to live in the court society of early Flavian Rome. Although the image of the court found in the play is necessarily shaped by dramatic and literary conventions, the assumptions made by the playwright concerning key aspects – including the preoccupation with dynastic continuity, the prevalence of factional infighting, and the transformative power of the emperor's favour – align with the descriptions of the Roman court found in other authors. They are also key features of monarchical courts in societies throughout history (Duindam 2016). The playwright, I argue, understood what elements had to be included to make his drama 'courtly'. The *Octavia*, therefore, is not just a dramatic recreation of one particular court, but also an indication of how deeply embedded the conventions of a court society had become in Rome.

#### **Session 7b**

## Indigenization & Classical Studies | Indigénisation et les études classiques

Chair/Présidente: Lee Maracle

In recent years there have been increasing calls for educators to Indigenize their curricula and to pay more attention to the particular needs of Indigenous students. Some driving forces behind these developments in Canada are changing demographics and the publication of the report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Classical Studies shares many of the same challenges as other fields in this endeavour. There is an underrepresentation of Indigenous peoples among faculty ranks, for instance, and the field carries significant colonial baggage. But, as this panel will discuss, Classicists in Canada are contributing to this ongoing process and demonstrating that the field can be valuable for addressing many relevant issues. With a particular emphasis on pedagogy, the speakers on this panel aim to share their experiences – both the challenges and the successes – in beginning the process of Indigenization. Through engagement with such issues as course content, curriculum development, outreach, and the teaching of specific texts and topics, the panel aims to provide a useful discussion for those beginning their own attempts at Indigenization, and to demonstrate how the field might be harnessed to make contributions to important social change.

David Meban, Campion College, University of Regina

## Students as Stakeholders: A Student Driven Approach to Indigenization in Classical Studies

This talk will discuss the background to and initial results of my project to begin Indigenizing the Classical Studies curriculum at my university. The methodology of my project grows out of what I have found to be two of the key stumbling blocks facing me as I begin my efforts. First of all, how can someone coming from a settler background, with very limited contact and familiarity with Indigenous ways of knowing and being, sensitively and effectively incorporate these into a university level course? The second and related problem I face is the question of my target audience. As critics such as Gaudry (2013) have pointed out, Indigenization efforts that prioritize educating non-Indigenous students can have the result of excluding Indigenous students from the entire process, thereby reinforcing existing colonialist prejudices. To address these issues, I adopt an approach that seeks the input of Indigenous students, that works to make their voices heard and make them stakeholders and participants in the modernization of the curriculum. This effort builds on recent work on pedagogy that envisions a non-hierarchical working relationship between educator and student, and that conceptualizes students as agents of change through their involvement in curriculum design (Supiano, 2018; Dunne and Zandstra, 2011).

#### Aven McMaster (@AvenSarah), Thorneloe University at Laurentian

#### Teaching the Aeneid on Colonized Land

The story of the Aeneid is, among many other things, a story of colonization, indigenous peoples, mythical claims of indigeneity, cultural exchange, assimilation, empire, and justification of imperial conquest. When teaching the text in a Roman Epic class for the first time in a while last year, I was very aware of the added dimensions of discussing these issues while standing in the traditional territories of the Atikameksheng Anishnawbek First Nation and Wahnapitae First Nation, in a country established as an act of colonization by an empire that modelled itself consciously on the Roman Empire, at a university whose mandate includes being "a leader in the process of reconciliation through transformative postsecondary education and research" (Laurentian Strategic Plan 2018) – in a department that historically has seen very few Indigenous students in its classes. I continued to consider these concepts while creating a course on Race & Ethnicity in the Ancient World (to be taught next year). This paper is an account of how I have explored, and will continue to explore, with the help of Indigenous scholars, colleagues, and Elders, the ways that engaging with Indigenous history, Indigenous experiences of colonization and assimilation, and Indigenous concepts of place, peoples, and race can enrich the study of the ancient world, open our discipline to a broader audience, and help provide another

framework for considering the continuity and variability of the human experience that Classics has always sought to illuminate.

L'Énéide est, dans une bonne mesure, une histoire de colonialisme et de peuples autochtones, de revendications mythiques d'indigénéité, d'échanges culturels et d'assimilation, d'impérialisme et de légitimation de la conquête impériale. L'année dernière, pour la première fois depuis longtemps, j'ai enseigné ce texte dans un cours sur l'épopée romaine. J'étais très consciente des rapprochements qui pouvaient être faits avec la question autochtone contemporaine, l'Université Laurentienne étant située sur les territoires traditionnels des Premières Nations Atikameksheng Anishnawbek et Whanapitae, dans un pays établi par l'acte de colonisation d'un empire qui s'inspirait consciemment de l'Empire romain. En outre, et quoique mon département n'a vu, historiquement, que très peu d'étudiants autochtones dans ses classes, l'Université s'est donné le mandat d'être « un leader dans le processus de la réconciliation par l'entremise de la recherche et de l'enseignement postsecondaire transformateur » (Plan Stratégique). J'ai continué à examiner ces questions tout en créant un cours sur les questions raciales et sur l'ethnicité dans le monde antique (qui sera enseigné l'an prochain pour la première fois). Cette communication est un compte rendu de la façon dont j'ai exploré et continuerai d'explorer, avec l'aide d'anciens et d'érudits des nations autochtones, comment approcher l'histoire et les expériences autochtones de colonisation et d'assimilation. Ces réflexions et celles qu'on peut faire aussi sur les concepts autochtones de lieu, de peuple et de race pourraient contribuer à de nouvelles approches dans l'étude du monde antique et ouvrir notre discipline à un public plus large.

Katherine Blouin (@isisnaucratis), University of Toronto

## Sprung from the Earth: Indigeneity and the Ancient History Classroom

This talk shall reflect on ways in which ancient historians can approach indigeneity in their classrooms. What stories do we tell ourselves regarding ancient Mediterranean indigeneities? And what stories do we not tell? Why? How can we do better? Drawing from the case of the history and historiography of ancient Alexandria, I shall propose a set of pedagogical avenues that pertain more broadly to issues such as ancient hegemonic discourses about autochthony, conceptions of indigeneity in founding myths, interactions between ancient settlers and native populations, as well as the interplay between "Classical" education and the representations and treatments of indigenous populations in modern (settler) colonies. I argue that approaching the entanglements between modern historiography, the reception of the "Classical past", as well as their impacts on European and North American imperialisms and colonial practices is an essential condition to the decolonization of ancient history's classrooms, syllabi, and research.

#### Nés du sol: Autochtonie et enseignement de l'histoire ancienne

Cette communication propose une réflexion sur les stratégies au moyen desquelles les historiens de l'Antiquité peuvent explorer les notions d'autochtonie dans leurs cours. Quelles histoires nous racontons-nous au sujet des autochtonies de la Méditerranée antique? Et quelles histoires ne nous racontons-nous pas? Pourquoi? Comment pouvons-nous faire mieux? À partir du cas de l'histoire et de l'historiographie d'Alexandrie, je souhaite proposer quelques pistes pédagogiques permettant portant plus généralement les questions de l'autochtonie dans les discours hégémoniques anciens, des conceptions d'autochtonie dans les mythes fondateurs, des interactions entre colons et populations autochtones, ainsi que des interactions entre l'éducation «classique» et les représentations et traitements des communautés autochtones dans les colonies de peuplement modernes. Je soutiens que la prise en considération des modes d'enchevêtrement de l'historiographie moderne, de la réception du «passé classique», ainsi que de leurs impacts sur les impérialismes et pratiques coloniales en Europe et en Amérique du Nord est une condition essentielle à la décolonisation des cours, des syllabus, et de la recherche dans le domaine de l'histoire ancienne.

#### Session 7c

## Roman Art & Archaeology | Art et archéologie romain

Chair/Président: Martin Beckmann

Naomi Neufeld, University of Toronto

#### Inscribed Vessels, Ritual, and Identity at the Sanctuary of Gravisca

Established at the start of the  $6^{th}$  century BCE, the trade settlement of Gravisca belonged to a network of coastal settlements which emerged in the Archaic period to facilitate trade in the Tyrrhenian Sea (Fiorini, 2005; Riva, 2010). Functioning as the port of the Etruscan city of Tarquinia, archaeological evidence reveals that in its earlier stages, this emporic site played host to a mix of Greeks and Etruscans whose main objective was trade and commerce (Fiorini and Torelli, 2010). Inscribed dedications from the sanctuary of Gravisca supply a substantial part of the evidence for the identity of the residents and visitors of settlement. However, traditional approaches to this epigraphic material have tended to focus either on the names of the dedicators, seeking to trace their 'ethnic' and civic identities through the epigraphic record, or on the possible civic associations of the

deities to whom the dedications were made (Torelli, 1982; Demetriou, 2012). Although such content-based studies of the inscriptions are of great value in examining identities at Gravisca, they often overlook the very objects, primarily ceramic vessels, on which the inscriptions appear. This paper investigates whether differences in the shapes and fabrics between the vessels carrying Greek inscriptions and those bearing Etruscan inscriptions indicate a distinction in ritual use of these implements between Greek and Etruscan dedicators. This paper also examines the dedicatory formulae used for the inscribed objects to see whether variations in the texts' composition reveal differences in attitude towards the practice of dedication that might be indicative of 'ethnic' identity.

#### Fae Amiro, McMaster University

#### The Eleusis Portrait Type of the Empress Sabina

The sequence and dating of the empress Sabina's portrait types has been debated for the past ninety years. There are five portrait types used on her coinage from 128-138 C.E. All of these appear on all denominations of her coinage except for one, the so-called Eleusis type. This appears only on the *asses* and the *denarii*. The type's existence in sculpture is dubious. Due to its rarity, the type has not received much scholarly attention and its placement in the timeline of Sabina's portrait types has been uncertain. Previous scholarship has made a connection between the creation of this type and the initiation of the imperial couple into the Eleusinian mysteries in 129 C.E., due mostly to the corn wreath which the empress wears. The type's dating has, however, never been independently established.

To establish a true chronology of Sabina's portrait types, I conducted die studies of the *aurei* and *dupondii/asses* which display Sabina's portrait. Die links from the *as/dupondius* die study prove that the Eleusis portrait type appears second in the sequence of Sabina's portrait types. Metrological analysis reveals that the type appears on only the *asses* and not the *dupondii*. Based on die link estimates and comparison with the timeline of the *aureus* die study, the type was likely introduced at the Roman mint between the years 131-133, several years after the previously proposed 129.

Four provincial cities also minted coins with this portrait type. Hadrian's travelling group was in three of these or their vicinity within a year of the couple's initiation into the mysteries. This presents the possibility that the type was first introduced on provincial coinage before making its way to Rome. The type is also, however, fairly generic, raising questions about whether the type could have been invented in Rome without the empress present.

#### Michele George, McMaster University

#### The Young Roman Girl as Muse

In this paper I examine the relationship in Roman visual culture between the muses and young Roman girls, with a particular focus on funerary commemoration. Although the scroll often appears in memorials to young Roman boys as a sign of paideia and social status, the motif is not used in the funerary iconography of Roman girls. Instead, commemorative references to the education of girls are made explicitly in text, through inscriptions, or indirectly, through a visual link with the Muses, reflecting gendered distinctions in attitudes toward paideia at Rome. As Emily Hemelrijk has shown (Matrona Docta – Educated women in the Roman élite from Cornelia to Julia Domna | London and New York 1999 | ), the republican ideal of educated motherhood as proverbially embodied by Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, was restricted to the highest social echelon, and held in suspicion by many others. By the early imperial era, however, it had filtered down the social hierarchy to become a generally accepted *desideratum* in a Roman wife, although one still limited to those who could afford an education. As part of this process, the cultural archetype of the docta puella, the 'learned girl' of Augustan elegiac poetry, who was trained in music, dance, and literature, was domesticated and transformed into the docta matrona, the 'learned married woman', so that by the end of the 1st century CE, an educated wife was culturally acceptable and even preferable among the Roman elite. Through an examination of text and image on funerary monuments, I consider the role of paideia in the cultural construction of young Roman girls and its significance as a commemorative trope.

#### La jeune fille romaine comme muse

Dans cette communication j'examine le lien dans la culture visuelle romaine entre les muses et les jeunes filles, avec un intérêt particulier pour les rites funéraires. Bien que le rouleau apparaisse souvent sur les monuments commémoratifs pour jeunes garçons en signe de *paideia* et statut social, le motif n'est pas utilisé dans l'iconographie funéraire des filles romaines. Au lieu de cela, les références commémoratives à l'éducation des filles sont explicitement faites dans le texte, à travers des inscriptions, ou indirectment, par un lien visuel avec les muses, reflétant les distinctions de genre dans les attitudes envers la paideia à Rome. Comme Emily Hemelrijk l'a montré (Matrona Docta – Educated women in the Roman élite from Cornelia to Julia Domna [Londres et New York 1999]), l'idéal républicain de la maternité éduquée, incarné de manière proverbiale par Cornelia, mère des Gracchi, était limité au plus haut échelon social et regardé avec suspicion par beaucoup d'autres. Au début de l'ère impériale, cependant, il avait filtré la hiérarchie sociale pour devenir un desideratum généralement accepté chez une femme romaine, même s'il restait réservé aux personnes qui pouvaient s'offrir une éducation. Dans le cadre de ce processus, l'archétype culturel de la docta puella, la «fille savante» de la poésie élégiaque augustine, formée à la musique, à la danse et à la littérature, a été domestiqué et transformé en docta matrona, la «femme mariée savante», ainsi, à la fin du Ier siècle de notre ère, une femme instruite était

culturellement acceptable et même préférable parmi l'élite romaine. À travers un examen du texte et de l'image sur les monuments funéraires, j'envisage le rôle de la *paideia* dans la construction culturelle des jeunes filles romaines et son importance en tant que trope commémoratif.

## Session 7d

### Greek Poetry II | Poésie grecque II

Chair/Présidente: Elsa Bouchard

Vichi Ciocani, Babes-Bolyai University

#### Sappho's weddings and their surprising tranquility

Nothing could be more replete with conflict than weddings in Greek myth. Beginning with Thetis and Peleus, continuing with Helen's wedding and the ensuing Trojan war, the wedding of Hippodamia or Pandora's wedding gifts, the mere reference to a nuptial context in Greek myth evokes some kind of disaster.

In this context, Sappho's depiction of weddings in her poetry seems remarkably reassuring. The wedding is an intensely joyful event which both acknowledges a maiden's dreams within the acceptance of community and asks for celebration. This paper will look at the peculiar techniques used in Sappho's extant poetry to suggest a smooth, seemingly undisrupted transition from maiden to married. For example, poem 44V, on Hector's and Andromache's wedding, avoids any reference to the tragedy that we (and the original audience) know lies in the background (including Andromache's father and brothers having recently been killed by Achilles). The paper will argue that, differently from Alcman's or Pindar's partheneia, Sappho's poems are interested in the becoming of  $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nui\alpha$ , its transformation into married life and motherhood, and, backwards, in the mother's and old woman's celebration and recovery of  $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nui\alpha$  through memory and song. The focus on the wedding as the connecting element between maidenhood and maturity sets Sappho apart;  $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nui\alpha$  is a life stage not supposed to be violently interrupted by adulthood, but conversely opening up to both the life of the married woman and mother and old age.

#### La tranquillité surprenante des mariages de Sappho

Rien ne pourrait être plus rempli de conflit que les mariages dans le mythe grec. Commençant par Thetis et Peleus, continuant avec le mariage d'Helen et la guerre de Troie qui s'ensuit, le mariage d'Hippodamia ou de Pandora, la simple référence à un contexte nuptial dans le mythe grec évoque une sorte de catastrophe.

Dans ce contexte, la représentation des mariages dans la poésie de Sappho semble remarquablement rassurante. Le mariage est un événement intensément joyeux qui reconnaît les rêves d'une jeune fille dans l'acceptation de la communauté, qui demande une célébration. Cette présentation va examiner les techniques particulières utilisées dans la poésie existante de Sappho pour suggérer une transition harmonieuse, apparemment sans interruption, de la jeune fille à la femme marieé. Par exemple, le poème 44V, sur le mariage d'Hector et Andromache, évite toute référence à la tragédie que nous (et le public prévu) connaissons réside dans l'arrière-plan (y compris le père et les frères d'Andromache ayant récemment été tués par Achille). Ma présentation arguera que, différemment de la partheneia d'Alcman ou de Pindar, les poèmes de Sappho sont intéressés par le devenir de  $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nui\alpha$ , sa transformation en vie conjugale et en maternité, et, à l'envers, dans la célébration et la récupération de  $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nui\alpha$  à travers la mémoire et le chant. L'accent sur le mariage comme l'élément de connexion entre la virginité et la maturité est caractéristique de Sappho;  $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nui\alpha$  est une étape de la vie qui n'est pas interrompue violemment par l'âge adulte, mais au contraire s'ouvre à la vie de la femme mariée, de la mère et de la vieille.

#### Peter J. Miller, University of Winnipeg

#### **Athletic Bodies and Epinikian Fame**

At the beginning of the third Nemean Ode, Pindar turns his attention to his craft: "different deeds thirst after different rewards, but victory in the games loves song most of all" (3.6-Pindar is sure of the connection between victory and song, and he is also certain that song will transform athletic victory into the type of song – like those of Homer – that will continue for all time. By basing this encomium on athletic instead of martial performance, epinikian produces and attempts to resolve a paradox: athletics generates eternal glory, but the human body is fragile, prone to injury, and defined by death. Indeed, as ancient sports historians have demonstrated, ancient Greek sport was horrifically dangerous and often bloody. The transitory bodily supremacy of the athlete is therefore put into a display that foregrounds its inevitable decay and destruction. As one sports philosopher remarks, "all [athletic] exertion involves a striving in the lengthening shadow of exhaustion" (Connor, 16). In this way, the very action of sporting competition points to the inevitability of failure and the impossibility of competing, or winning, forever. The association of sporting victory with "immortality" is therefore ironically morbid since it is in sports, perhaps more than any other competition, that human frailty provides the outline for the nature of competition itself. The human body alone – always in decline – is the medium on which competition, loss, and victory operate.

In this paper, I consider how epinikian poets deal with the paradox that praise of athletics posits: how to promote eternal glory with the ephemeral human body. I begin with how epinikian poets deal with the body's relationship to victory and song before turning to the possibilities of immortalizing the body through comparisons with the natural world;

finally, this paper ends by considering how beauty and youth complicate the immortal glory that Pindar and Bacchylides seek to bestow.

Christopher Brown, University of Western Ontario

#### Pindar's Epiphany of Alcmaeon (Pyth. 8.55-60)

In the Eighth Pythian, the Pindar moves from the myth of the Epigonoi to the victory of Aristomenes by recounting an epiphany of Alcmaeon (55-60):

χαίρων δὲ καὶ αὐτός Άλκμᾶνα στεφάνοισι βάλλω, ῥαίνω δὲ καὶ ὕμνῳ, γείτων ὅτι μοι καὶ κτεάνων φύλαξ ἐμῶν ὑπάντασεν ἰόντι γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν παρ' ἀοίδιμον, μαντευμάτων τ' ἐφάψατο συγγόνοισι τέχναις.

... and I too am glad to pelt Alcman with wreaths and sprinkle him with song, because as my neighbor and guardian of my possessions, he met me on my way to the earth's famed navel and employed his inherited skills in prophecy. (Race)

As early as the scholia, these lines have engendered much disagreement among scholars. Who is the speaker here? The most obvious candidate is the poet himself, but the absence of any evidence for a prophetic shrine of Alcmaeon in the vicinity of Thebes has led scholars to argue in favour of other possibilities mentioned in the scholia, especially the view that the chorus is speaking in the voice of the victor ( $\dot{\omega}_{\varsigma}$   $\dot{\alpha}\pi\dot{\delta}$  τοῦ χοροῦ τὸ πρόσωπον μιμουμένου τοῦ νενικηκότος).

The present paper will argue that these lines should be understood in the most natural way with the poet as the speaker. The passage is not intended as a literal account of Pindar's domestic circumstances, but it is a poetic fiction, a type of narrative that has affinities with stories of poetic initiation, that both lends the poet authority and links the central myth of the ode with the victor and his world.

#### **Session 8a**

## Roman Provincial Archaeology | Archéologie provinciale romaine

Chair/Présidente: Michele George

Matthew McCarty, University of British Columbia

#### Provincializing Roman Dacia: UBC's Apulum Roman Villa Project

What does it mean to become a province of the Roman Empire, or to cease to be one? Studies of the myriad processes of social, economic, and cultural incorporation into and subsequent disincorporation from—the Roman Empire have tended to focus on the northwestern (and occasionally eastern) portions of the empire, with the central provinces largely assumed to follow similar trajectories. Yet recognizing the diversity of dynamics in provincialization, and the contingencies of relationships between local populations and colonial authorities, is key. Dacia offers a unique case study, as one of the last provinces brought into the empire (c. 106 CE), and one of the first provinces to be "abandoned" (c. 250 CE, although the nature and timing of this process remain poorly understood). The SSHRC-funded Apulum Roman Villa Project (2018–) aims to study the diachronic socio-economic dynamics of imperial hegemony on a micro-historical level, through survey and excavation of a Roman villa located just outside one of the provincial capitals at Apulum. This is one of the first villas in Dacia to be systematically excavated, and the results of the first campaign (August 2018) provide a preliminary picture of how the provincial countryside and its populations were transformed under and after Roman rule. In particular, ceramics collected during survey suggest that the villa represents a very different trajectory than that observed in the northwestern provinces, with no immediate Iron Age predecessor; Roman conquest created a substantial re-orientation of territorial exploitation. The lack of settlement continuity may point to immigrant landowners, while the layout of the villa (revealed through geophysical survey) suggests that the villa owners were not simply replicating social and architectural patterns from other parts of the empire. In short, the project offers a first look at the particular socio-economic practices that transformed a provincial countryside.

Craig A. Harvey, University of Michigan

## Triumph in the Desert? A Possible Depiction of a Triumphal Scene from the Roman Fort at Humayma (Ancient Hauarra), Jordan

Located in the Jordanian desert, the site of Humayma (ancient Hauarra) may seem an unlikely place to find a depiction of a Roman triumph; however, excavation within this site's Roman fort uncovered fragments of wall painting that may in fact portray such a scene. Despite being on the periphery of the Roman Empire, this Trajanic fort contained a great deal of decorative wall painting. Most of these paintings imitated marble veneering, but excavation also brought to light a few fragments of a figural scene with an associated Greek dipinto, containing only one complete word,  $\sigma$ oí, and part of the word  $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\pi$ i $\zeta$  or ἐλπίζω. The fragmentary nature of both the figural wall painting and the *dipinto* makes interpretation difficult. Nevertheless, the presence of several key elements (including a laurel crown, a chariot wheel, a possible military standard, and the likely depiction of a Victory in flight) points convincingly toward the probability that this composition depicts a triumphal procession, rather than, for example, an athletic victory. If correct, these fragments may be a unique example of a Roman triumph represented in wall painting. This paper therefore relies upon comparanda from other artistic media and the depictions of the individual elements from other paintings to argue for its identification and to place it within its large artistic context. Although this composition may be the only example of a triumphal procession portrayed in wall painting to survive, it provides tantalizing evidence for what may have been a common phenomenon of depicting such iconography on fugitive material. Furthermore, it represents a welcome addition to the limited corpus of surviving wall paintings from both the Roman Near East as well as from Roman forts in general, and it provides a tangible example for the existence of imperial iconography on the far reaches of the Roman Empire.

## Un triomphe dans le désert ? Une représentation possible d'un triomphe dans la forteresse de Humayma (*Hauarra* antique), en Jordanie

Situé dans le désert jordanien, Humayma (Hauarra antique) est un site sur lequel il on était improbable de trouver une représentation d'un triomphe romain. Toutefois des fouilles menées dans la forteresse même, qui fut construite sous Trajan, ont mis au jour les vestiges d'une peinture murale qui représente une scène de triomphe. En plus de ces fragments d'enduit peints, les archéologues ont trouvé des fragments d'une inscription peinte en grec, comportant seulement un mot complet ( $\sigma$ oí) et un mot partiel ( $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\pi$ íς ou  $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\pi$ íζω). Parce que les vestiges de ces peintures murales et ces inscriptions peintes sont si partielles, il est difficile de les comprendre. Néanmoins, la présence d'une couronne de laurier, une roue de char, une hampe possible, et une probable représentation d'une victoire ailée, suggère que la peinture murale représentait un triomphe romain. Si cette interprétation est correcte, ces fragments d'enduit peints sont un exemple unique d'une

représentation d'un triomphe romain en peinture murale. Par conséquent, il faut utiliser des exemples des représentations de triomphes romains en sculptures afin de justifier cette identification. Bien que cette peinture murale peut être le seul exemple survivant d'une représentation de triomphe romain en peinture murale, cela peut donner un indice sur ce type de iconographie présente sur les matériels qui survivent rarement. Par ailleurs, ces fragments sont un apport primordial au corpus limité des peintures murales survivantes au Proche-Orient à l'époque romaine et aux camps romains, et ils témoignent de la présence de l'iconographie impériale aux frontières de l'Empire romain.

#### Amanda Hardman, McMaster University

#### The Urban Location of Thermae in Roman Greece

In her 2013 survey of the intra- and extramural location of public Greek bathhouses, Monika Trümper found that during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, Greek baths built within a city were most frequently located in high-traffic areas, including near harbours, gates, main intersections, the edges of the settlement, and more rarely near the agora. This, she argued, was largely due to commercial considerations; Greek baths, although publicly used, were largely privately owned. Did these common locations continue to be favoured during the Roman period for the predominately publicly owned Roman thermae? Furthermore, is it possible to detect any difference in bath placement in ex novo Greco-Roman towns and in established Greek poleis, where officials had to insert the thermae into a pre-existing urban framework? A survey of urban thermae from both ex novo and pre-established poleis in the Greek world indicates that from the mid 1st century to the 3rd century CE at least, those responsible for erecting a city or town's bath(s) continued to prefer high traffic areas, including gates, and near other public buildings (e.g. theaters). In those cities, like Athens, with a strong pre-Roman foundation, the space around the agora continues to have been at a premium, and thermae are not commonly placed here. In such instances, it seems possible that despite the public ownership of the thermae, the public officials were unable or unwilling to expropriate such important public space for the erection of new Roman thermae. However, in ex novo communities like Nicopolis and Roman Corinth, *thermae* near the *forum* are more common.

#### **Session 8b**

## Greek Theatre II | Théâtre grec II

Chair/Présidente: Florence Yoon

Ian Storey, Trent University

#### **Euripides''Trilogy' of 422 BCE**

In his recent study of the fragments of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, Matthew Wright (*The Lost Plays of Greek Tragedy*, vol. 2: Bloomsbury 2019) has given us 'just the facts', deliberately avoiding any conjectural reconstruction of the lost plays or any possible ordering of the fragments. This process ('essentially imaginative fiction' [4]) he urges readers and critics to take on for themselves. With his blessing, then, I am suggesting in this paper that at the Dionysia of 422 Euripides presented three tragedies as a loosely connected 'trilogy, much as he would do later in 415 with his 'Trojan trilogy' *Alexandros*, *Palamedes*, and *Trojan Women*.

The three proposed plays are the extant Suppliant Women and the lost Antiope and Erechtheus, for both of which substantial fragments remain, both from the literary tradition and on papyrus discoveries. Euripides' trilogy of 415 was not a sequential work, like Aeschylus' Theban plays (467) or his Oresteia (458), but three tragedies with thematic links and common characters and settings between two of the plays in turn. I shall argue for much the same in my proposed trilogy, pointing out links of significant words and phrases and common themes such as Thebes and its seven gates, her relationship with Athens, the justification for war, the qualities of a good leader, wealth and prosperity, the death of women in each drama, the relationship between fathers and sons, debates over the value of the apragmōn v. the polypragmōn in the city, and the presence of a secondary chorus. I will close with a suggestion of the identity of the satyr-drama that closed this production.

Valeria Logacheva, University of Western Ontario

#### Ritual Impasse: Hermione's Tragic Marriage in Euripides' Andromache

The character of Hermione in Euripides' *Andromache* has seldom been the center of scholarly attention. With some notable exceptions (e.g. Kyriakou 1997; Papadimitropoulos 2006), Hermione's character has been analyzed only inasmuch as her Spartan origins have a bearing on scholarly discussions concerning, on the one hand, the forces of "good" and "evil" in the play and, on the other hand, the question of the play's "unity." In this paper, I

will avoid judging whether Euripides' Hermione is "good" or "evil" and how central she is for the plot's "unity." Instead, I will focus on analyzing the ways in which Hermione's character, her actions and circumstances are defined by the ritual poetics of marriage explored in the play.

The ritual transgressions preceding Hermione's marriage to Neoptolemus have created what Zeitlin in her analysis of Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* (1978: 156) calls "a ritual impasse." In the *Andromache*, this impasse is manifest in the dysfunction of the social order on stage. Hermione appears unable to complete the transition from bride to wife, and from her father's house to that of her husband. These failed transitions represent the dysfunction of time and space respectively. The former is manifest most obviously in Hermione's inability to produce offspring; the latter in the physical presence of Hermione's father in Neoptolemus' oikos, while Neoptolemus himself is completely absent from the action of the play.

Tragedies often construct meaning by portraying deviations from the norm. In order to reconstruct as much as possible what would have been seen by Euripides' contemporary audience as "the ideal" in Hermione's circumstances, I draw on the epic ideals represented by Penelope and Andromache as comparative literary models, as well as on some anthropological evidence on the position of an *epikleros* in fifth century Athens.

#### Matthew Farmer, Haverford College

#### Once More a Weasel: Actors' Mistakes and Parody in Greek Drama

At a crucial point in Plato's *Charmides*, Plato describes the future "tyrant" Critias growing angry, and compares him to "a poet angry at an actor for mishandling his poetry." Although tragic actors must occasionally have misdelivered their lines, such moments of theater history are largely lost to us. There is, however, one exception: at the premiere of Euripides' *Orestes*, when the actor Hegelochus was supposed to deliver the line "after the storm I see once more a calm  $(\gamma \alpha \lambda \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\phi} \rho \tilde{\omega})$ ," he instead told the audience, "after the storm I see once more a weasel  $(\gamma \alpha \lambda \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\phi} \rho \tilde{\omega})$ ."

The comic poets Aristophanes, Sannyrion, and Strattis immediately fastened onto this mistake: Sannyrion's *Danae*, for example, depicts Zeus contemplating turning into a weasel to sneak into Danae's chamber, only to reject the plan out of fear that Hegelochus would notice him and shout "I see a weasel!" Each reference to Hegelochus serves some purpose within its particular comedy: Sannyrion marks the mythological setting of *Danae* as a tragic space when his Zeus worries that Hegelochus, as a tragic actor, could enter a mythological comedy at will and disrupt its action with his signature line.

These allusions to Hegelochus' error also form, however, part of a broader rhetorical strategy that uses parody of tragic speech to reveal the fragility of tragic performance. In referring to Hegelochus' error, the comic poets not only recall a famous, funny moment in theater history, they celebrate Hegelochus' mispronunciation as an act of instantaneous

tragic parody. In this paper, I use these jokes about Hegelochus as a foundation to explore both the mockery of actors in comedy, and the comic poets' presentation of tragic parody as a form of tragic performance gone horribly, hilariously wrong. (WC: 285)

# Session 8c Reception III | Réception III

Chair/Président: Randall Pogorzelski

Judith Fletcher, Wilfrid Laurier University

#### Homopoetics and the Good Gay Odysseus: Greer's Less

Less, Andrew Sean Greer's Pulitzer-prize comedic novel, is told as a self-reflexive version of the *Odyssey* in which the narrator and his subject merge to produce a postmodern homophrosyne that recapitulates the like-mindedness of Odysseus and Penelope. After his lover's announcement that he is going to marry another man, Art Less, a novelist of modest fame, patches together a world tour on the literary circuit. Less's first novel *Kalipso*, in which the gay protagonist returns to his wife, causes a critic to tell him that while he is not a bad writer, he is "a bad gay." His new project, by contrast, serves as a more fluid mise-en-abyme: an Odysseus-like "middle-aged gay man walking around San Francisco. And, you know, his ... his sorrows ... "It is rejected in its dismal original state, but as Less wanders across the globe the manuscript gradually takes a different shape from the framing narration (by a mysterious voice) of the hapless writer's own encounters with versions of Calypso, Tiresias, the Phaeacians, and so on.

The deepest intertextuality is not inscribed in *Less's* events and characters, but rather in their telling, as if by a male Penelope to whom Odysseus recounted his tales, which abets the metafictional quality of the book. The effect is of a set of nesting stories that blurs the margins between Homer's *Odyssey*; Greer's *Less*; Less's novels past and future. Like-mindedness becomes the necessary foreground to create meaning of the recursive structures of the novel, and produces the "homopoetic" fulfillment of a "good gay" Odysseus.

Laurie Wilson, Biola University

## Prophetess of the Divine: The Sibyl of Cumae's Embodied Voice in Virgil and the Christian Tradition

Analyses of female figures in the *Aeneid* rarely address the Sibyl of Cumae, despite her pivotal role in Book Six. Additionally, women's studies that consider the Cumaean Sibyl tend to focus on sexual oppression in her relationship with Apollo. Although these feminist readings have provided essential insights on gender and sexuality within the *Aeneid*, the neglect of the Sibyl or an emphasis on her victimization overlooks the powerful role she plays as a female prophetess. In the development of the Christian tradition drawn from Virgil, the Sibyl serves as a symbol of female guidance, enlightenment, and independent interaction with the divine.

In Latin literature, the Sibyl's voice becomes increasingly disembodied, but in Virgil's portrayal, her identity revolves around the intimate connection she has with the divine will and her guidance of Aeneas in the fulfillment of that will. Rather than detracting from her female presence, her age enhances the respect Aeneas accords her as a *sanctissima vates* who is a *longaeva sacerdos* and a *virgo*. Ultimately, the Sibyl serves as a symbol for Virgil himself, as one *plena deo* whose words are shaped by divine inspiration.

The prevailing reading of the Cumaean Sibyl within the Christian tradition echoes Virgil. Biblical references to female prophetesses and the presence of the Sibylline Oracles strengthened her image, and theologians such as Augustine and Aquinas claimed that the Sibyl had foretold the birth of Christ in *Bucolics 4*. As a communicator of divine truth, the Sibyl represents female equality and the leveling of gender hierarchies. Through the reception of Virgil in Christian writing and art, the Sibyl remains an embodied voice and a visible symbol of female insight and religious authority.

## La prophétesse du divin: La voix incarnée de la sibylle de Cumes chez Virgil et la tradition chrétienne

Malgré son rôle essentiel dans le sixième chant de *l'Énéide*, les analyses des personnages féminins de l'œuvre ne s'occupent presque jamais de la sibylle. En plus, les études féminines qui la prennent en compte ont tendance à mettre l'emphase sur l'oppression sexuelle dans son rapport avec Apollon. Bien que ceux-ci aient donné des aperçus essentiels des rôles de sexe et de la sexualité dans *l'Énéide*, négliger la Sibylle ou insister sur sa victimation risque négliger l'importance de son rôle en tant que prophétesse. Dans le développement de la tradition chrétienne tirée de Virgile, la Sibylle constitue un symbole des conseils féminins, de l'illumination, et de l'interaction indépendante avec le divin.

Dans la littérature Latine, la voix de la Sibylle devient de plus en plus désincarnée, mais chez Virgile, son identité tourne autour de sa connexion intime avec la volonté divine et le conseil qu'elle donne à Énée en accomplissant cette volonté. Au lieu de diminuer sa présence féminine, son âge met en valeur l'estime qu'Énée lui accorde en tant que sanctissima vates

qui est *longaeva sacerdos* et *virgo*. En fin de compte, la Sibylle constitue un symbole de Virgile lui-même en tant que *plena deo* dont les mots sont façonnés par l'inspiration divine.

L'interprétation dominante de la Sibylle de Cumes dans la tradition chrétienne répète Virgile. Les références bibliques à la prophétesse et la présence des Oracles sibyllins ont renforcé son image, et les théologiens Augustin et d'Aquin prétendaient que la sibylle avait prédit la naissance du Christ dans Les Bucoliques 4. Communicatrice de la vérité divine, la sibylle représente l'égalité féminine et l'arasement des hiérarchies de sexe. À travers de la réception de Virgile dans l'écriture et l'art chrétiens, la sibylle reste une voix incarnée et un symbole clair qui donne un aperçu de sexe féminin et de l'autorité religieuse.

#### Eleanor Irwin, University of Toronto

## Breaking the glass ceiling to translating Plato: Georgiana, Lady Chatterton, Florence Nightingale and Florence Melian Stawell

Women translated Greek and Latin authors into English as far back as the Elizabethan era, tackling both prose authors and poets though only occasionally philosophers. The earliest English translations of Plato and Aristotle by women were not published till the second half of the nineteenth century. In this paper I will consider two women who translated Plato: Georgiana, Lady Chatterton (*Selections from the Works of Plato*, 1862) and Florence Melian Stawell (*The Euthyphro, Apology and Crito*, 1907). Between the publication of Chatterton and Stawell, women's education changed significantly with the admission of women into universities and the resultant changes in subjects taught in schools. The third woman, Florence Nightingale, best known for her nursing during the Crimean War and her advocacy of improvement in the care of the sick and wounded, also has a claim to the translation of Plato. She is said to have translated, though not published, the Socratic dialogues while in her teens. After her return from Crimea, she corresponded with Benjamin Jowett (between 1864 and 1872) as he was labouring on his translation of the complete works of Plato and critiqued his translation.

I will discuss when each of these women learned Greek and from whom, family and friends who facilitated and encouraged their studies and factors which emboldened them, in the case of Chatterton and Stawell, to publish their translations as well as the reception these translations received. I will explore the likely reasons for Chatterton and Stawell embarking on the translation of Plato and compare sections of their translations with Jowett's for accuracy and English style.

#### Briser le plafond de verre (or la barrière invisible) pour traduire Platon: Georgiana, Lady Chatterton, Florence Nightingale et Florence Melian Stawell

Les femmes ont traduit des auteurs grecs et latins en anglais depuis l'époque élisabéthaine, s'attaquant à la fois aux auteurs de prose et aux poètes, mais seulement de temps en temps

aux philosophes. Les premières traductions anglaises de Platon et d'Aristote par des femmes n'ont été publiées qu'avant la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle. Dans cet article, je considérerai deux femmes qui ont traduit Platon: Georgiana, Lady Chatterton (*Selections from the Works of Plato*, 1862) et Florence Melian Stawell (*The Euthyphro, Apology et Crito*, 1907). Entre la publication de Chatterton et de Stawell, l'éducation des femmes a changé sensiblement avec l'admission des femmes aux universités et les changements qui en résultent dans les matières enseignées dans les écoles. La troisième femme, Florence Nightingale, mieux connue pour ses soins infirmiers pendant la guerre de Crimée et son plaidoyer pour l'amélioration des soins des malades et des blessés, a également une revendication à la traduction de Platon. On dit qu'elle a traduit, mais pas publié, les dialogues socratiques pendant son adolescence. Après son retour de Crimée, elle a correspondu avec Benjamin Jowett (entre 1864 et 1872) pendant qu'il travaillait sur sa traduction des œuvres complètes de Platon et qu'elle a critiqué sa traduction.

Je discuterai de quand chacune de ces femmes a appris le grec et de qui, de la famille et des amis qui ont facilité et encouragé leurs études et des facteurs qui les ont incitées, dans le cas de Chatterton et Stawell, de publier leurs traductions ainsi que de la réception que ces traductions ont reçue. Je vais explorer les raisons probables qui ont poussé Chatterton et Stawell à s'embarquer dans la traduction de Platon et aussi comparer des extraits de leurs traductions avec celle de Jowett pour la précision et le style anglais.

#### **Session 8d**

Difficult Situations in Academic Settings:
A Workshop in Bystander Intervention Training |
Situations difficiles en milieu universitaire: un atelier
sur la formation pour l'intervention des témoins

Leaders/Dirigeantes: Christina Vester & Catherine Tracy

### Session 9a

## Sensing the Past | Sentir le passé

Chair/Président: Michael Carter

Scholars have been drawn to sensory history with increasing numbers over the past ten to fifteen years, and a growing number of studies have appeared that approach aspects of the ancient world using this broad, interpretive framework. Some examples include Routledge's new book series, "The Senses in Antiquity", Susan Harvey's Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination (UCP, Berkeley, 2006), and the useful blog/website, www.sensorystudiesinantiquity.com. This panel includes four papers that take a sensory approach to ancient history, with two looking at the impact of the senses on aspects of Greek (classical and Hellenistic) history and two on Roman (late republican and early imperial) history. The first paper questions whether apotropaic devices served to deflect the evil eye, as often averred, and rather argues that these devices might have worked deflect other sensory presences, like sound and odour. The second explores a less well-studied Roman drink, *mulsum*, and argues that a Roman penchant for sweet tastes was more prevalent than often assumed, and that this reflects important aspects of the wider Roman worldview. The third paper examines how the design of classical Greek, hoplite helmets necessitated a focus on auditory communication, with a particular emphasis on the important role of the *aulos*. The fourth and final paper looks at how an array of sensory experiences influenced Alexander's management of the battlefield against the Persians at Issus in 333 BC with a particular emphasis on how he used sight.

#### Pauline Ripat, University of Winnipeg

#### The Senses of Danger: Contagion and Tactility

This paper seeks to explore the agency of sights, smells, and sounds in the context of health from the perspective of popular apotropaic, that is, shielding, devices. Apotropaic images such as the phallus are generally thought to have aimed exclusively at deflecting the dangerous effects of the envious gaze. Yet consideration of the placement and size of such images in the remains of Pompeii (e.g. Ling 1990, Pugliesi Carratelli and Baldassarre 1990-2003) calls this assumption into question. Sometimes small and placed above the line of vision, or alternatively, camouflaged in artistic works, apotropaic images do not seem to have been inevitably aimed at attracting or distracting the eye. This may suggest that they were meant to deflect not simply malicious looking, but equally other invasive sensory presences, such as sounds and odours, which appear to have been invested with similarly morbid potential to infect a body with decay. This study therefore aims to add to the findings produced by the recent interest in the potential and nature of the various

senses. Jack Lennon (2018), for example, has asserted that touch is the only sense with the true power to contaminate; the evidence of Pompeian apotropaia may suggest not that his conclusion is incorrect, but rather that many, if not all, of the senses were to some degree considered tactile.

#### Les sens du danger: contagion et tactilité

Cette présentation explore le pouvoir de la vue, des odeurs et des sons dans le contexte de la santé, du point de vue des élements populaires apotropaïques, c'est-à-dire des dispositifs de protection. On pense souvent que les images apotropaïques (telles que le phallus) visent exclusivement à détourner les effets dangereux des regards envieux. Mais l'emplacement et la taille de tels élements dans les vestiges de Pompéi (par exemple, Ling 1990, Pugliesi Carratelli et Baldassarre 1990-2003) remettent en question cette hypothèse. Parfois les images sont petites et placées au-dessus de la ligne de vision; d'autres fois elles sont cachées dans des œuvres artistiques. Les images apotropaïques ne semblent pas toujours viser à attirer l'oeil ou à le distraire. Cette observation peut suggérer que cettes images étaient destinées à détourner non seulement une apparence malveillante, mais également d'autres présences sensorielles invasives, telles que des sons et des odeurs, qui ont été aussi investies d'un potentiel morbide similaire d'àl'infection d'un corps par la décomposition. Cette étude peut contribuer à la comprehension du potentiel et de la nature des différents sens. Jack Lennon (2018), par exemple, a affirmé que le toucher est le seul sens avec le vrai pouvoir de contaminer. Les preuves de apotropaïa pompéien peuvent suggérer non pas que ses conclusions sont fausses, mais plutôt que nombre des sens, sinon tous, étaient à un certain degré, considérés comme tactiles.

#### Matt Gibbs, University of Winnipeg

## "Dulce aliquis munus pro munere poscit amaro?" The Taste and Significance of Mulsum in the Roman World

For some time, scholars have also acknowledged the singular importance of eating and drinking in the context of communal feasting as activities and metaphors used to negotiate economic, political, and social dynamics, types of drinks, and their consumption were also some of the most significant indicators of ethnicity and class. This is most clearly depicted in the Roman world where beverages were markers not only of ethnic and cultural distinction, but also identity. In the ancient literature, that is, in the view of the elite literati, "Romans" were differentiated from the *barbaroi*, city-dwellers from rural-dwellers, farmers from nomads, and so on, often in terms of the liquids that they drank. In fact, while the axiom "you are what you eat" is a physiological fact, the Romans also believed that "you are what you drink;" both statements encompass social, economic, and political implications, let alone issues of assumed or forced identity.

Naturally then the uses, reception and, perhaps most significantly, the taste of *mulsum*—wine mixed with honey—played an important role in the Roman world. It was, like wine,

entirely acceptable to the Romans' sensibilities, unlike some other alcoholic beverages. For the Romans, *mulsum* was not simply a beverage, but a sweetener for vegetables, a sacrificial libation for the gods, a medicinal ingredient, and there were even rather more pragmatic applications too.

This paper will argue that the consumption and use of this particular beverage in the Roman world coupled with recent arguments noting that sweet tastes were generally prized by the Romans above all, and that the metaphorical extension into the sphere of pleasure and happiness, both literally and figuratively, reflected aspects of their society and worldview generally.

#### Melissa Funke, University of Winnipeg

## Sounds of the Classical Battlefield: the Phalanx, Dramatic Choruses, and the Aulos

The Chigi Vase (ca. 650 BCE) famously portrays an encounter between two stylized phalanxes, one of which is accompanied by an aulos player. It is well-established that by the Classical period, the aulos accompanied a variety of tasks which required some degree of synchronization, ranging from domestic tasks like wool production and grape-treading (see Cerqueira 2016) to rowing triremes and choral dance (especially drama and dithyrambs). Evidence for the use of the aulos to maintain unison within the phalanx, however, is much more limited (cf. Wilson 1999 on the aulos as used in Athens). Using dramatic choruses as a comparandum, this paper argues that the aulos was an ideal means of maintaining the organization of the phalanx. While there have been previous considerations of the connections between choral and military training (e.g. Winkler 1990), no studies have yet considered the role of acoustics in connecting these two activities.

I shall begin with a brief discussion of the various uses of the aulos in keeping time for groups engaged in the same activity. I shall then argue that the helmets worn by hoplites and the helmet masks worn by members of dramatic choruses in the Classical period present similar audio-visual challenges to the wearer and therefore require the use of auditory, rather than visual, cues for the group wearing them. Next I shall examine the suitability of the aulos for such a task, considering its use as a metrical marker in Classical tragedy. Finally I shall consider the soundscapes of the theatre and the battlefield and the place of the aulos within them. Ultimately, I argue that the comparison to dramatic, masked choruses alongside a consideration of the sounds in both environments offers new insight into the utility of the aulos on the battlefield.

#### Conor Whately, University of Winnipeg

#### The Sight, Sound, and Taste of Victory: Alexander at Issus

From the fifth century BC into the fourth, war gradually became a technical skill in the Greek world (Bugh 2006). There were lots of changes in the fourth century especially, and this included the rise of career officers, the increased use of mercenaries, and the establishment of elite units often trained by professional drillmasters (Bosworth 1988). The general too had become the most important part of an army, and the changing nature of Greek warfare demanded generals with cerebral skills (Wheeler 1991). The physical presence of the commander was less important than his ability to manage the course of battle. Eventually the Hellenistic thinkers suggested that the general's rash personal daring could hurt the cause.

One army and individual bucked this trend, however, for Alexander's practice fell somewhere in the middle between the general as battle manager and the general as warrior leading from the front. It is fair to ask whether we need another paper on Alexander given there has been no shortage of scholarship on his generalship. Yet, no one has explored how the senses influenced the conduct of Macedonian or Hellenistic warfare. In this paper I examine how Alexander's sensory experiences had an impact on his conduct in battle, and Issus (333 BC) in particular. Following the three previous papers in this panel, I will discuss touch, sound, and taste, though the emphasis will be on sight. Topics will include Alexander's own positioning over the course of the battle, his attempts at observing his men (Lendon 2005: 128), the topography of the battlefield (Heckel 2008), the use of the "sarissa wall" as a visual psychological deterrent in combat against the Persians. Ultimately, I will explore how what Alexander might have seen in battle influenced how he attempted to manage its outcome (Heckel 2008:27).

À partir du Ve siècle avant notre ère jusqu'au début du quatrième siècle, la guerre est progressivement devenue une compétence technique dans le monde grec (Bugh 2006). Au IVe siècle en particulier, de nombreux changements ont eu lieu, notamment l'augmentation du nombre d'officiers de carrière, le recours accru aux mercenaires et la création d'unités d'élite souvent formées par des maîtres d'exercices professionnels (Bosworth, 1988). Le général était lui aussi devenu la partie la plus importante d'une armée et l'évolution de la guerre en Grèce exigeait des généraux dotés de compétences cérébrales (Wheeler, 1991). La présence physique du commandant était moins importante que sa capacité à gérer le déroulement de la bataille. Finalement, les penseurs hellénistiques ont suggéré que l'audace personnelle téméraire du général pouvait nuire à la cause.

Une armée et un individu ont toutefois résisté à cette tendance car la pratique d'Alexandre se situait quelque part entre le général en tant que chef de combat et le général en tant que guerrier menant du front. Il est juste de demander si nous avons besoin d'un autre article sur Alexander, étant donné qu'il n'y a pas eu pénurie de bourses d'études pour son poste

de général. Pourtant, personne n'a encore exploré l'influence des sens sur la conduite de la guerre macédonienne ou hellénistique. Dans cet article, j'examine l'impact des expériences sensorielles d'Alexandre sur son comportement au combat, et en particulier Issus (333 av. J.-C.). Après les trois communications précédentes de ce panel, je discuterai du toucher, du son et du goût, même si l'accent sera mis sur la vue. Les sujets abordés incluront le propre positionnement d'Alexander au cours de la bataille, ses tentatives d'observer ses hommes (Lendon 2005: 128), la topographie du champ de bataille (Heckel 2008), l'utilisation du «mur de sarissa» comme moyen de dissuasion visuelle et psychologique dans combat contre les Perses. En fin de compte, j'explorerai comment ce que Alexander aurait pu voir au combat influa sur la façon dont il tenta de gérer son résultat (Heckel 2008: 27).

#### **Session 9b**

# Inside Out & Outside In: Public Scholarship in Classics | Recherche publique sur les études classiques

Chair/Présidente: Katherine Blouin (@isisnaucratis)

When we talk about public outreach or public engagement with Classics, we tend to think of scholars communicating their research and ideas beyond the confines of the classroom or scholarly community. But there has always been a thriving community of non-traditional scholars who are interested in the Classical world and whose engagement with ancient history, literature, and culture can often reach a much wider audience than many scholars' public outreach efforts. This panel will follow up on the 2018 CAC panel "Public Facing Scholarship in Canada" to continue the conversation about the place of public scholarship and the ways that members of the CAC can support it. The panel will highlight some of the people doing Classics outreach from positions other than tenure-track faculty, in particular how they take advantage of the possibilities offered by digital media, and will draw attention to ways that we can involve non-academics as contributors as well as audience and address the problem of gate-keeping within our discipline.

Amy Pistone (@apistone), University of Notre Dame

#### The Changing Face of Public Scholarship

For many academics, 'public scholarship' brings to mind things like Op-Eds in major newspapers, lectures for non-specialists, podcasts, or maybe even participation in a documentary. These forms of public engagement can often seem daunting or, at the very least, time

consuming. Many academics are interested in engaging with a broader audience outside the academy, but do not feel like they have the ability to engage in a large-scale project.

This paper will look at a range of different 'low stakes' forms of public engagement that scholars at any stage of their career can use to connect with the broad classics community online. Digital tools offer simple ways to share our passion and expertise with a vibrant community ranging from high school students to non-traditional scholars to general enthusiasts of the ancient world. I will speak to my own personal use of blogging and social media (Twitter in particular) to make my scholarship more public-facing.

Finally, as a junior faculty member who does not have a permanent position, I will speak in particular to how the changing job market and the precarity of many young scholars has actually increased our public engagement, as we are rethinking what an academic career will look like and finding new models for how to be a classicist. I will also talk about how -- paradoxically -- decreased job prospects have actually empowered many young scholars to do more daring and controversial work in the public sphere, and highlight some of the most exciting examples of this work being done in the US, Canada, and the UK.

#### Darrin Sunstrum (@darrinsunstrum), Brock University

#### Podcasting and the Power of Conversation

Podcasting provides a creative space to engage with the field of Classics from outside traditional academic spaces. The open access nature of podcasting extends teaching beyond the classroom and provides a friendly, accessible introduction to the Classics for the public. At the same time, podcasting allows us to expand the discussion of ideas beyond what is given in a course syllabus. My own podcast provides a space to engage the public in a transdisciplinary conversation about Greek Mythology, connecting it to larger themes in culture and society. By blending scholarly literary analysis with discussion of contemporary issues, our conversational podcast invites listeners to engage with Classics. Equally it provides an important space for us to practice scholarship outside the traditional university framework and to contribute to the development of our field. By mediating the space between traditional academics and the public, podcasting is a fertile creative space for academics, independent scholars, and the public to come together.

Jeff Wright (@TrojanWarPod)

#### On Being a 21st Century Homeric Bard

I spent the first 20 years of my professional life as a high school Humanities teacher. I loved serving as my students' "point of first contact" with the amazing worlds of philosophy, literature, and history. Ten year ago, I decided to narrow my focus, to Greek Mythology and Homeric epic. I left the traditional classroom, and set out as a travelling Demodo-

cus. For the next 7 years I performed Greek Epic - in bars, clubs and cruise ships; at the National Arts Centre and at Oxford University - but mostly in high school auditoriums. During those "live performance years" I developed an understanding of how contemporary audiences respond (or, frequently, fail to respond) to Homeric epic. I discovered the recurring "stumbling blocks" to contemporary audience's understanding; and I learned the places where Homer continues to provoke delight, laughter, and tears.

In 2016 I launched *Trojan War: The Podcast*: an experiment in translating my live show to the medium of podcasting. The podcast consists of 20 hour-long episodes, each offering 45 minutes of serialized story, and 15 minutes of informal "teaching" on all things epic. My experiment succeeded. To date, the podcast has been downloaded 500K times, by listeners in 156 nations. A lot of diverse listeners, it turns out, are eager to dive into Greek Epic, if you package the content in a way they can access. *Odyssey: The Podcast* is due for release in 2019.

I suspect that in the years to come, podcasts will more and more become the "point of first contact" for students encountering the world of Greek Mythology and Homeric Epic. This paper will describe my experiences transmitting Classical content and scholarship to audiences outside of the university classroom, and share what I have learned about the value of such work for spreading a love of the ancient world and an understanding of its myths and literature. Our disciplines should talk; we share a common goal.

Victoria Austen-Perry (@Vicky\_Austen), King's College London

## #WCCWiki: Using Wikipedia for Public Engagement and Mobilising Change

As the fifth most visited website in the world, with more than 5 million articles in English and 30 million registered users, the online encyclopedia Wikipedia is arguably one of the most, if not *the* most, influential source of information available to us all. However, as with any community-based and collaborative project, Wikipedia is not devoid of prejudice - it is, as Victoria Leonard (2018) states, a 'mirror that reflects society's biases and prejudices back at us'. The facts and figures provided in articles do not just reflect what people know, but also reveal how they think about it, and what they think is important, and this is all too evident in the gender bias on display across the platform. Out of the 1.5m biographies on Wikipedia, only c.17% focus on women; and only 20% of those female profiles feature images. When it comes to classics specifically, an estimate in 2016 found that only 7% of biographies of classicists featured women – even when prominent women (such as Miriam Griffin) were mentioned, it was merely in relation to their husbands. This disparity speaks to a general marginalisation and omission of women in academia, but it can also be linked to the fact that at least 85% of Wikipedia editors are men.

What can we do, then, to rectify such stark gender imbalances? The online activism of the Women's Classical Committee UK (#WCCWiki), begun in 2017, has already made huge strides in combating these issues, not only by training new female editors, but also by hosting monthly online 'editathons' to create new or improve already-existing female classicist biographies. Since its inception, the project has already doubled the representation of female classical scholars on Wikipedia. In this paper, I will explore the role of Wikipedia in mobilising change through the lens of the #WCCWiki project; and provide a short lesson in how to become a Wikipedia editor yourself.

## #WCCWiki - Utiliser Wikipédia pour engager le public et être vecteur de changement

En tant que cinquième site le plus visité au monde, et comprenant plus de 5 millions d'articles en anglais et plus de 30 millions d'utilisateurs enregistrés, l'encyclopédie en ligne Wikipédia est sans aucun doute l'une des plus (sinon la plus) influentes sources d'information disponibles pour tous. Cependant, comme dans le cas de tout projet collaboratif et communautaire, Wikipédia n'est pas exempt de préjugés; comme l'a observé Victoria Leonard (2018), il s'agit d'un « miroir qui nous renvoie les biais et préjugés de la société ». Les faits et figures présentés dans les articles ne rendent pas seulement compte de ce que les gens savent, mais révèlent aussi comment ils pensent, et ce qu'ils jugent important. Cela est on ne peut plus évident en ce qui concerne le biais de genre observable sur toute la plateforme. Sur les 1,5 millions d'entrées biographiques disponibles sur la version anglaise de Wikipédia, seulement c.17% portent sur des femmes; et seulement 20% de ces pages incluent une image de profil. En ce qui concerne plus spécifiquement les études classiques, un estimé fait en 2016 révèle que seulement 7% des biographies anglaises de classicistes portent sur des femmes. Même lorsque des femmes d'importance (comme par exemple Miriam Griffin) sont mentionnées, elles le sont le plus souvent en association avec leur conjoint. Cette disparité témoigne de la marginalisation généralisée, voire de l'omission des femmes dans le milieu académique, mais elle peut aussi résulter du fait que 85% des éditeurs de Wikipédia sont des hommes.

Que pouvons-nous dès lors faire afin de rectifier un tel débalancement de genre? L'activisme virtuel du Women's Classical Committee UK (#WCCWiki), qui débuta en 2017, a déjà permis que de grands pas soient fait dans la lutte contre ces problèmes, non seulement en formant de nouvelles éditrices, mais aussi en organisant des « éditathons » mensuels en ligne durant lesquels de nouvelles biographies de femmes classicistes sont créées, et des pages existantes améliorées. Depuis le lancement de cette initiative, le projet a déjà doublé la représentation des femmes classicistes sur Wikipédia. Cette communication explorera le rôle de Wikipédia en tant que vecteur de changement à travers le cas du projet #WCCWiki et offrira une courte leçon d'édition sur Wikipédia.

#### **Session 9c**

## The Greek Novel | Le roman grec

Chair/Président: Jeffrey Carnes

Artemis L. Brod, Indiana University

## The Semantic Impertinence of the Body in Aelius Aristides' *Hieroi Logoi* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*

This paper analyzes Aelius Aristides' Hieroi Logoi (HL) and Apuleius' Metamorphoses (Met) as texts concerned with what Gail Weiss (2013) (drawing on Ricoeur) calls the semantic impertinence of the body. Literary and religious scholars (Tagliabue (2016), Harrison (2013), Weiss (1998) on the one hand, and Dodds (1965), Festugière (1954) and MacMullen (1981) on the other) tend to explain similarities between these narratives as a product of newly emerging forms of religious experience (or satires thereof). I emphasize instead that these are prolonged narratives of disability. I focus on two aspects in particular. First, both narratives are largely composed of the repetitious and compulsive presentation of logoi/fabula. I argue that these dreams and stories (in Aristides and Apuleius, respectively) reflect and are an extension of their bodies' symptoms. Like symptoms, their origins are indeterminate and they impinge upon the agency of the narrator. The body and narrative are, therefore, completely inextricable. While these narratives entail the presence of the divine in the narrators' lives, the narrator is nevertheless alienated from them. Neither Aristides nor Lucius knows exactly how to make sense of them. This becomes apparent in a second formal similarity shared between the texts: both stage an encounter between the narrator and his body by transforming his body into a logos (Aristides) or fabula (Lucius). In both cases, the encounter fails to result in the narrator's understanding of his condition. Aristides transforms his body into text by presenting the journals he kept recording an abdominal illness. On a few occasions, Apuleius configures Lucius as the *materia* of the divine (Risus and Isis). These configurations converge on his hide: the materiality of his transformation is synonymous with his submission to the divine. I do not deny the importance of religious experience in understanding these texts. But I refocus the attention on the self. Both texts dramatize the threat a disabled body poses to a coherent sense of self. The degree to which they demonstrate the importance of narrative in constituting an integrated self (as much current literature suggests (MacIntyre (1984), Mattingly (1998), Ricoeur (1984-1988), etc.) remains open to interpretation.

#### Anne-France Morand, Université Laval

#### Sentiments et mise en scène de l'âme dans le roman grec

Plusieurs passages des romans grecs se livrent à une anatomie des sentiments. Ainsi, dans Leucippé et Clitophon d'Achille Tatius, les effets conjugués du vin et de l'amour sont analysés de la manière suivante : « Comme le banquet s'avançait, je fixais les yeux sur Leucippé sans pudeur. Eros et Dionysos, deux puissants dieux, une fois qu'ils se sont emparés d'une âme, la rendent folle jusqu'à l'impudence, l'un en la brûlant de son feu habituel, l'autre en apportant le vin comme stimulant, car le vin est un aliment de l'amour » (Achille Tatius, Leucippé et Clitophon II,III,3 traduction de J.-Ph. Garnaud, CUF). Un autre extrait révèle une confusion des sentiments : « Elle [Leucippé] était chagrinée, elle était honteuse, elle était en colère. Elle était chagrinée d'avoir été prise sur le fait, elle était honteuse d'avoir reçu des reproches, elle était en colère de ne pas avoir été crue. Et la honte, le chagrin, la colère sont trois houles de l'âme » (Achille Tatius, Leucippé et Clitophon II,XXIX,1 traduction de J.-Ph. Garnaud, CUF).

Dans cet exposé, il s'agira de définir en quoi l'analyse des sentiments notamment amoureux, dans les romans, diffère de ce qui se trouve dans le reste de la littérature grecque. La comparaison avec les écrits de la période hellénistique dédiés aux sentiments sera particulièrement révélatrice. Les textes romanesques seront également mis en relation avec des descriptions tirées de l'histoire naturelle et la médecine. Je tenterai enfin de les replacer dans la littérature de l'époque, en considérant en quoi ils révèlent une attention particulière portée à l'analyse de l'âme.

#### Matthew Clark, York University

#### Chaereas and the Plot of Chariton's Callirhoe

I begin by asking why the disappointed suitors hatch two plots against Chaereas and Callirhoe; surely one plot would have been enough to move the events forward. The answer, I think, is that the first, unsuccessful plot, gives Chariton the opportunity to display and thematize Callirhoe's pride as the daughter of the general Hermocrates (I.3.5); the reader is reminded that Chaereas' family is inferior to hers (I.1.3; 1.1.9). When Callirhoe is abducted by tomb robbers, her lament focuses on her father: "In this very sea, father, you once defeated three hundred ships of Athens" (I.11.2–3). Her pride in her father is a theme repeated throughout the story (I.149–10; 2.5.11; 2.8.2; 2.11.2; 5.1.5; etc.); she loves Chaereas, but she is not proud of him as she is proud of her father. After she is abducted, she attracts the attention of ever more powerful men: Dionysos, the leading figure in Ionia; Mithradites, the satrap of Caria; and Artaxerxes, the king of Persia. Chaereas, on the other hand, is portrayed as jealous, irascible, violent, and prone to depression. Eventually, however, he becomes a husband Callirhoe can he proud of. Without going into the details here, it is enough to say that he becomes a military leader; he captures Tyre and then Ara-

dus. He recovers Callirhoe, and the two return to Syracuse in triumph; Chaereas hands over the spoils of his victory to Hermocrates. Callirhoe is the central figure of the novel, but an important element of the plot is the rise in the fortunes of Chaereas. He starts as inferior to Callirhoe, whose pride is centered on her father, but by the end of story he has equalled Hermogenes' military achievements and has become worthy of Callirhoe's pride.

#### Hugh Mason, University of Toronto

## Lupus in Fabula, seriously? Traps and Fables in Daphnis and Chloe 1.11-12

Eros introduced *seriousness* into the children's relationship when Chloe became aware of Daphnis sexually, after seeing his body when he took a bath after falling into a wolf-trap. At the same time, they face their first serious challenges as herders with rutting he-goats and a marauding wolf. But things are not as serious as they seem; they never actually meet a wolf in the flesh, perhaps because wolves are mentioned nowhere in pastoral poetry and play no role on history or folklore of Lesbos.

Wolves figure prominently in several Aesopic fables, which colour Longus' narrative. It is *villagers*, not herders, who dig the wolf-pits, although no village is mentioned in the novel. But in fable, it is *villagers* who lose patience with the 'Boy who cried 'Wolf,' ποιμήν παίζων (Perry #210). Wolves in pit-traps also belong to fables and proverbs; Longus' wolf, smart enough to avoid the trap, recalls Horace *Ep.* 1.16.50, *cautus enim metuit foueam lupus*. The great depth (7m) of Longus' pit, necessary to explain why Daphnis needed others' help to climb out, recalls a fable of a panther escaping from a *fouea* in Phaedrus 3.2.

The whole pit-fall incident is remarkably un-serious; Daphnis' being so focused on chasing a ram that he paid no attention to where he was going recalls the playful tone of the Aesopic version of Thales' fall into a well (Perry # 40). It is also very closely paralleled in both tone and narrative structure by Pooh's "Heffalump Pit" (Milne 1926/1961).

## Lupus in Fabula, « T'es ben sérieux? » Les pièges et les fables dans Daphnis et Chloé, 1.11-2.

*Éros* introduit l' element du *serieux* dans les relations des jeunes quand Chloe devient consciente de l' attrait sexuel de Daphnis après l'avoir vu nu quand il se baigne à la suite de sa chute dans un *trou de loup*. En même temps, ils rencontrent leurs premiers defis *serieux* en tant que bergers: des boucs en rut et une louve qui menace leurs troupeaux. Mais la situation n'est pas si grave (serieuse); il rencontrent aucun loup en chair et en os, peut-être parce que les loups ne sont pas presents ni dans la poesie pastorale, ni dans l'histoire et folk-lore de Lesbos.

Mais les loups jouent un rôle éminent dans les *fables* d'Ésope. Des villageois, non pas les bergers eux-mêmes, construisent les grands pieges pour attraper les loups, bien qu'aucun village soit nommé dans le roman. Mais ce sont des villageois qui s'impatientent contre le

ποιμήν παίζων, (Perry #210). Les loups se trouvent dans des pièges principalement dans les fables et les proverbes : voir, par exemple, Horace, Épitres 1.16.50, cautus enim metuit foueam lupus. Le profondeur presque incroyable (7m) du piège de Daphnis et Chloé, qui impose à Daphnis la nécessité de l'aide d'autres pour s'en sortir, se rassemble un fable de Phédrus, 3.2, du panthère qui peut sortir d' un fouea sans profondeur.

La chute de Daphnis dans le trou de loup paraît en generale un evenement *pas serieux*. Le recit de la chute de Daphnis, qui dans sa poursuite du bouc ne prend pas grand soin de son terrain, rappelle le charactère non-serieux du fable d'Ésope traitant de la chute de Thalès dans un puits (Perry # 40). Et aussi, pour ce lecteur anglophone avec des petits-enfants, du piège au « Heffalump » de A.A. Milne.

#### **Session 9d**

### Historiography II | Historiographie II

Chair/Président: Patrick Baker

Pierre-Luc Brisson, Université du Québec à Montréal

## Paul-Émile et Scipion Émilien dans les *Historiai* De Polybe: La construction janusienne d'un héros romain

La défaite du roi Persée lors de la bataille de Pydna, en 168 av. n. ère, allait sceller le sort de la monarchie antigonide et mettre un terme à la Troisième Guerre de Macédoine. La reddition du souverain devant le général Paul-Émile est notamment relatée par Polybe et constitue un temps fort de son récit. Or, on ne peut analyser de façon satisfaisante cet épisode en faisant l'économie d'une réflexion plus large sur la méthode historique de Polybe et sur le procédé de composition de ses héros romains. Il existe en effet un parallèle frappant entre le récit de la reddition de Persée et celui de la capitulation du général carthaginois Hasdrubal devant Scipion Émilien, fils naturel de Paul-Émile, au terme du siège de Carthage en 146. Tant le déroulement de ces deux scènes de reddition que les discours tenus, à trente années d'intervalle par le père et le fils, sont d'une similarité frappante.

C'est donc en tenant compte de la volonte manifeste de l'historien de faire des deux hommes les deux faces d'un même personnage janusien que nous serons à même de poser une regard plus complet sur ces événements importants. Notre analyse se déploiera en deux temps. D'abord, nous nous pencherons sur les portraits de Paul-Émile et de Scipion Émilien en relevant les points de concordance entre le père et le fils. Nous constaterons que non seulement ces deux personnages partagent des traits de caractère similaires, mais

qu'ils incarnent, pour l'historien, les vertus cardinales du général et de l'homme d'État idéal. Ensuite, nous procèderons à une analyse détaillée des épisodes de capitulation, en relevant les nombreuses similarités entre les deux récits, notamment : la caractérisation des adversaires des deux généraux romains, la concordance dans la sequence des evenements et le geste même de la reddition, ainsi que les réflexions de Paul-Émile et d'Émilien sur le rôle de la Tύχη dans les affaires humaines. Au terme de cette analyse, ces deux evenements nous apparaîtront avant tout comme une preuve supplémentaire de la volonté de Polybe de restituer, d'un point de vue littéraire, la vie de son ami Émilien au-travers de celle de son pere Paul-Émile, en mobilisant dans son processus de composition les thèmes recurrents de sa réflexion politique et de sa méthode historique.

#### Jody Ellyn Cundy, Oxford University

#### 'Tragic History' and Pausanias' Account of the Sack of Kallion (279 BC)

Perhaps it is owing to his somewhat dim reputation as a historian that Pausanias' account of the sack of Aetolian Kallion by Gallic forces in 279 BC has received little scholarly attention (10.22). Pausanias' account is the sole surviving narrative source for the sack (Habicht 1985, Nachtergael 1977). The passage provides shockingly explicit and detailed description Gallic atrocities, deeds that the second-century CE author deems the most unholy (ἀνοσιώτατά) and inhuman he has ever heard of (οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώπων τολμήμασιν ὅμοια). The detailed description of the atrocities committed against the non-combatant Kallians, including infanticide, cannibalism and lethal serial gangrape (10.22.3-4), is jarringly out of character with the rest of Pausanias' 'pedestrian' text. This paper explores Pausanias' unique narrative of lethal serial gangrape in the context of ancient theories about representing horrors and suffering in Greek historiography in order to show its particular affinities with Hellenistic sensationalist historiography, so-called 'tragic-history.' In many substantive ways, Pausanias' narrative of Gallic atrocities is closely aligned with Walbank's list of the 'tragic historian' preferential topics and intended emotional affect (1955), namely "πάθος not ἐπιστήμη" and "δεινόν, ἐκπλήττειν, τερατεία, ψυχαγωγία, τύχης μεταβολαί." Pausanias' account, as a species of 'atrocity propaganda', offers a rare glimpse of the trauma suffered by female victims of martial sexual violence, but also their agency in avoidance or response to trauma. In contrast to the theories of the moralizing historians Polybius, Ephorus and Diodorus, who advocate for recording moral exemplars for emulation and suppression of the suffering of war victims in historical narrative, Pausanias' description of the sack of Kallion widens the scope of historical inquiry to include the suffering marginalized groups. This more inclusive perspective is associated with the historiography of Agatharchides, Duris, and Phylarchus (Pedech 1989, Verdin 1990). Two important conclusions emerge from this analysis. First, Pausanias' description of the sack of Kallion provides an example of type of 'ignoble' and 'womanish' narrative that prompted Polybius' wellknown polemic against Phylarchus (2.56, Schepens 2005). Second, that female-centered narratives of suffering have a function in Greek historiography as atrocity propaganda.

#### Kathryn Simonsen, Memorial University

#### Fear and the Cause of Historical Events in Thucydides

If anything is certain about Thucydides, it is that he believed that the cause of the Peloponnesian War was Sparta's fear of Athens and, specifically, fear of Athens gaining more power (1.23.6 and 1.88). He twice makes this claim in his own voice, and fear, or the lack of it, continues to be a force throughout his work.

The role of fear in Thucydides has already received a certain amount of study (e.g., J. de Romilly (1956), "La crainte dans l'oeuvre de Thucydide," *Cl&Med* 17: 119-127; W. Desmond (2006), "Lessons of Fear: A Reading of Thucydides," *CP* 101: 359-379; B. Calabrese (2008), *Fear in Democracy: A Study of Thucydides' Political Thought*, University of Michigan Doctoral Thesis). These studies have considered, among other things, his vocabulary of fear, its role in his consideration of human psychology, its role in his concept of political theory and specifically its role in the success (or failure) of democratic government.

This paper will take a slightly different tack and consider how, when and to what extent Thucydides uses fear to explain historical events, as source of historical causation. The paper will focus in particular on situations where fear leads actors to behave (or not behave) in specific ways that turn out to have consequences for the outcome of the war. The aim of this paper is not to disagree with the views of previous scholars, but to expand the understanding of the significant role that fear played in all aspects of Thucydides' thought.

#### Jonathan Burgess, University of Toronto

#### Aristotle's "Constitution of the Ithacans" and the Odyssey

The constitution of the Ithacans by Aristotle is lost, but testimony of it survives. Most interesting is an account by Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 14; fr. 507 Rose) of the exile of Odysseus after the slaughter of the suitors. In both Aristotle and Apollodorus political intrigue in the area of the Ionian Islands seems to underlie the exile. As at Apollodorus (*Epitome* 7.40), Neoptolemus serves as a judge. For the Aristotelian constitution, one suspects contemporary maneuvering by Epirotes who claimed lineage from Neoptolemus. But Neoptolemus was linked with Molossians in the *Nostoi*, an association that may have already existed by the time of the *Odyssey*. The acceptance of a story of the exile of Odysseus by the constitution suggests that historical Ithacans claimed descent from families of the suitors. But the constitution is balanced, as one would suspect for an island that commemorated the hero with coinage and cult; payment is also made by the suitors to Odysseus and Neoptolemus. Of further interest is reference to clans descended from Eumaeus and Philoetius, which would seem to reference promises by Odysseus at *Odyssey* 21.213ff. The constitution would thus seem to be a historical document that reflects

Ithacan historicization of Archaic Age myth and literature, including both Homeric and Cyclic epic.

#### **Session 10a**

## Coinage & Chronology | Monnayage et chronologie

Chair/Président: Seth Bernard

Mark Pyzyk

## The Miniaturists of Classical Sicily: Overlapping Specialization among Gem and Die Engravers

Coins and states were mutually constitutive in the ancient Greek world. This is especially true of the imagery stamped on their face—the owl, the pegasus, the quadriga, and so forth—whose ideographic content was valued by both ancient producers and consumers. Sicilian die engravers especially took on a remarkable artistic persona (signing their names—Euainetos, Polykrates, etc.—to particularly striking issues of silver coinage). However, it has long been noted that die engravers moonlighted as engravers of gem stones. For instance, Phrygillos, a carver of Syracusan tetradrachms, is the same man who carved a fine, though now lost, gem featuring a winged Eros. Such double-work is partly an economic consideration: as François de Callatay has noted, there were hardly enough die cutting jobs in Sicily to permanently employ all of the active die engravers at any one time. Consequently, men like Phrygillos straddled two spheres—public and private—represented by dies and gems, respectively.

In this talk, I focus on this labour dyad in 5th and 4th century Sicily, where many of the famous named engravers worked. How certain can we be that engravers practiced both? What significance do both kinds of labour have? Leslie Kurke and Sita von Reden have both outlined the semiotic valence inherent in coinage, especially as a device in service of civic identity formation. How does this square with the private, elite space that engraved gems occupied? Finally, what does such a double expertise tell us about states' interactions with private contractors? Here I shall compare the Sicilian picture to other parts of the Greek and Roman world, which shall illuminate the particular labour regime of the Sicilian mints of this period.

#### Kate Cooper, Royal Ontario Museum

#### **Dating Dilemmas in Early Greece?**

Decorated pottery has been, and continues to be, an essential tool for archaeologists in determining dates for the pre- and proto-historical Greek world, and Corinthian pottery of the late 8<sup>th</sup> to mid-6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC has been particularly crucial for the early Archaic period.

The dating of Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery is commonly believed to be well-established, using the absolute dates suggested by Payne and refined by Amyx. However, while the finely-tuned relative chronology of pottery shapes and decoration is almost universally accepted, the absolute dates assigned to each phase have been challenged, most infamously by Vickers and Gill in the 1980s. This particular challenge was comprehensively refuted, but it is often forgotten how little solid evidence there is for the complex network of justifications for absolute dates. Traditional methods have relied on two types of proof: correlations with historical events described in ancient authors, such as the dates derived from Thucydides for the foundation of the Sicilian colonies; and sealed or well-stratified archaeological contexts containing Corinthian pottery together with datable artefacts from different regions of Greece or further afield, such as the Bocchoris scarab from Pithekoussai. Since Amyx's thorough assessment of the evidence, several dating criteria have been challenged because of scientific advances and re-evaluations of traditional information. Recent work on radiocarbon dates from the Aegean and Levant in the Early Iron Age has suggested refined absolute dates, while the reliability of literary sources has also been re-assessed. But have these challenges discredited the framework of absolute dates for early Archaic Greece?

This paper considers the different methods traditionally used to assign absolute dates to the Corinthian pottery sequence and determines the validity of the recent re-consideration of absolute dates. It concludes with an evaluation of the impact these revisions would have on the dating of the early Greek world.

#### Martin Beckmann, McMaster University

#### The Chronology of the Coinage of Hadrian

The coinage of Hadrian (117-138) is one of the richest and most varied of the Imperial period, but it is also one of most poorly understood. The problem is the absence of a solid chronology. Imperial titles only allow the division of Hadrian's coinage into two 10-year periods. This paper presents the results of an attempt to solve this problem by the application of the proven numismatic method of die analysis. This involves reconstruction of the production history of a coinage by identifying (from their impressions on the coins) all individual dies used to create it and then establishing the precise sequence of their use. This approach proved successful and has resulted in extensive clarification not only

of the chronology of Hadrian's coinage, but also of the complex and constantly changing iconographic program that it bore. For much of the gold coinage (and associated silver coinage), it has been possible to assign dates to narrow periods, sometimes to single years or even parts thereof; for the bronze, the date ranges are generally larger, but still a significant refinement. The overall development of the iconographic program can be traced from a beginning that relied heavily on the heritage of Trajan's numismatic typology, through a sequence of increasingly original types until the greatest typological originality and diversity was reached in the later part of Hadrian's reign.

#### **Session 10b**

### Greek Archaeology II: Edges of the Greek World | Archéologie grecque II: extrémités du monde grec

Chair/Président: Thierry Petit

Spencer Pope (McMaster University) and Sveva Savelli (Queen's University)

## Tracing the Frontier of a Greek Polis: the Metaponto Archaeological Project

The Metaponto Archaeological Project carried out its second season of field survey in the area of the ancient Greek colony of Metaponto in 2018. Conducted by McMaster University and Queen's University and operating under the auspices of Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio della Basilicata (MiBAC, Italy), the project aims to reconstruct settlement patterns between the Bradano and Cavone Rivers in a territory first inhabited the indigenous Oenotrian population and later integrated into the *chora* of Metaponto. Recent fieldwork identified 42 new sites spanning the Archaic to Byzantine periods; these findings indicate that domestic settings extended further inland in the Basento-Cavone region than had been previously noted.

The study of survey material revealed exceptional finds from the phases that precede the foundation of the *apoikia*. Mycenaean-style fragments dated between the LHIIIA1 and LHIIIC were recovered from the site San Vito di Pisticci, which is located on a high plateau overlooking plains leading to the coast. These discoveries contribute to the understanding of connectivity between the Aegean and Italy in the Late Bronze Age. At Incoronata 'greca,' a key site for Greek-indigenous contact, a geophysical survey provided further context to excavations carried out on its south eastern spur in 1977 and 1978. These data contribute to clarify a picture of its transition from indigenous stronghold to Greek extraurban sanctuary.

## Reproduire la frontière d'une *polis* grecque : le rapport 2018 du projet archéologique à Metaponto

La deuxième saison du projet archéologique de Metaponto — une enquête sur le terrain dans la région de l'ancienne colonie grecque de Metaponto — s'est terminée en 2018. Dirigée par les universités McMaster et Queen's et supervisée par le Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio della Basilicata (MiBAC, Italie), le projet vise à reconstruire l'occupation du territoire entre les rivières Bradano et Cavone sur une région qui a d'abord habité la population autochtone oenotrienne puis est plus tard devenue la chora de Metaponto. Récemment, le travail de terrain a identifié 42 nouveaux sites couvrant les époques archaïque à byzantine; ces résultats indiquent que les environnements domestiques s'étendent plus loin vers l'intérieur dans la région de Basento-Cavone que précédemment connu.

L'étude du matériel d'enquête a dévoilé des découvertes exceptionnelles dans les phases qui précèdent la fondation de l'*apoikia*. Des fragments de style mycénien datés entre le LHIIIA1 et le LHIIIC ont été récupérés sur le site de San Vito di Pisticci qui est situé sur un haut plateau qui domine les plaines menant à la côte. Ces découvertes contribuent à la compréhension de la relation entre la région Égée et l'Italie à la fin de l'âge du bronze. Une étude géophysique à Incoronata 'greca' — un site de rencontre entre les peuples autochtones et grecs — a permis de mieux situer les fouilles effectuées sur son éperon sud-est en 1977 et 1978. Ces données contribuent à préciser le passage du bastion autochtone au sanctuaire extra-urbain grec.

#### Christine Davidson (McMaster University) and Patrick DeLuca (McMaster University)

#### **Applications of Geographic Information Systems in Surface Survey**

Geographic Information Systems (GIS), tools used in the evaluation of topography, provide ways in which computerized maps can show multiple sets of data. These data sets are often interconnected, allowing researchers to draw conclusions based on geographical correlations. In recent decades, archaeologists have begun to understand the benefit such tools can provide for surface survey, paleogeomorphology, and the reconstruction of ancient territory.

This paper will explore current applications of GIS in the study of the ancient city and countryside of Metaponto, an Achaean foundation located in southern Basilicata. A study of the Greek *apoikia* founded on the Ionian coast, The Metaponto Archaeological Project is an initiative which aims to identify patterns of ancient life in the Greek countryside and to utilize both legacy data and to carry out new archaeological field survey in order to determine the nature of land use in the area that became the *chora* of Metaponto. This process of cataloguing materials using the Global Positioning System (GPS), demarcating plots for surface survey, and performing queries to characterize potential sites, are all topics which will be explored. The data can be presented geographically with sites coded by date and type, allowing a diachronic view of the growth and changes within the chora.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the application of such technologies in the study of material culture and to prove their value based on the current findings at Metaponto. This paper will provide an interdisciplinary approach to performing archaeology and seeks to familiarize scholars with these methodologies for performing surface survey.

## Session 10c

### Greek Poetry III | Poésie grecque III

Chair/Président: Christopher Brown

Elsa Bouchard, Université de Montréal

#### Le sort de Daphnis dans la première Idylle de Théocrite

La première *Idylle* de Théocrite contient une version étrange du sort de Daphnis, le fondateur mythique de la poésie bucolique. Plusieurs détails du récit ont fait l'objet d'interprétations contradictoires de la part des commentateurs : de quoi souffre Daphnis ? Quel rôle joue Aphrodite dans son malheur ? Les chercheurs ont souvent avancé l'idée que Daphnis est victime de son propre entêtement à respecter un vœu de chasteté ou de fidélité, mais cette interprétation est peu vraisemblable. Cette communication se fonde sur des études récentes ayant montré qu'à l'époque hellénistique, la figure de Daphnis est partiellement assimilable à celle d'Adonis, soit un amant d'Aphrodite dont la mort est commémorée par des chants de lamentations ; elle propose en outre que l'*Idylle* 1 contient des indices suggérant que Daphnis est devenu impuissant du fait de sa relation avec la déesse. Cette interprétation est cohérente avec le propos programmatique qui imprègne toute la première *Idylle*. En effet, la représentation de Daphnis comme amant impuissant sert de contraste pour suggérer sa fécondité poétique : sa mort tragique lui permet de devenir à la fois le sujet typique et le héros fondateur de la poésie bucolique.

#### Daphnis' fate in Theocritus Idyll 1

Theocritus' first *Idyll* contains an intriguing version of the fate of Daphnis, the legendary founder of bucolic. Numerous details in the story have received contradictory interpretations from scholars: What is Daphnis suffering from? What is the role of Aphrodite in his predicament? While most commentators claim that Daphnis' wasting is caused by a stubborn commitment to fidelity or chastity, this paper shows that this line of interpretation is implausible. Building on recent studies that have demonstrated that the Hellenistic Daphnis is partially assimilable to an Adonis figure—viz., to a consort of Aphrodite whose death is celebrated in threnodic singing—I argue that *Idyll* 1 contains clues hinting that

Daphnis has been rendered impotent as a result of his relationship with the goddess. This interpretation is in line with Theocritus' metapoetic discourse, which is so prominent in *Idyll* 1. The representation of Daphnis as an impotent lover highlights his poetic fecundity: through his tragic death, he becomes both the object of future songs and the foundational figure of bucolic poetry.

Florence Yoon, University of British Columbia

#### "Aeschylean silence" and "Aeschylean absence"

The concept of "Aeschylean silence" has been recognized since Aristophanes' parody at *Frogs* 911-26, and well-explored (and heavily qualified) in modern scholarship since Taplin's seminal 1972 article in *HSCP*. This paper outlines a complementary technique: that of "Aeschylean absence." It is striking but very rare that Aeschylus focuses our visual attention on an onstage figure who remains meaningfully silent for a considerable length of time before speaking; it is more common that he focuses our imaginative attention on a figure who remains meaningfully offstage before arriving.

Both of these techniques rely on delay – the tension created by waiting for a character to come one degree closer to the audience. Neither all silences nor all absences are emphasized by such delay; there are clear counterparts to Taplin's distinction between incidental "silences in Aeschylus" and meaningful "Aeschylean silences." Xerxes in *Persians* is the clearest example of a pointed "Aeschylean absence", while Aegisthus in *Choephoroi* and the dead Polyneices in *Seven* provide variations on this model; by contrast, Aegisthus's absence in *Agamemnon* is simply an "absence in Aeschylus." Quite distinct again from these two categories – emphatically delayed arrival and uninflected arrival – is the kind of unexpected arrival exemplified by the *deus ex machina* technique commonly associated with Euripides, which corresponds to surprise speeches such as that of Pylades in *Choephoroi*.

Meaningful absence is no more strictly Aeschylean than meaningful silence, and I will gesture toward some ways in which Sophoclean and Euripidean examples differ. Finally, I will consider the implications of both delayed speech and delayed arrival, which depend on the successful development of the idea of a character through indirect means, for the wider issue of characterization in tragedy.

David Mirhady, Simon Fraser University

#### **Aristogeiton and Prometheus**

In *Prometheus Bound*, the god Prometheus is cast as an avatar, a divine incarnation embodying an idea, in this case the idea of the free man bravely resisting tyrannical oppression. He is tortured, at the beginning of the play as punishment, at the end in an attempt to

elicit information from him. At both points he is loudly defiant. In this paper I will explore the connections between the torture of Prometheus in the play and the "democratic" account of the torture of Aristogeiton, the Athenian "tyrannicide" who in 514 participated in the killing of the Peisistratid Hipparchus, was captured, and likewise tortured before being executed (*Ath. pol.* 18.4-5). Under torture he lied, denouncing the tyrants' friends as co-conspirators, which resulted in a further weakening of the tyranny. One of the first acts of the democracy that was founded soon after, the so-called Decree of Scamander (And. 1.43), forbade the torture of Athenian citizens.

Alongside the cult of the tyrannicides in the early democracy, which was most famously cultivated through large statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton that were prominently erected in the city-centre (and then re-erected after being destroyed by the Persians), torture seems to have become a defining element separating free from slave and marking a privilege of Athenian democratic citizenship. Although it is set in a pre-political context, *Prometheus Bound* includes numerous references to torture that can be understood in such ideological terms. The recent paper of S. White (*JHS* 2001) offers a provocative and fulsome account of the centrality of Io in the play and argues for the implicit workings of Zeus' justice, but it denigrates Prometheus' role as a proto-democratic champion, which can be clarified by an appreciation of the role of torture.

#### Aristogiton et Prométhée

Dans *Prométhée enchaîné*, le dieu *Prométhée* est présenté comme un avatar, une incarnation divine exemplifiant une idée, en l'occurrence l'idée de l'homme libre qui résiste courageusement à l'oppression tyrannique. Il est torturé au début de la pièce en guise de punition, à la fin pour lui demander des informations. Aux deux points, il est fort provocant. Dans cette présentation, j'explorerai les liens entre la torture de Prométhée dans la pièce et le récit «démocratique» de la torture d>Aristogiton, le «Tyrannoctone» athénien qui, en 514, a participé à l>assassinat de Peisistratid Hipparque, a été capturé et de même torturé avant d>être exécuté (*Ath. pol.* 18.4-5). Sous la torture, il a menti en dénonçant les amis des tyrans comme des complices, ce qui a affaibli la tyrannie. L'un des premiers actes de la démocratie fondée peu après, le prétendu décret de Scamandre (And. 1.43), interdisait la torture de citoyens athéniens.

A côté du culte des tyrannicides dans la démocratie primitive, qui a été très bien cultivée à travers de grandes statues d'Harmodios et d'Aristogiton, qui ont été érigés de manière bien visible dans le centre-ville (puis reconstruits après avoir été détruits par les Perses), la torture semble avoir devenir un élément déterminant séparant l'exempt de l'esclave et marquant le privilège de la citoyenneté démocratique athénienne. Bien que situé dans un contexte pré-politique, *Prométhée enchaîné* inclut de nombreuses références à la torture qui peuvent être comprises dans de tels termes idéologiques. Le récent article de S. White (*JHS*, 2001) offre un récit complet et provocant de la centralité d'Io dans la pièce et plaide en faveur du fonctionnement implicite de la justice de Zeus, mais dénigre le

rôle de Prométhée en tant que champion proto-démocratique. peut être clarifié par une appréciation du rôle de la torture.

#### Session 10d

### Latin Literature II: Ennius & Catullus | Littérature latine II: Ennius et Catulle

Chair/Président: David Meban

Jesse Hill, University of Toronto

#### Catullus, Ennius, and the Pursuit of Novelty

Classical scholarship of the past century has tended to view Catullus as a revolutionary figure within the Latin poetic tradition: according to our standard commentaries and companion volumes – from Fordyce 1961 to Skinner 2007 – Catullus and his poetic peers (the "neoterics") broke violently away from earlier Roman literature, looking instead to the recherché Greek poetry of the Hellenistic period for their inspiration. My paper seeks to complicate this still dominant narrative, which has, I argue, flattened a messy history of tradition and influence at Rome into a reductive opposition between old and new.

I focus specifically on Catullus' engagement with Ennius in his Sixty-Fourth Poem. Developing the work of Zetzel (1983) 2007 and Elliott 2008, I argue that, contrary to the dominant trend in Catullan studies (Traina [1972] 1975, Biondi 1980, Thomas [1982] 1999), Poem 64 should not be read as antagonistic towards the father of Latin literature. Rather, Catullus – imitating Ennius' seminal act of self-definition at the opening of his epyllion and incorporating the quasi-formulaic language of the *Annales* into the texture of his verse – in fact pursues poetic novelty along specifically Ennian lines. In my reading, then, ostensible signs of rupture in Poem 64 become evidence of continuity and Catullan poetics – even when they might appear revolutionary – emerge as fundamentally evolutionary within the Roman tradition.

Riemer Faber, University of Waterloo

## Ennius and Lykophron: Hellenistic Literary Aesthetics in Early Republican Poetry?

In the ongoing debate concerning the dating of Lykophron's *Alexandra* recent publications have put forward the case for the early decades of the second century BC (Hornblower

2015; McNelis & Sens 2016); moreover it has been argued that Lykophron lived in *magna Graecia* (Hornblower 2018). If this reconstruction is correct, Lykophron would be a near-contemporary of the early Latin republican poet, Ennius (239-169 BC). And indeed, it has been observed that there is possible intertextual evidence for an inter-relationship between the writings of the two poets. It is the purpose of this paper to juxtapose the poetry of Ennius, especially the *Annales*, with the *Alexandra* in order to explore further the similarities and differences in various aspects of style. We shall consider such features as common interest in etymology, aitiological accounts, encomium, word-play, religion and ritual in order to test the theory of possible (mutual) influences. The findings of our examination suggest that Ennius may be studied as a poet who advanced a literary aesthetic that indeed is comparable to that in some Hellenistic Greek poetry. From this conclusion, however, we should be careful not to generalise about Hellenistic aesthetics in early Latin poetry (thus, e.g., Goldberg 1995, vi); in fact, the aim of this exercise in literary comparison is not so much to argue for a Hellenistic aesthetic in the *Annales* as to refine our understanding of the distinctly Ennian literary qualities in them.

#### David Sutton, University of Toronto

## Omnibus e Meis Amicis Antistans: Catullus, Veranius and the Homosocialities of Male Friendship

Most scholarly investigations of Catullan masculinity, particularly the important work of Fitzgerald 1995 and Wray 2001, have focused on what the sociologists Hammaren and Johansson would call vertical homosocialities (hierarchical male relationships founded on power relationships and often situated within a competitive structural ethos). This work has done much to illuminate the homosocialities of Catullan poetry, but what Hammaren and Johansson in turn call horizontal homosocialities (same-sex relations founded on emotional closeness, uncompetitive intimacy and nonprofitable forms of friendship) has not been so thoroughly studied. In this paper I will use the example of Veranius in C.9, in which the poet imagines a joyous and intimately physical reunion with his absent friend, to investigate the depiction of horizontal homosocialities in Catullus as a performance of a masculine ideal. Although this turn of thought does not seek to overturn existing structural readings, it may be able to broaden understanding of the range and character of gender performance in the poet's work. Proceeding from this example, I will go on to suggest some ways in which an awareness of this dimension of Catullan masculinity can further inform a reading of the wider Catullan corpus written to and about men.

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