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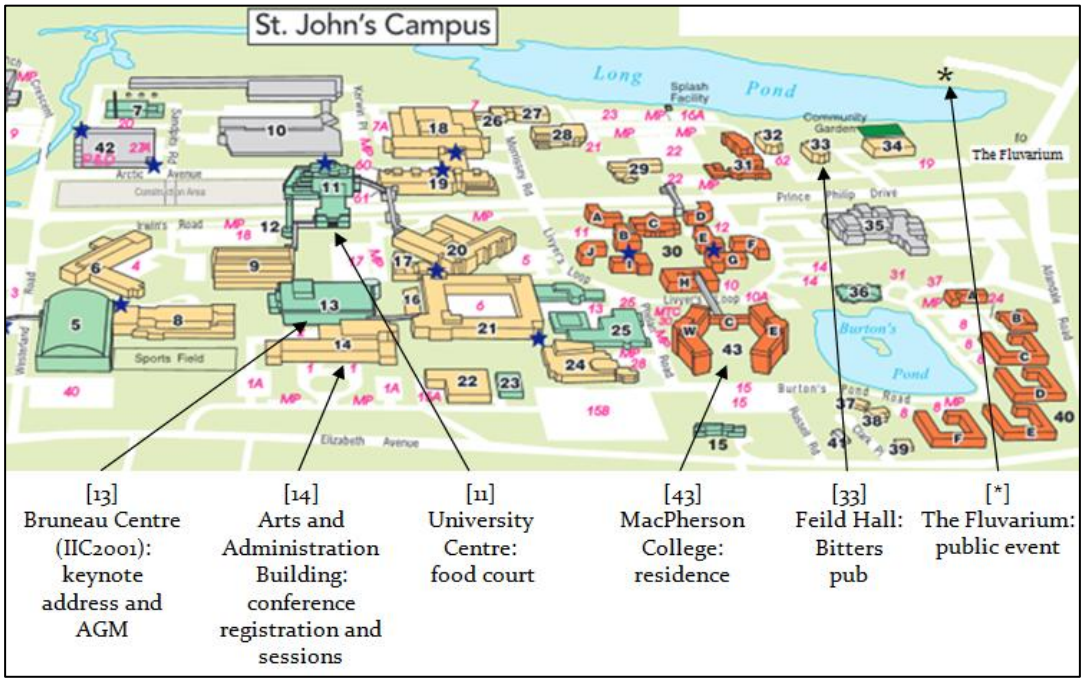


Monday May 8th — Afternoon / Après-midi — Lundi 8 mai

12:00 - 18:30 Registration / Inscription (Arts Atrium)

12:30 - 15:30 Heads' Meeting / Réunion des directeurs (Dean's Boardroom, A5014)

15:30 - 18:30 Council Meeting I / Réunion du Conseil I (Dean's Boardroom, A5014)

19:00 - 20:00 **Brewery Tour / Visite de brasserie**
Quidi Vidi Brewery
35 Barrows Road

This programme is available as an iCalendar (.ics) file / Ce programme est disponible sous forme de fichier iCalendar (.ics) (http://www.mun.ca/classics/cac2017/CAC2017_MUN.ics)

Tuesday May 9th **Morning / Matinée** **Mardi 9 mai**

7:45 - 16:15 Registration / Inscription (Arts Atrium)
7:45 - 8:30 Breakfast / Petit-déjeuner (Arts Atrium)
8:15 - 8:30 Welcoming Remarks / Mot de bienvenue: Mark Joyal, President / Président (Arts Atrium)

8:30 - 10:30 **Session 1**

1a	1b	1c	1d
Presidential Panel / Panel Présidentiel Texts and Text-Editing / Textes et édition de texte A1043 chair/président: Mark Joyal	**Re-examining Greek Words / Réexaminer les mots grecs** A1045 chair/président: Reyes Bertolin Cebrian	**Archaeology / Archéologie** A1046 chair/président: Guy Chamberland	**Philosophy I / Philosophie I** A1049 chair/président: John Thorp
Patrick Baker L'édition de textes épigraphiques grecs à l'ère du numérique	**Allison Glazebrook** The Importance of being *duserōs* : characterization in Lysias 4	**Thierry Petit** Le premier 'Ruler's Dwelling' de l'Âge du Fer à Chypre: un bâtiment prépalatial sur l'acropole d'Amathonte	**Christopher Tindale** Platonic Silence
C. Michael Sampson Fact and its Artifice: papyrological anxieties	**Gaétan Thériault** L'*agalma* aux époques hellénistique et romaine: du sacré au profane ?	**David Rupp** Field Work of the Canadian Institute in Greece: 2106	**Michael Korngut** Big Ideas in Plato's *Symposium* : a textual analysis
Cillian O'Hogan Mass Digitisation of Manuscripts and its Implications for Classicists	**David Stephens** The Implicit Meaning of Ἄξιος in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*	**Marica Cassis** From Late Antiquity to Byzantium in Anatolia: tracing continuity at Çadır Höyük	**Suma Rajiva** Good imitations or cheap knock-offs? Sophists and second-best rulers in Plato's Statesman
Cynthia Damon Beyond Variants: some digital desiderata for the critical apparatus of ancient Greek and Latin texts	**Jody Cundy** *THEAS AXION* and *THAUMA* in Pausanias' *Periegesis Hellados*	**Michele George** Preliminary Results of a Study of Vitamin D Deficiency in the Ancient Roman Population	**Rowan Ash** Schemes of Romantic Friendship: an interpretation of ἑταιρίστριαι in Plato's *Symposium*

10:30 - 11:00 Coffee Break / Pause Café (Arts Atrium)

11:00 -12:30 **Session 2**

2a	2b	2c	2d
Gardens of Imagination / Les jardins de l'imaginaire A1043 organizer: Victoria Austen-Perry	**Roman Crime and Conflict / Crime et conflit chez les Romains** A1045 chair/président: Alban Baudou	**Re-examining the Greek Past / Le passé grec sous examen** A1046 chair/présidente: Sheila Ager	**Medicine / Médecine** A1049 chair/présidente: Arden Williams
Victoria Austen-Perry Who has the time? Cultivating the garden space in Virgil, *Georgics* 4.116-148	**Matt Gibbs** Unrest, Strikes, and Subjugation: collective violence and professional associations	**Chelsea Gardner** Go to...Hades? A re-examination of the sanctuary of Poseidon at Tainaron	**Amber Porter** Sexual Intercourse as a Cure for Epilepsy in Boys: an investigation of Aretaeus' *Treatments of Chronic Diseases* 1.4.14-15
Lisa Hughes Mapping out the Visual Vocabulary in the Dionysian Theatre Garden	**Gaius Stern** Livia's Crimes and what Augustus suspected	**Jonathan Vickers** Horseback Heroics: equestrian acrobatics in archaic Greece	**Chiara Graf** Hippocratics at Play: Derridean signs and uncontrolled bodies in the *Prognosticon.*
Katharine T. von Stackelberg Garden of Lamentation: Elisabeth of Austria's *Achilleion*	**Patricia White** Livy's Portrayal of Agrarian Conflicts during the Struggle of the Orders	**Jonathan Reeves** I want YOU: coercion and cooperation in the hoplite *katalogos*	**Marie-Pierre Krück** Les migrations discursives de l'idée d'autopsie

12:30 - 14:30 Lunch / Déjeuner

Showcasing the Local: Classics in St. John's / Les Études classiques à Saint-Jean
A1043
Bernard Kavanagh, *Some Latin Inscriptions from St. John's, Newfoundland*
Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby, *John Thomas Mullock's Classical Collection in the Episcopal Library of St. John's*
Tana Allen and Milorad Nikolic, *Teaching Classics in* ultima Thule
Presentation of local graduate student projects

Tuesday May 9th **Afternoon / Après-midi** **Mardi 9 mai**

14:30 - 16:00 **Session 3**

3a **Rethinking the Local in the Ancient Greek World I / Repenser l'histoire local en Grèce ancienne I** A1043 organizers: Hans Beck and Alex McAuley	3b **Greek Tragedy / Tragédie grecque** A1045 chair/président: John Harris	3c **Reception I / Réception I** A1046 chair/président: Jonathan Burgess	3d **Christians and Pagans / Chrétiens et Païens** A1049 chair/président: Peter O'Brien
Hans Beck Going Local in Ancient Greece	**Florence Yoon** The Tragic Child and the Detachment of Eurysaces	**Jennifer Phenix** Beautiful Evil: Pandora's image and influence	**Seamus O'Neill** Apuleius of Madaura and the Hellenic Foundations of Christian Demonology
Alex McAuley The Other Side of the Stone: the local dynamics of *proxenia* in Euboia	**Adriana Brook** Initiatory Paradigms and the Ending of Sophocles' *Electra*	**Kathryn Mattison** Modern Productions of Sophocles' *Ajax* and the Athenian Soldier's Experience	**Mark Mueller** Making the Insider the Outsider: Exploring the Infidel as Heretic
Sheila Ager A Local World on the Edge: Megara and its frontiers	**Kristin Lord** The Morality of the Bystander in Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Electra*	**Robert Weir** How Ben Jonson read his Lucan and his Seneca	**Timothy Perry** Divine Geometer: The Christianization of Euclid in a late medieval manuscript

16:00 - 16:15 Coffee Break / Pause Café (Arts Atrium)

16:15 - 17:45 **Session 4**

4a **Rethinking the Local in the Ancient Greek World II / Repenser l'histoire local en Grèce ancienne II** A1043 organizers: Hans Beck and Alex McAuley	4b **Greek Comedy / Comédie grecque** A1045 chair/président: Jarrett Welsh	4c **Roman Self-Representation / Autoreprésentations romaines** A1046 chair/présidente: Alison Keith
Salvatore Tufano New Approaches to Local Historiography: the Boiotian example	**George Kovacs** The *Telephos* of Aristophanes	**Brahm Kleinman** Elite Communication, Individual Objects, and Scipio Aemilianus
Pam Hall (respondent) Local Knowledge Cultures, Newfoundland and Greece	**Emmanuel Aprilakis** XOPOY Identity in Menander's *Dyskolos.*	**John Fabiano** *Tertium Praefectus?* : elite self-representation and the urban prefectures of Nicomachus Flavianus the Younger
	Olayiwola Gabriel Ologbonde The Role of *Philia* in Menander's *Dyskolos*	**Melanie Racette-Campbell** Augustus' *Res Gestae* : Republican masculinity completed

19:00 - 21:00 **Public Event / Évènement public**

The Fluvarium

Pippy Park, 5 Nagles Place

Mark Joyal, CAC President

***In Altum, In Gelidum* : 350 years of Classical learning in the New Found Land**

reception to follow / suivi d'une réception

Wednesday May 10th **Morning / Matinée** **Mercredi 10 mai**

7:45 - 16:15 Registration / Inscription (Arts Atrium)

7:45 - 8:30 Breakfast / Petit-déjeuner (Arts Atrium)

8:30 - 10:30 **Session 5**

5a	**5b**	**5c**	**5d**
Revealing Gendered Violence in the Academy / Exposer la violence sexiste dans le monde académique A1043 chair/présidente: Allison Surtees	**Latin Literature I / Littérature latine I** A1045 chair/présidente: Melanie Racette-Campbell	**Spaces in Between: Roman ideology and iconography / Idéologie romaine et iconographie** A1046 chair/président: Jonathan Edmondson	**Homer / Homère** A1049 chair/présidente: Bonnie MacLachlan
Fiona McHardy Ending Bullying and Harassment in the UK Classical Workplace	**Mariapia Pietropaolo** *Amor, Umor, Ulcus* : the Lucretian aesthetic perspective on love	**Alban Baudou** Les *pignora imperii* , symboles de la puissance romaine	**Jessica Romney** The Use of Geographical Space in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*
Judith Hallett Misappropriating Feminism: strategies, costs and remedies	**Karen Klaiber Hersch** Virgil's Anti-Epithalamium	**Susan Dunning** Statius's *Silu* . 5.1 and Private Deification in the Imperial Period	**Warren Huard** The Association of Herakles and Dionysos in Homer
Christina Doonan Punching Up or Tearing Down?: how women professors experience and cope with gender bias from students	**Marion Durand** Heraclitus and Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*	**Pauline Ripat** The She-Wolf and the Spoils of War	**Jonathan Burgess** The Traditionality of Odysseus' Wanderings
Patricia Dold Faux Feminisms: a case study of people and policy	**Alison Keith** Epicurean Philosophical Perspectives in [Virgil] *Catalepton* 5		**Aara Suksi** The Autobiographies of Andromakhe and Phoenix in the *Iliad:* the rhetoric of hyperkinship

10:30 - 11:00 Coffee Break / Pause Café (Arts Atrium)

11:00 -12:30 **Session 6**

6a	**6b**	**6c**	**6d**
Connectivity in an Imperial Context I / Empire et connectivité I A1043 organizers: Elizabeth Greene and Lindsay Mazurek	**Latin Literature II / Littérature latine II** A1045 chair/président: Ian Storey	**The Roman Military / L'armée romaine** A1046 chair/président: Matt Gibbs	**Archaic Greek Poetry / Poésie grecque archaïque** A1049 chair/présidente: Kathryn Mattison
Jody Michael Gordon Preserving and Creating Discrepant Experiences in Roman Cyprus: globalization, insularity, and identity in an island province	**Carol Merriam** Songs I Will Not Sing for You: Horace's programme in *Odes* 1.1	**Benjamin Kelly** The Emperor's (In)visible Bodyguard: images of the praetorian guard in public art	**Shane Hawkins** Take a Waulk on the Wild Side: Hipponax 183W
Lindsay Mazurek and Cavan Concannon The Ostian Connectivity Project: digital social network analysis at a Roman port city	**Jonathan Edmondson** The Linguistic Lure of the Arena in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*	**Claude Eilers** Lentulus in Ephesus (Jos. *AJ* 14.228-240)	**Odysseas Espanol Androutsopoulos** The Youth of the Poetic Voice in Theognis and the Symposiastic, Didactic and Initiatory Nature of Theognidean Poetry
Richard Talbert The Challenge of Achieving Connectivity in Antiquity: a cartographic perspective	**Caitlin Hines** Trickster, Liar, Actor, Slave: class blindness and role-play in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*	**Conor Whately** "A Rose By Any Other Name": military terminology at the end of antiquity	**Christopher Brown** Anacreon's Girl from Lesbos and the Reputation of Sappho

12:30 - 14:30 Lunch / Déjeuner

Graduate Student Caucus / Caucus des étudiants aux cycles supérieurs (Feild Hall, GH2004)

Mouseion Board Meeting / Réunion du Bureau de *Mouseion* (Classics Seminar Room, A2073)

Phoenix Board Meeting / Réunion du Bureau de *Phoenix* (Dean's Boardroom, A5014)

Wednesday May 10th **Afternoon / Après-midi** **Mercredi 10 mai**

14:30 - 16:00 **Session 7**

7a	7b	7c	7d
Connectivity in an Imperial Context II / Empire et connectivité II A1043 organizers: Elizabeth Greene and Lindsay Mazurek	**Verse Quality, Verse Quantity / Le vers: qualité et quantité** A1045 chair/présidente: Aara Suksi	**Jobs Outside Academia: aligning Classics with today's opportunities / Études classiques et opportunités d'emploi en dehors du milieu universitaire** A1046 chair/présidente: Cassandra Tran	**Greek History / Histoire grecque** A1049 chair/présidente: Kathryn Simonsen
Alexander Meyer New and Old Connections in the Roman Army: communities of military veterans on Rome's northern frontiers	**Carina de Klerk** Speech and Status: a quantitative analysis	**Kyle Johnson** The Monster at the End of This Dissertation	**Arden Williams** Micro-Managing in Aixone: portrait of deme in late-fourth-century Athens
Jennifer Baird Constructing Communities: the material culture of diversity at Dura-Europos	**Jarrett Welsh** Listening to Roman Comic Verse	**Anthony Nguyen** Personal Branding in Today's Labour Marketplace	**Bernd Steinbock** The Limits of Athenian Memory Politics: the trauma of the Sicilian expedition
Elizabeth Greene Dispersed Communities on the Roman Frontiers: maintaining connections to 'home' in a multicultural setting	**Susanna Braund** Virgil's Half Lines: a challenge for translators	**Andrew Lear** From Classicist to Public Historian	**Germain Payen** L'établissement d'une scène géopolitique Anatolie-mer Noire en 179 a.C.

16:00 - 16:15 Coffee Break / Pause Café (Arts Atrium)

16:15 - 17:45 **Session 8**

8a	8b	8c	8d
Roman Epigraphy / Épigraphie romaine A1043 chair/président: Christer Bruun	**Latin Literature III / Littérature latine III** A1045 chair/présidente: Kelly Olson	**Comparative Approaches / Approches comparatives** A1046 chair/présidente: Michele George	**Discourses of the Self I / Discours de soi I** A1049 organizers: Anne-France Morand and Luke Roman
Michael Carter Pouplios the Soummaroudēs	**Regina Höschele** A Greekling, a Flatterer, a Poet: Roman visions of Greek epigrammatists	**Ben Akrigg** Proxies, Comparisons and the Wealth of Hellas	**Kale Coghlan** Speaking Stones: the "I" of the deceased
Christopher Dawson Harmless Administrators: the political use of a virtue	**Randall Pogorzelski** Seneca's Theban Empire	**Simeon Ehrlich** The Classical Grid Plan in its Global Context	**Maryse Robert** Une reconquête culturelle: auto-représentation de Julien à travers la religion et la littérature
Zachary Yuzwa Tracing the Saints of Rome: hagiographical topographies in the inscriptions of Damasus, 366-384 C.E.	**Christina Vester** Greeks and Romans in Seneca's *Troades*	**Ryan Wei** Popular Religion and a Comparative Approach to the Roman Imperial Cult	

19:00 - 20:30 **Keynote Address / Conférence plénière**

Innovation Hall (IIC2001)

Nicholas Purcell, Camden Professor of Ancient History

Brasenose College, Oxford

Mediterranean Roman Seafarers in the Atlantic World

reception to follow, with cash bar sponsored by the MUN Classics Association

Thursday May 11th **Morning / Matinée** **Jeudi 11 mai**

7:45 - 11:00 Registration / Inscription (Arts Atrium)

7:45 - 8:30 Breakfast / Petit-déjeuner (Arts Atrium)

8:30 - 10:30 **Session 9**

9a	9b	9c	9d
Women's Network Panel / Session du Réseau des femmes Women and Work / Les femmes et le travail A1043 chair/présidente: Kathryn Simonsen	**Philosophy II / Philosophie II** A1045 chair/président: Seamus O'Neill	**Riddling Roman Ruins / Énigmatiques ruines romaines** A1046 chair/président: Patrick Baker	**Discourses of the Self II/ Discours de soi II** A1049 organizers: Anne-France Morand and Luke Roman
Vichi Ciocani Corrupted Textiles: *Iliad* 6.286-311	**John Harris** "More Sinn'd Against Than Sinning:" Socrates as Thersites in Plato's *Apology*	**Andreas Bendlin** *C· C· C* : Augustus's *auctoritas* , an association of musicians, and an epigraphic riddle	**Gillian Glass** 'All Shook Up': erotic emotion and epiphanic elation in *Joseph and Asenath*
Kelly Olson Noblewomen and Leisure in Roman Antiquity	**Elsa Bouchard** Aristotle on Agamemnon and Laconian monarchy	**Leanne Bablitz** Tribunals at Ostia	**Anne-France Morand** Récits de soi et mise en contexte des écrits chez Galien
Jonathan Scott Perry Female and Male Leadership in the Economy of Roman Pompeii	**Adam Woodcox** Reason and Perception in Aristotle's Science	**Christer Bruun** Firewood for Rome from Ocriculum (Otricoli)	**Luke Roman** Poliziano's *Silvae* : a philologist's self-portrait
Barbara Scarfo Unmasking the *Obstetrix* : a study of the Roman midwife's multifaceted identity	**John Thorp** Aristotle's Definition of Time: a modest proposal	**Tommaso Leoni** Remarks on the Arch of Stertinius *in maximo circo*	

10:30 - 11:00 Coffee Break / Pause Café (Arts Atrium)

11:00 -12:30 **Session 10**

10a	10b	10c
Reception II / Réception II A1043 chair/président: George Kovacs	**Hellenistic Literature / Littérature hellénistique** A1045 chair/président: Gaétan Thériault	**Education and Science / Éducation et science** A1046 chair/présidente: Amber Porter
Lynn Kozak NBC's *Hannibal* and Homeric Intimacy	**Peter Bing** Hesiod's Double Burial in Epigram and Narrative	**David Mirhady** Theophrastus' Comprehensive Teaching on Style
Rebecca Wilson Dystopian Mythology: classical reception in George Miller's *Mad Max* franchise	**Kale Coghlan** Les scènes d'horreurs de *Sur la mer Rouge* , *livre* 5 d'Agatharchide de Cnide et la puissance lagide	**Gaëlle Rioual** La culture scolaire dans les *Commentaires* de Basile le Minime (X^{e} siècle)
	Ephraim Lytle Leonidas of Byzantium and 'New' Fragments of Agatharchides of Cnidus and Antigonus of Carystus	**Clifford Cunningham** Ptolemy's Star Catalogue: the meaning of dark stars

12:30 - 14:30 Lunch / Déjeuner

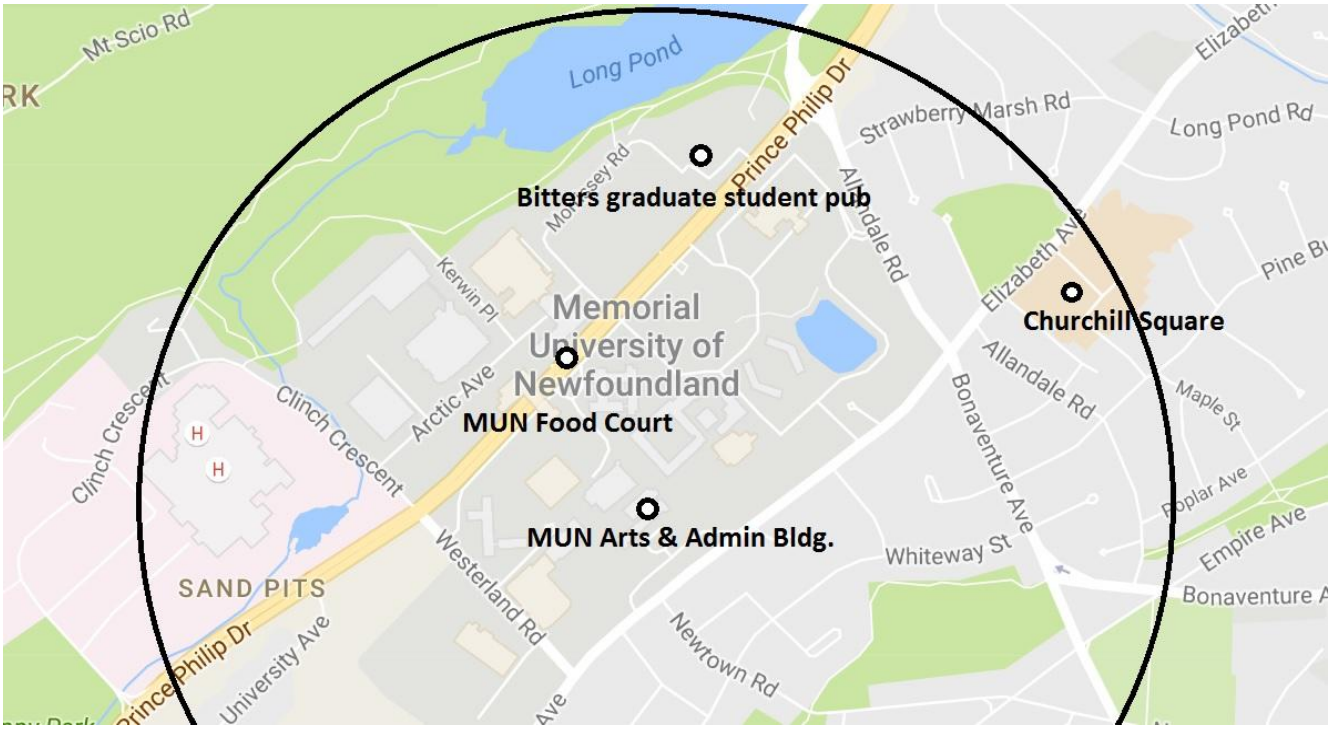
Women's Network Lunch / Déjeuner du Réseau des femmes (SN3042)

14:30 - 16:30	**Annual General Meeting / Assemblée générale annuelle** Innovation Hall (IIC2001) **CAC Award of Merit / Prix du Mérite de la SCEC** **Prize for the Best Graduate Paper / Prix pour la meilleure présentation par un étudiant**

16:30 - 17:00 Council Meeting II / Réunion du Conseil II (Dean's Boardroom, A5014)

19:30	**Banquet** **St. John's Fish Exchange** 351 Water Street ***Gratiarum Actio***

Food and Drink



Some food and drink options near the conference:

On Campus

Bitters Pub (in Feild Hall)

MUN Food Court (in the University Centre)
- Booster Juice
- Dairy Queen
- Extreme Pita
- Just Fries
- Mr. Sub
- Mustang Sally's
- Treats

Five Minute Walk (in Churchill Square)
- Big Ben's Pub
- NJ's Kitchen, Halal International Buffet
- Pasta Plus Café
- Quintana's & Arribas, Mexican restaurant and bar
- Smitty's Family Restaurant
- Subway

Special Events

Événements spéciaux

Public Event / Évènement public

Tuesday May 9th / Mardi 9 mai, 19:00 - 21:00

The Fluvarium
Pippy Park, 5 Nagles Place

reception to follow

Mark Joyal, University of Manitoba
President of the Classical Association of Canada

In Altum, In Gelidum: 350 years of Classical learning in the New Found Land

In Newfoundland today the study of the ancient Greeks and Romans is closely tied to research and teaching conducted at Memorial University, as it has been since the founding of Memorial University College in 1925. But Classical learning and education played a role in Newfoundland society and in the European perspective on the island from a time not very long after John Cabot's arrival in 1497 continuously to the founding of MUC. The evidence for this role is little known and rather limited, but given Newfoundland's status as the British Empire's oldest colony, it deserves to be presented and placed in context. The focus of this lecture is primarily on three kinds of evidence for the ca. 350 years before 1925: first, the literary productions of late Renaissance and Enlightenment figures, in particular Stephen Parmenius (*De navigatione … ad deducendam in novum orbem coloniam*, 1582), Richard Eburne (*A Plaine Pathway to Plantations*, 1624), William Vaughan (*The Golden Fleece*, 1626), and Robert Hayman (*Quodlibets*, 1628); second, the scattered data for the knowledge and study of Latin and Greek in nineteenth- and twentieth-century schools in Newfoundland, and the circumstances for their teaching and learning; and third, the Classical presence in Newfoundland society in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, as demonstrated in popular culture by the evidence of various printed sources and of local architecture.

About the Fluvarium
Located in Pippy Park next to Memorial University's campus, the Fluvarium is a public enviromental education centre focusing on freshwater ecology. It is also a lovely space for a public talk and reception! The Fluvarium is run by the Quidi Vidi/Rennie's River Development Foundation, a nonprofit environmental advocacy and stewardship organization.

Getting to the Fluvarium
The Fluvarium is a short walk from the conference venue, and easy to find (see the map on page 1). If you wish, a volunteer will be available to guide you to the Fluvarium. Meet in the Arts Atrium at 6:30.

Keynote Address / Conférence plénière

Wednesday May 10th / Mercredi 10 mai, 19:00 - 20:30

Innovation Hall (IIC2001)

reception to follow, with cash bar sponsored by the MUN Classics Association

Nicholas Purcell
Camden Professor of Ancient History
Brasenose College, Oxford

Mediterranean Roman Seafarers in the Atlantic World

I come to the ancient Atlantic from the Inland Sea, and my perspective is comparative. My work for *Liquid Continents*, the sequel and companion volume to *Corrupting Sea*, involves studying how the character of Mediterranean history is changed by the interfaces and contact-zones where a Mediterranean world abuts other ecologies. The Atlantic façade is one of these key places of transition. So I want to discover how to make sense of the pre-modern North Atlantic world through asking questions analogous to the ones which work in the Mediterranean - questions about production, interdependence, demographic mobility, mobilization of resources, and connectivity.

While working on other neighbours of the Mediterranean, including the Indian Ocean, I have become interested in the history of what joins up these large blocks of historical space - what the seams are like. This seems to offer a way of anchoring in real, lived, historical human experience subjects which lend themselves a bit to rather vast and airy global generalisations. My aim in this lecture is to set the scene for similar investigations in the Greek, Phoenician, and (mostly) Roman Atlantic worlds.

Just as writing Mediterranean history involves studying the changing imaginaire of the sea, its coasts, and their inhabitants, so I'll also present something of how thinking with seas, oceans, continents, and other geographical concepts formed part of a set of visions of the world in which Mediterranean notions were redeployed to understand the Outer Seas, and how that complex comparison also radically changed the idea of a Mediterranean world.

The Atlantic before 1492 is naturally very different from the subject of Atlantic History as it has been practiced over the last two generations: but the differences are of real interest, and I hope to show that as specialists in a much earlier world we too have an oceanic subject to study alongside our more familiar geographical settings!

Abstracts

Résumés

Session 1a

Presidential Panel / Panel Présidentiel
Texts and Text-Editing: directions and challenges / Textes et édition de texte

chair / président: Mark Joyal, University of Manitoba

The discovery, study and editing of texts have been fundamental to classical philology since the establishment of Classics as a discipline in the fifteenth century. New finds of inscriptions, papyri and medieval manuscripts are no longer made at the same rate that they were a century ago and more, but they are significant nonetheless, and research on all these materials has greatly accelerated over the past several decades. Advances have been enabled by such factors as a more accurate understanding of historical events and processes, the publication of corpora of inscriptions and scientifically edited papyri, a deeper knowledge of the conditions in which manuscripts were copied throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and of the scribes who were responsible for their production, and re-evaluations of the methods and goals in the modern editing of Greek and Latin texts. In connection with all of these factors, modern technology has also played an increasingly large role in opening up new possibilities for research. The four panelists discuss current directions, challenges and opportunities presented by research in each of these fields.

Patrick Baker, Université Laval

L'édition de textes épigraphiques grecs à l'ère du numérique

L'édition et la publication de textes épigraphiques repose sur une tradition encore jeune si on la compare à celle des documents de la tradition manuscrite. Au XIX^{e} siècle, au fil des premiers grands travaux archéologiques et des voyages d'exploration en Asie Mineure, de grandes collections virent le jour et les usages se fixèrent peu à peu. Ceux-ci prévalurent en tant que « meilleures pratiques » (*best practices*), des pratiques dont J. et L. Robert, pendant des décennies, s'attachèrent à rappeler les principes, dans la rencension annuelle des éditions, commentaires et publications de textes, toujours très attendue du « Bulletin épigraphique » de la *Revue des études grecques*. De ces collections, la plupart ont résisté au temps; certaines demeurent figées tout en conservant le statut honorable d'ouvrages de référence, alors que d'autres, après être tombées en désuétude, ont connu une renaissance récente.

Au cours du XX^{e} siècle, la multiplication de journaux savants dédiés aux études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques accrut la quantité de matériel mis à la disposition du savant intéressé par ce type de documentation, tout en assurant la publication (publicité) rapide des documents, qui ne cessaient de sortir de terre. Profitant de cela, le cercle d'initiés des origines de la discipline s'élargit bientôt à un plus large bassin dont des étudiants débutants, voire le grand public.

Au XXI^{e} siècle, dans un monde où l'accès aux documents originaux est rendu difficile par des contextes politique et budgétaire rarement favorables, les enjeux de l'édition des textes épigraphiques grecs se sont déplacés. Si les représentants de la relève intellectuelle restent souvent formés, à l'image de leur maître, à une pratique de l'épigraphie « traditionnelle », il appert que la discipline s'oriente désormais vers d'autres pratiques, d'autres modes de transmission qui forcent chacun à se remettre en question, à tout le moins dans les choix éditoriaux. L'édition de textes épigraphiques au format traditionnel du corpus imprimé est encore possible, fort heureusement, voire souhaitable et assurément souhaité par la communauté; mais la publication électronique en ligne bouscule désormais les pratiques établies. Les outils numériques, sans modifier radicalement les pratiques, ont permis de substantiels progrès dans le traitement informatique des données.

Cette communication fera d'abord le point sur le passé et le présent d'une discipline en pleine mutation. Elle présentera également de nouvelles lignes de recherche illustrant la façon dont les outils numériques ont marqué les études récentes et ont contribué à la diffusion de ces sources précieuses pour la connaissance et la compréhension des sociétés grecques depuis l'époque archaïque jusqu'à la fin de l'Empire romain.

C. Michael Sampson, University of Manitoba

Fact and its Artifice: papyrological anxieties

The advent of papyrology in the late nineteenth century ushered in a new era for Classical Studies; papyri offered the salivating possibility that 'lost' literature could be recovered (or that one might peer beneath extant works' medieval manuscript tradition). Biblical and literary texts, however, were quickly dwarfed by a vast documentary record which continues to revolutionize the study of economic, social, and legal history of Greco-Roman Egypt.

After outlining a few major papyrological contributions, this paper takes up a trio of challenges that the discipline faces moving forward. The first is methodological, stemming from the papyrologist's editorial role. Relied upon by all who would study papyrological data, her transcriptions, translations, and commentary are presented as dependable, but are always subject to revision or reconsideration. In Herbert Youtie's famous articulation, the papyrologist is "the artificer of fact."

The second and third challenges are interrelated. As the recent case of the so-called 'Gospel of Jesus' Wife' has shown, there is no scientific method for reliably detecting forgery (though Columbia University's Ancient Ink Laboratory is experimenting with Raman spectroscopy). Given that papyri are regularly sold on the international antiquities market, the hazard of forgery is real.

The third challenge also pertains to the market in papyri, and the reality that many such texts lack a convincing, documented provenance, which would establish that it was exported from Egypt in accordance with local and international law, and was not looted. Papyrologists should discuss publicly how to reconcile the professional imperative to publish with the obligation to discourage looting, forgery, and the illicit trade in antiquities.

The challenges this paper will discuss all pertain to the fragility and contingency of papyrological source material. As research involving papyrological data advances, such questions will remain germane to Classicists of all stripes.

Cillian O'Hogan, University of British Columbia

Mass digitisation of manuscripts and its implications for classicists

The increasing scale with which pre-modern manuscripts are being digitised has already had an impact on the way in which we think about editing classical texts. Editors can now access high-resolution digital images of manuscripts from anywhere in the world. Not only this, but readers of critical editions can also spot-check collations with increasing facility (Pelttari 2016). Increasingly, instructors are including digitised manuscripts in the classroom, introducing the next generation of scholars to textual work in a way that could not have been possible even twenty years ago (Blackwell and Martin 2009). Yet some have expressed concern about the digitisation trend (Edwards 2013) and its potential drawbacks for scholars. Classicists, in particular, may well find that the selection process for digitising manuscripts tends to focus more on items of interest for medievalists or art historians.

In this paper I outline the challenges and opportunities facing classicists working with digitised manuscripts from two angles. First, I provide an insight into the digitisation process from the perspective of a manuscript curator, explaining how specific manuscripts are chosen to be digitised, and the process by which they are made available. Second, I give a specific example of the research opportunities offered by digitised manuscripts, through a case study of British Library, Burney 61, an anthology of Greek lyric poetry. This manuscript is closely related to Estienne's 1560 edition of the Greek lyric poets. I show how a close comparison of manuscript and printed edition can shed new light on the transmission of Greek lyric poetry in the early modern era.

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Cynthia Damon, University of Pennsylania

Beyond Variants: some digital desiderata for the critical apparatus of ancient Greek and Latin texts

My aims in the four parts of this brief paper are (1) to illustrate the inadequacy of the conceptualization underpinning the current TEI module on the critical apparatus, (2) to demonstrate the power and complexity of the "encoding" already present in the critical apparatus of classical texts, (3) to encourage the exploration of a variety of approaches to the urgent need for digital libraries of critical editions of classical texts, and (4) to offer some thoughts on how to do so based on projects I have undertaken with students recently. I stress the involvement of students since we need skilled readers for apparatuses even more urgently than we need digital apparatuses if the 21st century is to have the people power to build a new infrastructure for classical literature.

Session 1b

Re-examining Greek Words / Réexaminer les mots grecs

chair / président: Reyes Bertolin Cebrian

Allison Glazebrook, Brock University

The Importance of being *duserōs*: characterization in Lysias 4

Lysias 4, *Concerning a Premediated Wounding*, is only in fragmentary condition. The proem and narrative sections of the speech are missing, and the various players remain nameless. Still much of the narrative can be reconstructed from the argument and peroration. Like Lysias 3, it is a charge of *trauma ek pronoias*, which the speaker claims is the result of a disagreement over an *anthrōpos*. The charge centers on events that happened at the opponent's house one evening (4.5). The opponent claims the speaker came to his house with the intent to kill. He entered forcefully by breaking down the door. He then proceeded to attack the opponent with a broken pot. The speaker appears to admit openly to going to the opponent's house, but, in his account, however, he had drunk some wine and was in search of boys (*paides*) and flute players (*aulētrides*) (4.7), and not in search of the *anthrōpos*. The speaker does not appear to attempt to deny that they got into a physical fight or that his opponent got hurt, only that there was no premediation on his part and that he certainly had no intent to kill his opponent, who has been exaggerating his injuries. He blames their dispute on two things: his opponent's mad desire, describing him as *duserōs* (madly loving), and the *anthrōpos* herself (4.8). This paper examines the characterization of the opponent and the *anthrōpos* in relation to *duserōs*.

Gaétan Thériault, Université du Québec à Montréal

L'*agalma* aux époques hellénistique et romaine: du sacré au profane?

Au sens le plus ancien, le mot *agalma* se rapportait manifestement à toutes sortes d'objets précieux, destinés à plaire aux dieux : trépieds, vases, joyaux, étoffes tissées, chiens, chevaux, etc. L'*agalma* était donc avant tout une parure, un « bel objet », un « objet qui plaît ». Une glose du lexicographe Hésychius se lit ainsi : « *Agalma* : tout ce dont on se réjouit ». Et avec le temps ces objets sont devenus des « offrandes », sens courant chez Homère et dans les dédicaces votives de l'époque archaïque. Ce ne serait qu'à l'époque classique, avec Hérodote, que le mot aurait pris le sens général de « statue », qui paraît désormais bien établi.

Mais la question se pose de savoir si l'*agalma* est alors véritablement une « statue cultuelle », la « statue du dieu », comme on l'admet communément. D'autre part, si tel peut être le cas, en est-il autrement des *agalmata* consacrés aux rois, aux empereurs et aux grands bienfaiteurs des époques hellénistique et romaine ? L'objet de cette présentation consistera à examiner cette dernière question. Dans les faits, il semble que, jusqu'à preuve du contraire, les *agalmata* des rois et des grands bienfaiteurs de l'époque hellénistique constituaient de véritables témoignages de culte. Mais cette conclusion ne vaut pas pour

l'ensemble de la documentation concernée. Il paraît en effet douteux que nombre de ces statues, principalement à la période romaine, aient eu la moindre propriété divine. Ce passage vers le profane se produisit sans doute à l'époque d'Auguste, mais il est impossible de préciser davantage.

David Stephens, independant scholar

The Implicit Meaning of Ἄξιος in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*

The Greek historian Thucydides employed the adjective ἀξιος frequently in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Ἀξιος describes something's intrinsic "worth". The explicit connotations of this word have shifted over its use from Archaic Greece to the fifth and fourth centuries of the Classical period. In Homer's writings we find that ἀξιος has a connection to material value. Achilles decides to give Eumelus a bronze breastplate as a consolation prize during the games commemorating Patroclus because it would be "of much worth" to him (*Iliad* 23.560-62). The historian Herodotus uses ἀξιος-words to enhance the perceived value of the subjects he was writing about. His use of ἀξιος is connected with the many wonders (θαύματα) which he describes to his audience with a sense that they are "worthy of mention" (ἀξιόλογος) or "worthy of seeing" (ἀξιοθέατος). There is still a connotation of value, however it is not tied to material worth. Thucydides applies the term in a way that is more implicit than his predecessor, in that the subject matter it describes does not have the immediate value of "wonder". He restricts the variations on the adjective forms, and employs the verb form more regularly; "to think/deem worthy". The application of ἀξιόω in describing peoples, events, and objects is widespread in *The History of the Peloponnesian War*. An analysis of the usage and frequency of ἀξιόω reveals Thucydides' authorial biases. His experience as a general in the Athenian army is implicit in his evaluation of naval forces, and in particular his characterization of Brasidas. In addition to the moral implications of Thucydides' use of ἀξιος are the implied connotations that his work is worthy of his readers' attention, and that these events are recorded by the historian due to their value.

Jody Cundy, University of Toronto

THEAS AXION* and *THAUMA* in Pausanias' *Periegesis Hellados

In his book on the emergence of style in Classical sculpture, Neer (2010) asserted that 'wonder' (*thauma*) and 'worth seeing' (*theas axion*) are used interchangeably in Pausanias' *Periegesis Hellados*. He argues this equivalency reflects a process of disenchantment from the Archaic period to the 2nd century AD, and characterizes the expression of wonder in the Periegesis as mere rhetoric that reflects as "the tourist's gaze." Neer's study highlights the importance of surprise in the viewing subjects cognitive response to rare objects or phenomena for the construction of wonder. On the other hand, Prier (1989) has shown that *(thaumata*) are the material emblems (*semata*) of divine agency in world, perhaps best exemplified by the shield of Achilles (Hom. *Il*.18.XX), and the regurgitated stone Zeus places at Delphi as a *sema* to be a *thauma* for mortals (Hes. *Th.*496). Prier's phenomenological interpretation moves toward the identification of *thaumata* on a categorical basis rather than on the basis of cognitive response.
This paper investigates Neer's claim that *thauma* (and its cognates) and the expression *theas axion* are used interchangeably in the text. Philological analysis of usage throughout the *Periegesis* on the basis of *TLG* searches and Pirenne-Delforge's (1997) concordance of *Periegesis Hellados* suggests that *thauma* (and its cognates) occasionally carry the connotation of surprise, but in the vast majority of instances *thauma* (and its cognates) and the expression *theas axion* are virtually interchangeable in the *Periegesis Hellados*. The argument of the paper focuses on close reading of a selection of exemplary passages.
The conclusions of this investigation are significant for our understanding the *Periegesis Hellados*, because if we take Neer's observation to heart and seriously consider that what Pausanias tags as 'worth seeing' (*theas axion*) has the valence of a 'wonder' (*thauma*), it becomes clear that reading the *Periegesis Hellados* as pilgrimage literature requires reevaluation (Elsner 1992, Arafat 1996, Pirenne-Delforge 2008).

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Session 1c

Archaeology / Archéologie

chair / président: Guy Chamberland

Thierry Petit, Université Laval

Le premier 'Ruler's Dwelling' de l'Âge du Fer à Chypre: un bâtiment prépalatial sur l'acropole d'Amathonte

Jusqu'à présent la première phase (monumentale) du palais d'Amathonte, datée des environs de 800 av., était tenue pour le plus ancien édifice sur l'acropole de la ville. Toutefois, entre 2006 et 2014, deux structures architecturales partielles furent révélées par des sondages profonds réalisés sous le sol dallé de ce premier état; elles étaient accompagnées d'un abondant matériel céramique, local et importé. La nature de ces trouvailles semble montrer qu'il s'agit de la résidence d'une famille de l'élite locale. Ainsi ces deux structures pourraient bien appartenir à un "Ruler's Dwelling" (selon l'expression d'A. Mazarakis-Ainian) des Xe et IXe siècles. Ce serait la première découverte de ce type d'édifices à Chypre.

David Rupp, Canadian Institute in Greece

Field Work of the Canadian Institute in Greece: 2106

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, Tristan Carter's McMaster University excavation of the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic chert-knapping site at Stelida on the island of Naxos, and a field survey project in the Western Argolid by, Scott Gallimore (Wilfrid Laurier University), Dimitri Nakassis (University of Colorado at Boulder) and Sarah James (University of Colorado at Boulder). These and other current projects and activities will be reported on.

Marica Cassis, Memorial University of Newfoundland

From Late Antiquity to Byzantium in Anatolia: tracing continuity at Çadır Höyük

Çadır Höyük is a small archaeological site located in Yozgat province in central Anatolia. The chronology of the site stretches from the Chalcolithic through to the Seljuk period, providing an important example of how sites developed on the Anatolian Plateau throughout antiquity. When explorations began at the site in the late 1990s, the medieval material seemed like an ephemeral layer on the top of the mound, and the excavation team had virtually no indication that there was Late Antique material at all. Over the course of the past twelve years, it has become apparent that the site was both long-lived and substantial, consisting of both a fortified mound and an agricultural settlement on the terrace to the north of the höyük. While this continuity is important, the significance is magnified by the fact that the site is a rare example of a stratigraphically excavated, domestic settlement. As such, Çadır Höyük provides a significant case study for understanding how late antique and medieval settlements in Anatolia changed between the fifth and twelfth centuries, and how these changes were reflected in the domestic architecture. Further, excavations over the past few years as well as new C14 dates suggest that the late antique settlement may have had even earlier incarnations in both the Hellenistic and Roman periods, thus widening the potential of the site to inform us about a geographical region little known in these periods.

Michele George, McMaster University

Preliminary Results of a Study of Vitamin D Deficiency in the Ancient Roman Population

In this paper I will present the preliminary results of a SSHRC-funded project to study vitamin D levels in the Roman population. The study is the first of its kind to use vitamin D to examine ancient health and diet, and is based on an examination of skeletons and their associated grave goods from selected Roman cemeteries. We have now moved to the second phase, in which the links between the data and cultural issues (such as age, gender, and social hierarchy) are being considered. I will discuss the initial statistical results of the skeletal analysis, with percentages of vitamin D found at each cemetery, as well as outlining the final phase of the project and directions for future research combining bio-archaeology and the Roman era.

Session 1d

Philosophy I / Philosophie I

chair / président: John Thorp

Christopher Tindale, University of Windsor

Platonic Silence

Diskin Clay (2000) called Plato the Silent Philosopher, ostensibly due to the apparent absence of his voice from the dialogues. But on a more practical level, Plato's descent into language from the heights of the abstract requires the adoption of diverse strategies of communication, and one of the more interesting is his choice of silence to convey ideas.

In this paper, I note a number of places where Plato uses this device to suggest an answer that the text does not explicitly provide, and explore two cases in detail. The first case is drawn from the *Lysis* and the crucial moment when Lysis resists speaking out and correcting his friend Menexenus who is about to fall into a Socratic trap that had earlier ensnared Lysis himself. The second case concerns the *Parmenides* and the opening exchange between Parmenides and the young Socrates. Parmenides' response to Socrates' attempt to avoid the problem of a Form being divided from itself involves the assumption of a physical metaphor to explain the relationship of Form to things that participate in them. It is Socrates' reaction to this metaphor and what goes unsaid as a result that sets the subsequent discussion on a path that is detrimental to the theory of Forms, whereas Socrates' silence suggests a different path with a different consequence for the theory.

If I am correct, and we have a clear strategy being employed here, then we should ask what value such a strategy has. In the closing section I address this issue. As a rhetorical strategy 'silence' has the advantages of denying the reader a passive response. One engages the text, interrogates it, to discern the meanings available. Thus, Plato draws in his audience, inviting them to follow a conversation along its unspoken pathways to first-hand discoveries.

Michael Korngut, University of Western Ontario

Big Ideas in Plato's *Symposium*: a textual analysis

'Big ideas', φρονήματα μεγάλα, are central to the speeches of both Pausanias and Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*. This paper is in two main sections. The first contextualizes 'big ideas' (182c2; 190b6) within the text of the dialogue and the peculiar natures of these characters' respective encomia. Pausanias, focused on the *nomoi* of Greek states regarding pederasty, uses a historic example of the big idea which spurred on Harmodius and Aristogeiton in the killing of Hipparchus, brother of the tyrant Hippias, in Athens, 514 BC. In contrast to Pausanias' historically rooted example, Plato's Aristophanes invokes the mythic example of the giant brothers Ephialtes and Otus, who devised a plan to physically overtake Olympus. This is the very same big idea which Aristophanes says caused Zeus to punish the original humans. From an analysis of these examples, this section discerns two main characteristics of the *Symposium*'s presentation of big ideas. First, big ideas represent a particular galvanizing and motivating

force, a force which both births and compels into action a confrontational political agenda. And secondly, big ideas, in and of themselves, are value neutral. On the one hand, in the case of Pausanias' presentation, a big idea can be divinely inspired, and motivate the performance of righteous acts. But, on the other hand, as in the case of Aristophanes' myth, a big idea can also be foolishly conceived, and lead to acts of hubris.

The second section asks the question: what might the proper object of moral evaluation for a given big idea be? Is it the actions which unfold, by some consequentialism, that ultimately determine whether a big idea is inspired and righteous, or foolish and hubristic? Or is it more straightforwardly just some evident underlying ideal that morally colors the big idea good or bad at the time of its conception?

Suma Rajiva, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Good imitations or cheap knock-offs? Sophists and second-best rulers in Plato's Statesman

In his introduction to Plato's *Statesman* John Cooper has described the actual rulers of the dialogue as "sophists" because they fit the description given in the previous dialogue, the *Sophist*, in which the political sophist is described as one who is aware of not having knowledge but makes others think he or she does. The disconcerting result is that such rulers would thus be unworthy or bad imitations of the ideal ruler, also described in the *Statesman*. I will explore the relationship between the ideal ruler and the second-best rulers of the *Statesman*, and in particular the issue of whether these second-best rulers are, as Cooper suggested, sophists, based on the discussions in both the *Sophist* and the *Statesman*. I will argue that, although the *Statesman* presents the best actual governments as imitating ideal rule, neither the text of the *Statesman* nor the logic of its argument demands that such a second-best ruler must be a political sophist of the kind described at the end of the *Sophist s*. Such imitative rulers should prescriptively emulate the ideal ruler, who may in turn be a philosopher, although both the ideal and real rulers may in turn be mistaken for sophists. Moreover, part of a proper imitative political structure will mean, in the *Statesman*, that the laws prescribed by the ideal ruler take on a much greater significance, since they are what is left behind when an ideal ruler or legislator is no more. Part of the hallmark of a good imitative ruler is acknowledging this role of the laws and not wishing to prescribe new laws as an ideal ruler might. Thus, the second-best rulers, on this mode, can be worthy or good imitations of the ideal ruler, rather than political sophists in any sense.

Rowan Ash, University of Western Ontario

Schemes of Romantic Friendship: an interpretation of ἑταιρίστριαι in Plato's *Symposium*

This paper re-examines the connotations of the term ἑταιρίστριαι ("companionizers"), in reference to female homoeroticism, in Aristophanes' speech in Plato's *Symposium* and its wider contexts. I argue that it may refer to women's romantic friendships, elaborating on ancient Greek stereotypes of erotic reciprocity as characteristically feminine, which stereotypes Aristophanes deploys to introduce his unusually reciprocal model of male homoeroticism. Further, comparing Pausanias' speech in the *Symposium* and the parody of the dialogue in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*, I argue that the use of ἑταιρίστριαι by Plato's Aristophanes is consistent with his use of unusual vocabulary to highlight the tendentious reinterpretation of ἔρως (erotic love) and φιλία (affection and friendship) throughout the *Symposium*.

I begin with a brief review of ancient Greek constructions of erotic reciprocity as incompatible with masculine ἔρως. (Halperin 1990) Next, I argue that romantic friendship among women is a plausible bridge in the movement of Aristophanes' account of love from heterosexual relationships represented as scandalous but commonplace - adultery - to male homosexual relationships violating the strong Athenian taboo against exploiting such for political gain. (Pl. *Smp.* 191d3-192a7) The movement proceeds from what "everyone knows" is going on through to what cannot normally be said.

I then address the limits of the evidence for women's friendships in antiquity (following Taylor 2013, Foxhall 1998), and focus on the implications of Aristophanes' diction. I note that Aristophanes also brings erotic love and friendship together on a lexical level in the rare word φιλεραστής ("who loves a lover," Pl. *Smp.* 192b4), while Lucian redeploys Aristophanes' rarer words in the context of what he represents as a

sexual relationship among women. (*DMeretr.* 5.2.1-5) I conclude by comparing Aristophanes' lexically playful treatment of assumptions about how ἔρως, φιλία, and women may combine with his predecessors' in earlier portions of Plato's *Symposium*.

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Session 2a

Gardens of Imagination: Cultivating Time, Performance, and Commemoration / Les jardins de l'imaginaire: cultiver temps, performance et commémoration

panel organizer: Victoria Austen-Perry

"The garden experienced by the subject is always a particular garden in a particular place, enclosed by a clear boundary and thereby separated from a qualitatively differentiated outside world, but its situation is nonetheless ambiguous. A garden, as well as being a physical artefact is a palimpset of possibly multiple other dimensions".

(Fred Jones, 2014: 787)

The study of ancient gardens – their creation, cultivation, representation, and reception – participates in the current dialogue concerning the relationship between space and society. Over the last thirty years, the way in which we have conceptualised spaces has become increasingly sophisticated: space is now understood as playing an active role in the constitution and reproduction of social identities, and social identities are recognised as producing material and symbolic spaces (Valentine, 2001). In particular, garden space is now understood as a powerful setting for human life, in which societies embed intangible beliefs, myths, and fictions; and this has proven significant for the study of ancient gardens which, until fairly recently, had been generally perceived as an aspect of Roman culture of 'secondary' importance.

This panel aims to contribute to this more sophisticated treatment of ancient gardens (as seen in the works of, for example, Bergmann, Gleason, Pagan, and Von Stackelberg), by examining how the garden space is used as a setting for products of the imagination. The first paper will focus on the supposed marginalisation of both the physical garden and the garden text, as expressed by Virgil in his imaginary *Georgics* landscape, in an attempt to question the boundaries we place on later manifestations of the garden space; the second paper will examine the setting of villa gardens as a means of cultivating the literary imagination through performance, which in turn breaks down traditional social barriers; and, finally, the third paper will discuss the intersection of literary and physical garden space in the creation of the ultimate, unbounded fantasy landscape of Sisi's *Achilleion*.

This panel, therefore, will focus on the ancient garden as a 'medium through which something other than superficial reality is seen' (Jones, 2014: 790), and as a space that effects imaginative transformations across time.

Victoria Austen-Perry, King's College London

Who has the time? Cultivating the garden space in Virgil, *Georgics* 4.116-148

When Virgil recounts his memory of the Old Corycian in his Tarentum garden, he frames his brief *excursus* explicitly in terms of two factors: space and time. He would sing of how to tend gardens if his labours were not near the end (*extremo ni iam sub fine laborum*, 116); but he must pass the subject by, shut out by space's unfair constraints (*spatiis exclusus*, 147), leaving the subject matter for later poets to discuss (*aliis post me memoranda relinquo*, 148). We, as readers, must be content with the story of the old man. Virgil's preoccupation with time is perhaps unsurprising. Gardening, as seen through the description of the old man, is inherently a temporal activity due to its necessary engagement with cycles of maintenance and change occurring at daily, seasonal, and annual rates. It is interesting, then, that Virgil, as poet and cultivator of his garden text, manages to express both a rejection of garden cultivation due to lack of linear time, and also an engagement with the garden's cyclical temporal qualities by positioning his text within a literary cycle of bequethal and inheritance. Furthermore, Virgil presents us with other temporal paradoxes within his narrative. The figure of the old man, like Virgil, is coming to the end of his own journey, his life; and yet, in contrast to the poet, the old man's lack of time leads him to be, ironically, the only person who *does* have the time for gardening. What does this representation of time tell us? And, more importantly, why does Virgil align his concerns over time with issues of space? This paper will examine time in *Georgics* 4.116-148, as experienced by Virgil himself and the old man, in order to 1) expose the framework of marginality imposed on the garden text; and 2) question how this perceived marginal status proves significant to our understanding of the cultural value of the garden space.

Lisa Hughes, University of Calgary

Mapping out the Visual Vocabulary in the Dionysian Theatre Garden

"*Dionyse…Liber esto" (*Petron. *Sat*. 41.7).

One of the most important primary sources for our understanding of performance within Roman domestic contexts is Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*, wherein in the main character of Trimalchio "stages the play of his life within his *triclinium*" (Rosatti 1999, 87). This text not only gives us valuable information relating to performers and the subject matter of performances; but, most importantly for the purpose of this paper, it also draws our attention to the issue of the physical setting of performance. Identifiable features for such performative backdrops include architecture (e.g., *porticus, triculinium, cenatio, oecus*) and wall paintings. What is lacking, however, in Trimalchio's account is any direct reference to the garden space found within the peristyle. Is the reader left to imagine the overall physical setting of the house so that performative space extends beyond the conventional dining room?

From a literary standpoint, our ancient sources do provide clues for performances in contained outdoor spaces associated either directly or indirectly with Dionysus. Varro (*Rust*. 3.13.2-3), for example, informs readers of the performance of Orpheus he witnessed in an enclosed θηροτροφεῖον; and, as recently argued by Von Stackelberg (2009), Tacitus' account of the marriage of Messalina (*Ann.* 11.31) was staged as part of Dionysian revelry in what is believed to be part of the *Horti Luculliani.* While readers of Petronius could have filled in the literary gaps related to the staging of garden performances, the possibility also existed apropos of the actual physical remains.

In response to these issues, this paper will focus on the visual vocabulary of the peristyle garden as possible extension of performative space. On the basis of thirteen published domestic contexts from the Bay of Naples, I will argue that cultivating both literary and physical Dionysian domestic gardens as venues for performance demonstrates the important social value of "in-house" performances as a means of breaking down barriers in a society marked by social hierarchies. In doing so, this formulates a possible solution to Petronius' covert omission to the garden proper in the *Cena*.

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Katharine T. von Stackelberg, Brock University

Garden of Lamentation: Elisabeth of Austria's *Achilleion*

> *"I will find a more certain eternity in the lamentations of these cypresses than in the memory of my subjects. With the cypresses, their state of sadness and their moans are a vital part of them, those that men give are lies and calumnies."* (Elisabeth of Austria, quoted in M. Barrès, *Amori et Dolori Sacrum*, 1903)

The creation of the Achilleion, a reimagining of a Classical Greek house on Corfu, by Elisabeth of Austria in 1889-90 reflects the convergence of nineteenth century classical romanticism with fin-de-siècle anomie. Claiming that she wanted to be buried there, and even showing her daughter the exact spot between two cypresses, where she wished to lie in preference the Hapsburg crypt, Sisi's Achilleion was a fantasy landscape that attempted to provide some outlet for her conflicted persona: an empress inspired by the republican ideals of Heinrich Heine, a devoted mother consumed by a compulsive desire to travel far from her children. In her "museum garden", Sisi greeted each day by saluting the statues of the gods in the peristyle garden in preparation for a visitation by Heine's spirit. Inspired by the *Odysseische Landschaften* (1878) of her guide and cicerone Alexander von Warsberg, the Achilleion consciously referred to Alkinoos's Phaeacian palace. In Sisi's hands, this once-flourishing garden and palace, described as a real site now overgrown by cactus, agave, olive and orange trees, with fragments of white marble capitals and architraves shining through the undergrowth, was brought to life again. But whereas the palace and garden of Alkonoos celebrated immortality and life, the Achilleion is a monument to death and memory. The Achilleion and its garden appears in Anton Breitner' s epic song-cycle *Die Odyssee einer Kaiserin* (1880), an inversion of Telemachus' search for his father in which a thinly disguised Sisi engages in a heroic quest for her lost son. And yet the lost son, Crown Prince Rudolph, was very alive. This paper studies the literary representations and site of the Achilleion to ask who was Sisi really commemorating in her fantasy landscape?

Session 2b

Roman Crime and Conflict / Crime et conflit chez les Romains

chair / président: Alban Baudou

Matt Gibbs, University of Winnipeg

Unrest, Strikes, and Subjugation: collective violence and professional associations

Violence and violent behaviour has been a subject in vogue in recent years, with the outstanding work of Ari Bryen and Ben Kelly at the forefront of its study. And yet while these enquiries have focused on the interpretation of numerous, and varied, petitions concerning violence in the papyrological corpus and on the extant legal corpora, the role of professional associations, their connection to violence and violent behaviour, and the reasoning underlying their decisions to act in such ways has not been considered systematically.

But it is arguably the issue of collective violence—defined as the instrumental use of violence by people who identify themselves as a professional group, whether formal or informal, whether or not their collective identity was transitory or not, against other individuals so that economic, political, or social objectives can be achieved—that is inherently at the heart of the legislation against associations that was promulgated by Roman emperors in the first and second centuries AD. This, in turn, is intrinsically connected to these professional groups and their position in law.

This paper will examine the instances of reported collective violence by professional associations, while also considering the literature of the first and second century AD that discusses the reasons behind the

subjugation of these collective bodies. To that end, this paper will argue that violence carried out by professional groups can be seen clearly as a form of collective action, and that such actions provide evidence for not only professional associations defending socio–economic and political interests, but also that these groups had the ability to pull together in an attempt to influence civic and provincial policy.

Gaius Stern, University of California, Berkeley; and San Jose State University

Livia's Crimes and what Augustus suspected

The BBC adaptation of Robert Graves' *I Claudius* and *Claudius the God* have influenced an entire generation of Classicists and their students on early Imperial Rome, particularly in regard to the schemes of Livia to advance her son Tiberius to the throne at the expense of anyone in her way. Rival after rival succumbed to an early death, just like in *Arsenic and Old Lace,* as Tiberius rose to the top, while few suspected his mother, who amiably played the part of a proper Roman wife, all the while plotting to eliminate her next victim. Modern advocates of Livia have tried to exonerate her, but perhaps Livia actually did poison some her victims, and to the surprise of many the accusation originated not with Graves but in her lifetime, for many believed her to be responsible for the deaths of Marcellus and certainly Germanicus.

Our three primary sources, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dio do not quite say Livia killed Marcellus, Agrippa, Drusus, Lucius, Gaius, and Germanicus, but they do accuse her of removing Agrippa Postumus and come very close to blaming her for the death of Germanicus. Using the old Roman legal concept *cui bono* (Cic. *Pro Roscio* 84), most Romans would suspect Livia's guilt in these deaths, which just happened to advance her goals. However, while Graves and his followers think the motive was to place Tiberius on the throne, the more likely motive, this paper will argue, was to derail the influence and power of Octavia, who enjoyed a primacy in public opinion and Augustus's affections to Livia's distinct disadvantage, and the death of Marcellus went very far to curtail Octavia, although not to Livia's exclusive benefit.

Patricia White, McMaster University

Livy's Portrayal of Agrarian Conflicts during the Struggle of the Orders

In this paper, I seek to examine how Livy uses agrarian distribution during the Struggle of the Orders to fulfill his larger literary goals of portraying the moral degeneration of Rome over time. It has been observed that the conflicts between the patricians and plebeians during the Struggle of the Orders are described by the ancient sources in ways that evoke the later conflicts between the *optimates* and *populares*, and contention surrounding land legislation figures in these discourses.

Livy reports that in 486 BCE the consul Sp. Cassius proposed a *lex agraria*, which would provide the plebs with land (2.41.1). Livy's portrayal of the events of this year, however, seems deliberately ambiguous. On the one hand, it is clear throughout that he disproves of Sp. Cassius' overly ambitious behaviour, whereby he sought to acquire *regnum*. On the other, Sp. Cassius is presented as sympathetic to the plebeians' cause and Livy has him allege that the patricians were wrongfully occupying public land and that they opposed his distribution scheme as a means of protecting their own narrow selfinterests. Neither the patriciate nor the plebs (including Sp. Cassius, who represents their interests) receives full blame for the disturbances that arise from Sp. Cassius' proposal. Why does Livy not specify which group is responsible for the strife caused by Sp. Cassius' agrarian proposal? How does this relate to his treatment of other agrarian conflicts? In this paper, I will argue that this portrayal was deliberate. That is, Livy leaves the situation in 486 BCE ambiguous because he wants to highlight the social unrest caused by the proposal, and future such proposals. Initially, therefore, both sides seem to share some of the blame, but it is the unrest itself that is significant to Livy. After 486 BCE, Livy attributes the fault to one group or the other and, therefore, cannot be considered a strictly conservative or anti-*popularis* author, as he has sometimes been labelled in the past. He sought to show how the city of Rome had declined over time, leading to the current deplorable times in which he found himself.

Session 2c

Re-examining the Greek Past / Le passé grec sous examen

chair / présidente: Sheila Ager

Chelsea Gardner, Mount Alison University

Go to…Hades? A re-examination of the sanctuary of Poseidon at Tainaron

Our understanding of the site of ancient Tainaron on the southern tip of the Mani peninsula in Lakonia is often pieced together through various literary sources which date from the Archaic period to late antiquity; from as early as Homer to as late as Stephanos of Byzantium. The most common role ascribed to ancient Tainaron is the entrance to (and sometimes exit from) Hades, followed closely by its location as a relatively famous sanctuary to Poseidon. In addition, the site functioned as a venue for marble-quarrying, a special place of refuge for helots and slaves, and a gathering space for mercenaries. However, interpretation of these various roles is often based on information fused together from several different ancient sources writing in and about several different time periods, with the result that our general understanding about the site of Tainaron in antiquity is actually quite conflated. In this paper, I showcase the constantly evolving function of Tainaron in chronologically distinct historical eras, from the Archaic to Roman period, through a presentation of the relevant archaeological and literary evidence.
Ancient Tainaron is a complex site which has not received sufficient scholarly attention. It is a sacred place which operates in several capacities throughout its long history of use, only one of which – and arguably its least significant – is as the mythological entrance to the Underworld.

Jonathan Vickers, Trent University

Horseback Heroics: equestrian acrobatics in archaic Greece

In this paper I argue that the activity of equestrian tumbling (i.e. 'acrobatic' feats on horseback) in late Archaic Greece held elite connotations, wherein the participant was represented as a warrior-athlete. Scholars have argued that horseback acrobatics were a variety of low-status spectacular entertainment, not high-status sport (Kyle 1992, 96; Neils 1992, 176; cf. 2007, 48; Miller 2004, 167), but evidence suggests that the feat had both 'spectacular' and 'sportive' qualities. On an early Panathenaic prize amphora, for instance, a rare crowd watches an armoured performer on horseback (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, 243). The amphora is often labelled a pseudo-prize vase, but the inscription on it, 'a *kados* (jug) for the tumbler', implies that the vessel itself is the prize for the contest. Elsewhere, the act of standing upright on a horse is linked with elite performance (Pl. *Meno* 93d) and heroic or militaristic ability (e.g. Pin. *Ol.* 13.63-86; cf. Hom. *Il.* 15.679-86), as on the Panathenaic amphora. Other artistic evidence offers a similar representation: in art from the Geometric and Archaic periods, only armoured men or divine beings stand upright on horses (e.g. Los Angeles, County Museum of Art,1992.152.2; Olympia, Archaeological Museum, B 1665; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 8396). In such artistic and literary representations, which repeatedly stress an association with elites, heroes, and warfare, we see men who stand upon horses characterized as 'warrior-athletes' both through their vigorous physicality and their dominance over the horse. The combination of spectacular actions and quasi-heroic athletics was also demonstrated in the *apobates* contest, a prestigious event at the Panathenaia festival through the Classical period. Horseback acrobatics evidently possessed a comparable *ethos*, though it never acquired such popular regard.

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Jonathan Reeves, McMaster University

I want YOU: coercion and cooperation in the hoplite *katalogos*

In this paper, I seek to reexamine the role played by altruistic and communitarian values in Athenian military participation.

Military service in late archaic and early classical Greece has traditionally been viewed as a quintessentially communal endeavour. The citizen of the polis mobilized for war, motivated by a sense of patriotism and obligation to defend his community. Military duty, as a civic obligation, was readily undertaken by the citizen, who conceived of himself not as a self-willed individual, but as fundamentally a part of the superordinate polis (Weber 1921; Arendt 1958; Berlin 1962; Murray 1993).

Recently this idealized picture of the ancient Greek citizen-warrior has been called into question by a number of scholars who have focused on the concepts of 'bad citizenship,' self-interested rationalism and calculation, and individualism in ancient Athens (e.g. Carter 1986; Cohen 2000; Christ 2001, 2004 and 2006). Skeptical of the degree to which cooperative values governed Athenian behaviour, these scholars have highlighted the coercive power of state and its mechanisms of compulsion such as the hoplite *katalogos* and the threat of legal punishment for military misconduct (*astrateia* and *rhipsaspia*).

In this paper, I offer an account of the Athenian warrior's motivational psychology that strikes a balance between these two apparently opposed views. Like Christ and Carter, I argue that the Athenians were in no way preternaturally altruistic or communitarian with respect to the performance of military duty. However, I do not see the choice as either one of altruism/egoism or communitarianism/individualism. Appreciating Athens not as a face-to-face society *per se* (Cohen 2000; Finley 1981), but as the superordinate complex of many parochial sub-societies, which witnessed endless competition among individuals for local distinction, I shall demonstrate that these dichotomies are false. I shall show that what has been missing from the discussion is awareness of the fact that, in polis society—where voluntary and supererogatory service was rewarded in a culture of public honours—the pursuit of distinction through communal (and especially military) service was itself a personal good that had to be weighed along with other personal interests, such as self-preservation.

Session 2d

Medicine / Médecine

chair / présidente: Arden Williams

Amber Porter, University of Calgary

Sexual Intercourse as a Cure for Epilepsy in Boys: an investigation of Aretaeus' *Treatments of Chronic Diseases* 1.4.14-15

The disease of epilepsy has a long history in medical literature and its description and treatment can be found in many of the texts of Greco-Roman physicians. Aretaeus of Cappadocia, the 1st century CE medical writer, is no exception and his account of epilepsy, its symptoms and therapies, aligns generally with other ancient medical texts, from Hippocrates to Galen. In his Treatments of Chronic Diseases, however, we encounter an unusual passage regarding one particular therapy in which he states that some physicians attempt to cure epilepsy in young boys by forcing them to have sexual intercourse. This surprising passage is short on detail and leaves us with many questions. Aretaeus, however, is clear in his opinion of the treatment, which he considers wrong and ineffective. This paper will explore the passage in order to understand the treatment described, the theory or assumptions behind it, and Aretaeus' thoughts and opinions on it and the physicians who use it.

Chiara Graf, University of Toronto

Hippocratics at Play: Derridean signs and uncontrolled bodies in the *Prognosticon*.

Numerous passages within the Hippocratic corpus not only enumerate the correct procedures for diagnosing and treating diseases, but also defend the role of the doctor in society. In response to charges

of charlatanism or inefficacy, Hippocratic authors often turn to the doctors' mastery of a medical "symbolic order," citing their ability to name diseases and create prognostic narratives surrounding illness as proof of their authentic expertise. At the same time, these medical symbols are a locus of anxiety in the Hippocratic corpus: as medical writers frequently remind us, names are often deceptive, and prognoses cannot save dying patients. Why do the practices of naming diseases and predicting patients' outcomes persist as a simultaneous source of legitimacy and anxiety for Hippocratic doctors? Drawing in part upon Jacques Derrida's theory of "play," I argue through a close reading of the treatise *Prognosticon* that unpredictable and uncontrollable variations in patients' bodies expose a paradox inherent to prognosis. The medical symbolic order comprising prognostic expertise is necessarily detached from the physical body and defined instead in relation to other academic abstractions. Because of this detachment from the body, prognosis opens Hippocratic doctors to the same charges of inefficacy it is intended to quell.

Marie-Pierre Krück, College de Maisonneuve

Les migrations discursives de l'idée d'autopsie

La notion d'autopsie (de *autos* et *opsis* : voir par soi-même) est un terme qui remonte au moins à Dioscoride (*De materia medica*) chez qui il désigne l'observation directe, mais dont la forme *autoptes* se trouve déjà chez Hérodote (*Histoires*, livre 8, chap. 79 *et passim*) pour parler du témoin oculaire. Elle a connu au fil du temps des emplois divers en histoire, en religion, en médecine et en philosophie, une diffusion au cours de laquelle elle a pris des sens dérivés, mais distincts et spécifiques, dont le plus connu est désormais le seul courant, celui de l'examen médical des cadavres, qui n'est pourtant attesté qu'au XIXe siècle (jusqu'à la sixième édition du *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*, le seul sens attesté en français était celui de contemplation de la divinité par l'initié). Je souhaite revenir au rôle de l'idée d'autopsie dans trois domaines de la tradition écrite : l'historiographie, la religion et la médecine afin de mieux saisir, d'une part, l'articulation de leurs régimes épistémologiques et, d'autre part, la façon dont l'autopsie a pu s'imposer comme procédé de véridiction. Dans ces trois domaines d'enquête, l'autopsie est en effet au fondement de la découverte de la vérité et de sa validation. Il s'agit chaque fois bien sûr d'une observation liée au regard personnel, mais distanciée et produisant une vérité à valeur générale : la certitude historique fondée sur le témoignage de première main ; la vérité spirituelle de l'initié, considérée par les autres comme indiscutable quoique ésotérique; le savoir médical du médecin qui travaille à éliminer toute médiation, parfois même celle du patient. Il s'agira dans un premier temps de présenter les principales occurrences du terme grec et de ses dérivés dans les trois domaines (Ve siècle avant J.-C.-IIe siècle ap. J.-C.) afin de relever les transferts et d'être alors en mesure d'apprécier la façon dont un discours (historique, religieux, médical) s'approprie cette idée. L'autopsie me paraît un outil particulièrement utile pour penser le rapport entre les différentes disciplines (histoire, religion, médecine) via la notion d'emprunt (ou de « recyclage »). Déjà Galien, dans *Des sectes aux étudiants*, écrivait que les représentants de l'école empirique en médecine définissaient l'histoire (médicale) comme une autopsie (témoignage de première main) médiatisée par le récit (Cassin, 1990 ; Momigliano 1987). Cet emprunt porterait donc sur une modalité du regard, adaptée dans chaque domaine du savoir à ses contraintes propres.

Showcasing the Local: Classics in St. John's / Les Études classiques à Saint-Jean

An informal lunch session focusing on the presence and the teaching of Classical culture in St. John's.

session organizer: Craig Maynes

Bernard Kavanagh, Queen's University

Some Latin Inscriptions from St. John's, Newfoundland

Although it is relatively commonplace to find Latin inscriptions on buildings and tombstones in Western Europe, the few that are present in Canada are generally found in some of our older cities, most of them set up in the 19th and early 20th centuries. These inscriptions, which are part of the Classical Tradition, serve as a record in those cities for important historical events, such as the dedication of great buildings or remembering lives. For this proposed lecture, select Latin inscriptions will be presented from St. John's, Newfoundland, the site of the conference for this year. The Latin in the texts is usually simple and elegant, though sometimes the language can be complicated and the text of considerable length. The lecture will focus on the content, the condition and the historical relevance of the inscriptions found in St. John's, which is not just one of North America's oldest cities, but the closest one to Europe.

Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby, Memorial University of Newfoundland

John Thomas Mullock's Classical Collection in the Episcopal Library of St. John's

The Episcopal library of St. John's is among the few nineteenth-century libraries that survived in their original setting in the Atlantic region, and the only one in Newfoundland and Labrador. Established by John Thomas Mullock (1807–69), bishop of Newfoundland and later of St. John's, who, in 1859, offered his own private collection of "over 2500 volumes as the nucleus of a Public Library," the Episcopal library in many ways differs from the theological libraries assembled by Mullock's contemporaries across Canada. Reflecting its owner's wide-ranging learning and multilingual abilities, the Mullock Collection contains books in English, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, published over four centuries, from the early sixteenth century to Mullock's death in 1869. The current collection constitutes a colourful assortment of highly personal and private as well as professional and public books, demonstrating Mullock's versatile interests as a scholar-theologian as well as his unfailing and untiring commitment to education in his new place of ministry, Newfoundland. In this talk, I will provide a survey of Mullock's modest classical collection of Latin and Greek authors which is divided between volumes collected for private study and for educational use. I will review the rare imprints of classical Latin and Greek texts published by prominent sixteenth- and seventeenth-century printers, which reveal Mullock's antiquarian predilection for early printed books, along with the school texts Mullock assembled for a rigorous classical curriculum at his foundation, St. Bonaventure's College, which opened its doors to the public in 1856.

Tana Allen, Memorial University of Newfoundland
Milorad Nikolic, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Teaching Classics in *ultima Thule*

This paper invites an exchange of ideas on the relevance and challenges of teaching about the ancient Greek and Roman world within the restraints of a seemingly remote context. Apart from the intrinsic value of the topic and our role as custodians of an ancient cultural legacy, what other arguments do we have to promote our area of interest and to entice students to enrol in relevant courses? How do we

demonstrate the relevance of our discipline in a place where many students arrive at university perhaps with a limited historical worldview? Furthermore, by what productive and thoughtful ways can we build successfully on knowledge that students with remarkably varied backgrounds are able to bring to a classroom environment?

The city of St. John's, and even the relatively young campus of Memorial University, is full of architectural and decorative elements that originated in the Greek and Roman periods. After only a few classes, students are able to spot visual echoes of ancient sanctuaries, temples, imperial fora, triumphal arches, and commemorative sculpture in their immediate environment in the city and on campus. Recognition of the social, political, and cultural statements associated with these elements usually requires some guidance by the instructor, but as the students decipher the implied messages, the relevance of the field to their own lives becomes self-evident. They acquire the ability to explore why modern architects and artists chose to reference particular ancient precedents and what they say about the circumstances, attitudes, and intentions of a time that is merely a generation or two removed from the students' own life experience and that still serve as a stage to their daily lives and interactions.

Session 3a

Rethinking the Local in the Ancient Greek World I / Repenser l'histoire local en Grèce ancienne I

panel organizers: Hans Beck and Alex McAuley

Connectivity and network exchange have emerged as paradigms with very high currency in the scholarship of the Humanities and Social Sciences. In Classical Studies in particular, the notion of network interactions has sparked a variety of new, innovative approaches to the Mediterranean world. The proposed panel is designed to foster a complementary view to what has been labelled the "Hellenic wide web": by turning to the local as an empirical and metaphorical place, we explore the inherent capacity of the local horizon to provide order and meaning to human existence. Panelists will trace this capacity of the local in the small-scale environment of Central Greece along the Hellenic Corridor, stretching from Euboia and Boiotia through the Megarid into the Peloponnese over the course of the 5th to 3rd centuries BCE. With samples selected from different constellations and themes, the papers will demonstrate how the local was a source domain that informed Greek societies in their attempt to position themselves, particular amidst the swiftly changing circumstances in the world around them.

Hans Beck, McGill University

Going Local in Ancient Greece

The first paper serves as an introduction that fleshes out the conceptual framework of the panel as a whole and its methodological approach. Highlighting the degree of hyper-connectivity among the Greeks, network studies see the local primarily as a dot in the wider web of exchanges. In this typical avenue of inquiry, the local is a descriptive denominator, one that refers to, for instance, local traditions and tastes, or to the study of local elites or local religion. In each case, due to the confinement of its place and the limited number of its participants, the local is semiotically petty, in a twofold sense: it is subject to a small-world horizon, and it is also of limited significance. The first half of the paper establishes an alternative approach, one that sees the local as a force of culture, knowledge, and community, each one in relation to the local horizon that inspires them.

The diverse world of ancient Greece offers a unique circumstance to pursue this further. More often than not, prioritization of the local in the Greek world is equated with the call for autonomy and self-governance. But politics was only one – and presumably not even the most immediate – expression of the local. The second section of the paper will demonstrate how Greek cities were worlds that bristled with epichoric sensation – tastes and traditions, symbols and styles – all of which brought order and meaning

to the polis. I will focus on one of these categories: local cuisines and food idiosyncrasies, in order to explore how local attitudes were more than indicators of a limited mindset. Rather, locally distinct consumption patterns allowed the polis to connect to place and establish its local regime of truth. Fifty kilometers down to road, in another polis, another regime of truth prevailed.

Alex McAuley, Cardiff University

The Other Side of the Stone: the local dynamics of *proxenia* in Euboia

The institution of *proxenia* is generally viewed as one of the principal relays in the wider web of Greek relations described by the preceding paper of this panel. In this context, the recent works of Irad Malkin (2011) and William Mack (2015) have treated *proxenia* from a predominantly outward-looking perspective, in the process bringing to light the complex networks of institutional friendship that bound Greek *poleis*, big and small, to one another across the Mediterranean. While this is immensely useful in considering the interstate relations of the Greek world, this paper seeks to examine the other side of the *stele*, as it were, by revisiting the local implications of *proxenia* in the community that was bestowing it. What did *proxenia* mean in a practical sense in the local context, and what do the privileges and honours conferred reveal about the life of the citizens who were accepting an outsider into their midst?

The island of Euboia provides an ideal case study for examining these local ramifications of the institution: during the Hellenistic Period the island's various communities suddenly produced an abundance of such decrees, many of which have been glossed over as insincere or excessive flattery of benefactors hailing from Macedon and beyond. But the corpus of inscriptions from Eretria, Chalkis, and Histiaia provides very specific privileges to new *proxenoi* granted in recognition of very specific acts, giving us a vivid snapshot of the local priorities of these communities at various points in time, and thus a glimpse of their most pressing religious, economic, and social concerns. By examining these, as well as the role played by resident communities of *proxenoi* in a given city (e.g. IX XII,9 900), we will consider how the institution was not an instantaneous phenomenon, but one that reflected as well as influenced the rhythm of local life.

Sheila Ager, University of Waterloo

A Local World on the Edge: Megara and its frontiers

This paper will build on the preceding two examinations by adding a spatial and geographical component to the discussion using the crucial situation of the polis of Megara as its main case study. From the perspective of the phenomenon of localism, the Megarians were in an uncommon position: situated on the Isthmus of Corinth, with land and sea access to all points of the compass, Megara was exceptionally well-placed to profit from the control of trade and traffic. Nevertheless, the strategic advantages of Megara's position also worked against it, squeezed as it was on east and west by its competitive neighbours Corinth and Athens. This constricted neck of land was the obvious route for all who traveled from the Peloponnese to central Greece or from the Corinthian to the Saronic Gulf. What was local for Megara was a highway for others, near and far, and the many wars that pitted the Peloponnesian states against Athens or Boiotia inevitably resulted in armies marching through Megarian territory.

The Isthmus, which provided access to so many different regions, was by the same token also the ultimate frontier territory, both a connector and a boundary. Strabo describes a single stele placed at the Isthmus with inscriptions on two sides, one reading "This is the Peloponnese, not Ionia" and the other reading "This is not the Peloponnese, but Ionia" (9.1.6). Astride the Isthmus, the Megarid was thus both central and liminal. This paper will explore the meaning of localism and self-definition in a polity that was subject to so many external influences and pressures, and the challenges that Megara faced in maintaining its own territorial, communal, and ethnic integrity.

Session 3b

Greek Tragedy / Tragédie grecque

chair / président: John Harris

Florence Yoon, University of British Columbia

The Tragic Child and the Detachment of Eurysaces

It has long been recognized that children in tragedy are not full-fledged characters, lacking as they do both moral agency and distinct personal characteristics. A more subtle quality is their consistent lack of *contact* - what Mastronarde (1979:2) calls "the alert relationship of one indi- vidual to his surroundings as a whole or to another individual"; although children are given nor- mal tragic diction and rational skills, they consistently fail to interact fully with adults. This dra- matic convention is easily overlooked due to naturalistic expectations of children's behaviour, but the disconnection of children from the world of adults can be exploited to create striking dramatic effects. The most extreme case of this is Eurysaces in *Ajax*. The scene between the Sophoclean Ajax and his son has always been read against the Homeric Hector and Astyanax, focusing on the contrasts between Ajax and Hector. However, the comparison of the sons is equally remarkable; while the baby Astyanax responds to his father and generates further social interaction, the child Eurysaces remains detached. In fact, although Eurysaces obeys verbal commands from other figures, there is no indication of any response to his father, alive or dead. This complete discon- tinuity has been accepted without question, yet it contrasts sharply not only with the Iliadic parallel, but also with the behaviour of other children in tragedy. This paper explores Eurysaces' lack of contact in three contexts: the conventional objectification of children, the family tableau that juxtaposes three different types of "silent masks" in the last third of the play, and Ajax' famous wish for his son to be like his father (548-51).

Adriana Brook, Lawrence University

Initiatory Paradigms and the Ending of Sophocles' *Electra*

Greek tragedy likely evolved from ritual origins; it was performed in a ritual context; its stories habitually incorporated ritual elements; its narratives progressed according to the same logic as ritual. Given tragedy's affinity for ritual, it stands to reason that the plays' ritual content played a privileged role in shaping the ancient audience's perceptions and reactions. My paper explores the implications of this claim by reading the much-debated ending of Sophocles' *Electra* in light of ritual criteria. I demonstrate that ritual cues, particularly initiatory motifs, contribute to the illusion of triumph but, ultimately, deny the success of the revenge plot.

The *Electra* initially appears to offer its audience an archetypal rite of passage narrative in staging Orestes' vengeance against his father's murderers. Although Orestes is offstage for much of the play, references to his actions affirm his progression toward adulthood by fifth- century metrics, alluding to aspects of the Apatouria, *koureion*, and *ephebeia*. For much of the play, however, Orestes' story is eclipsed by Electra's. Her corresponding female rite of passage – defined by her marital status – is never completed. Of the conventional tripartite initiatory progression, she succeeds only in withdrawing from society, failing in both transformation and reintegration.

The final assessment of the play's ending does not rely on either sibling individually, but rather on the scenes in which their stories converge. After the recognition, Electra abandons her own rite of passage in order to commit more fully to her brother's. The character of her own failed initiation thus colours the audience's evaluation of Orestes' apparent success. Though a committed collaborator, Electra inadvertently undermines Apollo's trustworthiness, denies Orestes' apparent transition from παῖς to ἀνήρ, and casts him as a doomed Aegisthus by emulating Clytemnestra. Orestes' individual success is overshadowed when juxtaposed with Electra's ritual narrative, affirming the pessimism of the *exodos*.

Kristin Lord, Wilfred Laurier University

The Morality of the Bystander in Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Electra*

Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Electra* feature female protagonists unbowed before oppression, and both plays pair them with more conventional sisters. Both plays illuminate fifth- century debates over nature, law, gender, and wisdom; in each case, the sister who advocates obedience, however unjust, claims "prudence" (σωφροσύνη).

From here the plays diverge. Antigone rebuffs Ismene's attempts to join her disobedience. They tangle over reconciling the divinely rooted claims of the city and the dead. Nevertheless, the women show similarities. Antigone claims that her "nature is not to hate but love (523)." Ismene, although telling Antigone to "show prudence" (50 φρόνησον), emphasizes love (99) and defends her and Haemon before Creon (568-572). Their decency softens the play and illustrates democratic ideals, despite gender limitations.

Electra examines the conflict between word and deed, truth and falsehood. Chrysothemis, encouraged by the chorus (465 εἰ σωφρονήσεις), supports Electra's opposition to placing their mother's offerings on Agamemnon's tomb. Otherwise, she condemns her sister's boldness, using autocratic double-speak: "If I am to live free, those in power must be obeyed in all things" (339-340). To Electra, Chrysothemis's prudence (346, *φρονοῦσα*) means forgetting Agamemnon; her own definition (cf. 365, σώφρων) entails maintaining her father's honor (399) and forgoing comforts from their father's murderers (359-61).

This language of σωφροσύνη is part of a broader context. While σωφροσύνη for both Ismene and Chrysothemis is congruent with oligarchic ideas, Chrysothemis's fixation on it elucidates Athenian degradation in Sophocles' later career. Ismene can support her sister to her opponent's face; Chrysothemis cannot. Likewise, Electra's depiction of her relationship to Clytemnestra as one of slavery (cf. 597 δέσποτιν) shows a brutality of language not apparent before. Ultimately, these factors confirm the hypothesis of a date of 410 for *Electra*, immediately after the end of oligarchy.

Session 3c

Reception I / Réception I

chair / président: Jonathan Burgess

Jennifer Phenix, Sheridan College

Beautiful Evil: Pandora's image and influence

Feminist film theorists have shown that woman, in narrative cinema, is a construct, an image, and an object of the spectator's gaze. Teresa de Lauretis, in her collection of essays in *Technologies of Gender*, argues that cinema is a technology of gender and "has the power to control the world of social meaning and thus produce, promote, and "implant" representations of gender" (18). For de Lauretis, cinema's construction of gender, particularly its construction of sexuality, renders the female form as a projection of the male-centered frame of mind and reference (14-17). Woman is representation (20) and is framed by the camera as "an image made to be looked at by the spectator(s) as well as the male characters, whose look most often relays the look of the audience"(99). As a result, both "visually and narratively, cinema defines woman as image: a spectacle to be looked at and an object to be desired, investigated, pursued, controlled, and ultimately possessed by a subject who is masculine" (99). The notion of woman as image and spectacle recalls Hesiod's creation story, and creation, of first woman, Pandora. She is a thing, an evil thing, albeit a beautiful, evil thing (*kalon kakon*, *Op.*56-58). She is a likeness, an imitation (*Op.*63, 70-71; *Theog.* 571-572), or in Brown's words "an artifact and artifice" (37). She is a wondrous beauty, who is a marvel to behold (*Theog*. 575, 581), but her marvelous exterior conceals a deceptive, 'dog-like' interior (*Op.*67-68, 77-78), a gift for mankind that is guaranteed to bring misery (*Op.* 56, 80-83, 95; *Theog.* 590-593, 595, 601-602), for she has been created as a sheer trick (*Op.*83; *Theog.*589), one that men will embrace to their own ruin (*Op.*57-58; *Theog.*589).

The purpose of this paper is to explore how cinema, in particular Neil Labute's 2003 film *The Shape of Things*, replays and reconstructs the Hesiodic exemplum and image of woman as spectacle, a wonder to behold but a 'beautiful evil' and cunning contrivance meant to ensnare men to their ruin.

Kathryn Mattison, McMaster University

Modern Productions of Sophocles' *Ajax* and the Athenian Soldier's Experience

Sophocles' *Ajax* has been an increasingly popular choice for modern theatrical production in recent years, and has been proven to be relevant in the contemporary discourse of mental health and suicide in the military. In *The Theater of War: What Ancient Greek Tragedies can Teach us Today* (New York, 2015), Bryan Doerries chronicles his own productions of *Ajax*, and discusses his post-production conversations with audiences predominantly composed of soldiers and their families. These reveal a profound connection that soldiers still feel with *Ajax*, and underscore how Sophocles crafted a character that is able to speak directly to the experience of the soldier and their family in a way that has transcended space and time. This paper argues that for *Ajax* to have been successful, these issues were also significant for the original Athenian audience, for whom war was an ongoing concern. It is likely that Sophocles himself, having served as general, was keenly aware of the difficulties faced by soldiers, and the difficulty in particular of maintaining dignity and decorum under stressful circumstances. This paper argues that *Ajax* was an important element in an individual's attempt to process their military experience as well as the collective ability to comprehend the individual's experience. Instead of following Doerries' model of using ancient tragedy to facilitate discussion for members of the military, this paper will show how our current experience with *Ajax* can help us to understand an aspect of the Athenian audience experience that has often been overlooked in favour of a discussion of the civic or religious implications of the play: namely, how it may have spoken to those in the audience with their own military experience. This, in turn highlights the significance for Athenian soldiers and their families to have the opportunity to consider and address the effects of their service.

Robert Weir, University of Windsor

How Ben Jonson read his Lucan and his Seneca

Two books sold in recent years by the same bookseller in Ontario, i.e. a copy of Lucan's "Pharsalia" (London, 1618) and one of Seneca's "Tragoediae" (London, 1624), can be identified as having once been the property of noted playwright Ben Jonson (1572–1637). The Lucan is in fact a re-discovery of a book attested as Jonson's in 1964 by its then owner, the Oxford don and bibliophile John H.A. Sparrow (1906–1992). Careful photography in both visible and near- infrared light reveals Jonson's usual ownership inscriptions on the title pages of both books. Study of further annotations inside the books gives insight into Jonson's interactions with their texts and also informs us about his relationship with both books' editor and commentator, the classical scholar Thomas Farnaby (circa 1575–1647). Many of the annotations are simple corrections of typographical errors, but some are more significant. Given Jonson's profession, it comes as little surprise that he made more apparent use of the Seneca than of the Lucan, though some marginal sidelines in the latter indicated that one passage (1.413–420) did catch his fancy and possibly found echo in a subsequent work of his. For the most part this paper will examine Ben Jonson's reception of specific passages that he annotated in his copy of Seneca's plays to see if they had any perceptible influence on his subsequent compositions. There is also a cartoon, possibly in Jonson's hand, on the rear pastedown of the Seneca that seems to illustrate the final act of "Thyestes" and thus merits consideration as a 17th century visualization of that play.

Session 3d

Christians and Pagans / Chrétien et Païens

chair / président: Peter O'Brien

Seamus O'Neill, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Apuleius of Madaura and the Hellenic Foundations of Christian Demonology

While Christian demonology has integral Biblical and Judaic foundations, one cannot underestimate the importance of the contributions of the Hellenic (Pagan) Platonists, particularly those of Apuleius of Madaura, to the Christian's knowledge of demons throughout the centuries. The most significant connection between Ancient and Late Antique Hellenic speculation about the nature of demons and Christian demonological doctrines can be found in the writings of St. Augustine. St. Augustine's demonology, as is the case with all Christian theological and philosophical considerations, forms a bedrock of demonological lore according to which, and against which, later Christian demonology develops. While Augustine addresses some of Plato's own views on the nature of demons, Apuleius of Madaura receives an extended, detailed treatment.

In the *De Deo Socratis*, Apuleius weaves together what John Dillon has called "the most complete connected version of Middle Platonic demonology extant." Aside from the fame of the author, however, the demonological content of Apuleius's *De Deo Socratis* was influential and needing to be addressed by Augustine when surveying Platonic demonology in the *City of God*. This perhaps shows, even in Augustine's time, not long after the death of Apuleius, how important this treatise is for Western demonology. It makes one wonder, despite how much must have been lost, how influential Apuleius' text was then and after, that Augustine deals with it in such a detailed and extended manner. This paper will survey some of the fundamental cosmological and demonological doctrines of Apuleius that, despite some medieval departures, are seminal for Christian demonology even to the present day.

Mark Mueller, University of Toronto

Making the Insider the Outsider: Exploring the Infidel as Heretic

Incorporating the infidel as heretic is not an unheard of act in the history of religions. The Christians did do this from time to time, most famously with Augustine's treatment of Manicheanism. This sort of inclusion provides interesting ground to explore the concept of heresy, and how orthodoxy may make use of heresy for the purpose of identity construction, and to manufacture a superiority of orthodox thought. My paper uses theories of heresy, particularly Berlinerblau's 2001 formulation of heresy theory, to examine Christian treatment of pagan worship of Theos Hypsistos, "The Most High God" in late Antiquity. Three Christian writers wrote explicitly on cults devoted to worship of Theos Hypsistos. Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa touch on them briefly, and Epiphanius devotes a longer passage to the cult in his Panarion. A fourth writer, Lactantius, incorporates an Apollonian oracle associated with Hypsistos worship into a discussion of pagan theology. Examining these passages through a lens of heresy theory is a way, first of all, to explore the power of the orthodoxy to declare heresy. It also provides an opportunity to explore some of the implications of the close identification these writers acknowledged with the Hypsistos worshipers. Lactantius, in particular, exploited overlapping Christians and pagan language concerning conceptions of a supreme deity to appropriate pagan intellectual traditions into the context of Christian epistemology. By making incorporating outsider knowledge and giving it insider status—using the tactics of heresiology, Lactantius could assert the primacy of Christian thought, and retroactively impose its presence into antiquity.

Timothy Perry, University of Missouri

Divine Geometer: The Christianization of Euclid in a late medieval manuscript

The need to justify the use of pagan texts was a constant problem for Christian readers and writers of the medieval period. Both Jerome and Augustine deplored the time they had wasted on such texts, though both conceded their usefulness, providing they were made to serve Christian theology. This paper

considers how a 14th-century manuscript of Euclid's *Elements*, currently housed in the Fisher Library in Toronto, confronts this problem. In an illuminated initial at the beginning of the manuscript, Euclid is shown using compasses to measure a globe. This iconography was more commonly associated in medieval art with the Christian god—both the Father and, especially, the Son—surveying the world, and so casts Euclid as a Christological figure. This explicitly Christian iconography, it is argued, was intended to provoke medieval readers to approach Euclid's text with its relevance to Christianity firmly in mind. The paper further argues that the use of iconography to make such an overt reference to Christianity may have been necessitated by the changing nature of geometrical texts. In the early centuries of the medieval period, geometric knowledge, some of it ultimately derived from Euclid, had been transmitted in the form of composite texts that mingled geometry with Christian theology, allowing the compilers of these texts to make connections between the two fields and thereby establish the relevance of the geometrical content for Christian readers. The reappearance of the first complete texts of Euclid's *Elements* in Europe in the 12th century—Latin translations from the Arabic—removed the possibility of making such connections between geometry and Christianity within the text itself. Faced with a text that was now purely geometrical, and purely pagan, the creators of the Fisher manuscript were nevertheless able to include a Christian element in it by Christianizing Euclid himself.

Session 4a

Rethinking the Local in the Ancient Greek World II / Repenser l'histoire local en Grèce ancienne II

panel organizers: Hans Beck and Alex McAuley

[panel continued from Session 3a]

Salvatore Tufano, McGill University and La Sapienza

New Approaches to Local Historiography: the Boiotian example

This paper investigates localism in ancient Greece by focusing on the issue of pride and patriotism in history writing. In the first part of my discussion, I argue that the idea of *Lokalpatriotismus* does little justice to the inherent agenda and expressed goals of the local historians. These authors were neither naive nor necessarily biased. Instead, they aimed at a contextual truth, one that was shaped without reference to outside perspectives. Local history was not, therefore, a chauvinistic expression; it simply answered a different set of questions that were raised by local audiences.

The second part of the paper addresses the Boiotian case, inspired by the pivotal role played by the local historian Aristophanes of Boiotia. Felix Jacoby argued that local historiography began only after Herodotus, and he observed an inherently biased nature of this genre. His starting point was the contraposition, signaled by Plutarch in *de Herodoti malignitate* (31), between Aristophanes and Herodotus. My discussion of Aristophanes' fragments will reveal a variety of local themes and interests; indeed, the Theban agenda differed significantly from the approach of the universal historians. Local history thus engaged in a specific relationship with its Boiotian and Theban audiences.

In light of this reassessment of Boiotian historiography, I will argue in the final section that the current picture of ancient Boiotia in modern scholarship requires rethinking. As is well known, the Athenian reading of Thebes as an anti-Athens made its way into Plato (hence his famous verdict on Boiotian illiteracy) and, subsequently, in the lingering denigration of the adjective "béotien" in Romance languages. As ever, prejudices such as these fit badly with the world energized by the writings of local and socially engaged historians.

Pam Hall (respondent)

Local Knowledge Cultures, Newfoundland and Greece

The respondent, Dr. Pam Hall, is an acclaimed artist from St. John's, Newfoundland, whose work has been shown throughout Canada and abroad. Her *Encyclopedia of Local Knowledge* draws on her interdisciplinary PhD and post-doctoral work (and can be accessed at www.encyclopediaoflocalknowledge.com). The encyclopaedia itself has become a landmark contribution for anyone with an interest in the examination and artistic representation of local knowledge cultures.

Session 4b

Greek Comedy / Comédie grecque

chair / président: Jarrett Welsh

George Kovacs, Trent University

The *Telephos* of Aristophanes

Like Thucydides' vision of the ruins of Athens (Thuc. 1.10.1), Aristophanes' testimonies to Euripides' *Telephos* likely overstate that tragedy's importance to the popular culture of fifth- century Athens. References to *Telephos* occur in six, perhaps seven, of Aristophanes' comedies – more than any other Greek tragedy (Rau 1967: 215). Continued popularity is attested by a handful of fourth-century vases that may depict Euripides-influenced versions of Telephos' abduction of the infant Orestes (LIMC; Taplin 2007: 205-210), as well as the famous Würzburg Telephos vase (Csapo 1986; Taplin 1993: 36-41). Even within the context of Aristophanes' fascination with Greek tragedy, the two sustained parodies of *Acharnians* and *Thesmophoriazousai* stand out for their careful engagement of, and their distance from, the Euripidean exemplar. The *Thesmophoriazousai* scene in particular occurs twenty-seven years after the original performance, and does not verbally signal *Telephos* as its original: Aristophanes trusts his audience to understand the reference. At least one scholar has suggested this temporal distance as evidence of reperformance (Taplin 2007: 205). Even if that is the case, however, success of the *Telephos* parody relies on a performative tradition, rather than our usual witness, the text itself. Aristophanes mimics not the mythographic moment, but the visual tableau. But reperformance may not be the source of this scene's popularity: would a restaged version have made such an impact on Aristophanes, or found such traction with his audience? Notably, Aristophanes was very young for the original performance of *Telephos*, likely 8 or 9 years old, and this may have been a formative experience for the comic playwright. Granting *Telephos* a foundational position in Aristophanes' conception of Greek tragedy, this paper reexamines the role of *Telephos* in shaping the poetics of Aristophanes' tragic parody and Aristophanes' reciprocal role in establishing the cultural relevance of this tragedy for his fifth-century audience.

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Emmanuel Aprilakis, Rutgers University

XOPOY Identity in Menander's *Dyskolos*.

The history of the dramatic chorus is one of decline in both capacity and centrality, and, for K.J. Maidment, the altered position of the chorus was one of the most noticeable differences between Old and New Comedy (Csapo and Slater 1994, 349; Maidment 1935, 1). That we have no choral odes of Menander, whether because they were thought to be unworthy of publication or simply never existed, is an

indubitable testament to the decline of the chorus apparent by the end of the fourth century. As an unfortunate result, virtually all of the scholarship of the last century on Menander maintains that his chorus sings interludes unrelated to the plot that effectively serve as act breaks, and that the group exists outside the plausible sequence of events (see Maidment 1935, 12; Handley 1965, 173; Gomme and Sandbach 1973, 12; Goldberg 1980, 14; Webster 1981, 89; Pōhlmann 1988; Rothwell 1995, 110; Csapo and Slater 1995, 350; Gutzwiller 2000, 127; Lape 2006, 89). Regarding the *Dyskolos* in particular, it appears that scholars assume that the seemingly random group of Πανιστάς (sometimes emended παιανιστάς, but either works for the purposes of this paper) persists as the chorus throughout the play. However, based on perceived choral references throughout the play and especially around the act breaks, I offer a conjecture for the identity of the chorus that, to my mind, makes much more sense and can even add a layer to our understanding and appreciation of the *Dyskolos*: the chorus is directly related to the plot, being made up of Sostratos's retinue of fellow sacrificers, who are enjoying a revel for the god Pan.

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Olayiwola Gabriel Ologbonde, Memorial University of Newfoundland

The Role of *Philia* in Menander's *Dyskolos*

The role of *philia* in Menander's *Dyskolos* has never been the subject of a major scholarly work. It has often been mentioned in conjunction with the concept of *philanthropia* and *misanthropia*, but not fully examined in its own right. Scholars have argued that the idea of *philanthropia* and *misanthropia* serve as motivating factors for the actions of the characters in the play. However, this paper argues that the concept of *philia* plays a crucial role in the development of the plot and serves as the main guide to the actions of the characters, especially those of Sostratos. This paper shall briefly explore the scholarship on the characters of the *Dyskolos*, and examine the Aristotelian conception of *philia* in order to study major episodes in the play where the idea of *philia* serves as a cause for action.

Session 4c

Roman Self-Representation / Autoreprésentations romaines

chair / présidente: Alison Keith

Brahm Kleinman, Princeton University

Elite Communication, Individual Objects, and Scipio Aemilianus

This paper will examine the use of individual luxury objects and cultural artifacts as part of a program of Roman elite self-representation in the middle of the second century B.C., focusing on the case study of Scipio Aemilianus.

I begin by analyzing Scipio's conduct in the aftermath of the sack of Carthage in 146 B.C. Polybius (Polyb. 18.35.9-11) and other ancient writers (Cic. Off. 2.76; Val. Max. 4.3.13) praise him for refusing to allow any of the plunder of Carthage to be mixed with his private property. Uniquely, however, Scipio also sent envoys to Sicilian communities and allowed them to reclaim cultural artifacts that the Carthaginians had captured in earlier wars against them. These included several famous statues that the Carthiginians had seized when they destroyed Himera in the late fifth century, which Scipio now restored to the descendants of the Himerans at Thermae (Cic. Verr. 2.2.85-88; IG XIV.315). I will argue that this gesture of benefaction allowed Scipio to escape the sort of controversy over the control of booty that had erupted against commanders in the war against Antiochus a generation earlier.

In order to analyze the effect that objects like these had on securing Scipio's self-presentation and legitimizing his acts while abroad, I will turn more broadly to the effects that famous or recognizable objects had on Roman audiences. Polybius' digression on the qualities of Scipio Aemilianus will be of interest in this regard. In particular, I will explore how Scipio's donation of his adopted grandmother's jewelry to his biological mother Papiria affected the Romans' perception of her (Polyb. 31.26). By tying these episodes and themes together that are usually treated separately, I will be able to draw broader conclusions about the use of individual objects in Roman elite communication, both to other elites and to the Roman populace as a whole.

John Fabiano, University of Toronto

Tertium Praefectus?: elite self-representation and the urban prefectures of Nicomachus Flavianus the Younger

Nicomachus Flavianus was the quintessential aristocrat of late antique Rome. He came from a prominent family and moved in the erudite and moneyed circles of Rome's most privileged. He navigated the tumultuous last two decades of the fourth century, reaching his pinnacle in 431 CE as the praetorian prefect of Italy, Illyricum, and Africa. An inscription set up to him and his father in that year records his illustrious career (*CIL* VI 1783): he was governor of Campania, proconsul of Asia, praetorian prefect, and urban prefect "rather often" (*saepius*). The curious comparative adverb that qualifies his urban prefectures raises a number of questions about Flavianus, not least of which pertains to the frequency and dates of his urban prefectures. In a study of a dedication to Maxentius, Silvio Panciera reached the conclusion that *saepius* regularly expresses three separate tenures (Panciera 1992). A group of subscriptions preserved in the manuscripts of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, in which Flavianus styles himself *ter(tium) praef(ectus) urbis*, all but confirms this in the case of Nicomachus Flavianus. However, the date of these prefectures remains problematic. Two are securely attested, but the date of the third, traditionally assigned to 408 CE, rests solely on a mistakenly corrected law (Cameron 2011, 516). As a result, the dates of Nicomachus Flavianus' prefectures require reevaluation.

Most recently, in his *Last Pagans of Rome*, Alan Cameron does this very thing. In the course of establishing an earlier date for the emendation of the aforementioned manuscripts, he radically revises crucial dates in the career of the younger Nicomachus Flavianus, positing an earlier, unattested prefecture in 388/89. This paper argues that Cameron's new chronology cannot be accepted. Instead, through a review of the literary and epigraphic record, a provisional alternative will be offered that adheres more closely to the previously accepted tenet. The immediate result is that the record of Flavianus' three prefectures can be revised without disrupting the order of the urban prefecture of 388/389. A larger consequence is that this paper offers insight into elite self-representation in the 4th and 5th century CE by chronicling the career of one prolific senator.

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Melanie Racette-Campbell, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Augustus' *Res Gestae*: Republican masculinity completed

In this paper, I argue that the *Res Gestae Diui Augusti* is a statement by Augustus informing the Romans, particularly the senatorial elite, that he has completely fulfilled the requirements of republican masculinity, and implying that there is no room for anyone else to continue competing or acting in any role other than a supporting one.

I consider three issues in my analysis of the *Res Gestae*. First, I look at how the mature Augustus reconfigures the actions of the young Octavian. Octavian came to power through a series of illegal or at least untraditional actions, but Augustus rewrites this period to make his younger self seem both morally correct and utterly Roman. Second, and most importantly, I consider how Augustus' successes in both his youth and his life as a whole match up to the traditional republican areas for masculine endeavours (see McDonnell 2006 for the republican performance of masculinity). I show that the princeps focuses on the most important public arenas for display, the political and military spheres, as well as public benefactions, and that his activities generally do fit into traditional ideas of manhood, with some important qualifications. Thirdly, I examine the role of the senate and people of Rome in his narrative. As part of his insistence on the traditional and legal nature of his role in the state, Augustus frequently emphasizes the way these groups supported and validated his power and position (Witschel 2008, 245). Augustus left the senate with a supporting role, having removed military leadership and conquest, public offices at Rome, and public largesse at Rome from the realm of open competition for men outside of the imperial family. Any success in these areas is ultimately thanks to the patronage of the princeps, and elite competition will need to move to other areas.

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Session 5a

Revealing Gendered Violence in the Academy/ Exposer la violence sexiste dans le monde académique

panel organizer: Allison Surtees

In recent years, there has been increased attention paid to the problem of gendered violence on university campuses. While this is a welcome and long-overdue discussion, the conversations have largely focused on violence between students, and primarily undergraduate students. Gendered violence, however, affects all who identify as women at all levels of academia, including junior and senior faculty members. In this panel, 'violence' is not restricted to extreme acts of physical and sexual assaults, but includes verbal and emotional abuse, unwanted sexual comments and physical contact, as well as the damage inflicted by implicit bias and gendered microaggressions. Faculty members read as female are particularly vulnerable to all these forms of violence, yet their experiences are often dismissed or ignored, if the violence is even recognized at all. Moreover this violence, most often perpetrated by men, comes from all levels of the academic hierarchy, from senior faculty down to undergraduate students. The result is that academics read as women are regularly subjected to persistent and pervasive violence, which has enduring and damaging personal and professional consequences, particularly within the small world of academia. This panel outlines how current policies often fail to address or even identify instances of violence, and explores the personal and professional costs female-identified academics pay as a result.

Fiona McHardy, University of Roehampton

Ending Bullying and Harassment in the UK Classical Workplace

Recent media attention has been turned on the prevalence of "lad culture" and sexual harassment among students in UK universities. But the gendered bullying and sexual harassment which feature as part of this "lad culture" do not just occur between students. The academic workplace suffers from similar problems as a number of recent articles concerning these issues have suggested. This paper seeks to gauge how serious the problem is on UK campuses, and asks whether there are any problems specific to classics - for instance, are certain forms of behaviour tolerated in classics that would not be in other disciplines? We review existing policies on harassment and bullying, including our own institution's. Such policies often present sexual harassment and bullying as individual or isolated problems rather than as part of structural issues. Their focus is on 'secondary prevention', that is responses in the wake of an incident, rather than 'primary prevention' - before an act has taken place - or 'tertiary prevention,' - long-term strategies geared to embedding dignity and respect. In the wake of the UK equality legislation, it is the responsibility of all practitioners to ensure that the staff and student experience is suitably non-discriminatory and inclusive. We consider what classicists can do to stop "lad culture" in the workplace by considering possibilities for staff training, mentoring and away days. We also explore the implications for an approach underpinned by intersectionality research into matrices of oppression including gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexuality and disability. In so doing we take up the call of Susuana Amoan, the National Union of Students Women's Officer, to join with the education community as a whole "in embedding a framework that will not just deal with these issues, but actually stop them from happening."

Judith P. Hallett, University of Maryland

Misappropriating Feminism: strategies, costs and remedies

This paper examines efforts in academe generally, and in the fields of Classics and Ancient History specifically, that invoke the women's movement, diversity, gender equity, and a need for increased visibility and involvement of female students and faculty to justify unfair and exploitative treatment of women at different ages and stages of their professional lives. They include burdening professionally vulnerable early and mid-career female faculty with heavy service responsibilities, according special opportunities to the female spouses and partners of privileged and favored males not granted to other women (or men), and the marginalization of research and teaching centered on women, sexuality and the family. In addition to examining these efforts (often undertaken by women themselves), and considering their costs to individuals as well as the profession as a whole, I will consider how best to discredit them as acceptable protocols and practices

Christina Doonan, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Punching Up or Tearing Down?: how women professors experience and cope with gender bias from students

High profile cases of alleged sexual misconduct or assault on the part of male professors and students at Canadian universities in recent years have drawn needed attention to gendered violence in academia. Sexual improprieties and even assault by male authority figures are clearly understandable as constituting harm. An individual with power over the fate of his underlings has many ways in which to impose himself in their lives, influence them and may even be successful in silencing them. A phenomenon that has received less attention and which is less obvious, because it runs counter to the power relationship in which is manifests, is gender bias directed at women professors and instructors from students. Taking as its inspiration recent research demonstrating that women face a gender bias in course evaluations, this paper presents results from a small, qualitative pilot study assessing how women professors and instructors experience and cope with gender bias at the hands of students.

Patricia Dold, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Faux Feminisms: a case study of people and policy

My experience of a hostile academic work environment and my attempt to effectively use the institution's Sexual Harassment Office and Policy, dominated my professional life for two years in the early 1990s when

I was an ABD sessional lecturer in the Religious Studies department at the University of Calgary. The harassment I endured initially was relatively easy to address but I soon learned that I was not the only target of this harasser and that his "misbehavior" had been occurring for decades: it was a secret joke across campus. Despite the harasser's repeated claims to having seen the error of his ways and his sudden conversion to an enlightened, feminist perspective; despite my own and others' efforts to mobilize the University's Sexual Harassment Officer and Policy, his offenses continued for some years after my departure in 1995. My presentation focuses on how and why anti-harassment mechanisms in academia fail and emphasizes the need to avoid the conflict of interest inherent in a closed University structure.

Session 5b

Latin Literature I / Littérature latine I

chair / présidente: Melanie Racette-Campbell

Mariapia Pietropaolo, University of Missouri-Columbia

***Amor, Umor, Ulcus*: the Lucretian aesthetic perspective on love**

The diatribe against love in the *De Rerum Natura*, in which Lucretius presents his view of love as a source of erotic malady, is also a diatribe against the discourse on love in poetry that seeks to romanticize it despite its deleterious effect on lovers. Unlike natural philosophers, poets tend to describe the effects of love figuratively as wounds, regaling the reader with their metaphorical use of the language of battle, suffering and romance. Lucretius aims to undermine the foundation of that discourse by unmasking its metaphorical base, literalizing its descriptions, and drawing the reader into the language of clinical realism. Yet he indulges in describing pathological details of festering wounds and humours which, though in themselves unpleasant to visualize, together constitute a new discourse on love in which their presence gives rise to an engaging and positive aesthetic experience. In the present paper I argue that Lucretius accomplishes this transformation of science into poetry by inducing the reader to assume an aesthetic attitude towards the clinical imagery of pathological realism, thereby finding a sense of aesthetic satisfaction in experiencing the negative emotions that such realism evokes. Images of abject physiology are exhibited with care for contemplation through a prism situated between poetry and science. The Lucretian aesthetic attitude begins with the literalization of the metaphorical language of the wounds of love, proceeds to its transformation into the language of love as a disease, providing the erotic malady with agency in the degeneration of the body and soul of the lover and in the aesthetic fulfillment of the reader.

Karen Klaiber Hersch, Temple University

Virgil's Anti-Epithalamium

Even a small sampling of modern scholarship on the *Aeneid* reveals that consensus about whether Dido and Aeneas become husband and wife when they meet on a stormy night in a cave (*Aeneid* 4.160-172) may never be reached (e.g. Heinze 1957, Pöschl 1950, Quinn 1968, Monti 1981, Muecke 1983, Williams 1996, Spence 1999). In this paper, I argue that a focus on these specious nuptials has served to divert attention from the larger framework Virgil imposed on the book. For when we examine Book Four closely, it becomes apparent that the entirety of the book is cleverly constructed as an anti-epithalamium. Commentators have noted that individual terms in Book Four seem to have been derived from epithalamium (Khan 1968, Caldwell 2008) without, however, recognizing the book's greater indebtedness to the form. In Book Four, especially in its final scenes, Virgil both fulfilled the requirements for an epithalamium set forth by rhetoricians such as "Pseudo-Dionysius" and Menander, yet also took care to include elements not required by rhetoricians yet prominent in Roman epithalamia.

From Anna's praise of the groom and marriage in the opening lines of Book Four (*A.* 1-48), to the ghastly, suicidal wedding Dido prepares after Aeneas' hasty departure (*A.* 450-705), to Dido's curses representing a perfect reversal of the expected prayers for the unity of the couple and hopes for offspring (*A.* 4.590-629), Virgil includes all of the expected elements of an epithalamium, suitably transformed, to guide his readers

through Dido's doomed love affair. The framework and language of the epithalamium in Book Four announce a wedding, and at the same time, gloomy omens predict an inevitable tragedy.

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Marion Durand, University of Toronto

Heraclitus and Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*

In his *Meditations*, Marcus Aurelius mentions Heraclitus by name more than any other philosopher aside from Socrates and Epictetus. His impact on the text is such that Long (1996) reduces the influence of Greek philosophy on the *Meditations* to the Stoics and Heraclitus. Yet, the pervasive Heracliteanism in the *Meditations* has otherwise gone unremarked. This paper considers the way in which Heraclitus' thought, imagery, and hints of his style can be traced throughout the work.

Heraclitus had a well attested influence on Stoicism, and Stoic sources are crucial to our understanding of his work. Interestingly, Marcus' interpretation of some of Heraclitus' most famous fragments differs from that of earlier Stoics. I focus here on just one example: Marcus' use of Heraclitus' "sleeping man" maxim (*Med.* IV.46 = DK 22 B 73). Sextus Empiricus (MVII.126-34 = DK 22 A 16) suggests that earlier Stoics used the "sleeping man" image to compare men's blindness to their forgetfulness in sleep (Kirk:1954). I argue that, by contrast, Marcus deploys it to make an argument regarding our evaluation of so-called Stoic indifferents. This point has often been missed by scholars, who assume that Marcus is following the usual Stoic line or take Marcus to simply illustrate his view that all men are citizens of a cosmic city (Asmis:1989). Marcus, then, offers new insight into the treatment of Heraclitus' work.

Knowledge and understanding of Heraclitean fragments can also enlighten our reading of Marcus' text. I conclude the paper by highlighting a number of passages in which we can see a stylistic influence. This philological, rather than philosophical, influence is perhaps surprising. It should encourage us to consider the variety of ways in which Heraclitus' writings might have been perceived. More significantly, I will argue that it can help us make sense of at least two difficult passages in the *Meditations* which have troubled editors of the text for over a century.

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Alison Keith, University of Toronto

Epicurean Philosophical Perspectives in [Virgil] *Catalepton* 5

The evidential value of *Catalepton* 5 for Virgil's life has recently been called into question again (Peirano 2012, 74-116), though a generation ago the poem was held to be authentically Virgilian in authorship (Richmond 1981; *id.* 1984, 1.50-65). Now, however, there is growing external evidence from the Herculaneum papyri that lends credence to the details of the poem (cf. Chambert and Clay in Armstrong *et al.* 2004). Of all the poems collected in the *Appendix Vergiliana*, moreover, only the *Catalepton* was already attached to Virgil's name in the first century CE, as we can tell from Quintilian's quotation of *Cat.* 2 at *Inst. Or.* 8.3.27–9. This study offers a new approach to questions of the poem's authenticity by

exploring the Epicurean philosophical views expressed therein. I argue that the poem as a whole is informed by Epicurean diction and ethical principles that can be paralleled not only in Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* but also in the extant maxims and letters of Epicurus, and that the philosophical commitments of the poem cohere with the evidence for the young Virgil's interest in Epicureanism. The poem characterizes Epicurean philosophical study as a renunciation – of rhetoric (i.e., a public career), of poetry and age-mates (i.e., conventional elite schooling), and of cares (i.e., the continuing civil wars) – and the Epicurean community as a blessed haven presided over by the teaching of the master. The community of Epicureans led by Siro in Naples has turned its back on the contemporary upheavals of Roman Italy in order to seek the blessed tranquillity (Greek ἀταραξία [*ataraxia*]; Latin *quies* or *otium*) and philosophical insight promised by Epicurus' teaching, as summed up in the fourteenth of his *Key Doctrines* (Diog.Laert. 10.143). Lucretius 2.16-19 likewise characterizes the goal of Epicurean philosophy as removal from care and fear, in language adapted in
Catalepton 5.10 (esp. *cura semota metuque*, Lucr. 2.19). Moreover, Diskin Clay (2004) has noted that there is a suggestive correspondence between the image in *Catalepton* 5 of 'setting sail for blessed ports' and Epicurus' invitation to a certain Pythocles (addressed as 'blessed one') to 'spread [his] sails and flee all forms of culture' (D.L. 10.6). The sailing imagery recurs in *Vatican Saying* 17. The close correspondence in the speaker's explicit embrace of Siro's teaching in *Catalepton* 5 with Epicurus' characterization of the tranquil life and Lucretius' characterization of the Epicurean project adumbrates the Epicurean character of the philosophical choice the speaker has made.

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Session 5c

Spaces in Between: Roman ideology and iconography / Idéologie romaine et iconographie

chair / président: Jonathan Edmondson

Alban Baudou, Université Laval

Les *pignora imperii*, symboles de la puissance romaine

Dans le livre VII de ses *Commentarii in Aeneidos libros XII*, au détour d'une notice relative à la mention chez Virgile, au vers 188, de l'ancile que Picus tiend à la main gauche, le Servius *auctus* présente la simple liste des sept garants de l'empire romain : *† aius matris deum, quadriga fictilis Veientanorum, cineres Orestis, sceptrum Priami, uelum Ilionae, Palladium, ancilia*. L'absence de tout développement dans l'exégèse servienne ne manque pas de surprendre, tant chacun de ces garants de la puissance de Rome semble au contraire appeler, à tous égards, le commentaire. Certaines autres notices, il est vrai, ont évoqué les plus connus de ces *pignora*, tout comme diverses recherches modernes ont porté par exemple sur le quadrige de Véies ou, plus particulièrement, sur le Palladium. Rares sont les chercheurs qui ont consacré une étude complète aux talismans de Rome – F. Cancellieri (1812), P. K. Gross (1935), G. Martorana (1991) et A. Delcourt (1996) –, et aucune analyse ne s'est véritablement attachée à déterminer les raisons qui ont présidé à l'établissement d'une telle liste, à sa cohérence, au sens de chacune de ses composantes ou encore à sa présence dans le commentaire de Servius.

Nous tenterons donc dans cette présentation de revenir sur chacun des éléments évoqués – dont le premier, qu'une lacune empêche d'identifier avec certitude –, et de répondre aux diverses questions que pose l'éclectisme de cette liste.

Susan Dunning, University of Toronto

Statius's *Silu*. 5.1 and Private Deification in the Imperial Period

In this paper, I will examine a trend during the Imperial period among private individuals, particularly freedman, to represent themselves or their loved ones as gods in their funerary monuments. I will demonstrate that the creators of these monuments chose to "deify" their loved ones out of affection and the desire to associate them with the most excellent qualities – beauty, wealth, cleverness, strength, immortality.

In *Silu.* 5.1, Statius describes a mausoleum erected by a freedman as a memorial to his wife, Priscilla. The lavish tomb depicts Priscilla in the likeness of goddesses and heroines. A similar mausoleum, investigated by Wrede (1971), was dedicated to Claudia Semne by a freedman c. 120–130 CE. Claudia's facial features appear on statues and reliefs in the guise of the goddesses Venus, Fortuna, Spes, and Salus. Nor was this practice limited to women with large tombs: numerous funerary steles illustrate the "deification" of men, women, and children (Wrede 1981). A 2nd cent. CE-stele from Rome, for example, depicts a woman in the guise of Aphrodite of Knidos.

Claudia and Priscilla's husbands do not seem to have worshipped them as goddesses at their tombs: in the case of Claudia, the altar in the mausoleum is sacred "to [her] memory", nor is she identified as *diua Claudia,* as deified women of the imperial family could be. The mausoleum is a monument to the husband's affection for his family, particularly his wife. A similar connection between affection and "private deification" is found in Cicero, Plautus, and Pompeiian graffiti. I will argue that these forms of deification, not limited to elite males or members of the imperial family, shed light on Roman conceptions of the relationship between gods and humans, as well as the process by which deification became a fixture in religious practices at Rome.

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Pauline Ripat, University of Winnipeg

The She-Wolf and the Spoils of War

Among the best known episodes in all of ancient mythology is that in which the she-wolf suckles Romulus and Remus on the bank of the Tiber. Since a she-wolf might have been expected to eat the juicy infants instead of saving them, the event offered comforting assurance that Rome's existence was destined, and its exceptional importance for Romans is reflected in the fact that it was, as T. P. Wiseman (1995) notes, the only constant detail in the entire mythology of Romulus and Remus. Yet a number of interesting issues circle around this event. There is a contrast, for example, between the brief treatment it receives in literary narration and its great popularity in material representation. Livy (1.4) and Plutarch (*Rom.* 2.6), for example, each spare only a sentence for the she-wolf before introducing the shepherd Faustulus to whisk the twins away, though images of the she-wolf and twins graced coins, mosaics, funerary urns, and was, we hear, a favourite theme of public statuary (e.g., Cic. *Cat.* 3.19; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.79.8; Plin. *HN* 15.77): the popular meaning of the she-wolf appears to have exceeded the narrative space she was afforded. Next, the episode allowed Romans to trace their martial fierceness back to the she-wolf, who transmitted this characteristic to Romulus through her milk; these ideas have been treated most recently by Cristina Mazzoni (2010). But Roman attitudes towards wolves were, at best, ambivalent: they were sneaky thieves (e.g., Verg. *Georg*. 1.130, Colum. *Rust.* 7.12.3, 9) who might even steal one's voice (e.g., Verg. *Ecl.* 9.54). Urban legends of people becoming wolves indicate that such a metamorphosis was clearly undesirable (e.g., Plin. *HN* 8.80, 82; Petr. *Sat*. 62), and so it might have been supposed that wolfish characteristics would be similarly abhorrent. But, according to Antony Corbeill (2004), the image of the

she-wolf and twins is more than three times as common as another iconic image, one of undeniably positive Roman moral value, that being of *pius* Aeneas escaping from Troy. This paper proposes to consider the potential comfort and explanation the knowledge of having "hereditary" wolfish characteristics may have lent the Romans in the context of imperial expansion and within the framework of zero-sum ideology.

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Session 5d

Homer / Homère

chair / présidente: Bonnie MacLachlan

Jessica Romney, University of Calgary

The Use of Geographical Space in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*

The unmappable expanses of the *Odyssey* stand in stark contrast to the named, identifiable places of the *Iliad*: Mycenae and Troy have been found, but not Aiolos' isle or Telepylos. Yet despite the apparent opposition between Iliadic and Odyssean geographies, the two epics share some similarities that, as this paper will argue, have consequences for Odysseus' return to Ithaka.

Geographical space in the *Iliad* in general serves to anchor and link an individual to the world around him. It is knowable: whether or not the manifold cities of the Catalogue of Ships have been unearthed or identified, the fact remains that they exist in the 'real,' knowable world. In contrast stands the unmappable expanse of Odyssean geography, what Hermes calls "endless salt water" (ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ ἄσπετον [5.100-101]). Yet alongside the fairy-tale lands Odysseus crosses there is the land that Telemachus travels, and it, like space in the *Iliad*, is knowable, mappable, and real. The intrusion of Iliadic-type geography into the *Odyssey* is just one more contrast between the world Odysseus finds himself in and the one he wishes to be in, and his reliance on the name of Ithaka to identify himself in *Odyssey* 9 both endangers his *nostos* and secure it. As for Telemachus and the heroes of the *Iliad*, it is through both homeland and father that a man is identified and known, and it is on account of both that heroes can assert the bonds of *xenia* that make Homeric society tick. By giving the full geographical genealogy for Ithaka, Odysseus asserts the realness of Iliadic geography among the Phaeacians and is able, despite the unmappable nature of their home, to return to the known world of Ithaka.

Warren Huard, Ohio State University

The Association of Herakles and Dionysos in Homer

This paper argues that Herakles and Dionysos are associated with one another in Homer.

Herakles functions as one of the greatest figures of the past to whose example Homeric heroes turn, and especially Achilles in the Iliad and Odysseus in the Odyssey are compared to Herakles. This Herakles is constructed largely through a selective process of allusive reference to a larger mythology so as to suit Homer's needs: thus in the Iliad he is made into a great warrior in order to provide a model for the warriors at Troy. Just as Homer's warlike Herakles is a paradigmatic theomachos, his Dionysos is perhaps the most elaborate example of the divine victim of a theomachos, and so both figures play a paradigmatic role in relation to mortals.

The raging-madness of theomachy involves a blurring of the distinction between gods and mortals, which is itself of further significance to Herakles and Dionysos. They are for instance paired explicitly through their parentage to Zeus and mortal women in Thebes. Perhaps the most striking example of such a blurring of boundaries is provided by Herakles in the Odyssey as a mortal who becomes a god, overcoming death. Yet Herakles and Dionysos have related interests, and further

paradigmatic roles, concerning the world of the dead. Herakles journeys to Hades' realm and violently confronts Hades himself among the dead. Moreover, the dead eidōlon of Herakles is locked in an unending confrontation with the dead souls in Hades: his similarity to Odysseus confronting the suitors gives us reason to think that these dead are potentially dangerous entities kept in check by Herakles' eidōlon. Dionysos also shows concern for the dead in Hades by assisting in the funeral rites of Achilles, whose dead soul is thus safely placated, as Odysseus' dead companion Elpenor is similarly tended by Odysseus.

Jonathan Burgess, University of Toronto

The Traditionality of Odysseus' Wanderings

The essential traditionality of the Homeric wanderings of Odysseus, as narrated by Odysseus in Books 9-12 of the *Odyssey*, has often been questioned. This paper makes the case for its traditional, pre-Homeric nature, though with consideration of the degree, scale, and nature of such.

Unitarians tend to devalue the wanderings for their supernatural or folktale content and episodic narration. Popular are various theories that claim radical Homeric invention or at least large-scale expansion of Odysseus' wanderings. The theory that Homer re-used the Argo myth has often been accepted (notably Meuli 1921; cf. West 2005); also popular are theories that the lying tales represent the "real" pre- Homeric journey of Odysseus (e.g. Tsagalis 2012), perhaps evidenced by alternative line readings in which Telemachus travels to meet Odysseus in Crete (Reece 1994). M. L. West (2014) has also recently argued that the Homeric wanderings are based on Menelaus' wanderings.

But the Gilgamesh Epic provided a longstanding prototype for the supernatural and cosmographical nature of the Homeric wanderings; heroic *catabases* by Heracles and others provide *comparanda* for Odysseus' journey to the underworld, which many consider Homeric expansion of a real-world necromantic episode. Yet the argument against radical invention by the version preserved in the *Odyssey* requires considerations of narratology, scale, and detail. Analysts argued that Homer lightly doctored an original 3rd-person poem; it may be that pre-Homeric versions were 3rd-person, but with more sophisticated modification than the Analysts allowed. For example, however traditional, the Homeric account may reflect contemporary colonization in the West (Dougherty 2001) or pre-Homeric ethnographic material (Scodel 2005). As well, the episodic nature of the *Apologos* may compare to Cyclic epic, but lexical and thematic patterning may have added cohesion. A major issue is that of scale: if the traditional essence of the return of Odysseus was simply that it was very long, then variation could exist without seeming to challenge the journey's traditionality.

Aara Suksi, University of Western Ontario

The Autobiographies of Andromakhe and Phoenix in the *Iliad:* the rhetoric of hyperkinship

In two famous attempts at persuasion in the *Iliad* the speakers offer autobiographical narratives of loss leading to their claims to an impossible multiplicity of kinship ties with their addressees. This paper will build on previous work (Butler, Thalmann, Wright) on kinship in Greek literature to show how these two examples of claims to impossibly multiple kinship highlight how kinship in Homer is often artfully constructed to serve as a powerful rhetorical trope.

Unlike blood kin, both Andromakhe as a wife and Phoenix as an adopted exile are outsiders who come from afar. Granted a place as an intimate member of the household, each is constructed as kin by a cultural process of ritualized choice. But at a moment of crisis, each seeks to impossibly multiply these constructed ties of kinship with reference to an autobiography of loss. In Book 6, as Andromakhe tries to persuade Hektor not to risk his life by advancing against the Greeks, it is not enough for her to appeal to him as her husband alone. She recounts the history of her natal family, all of whom are lost, and now names Hektor as impossibly also her mother, father, and brother. Phoenix, in his long speech in the embassy of Book 9, beseeches Akhilleus to risk his life by fighting in aid of the Greeks. His autobiography establishes him as having lost his tie of kinship to his blood father along with the hope of a son of his own blood. He represents himself instead as impossibly both a son to Peleus and a father to Akhilleus.

Selected similes of kinship will provide comparative examples of the *Iliad*'s use of extraordinary or unusual kinship for rhetorical effect.

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Session 6a

Connectivity in an Imperial Context: Preserving and Creating Communities in the Roman World I / Empire et connectivité: Préserver et créer les communautés dans le monde romain I

panel organizers: Elizabeth Greene and Lindsay Mazurek

This two-part panel explores connectivity across the Roman world and investigates the material and textual evidence of change in communities as increased connectivity defined the empire. As the Roman world expanded, urban and rural communities experienced changed perceptions of space and time within an imperial framework. In this context hundreds of disparate cultural and ethnic groups were often thrust together into single communities and connected through various strategies. At the same time, populations that experienced no geographical movement themselves still underwent significant transitions, for instance through the results of conquest such as road construction and the exploitation of natural resources. In all of these settings the complex connections between various members of a community and the broader Mediterranean are expressed visually by large and small material markers (e.g. epigraphic output or monumental road or temple construction). It is in this material culture that we seek to explore the complex connections maintained and created throughout the vast and multicultural Roman world.

The papers in this panel have two associated aims: Part 1) To explore our evidence and challenges to understanding increased connectivity in cities and regions around the Roman empire; Part 2) To examine how communities changed within the context of greater connectivity in the imperial setting.

Part 1: *Understanding Connectivity in Antiquity*

The papers in Part 1 trace communities and connections through digital mapping and theoretical models that offer new methods for analyzing ancient connectivity. Paper 1 takes an intersectional approach to ancient connectivity, examining how Cypriots in the Roman period interacted with aspects of Roman power. The second paper concentrates on a specific community by using network analysis as a tool to understand social connections in the multicultural port city of Ostia. Paper 3 concludes the session by using digital mapping to visualize connections in the empire as an example of how cartographic research can reveal the actual challenges a connected Roman Empire faced.

Jody Michael Gordon, Wentworth Institute of Technology

Preserving and Creating Discrepant Experiences in Roman Cyprus: globalization, insularity, and identity in an island province

For most of the Roman imperial period, Cyprus was a militarily unstrategic province within the Mediterranean Sea, a liquid continent bustling with travelers that yet remained a politically placid space

thanks to the *Pax Romana*. Recently, scholars have begun to follow Jennings' (2010) research to suggest that the surge in interregional connectivity and the trappings of a global culture that characterized the Roman Mediterranean are indicative of processes of pre-modern globalization, which Hodos (2017) has defined as "processes of increasing connectivities that unfold and manifest as social awareness of those connectivities." Within this maritime arena, Cyprus was poised to become one of the most connected provinces, a scenario that has been supported by fresh archaeological research on trade items, transportation, and local agency in relation to Cyprus' distinct biogeographical and long-term history. This paper's goal is to explore Cypriots' discrepant experiences during the first two centuries of Roman rule. It engages with globalization theory to examine how different levels of connectivity led to diverse ways of experiencing empire. Current globalization approaches transcend the traditional binary groups of "local" vs. "Roman" that have characterized provincial studies to recognize that "global" assemblages are often counterbalanced by a social differentialism conditioned by a range of factors including, class, cultural heritage, and geopolitical conditions. Given Cyprus' insular nature, location, physical size, and long-term history, the paper examines how people's insularities—or the social identities islanders cultivate based on how they engage with the paradox of being connected and/or isolated—could be shaped as Rome's cultural and economic influence expanded, and Cyprus' geopolitical position changed. Through a study of trade goods and routes, settlement patterns, and changing forms of coinage, sculpture, and architecture, the paper provides a novel approach to the entangled studies of community, cultural diversity, and uniformity that currently concern Roman provincial archaeologists.

Lindsay Mazurek, Memorial University of Newfoundland
Cavan Concannon, University of Southern California

The Ostian Connectivity Project: digital social network analysis at a Roman port city

The Ostian Connectivity Project is a new digital humanities project focused on the Roman port city of Ostia in the imperial period. Ancient port cities like Ostia housed cosmopolitan communities connected to local, regional, and global networks. While previous studies of ancient globalization have focused on case studies and broad meta-arguments about large-scale change, the micro- and -macro-scales of research have not been brought into conversation with one another. Through digital analysis of Ostia's inscriptions and artifacts, our project bridges this gap by exploring how Ostians created and preserved connections across time and space. In later phases, we will map connections inside and outside of the city, showing the specific ways in which the physical landscape of Ostia facilitated the social work of its inhabitants. The Ostian Connectivity Project thus brings the local and the global into dialogue with one another by focusing on the *social work* that goes into building communities that functioned at a local and global level.

In this paper, we will present early results from our pilot project: a study of the inscriptions related to religious associations at Ostia. In order to analyze this data, we have spent the last nine months building a Microsoft Excel database of Ostian inscriptions that includes extensive metadata and GIS data, where available. We then use the social network analysis software Gephi to visualize this data as a social network, mapping social connections across time and space to reveal previously unknown communities and influence within networks. These maps will inform our first season of GIS fieldwork this summer. Further, our presentation will highlight how our metadata can be added to other digital humanities research projects that can push research on ancient connectivity in new directions.

Richard Talbert, University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill

The Challenge of Achieving Connectivity in Antiquity: a cartographic perspective

The final paper contributes to the aims of the session by focusing on the difficulties of understanding connectivity during antiquity and today. Specifically, it considers how efforts to comprehend connectivity by mapping an extensive region posed severe challenges not just in the past, but also well into the 20th century. The paper offers an instructive example from overlooked materials relating to Murray's *Handy Classical Map "Asia Minor"* recently identified in the Calder archive (University of Aberdeen MS 3286). At the time of its publication (1903), accurate recording by Ottoman military surveyors and foreign railroad builders was limited and mostly in the West; these initiatives are newly appreciated by Débarre (2016).

Elsewhere, means of communication and mapping resources continued recognizably comparable to those of antiquity. Murray's compiler, the epigrapher John Anderson (1870-1952) - Later Camden Professor of Ancient History (1927-1936), a predecessor of Nicholas Purcell - , had only traversed parts of Galatia and Pontus, attempting to measure distances on his itineraries with an unreliable 'trocheameter' rather than by hours, as explained in *Studia Pontica* (1903).

However, drafts preserved with the *Nachlass* of Anderson's fellow Aberdonian, William Calder (1881-1960), confirm the incorporation of findings by leading contemporary cartographers of ancient Asia Minor. They fully document Anderson's adaptation of Heinrich Kiepert's *Formae Orbis Antiqui* IX (1894) for Caria, and of Richard Kiepert's *Syrien und Mesopotamien* I compiled for von Oppenheim (1983). In addition, Anderson was encouraged to present physical landscape with elevation tinting of unprecedented complexity. Despite patchy knowledge and rudimentary cartographic method, one measure of his map's worth is that it was not superseded – by Calder and George Bean – until 1957. Even their attempt was just a partial revision, in monochrome without contours. Only recently has it been superseded in turn by the Ancient World Mapping Center's *Asia Minor in the Second Century C.E.* More than ever, the extent to which the Roman Empire overcame obstacles to achieving connectivity appears remarkable.

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Ségolène Débarre, *Cartographier l'Asie Mineure: L'orientalisme allemand à l'épreuve du terrain (1835-1895)*, Leuven: Peeters.

Session 6b

Latin Literature II / Littérature latine II

chair / président: Ian Storey

Carol Merriam, Brock University

Songs I Will Not Sing for You: Horace's programme in *Odes* 1.1

The standard analysis of *Odes* 1.1 as a priamel, listing a variety of vocations and avocations before arriving at Horace's own preferred occupation of poet, preferably with Maecenas' approval, is well-established and sound. But we could legitimately expect more from the first poem of a book; we should expect something in the nature of an introduction to the poet's own work or poetic programme. And it is possible to see in *Odes* 1.1 a form of *recusatio*, in which Horace indicates the kinds of poetry that Maecenas should not expect from him, on the way to the final statement about what poems he can and will write.

The occupations listed in the Ode can be directly connected to different genres of poetry, as Horace runs through epinician, political praise, georgic, pastoral, epic, cynegetic, and (possibly) elegy. In rejecting these pastimes and genres, Horace is both distinguishing himself from contemporary poets, such as Vergil and Grattius, and gently refusing to write, for example, the Augustan epic that Maecenas supposedly wanted from his clients.

Horace finally defines himself, through his own work, as an inspired poet and a lyric poet in the model of Sappho and Alcaeus, with a wish that Maecenas will value this work, and this poet – to the extent of deeming him a *vates*.

The Ode is thus not only a dedication to Maecenas, but an explanation and a justification to Maecenas of what type of poet he has in Horace.

Jonathan Edmondson, York University

The Linguistic Lure of the Arena in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*

A number of critics have noted the importance of gladiatorial imagery and gladiatorial language in works of Latin literature of the Republican and Imperial periods. Cicero used a series of gladiatorial metaphors to good effect in his defence of Sex. Roscius Amerinus in 80 B.C. (cf. Imholz 1972), while his use of gladiatorial language to criticize M. Antonius plays a notable role in his invective strategies in the *Philippics* (e.g., 2.3.7, 29.74; 3.7.18; 4.6.15; 5.4.10). Philip Hardie has shown how Vergil crafted his description of the final combat between Aeneas and Turnus in *Aeneid* XII partly in gladiatorial terms

(Hardie 1986, 151-154; cf. Tarrant 2012, ad loc.), while Matthew Leigh devoted a whole chapter of his study of Lucan to show how the gladiatorial arena and his readers' experience of watching gladiatorial presentations helped to frame his poetic narrative of the civil wars (Leigh 1997, ch. vii). While recent work has shown how Apuleius' detailed descriptions of two gladiatorial *munera* – in Plataea (4.13-21) and in Corinth (10.16-35) – have much to reveal about the social politics of staging of gladiatorial spectacles in the cities of the Roman Empire (Edmondson 2016), this paper seeks to argue that gladiatorial imagery and gladiatorial metaphors form a significant element of Apuleius' rhetorical strategies in the *Golden Ass*. The first part of the paper explores the way in which gladiatorial language and metaphors are deployed by Apuleius to vivid effect throughout the novel, while the second part argues that Apuleius used his experience of watching gladiatorial spectacles in the arena to suggest certain narrative strategies for a number of episodes in his novel. The linguistic lure of the arena in Apuleius' novel once again illustrates the extent to which the world of public spectacle permeated deeply into the world-view of an educated writer such as Apuleius.

Caitlin Hines, University of Toronto

Trickster, Liar, Actor, Slave: class blindness and role-play in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*

Lucius, the wealthy and privileged nobleman-turned-jackass of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, is a notoriously unreliable narrator. This paper investigates the class dimension of Lucius' unreliability by dissecting the elements of his story that are distorted through the lens of social privilege. The stripping away of Lucius' class bias reveals that what he represents as a mutually affectionate sexual relationship with the slave Photis actually bears the mark of violence and extreme social prejudice.

Lucius represents himself as a canny seducer, and Photis' involvement with him as eager submission, without acknowledging her vulnerable status as a slave. As a result, there is a pronounced discrepancy between the social circumstances of this relationship and the linguistic representation that Lucius crafts. He overwrites charged labels to make Photis seem class-neutral, while infusing his attempts at seduction with the enticements of an impossible class mobility. He also consistently confuses power dynamics by slipping into the language of *servitium amoris*, though a domestic slave is definitively not in the position to play the games of persuasion in which the elegiac *domina* engages—her situation is far closer to that of the assaulted and blackmailed hairdresser of *Amores* 2.7 and 2.8.

But Photis' quick and clever responses to Lucius' attempts at seductive wordplay demonstrate that she is adept at slipping seamlessly into the appropriate role for any given occasion. She can play the experienced lover (2.7-10; 2.15-17); the anxious girlfriend (2.18; 3.22); the reluctant conspirator (3.20-24); and the clumsy apprentice (3.13-18; 3.25). This paper ultimately aims to restore agency to Photis by suggesting that she transitions between these roles voluntarily and judiciously, that she does so deftly in response to Lucius' class blindness, and that she is therefore far from the incompetent and submissive woman that Lucius assumes her to be.

Session 6c

The Roman Military / L'armée romaine

chair / président: Matt Gibbs

Benjamin Kelly, York University

The Emperor's (In)visible Bodyguard: images of the praetorian guard in public art

It is well known that images of praetorians in Roman public art are difficult to detect, since at best only a few subtle insignia distinguish them from ordinary legionary soldiers (Flower *AJA* 105 [2001] 636). Unsurprisingly, identifications of praetorians in public artworks are often debated by scholars. The notion that members of the emperor's elite security force are virtually indistinguishable from ordinary soldiers has prompted desperate hypotheses. For example, it has been claimed that praetorians must have been depicted in uniforms with special colours, of which we are ignorant because the paint has weathered off

surviving reliefs (e.g. Durry, *Les cohortes prétoriennes* [1938] 233) – a theory for which there is no positive evidence, and which is contradicted by an anecdote in Tacitus (*Hist.* 3.23).
This paper takes a different approach, arguing that ambiguity was precisely the effect for which artists and their patrons were striving. The praetorians were ideologically difficult, since they potentially evoked the stereotypical tyrant's bodyguard. But omitting them entirely from official iconography risked alienating a group on whose support many emperors relied. As a result, there was a strategy of ambiguity: praetorians appear on coins and public relief sculptures, but the attributes that distinguish them as such are subtle and indeterminate. To one audience, they would have been mere soldiers; to the cognoscenti, representations of one of the real foundations of the emperor's power.
There is, however, an exception: the IMPER RECEPT and PRAETOR RECEPT coins of Claudius (RIC Claudius 7, 8, 12, 24-6, 36-7), which frankly acknowledge the relationship between the praetorians and their emperor. In reaction to the criticism that Claudius attracted for his relationship with the praetorians (cf. Suet. *Claud.* 35), public art of the later first and second centuries is subtler or ambiguous in its portrayal of the praetorians.

Claude Eilers, McMaster University

Lentulus in Ephesus (Jos. *AJ* 14.228-240)

In 49 BC, the Roman consul Lentulus went to the province of Asia to conduct a dilectus, or military levy of Roman citizens, for service in Pompey's legions. In Ephesus, and presumably elsewhere, he exempted Jews from military service, a decision that is reflected in six documents quoted by Josephus in his Jewish Antiquities. Although the six documents must all derive from the same decision, they nonetheless show surprising differences of wording, organization, and (claimed) origin. One document (AJ 14. 231-232) is called a 'Decree of the Delians'. My paper will argue that this last document is in fact also from Ephesus: its eponymous date (which needs to be emended), constitutional details, and the very nature of the exercise and Lentulus' decision argue in this direction. Once its origin is established, the nature and history of this group of documents becomes clearer.

Conor Whately, University of Winnipeg

"A Rose By Any Other Name": military terminology at the end of antiquity

Juliet gave us one of the most famous lines in the world in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, when she said, "What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet" (Act 2, Scene 2). Juliet was arguing that Romeo would be the same person even if he had a different name. Part of the enduring value of the line lies in its broad applicability: Juliet's line might apply to many circumstances, military terminology at the end of antiquity included. The problem in the ancient context, however, is both the 'rose' itself and its associated names. The well-documented sixth-century Roman military had several different unit types, and our evidence for them uses a variety of different terms. What is not always clear is whether many names are used for one type of regiment, or the different names we find refer to different types of regiment. In other words, do we have one rose and many names, or many different flowers and so many different names? For instance, Procopius often uses the term *katalogos* for a regiment, Latin inscriptions might use *numerus*, and Greek papyri *arithmos* or a Hellenized form of *legio*. While *numerus* and *arithmos* would seem to be one in the same, what about *katalogos*? This paper explores these terminological issues using the evidence of Procopius, the *Justinianic Code*, the Egyptian (Aphrodito, Oxyrhynchus) and Israeli papyri (Nessana), the epigraphic evidence from the Balkans and the Levant, and the *Notitia Dignitatum*. In addressing a subject that has not received sustained attention in decades, I argue that the varied terms are not as interchangeable as they might seem, and that the organization of the Roman military at the end of antiquity is far more varied and complex than the various Greek and Latin terms for unit types might lead us to believe.

Session 6d

Archaic Greek Poetry

chair / présidente: Kathryn Mattison

Shane Hawkins, Carleton University

Take a Waulk on the Wild Side: Hipponax 183W

Choeroboscus preserves an odd story about how Hipponax came upon an old woman washing wool on the shore who scolded him when he bumped into her basin (σκάφη). The story is widely understood now to be a vestige of an actual Hipponactean narrative in three verses that tells of an initiation involving the mythical Iambe, the eponymous patron of iambic verse. The story raises a number of unanswered questions: what is Hipponax doing by the sea? Why does he meet an old woman? Why is she washing wool? What motivated Hipponax to touch her basin? Why doesn't the exchange exhibit any of the abuse or obscenity so prevalent in iambic?

This paper presents answers to most of these questions in a new interpretation of the story that recognizes a play on σκάφη, 'basin' and 'boat', as a metaphor similar to the risqué use in comedy of the κέλης 'small, fast yacht', "in which the woman bestrides the man as if riding or sailing him" (Henderson, *Maculate Muse*, p. 164; e.g., Aristophanes *Wasps* 501-2, *Lys*. 59-60, 139, 671-81, *Pax* 894ff.). In this way the lines uttered by the old woman can be taken as teasing and abusive, bordering on the obscene. Further, there is reason to think that the old woman/Iambe is not washing clothes (in a parody of the Nausicaa episode in the *Odyssey*, as some have imagined), but fulling or waulking wool, a process that involved trampling the material in a water basin near a source of water. This insight might allow one to connect the scene to the Thargelia festival, which took place shortly after the spring sheep shearing and which features prominently in the fragments of Hipponax.

Odysseas Espanol Androutsopoulos, McGill University

The Youth of the Poetic Voice in Theognis and the Symposiastic, Didactic and Initiatory Nature of Theognidean Poetry

The verses attributed to Theognis of Megara are the single largest surviving body of archaic lyric poetry. However, the nature of the text is still obscure. Building especially on G.Nagy and T.J. Figueira's views of Theognis as a compilation of aristocratic didactic oral poetry, I will look at the age of the poetic voice in Theognis and how it ties to the nature of the poetry itself. A seldom-noted fact about the poetic voice in Theognis is that the authorial Theognis himself, despite being a didactic poet, is quite young, as is visible in most of his references to age (lines 983-988, 1119-1123, 1017-1022). Furthermore, the concerns of the poetry are not generically aristocratic, but appear to speak to and for a closed group of young, male aristocrats in a homosocial symposiastic setting (lines 19-38, 237-254, 1007-1012). This is particularly noticeable in the value system of the poetry, which emphasizes *philia* as a value for constructing aristocratic identity over the more traditional *genos* (lines 429-438, 645-646). It is also visible in the central relationship in the poetry, the paederastic relationship between the poet and his addressee -partially read in this vein by J.M. Lewis in his analysis of the second book of the corpus- which subsumes family terminology to describe itself, and which is always first and foremost defined not as particularly intimate, but rather as didactic and initiatory (lines 19-38, 1049-1054), and which takes place in the context of one (or several) larger groups of *philoi* and of the *polis* at large (lines 219-220, 819-820, 1311-1318). The morality, *dike,* imparted by the poetry, and the molding of the addressee, Cyrnus, into a proper *agathos*, are central to the didactic and initiatory program of the poetry (lines 145-148). Through these elements, a view of the Theognidea emerges specifically as the oral tradition of a closed group of young, aristocratic male symposiasts, the main concern of which is the perpetuation of aristocratic values -and consequently the aristocracy itself and its hegemony within the *polis*- through *philia* and initiation into the group.

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Christopher Brown, University of Western Ontario

Anacreon's Girl from Lesbos and the Reputation of Sappho

σφαίρῃ δηῦτέ με πορφυρῇ
βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἔρως
νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ
συμπαίζειν προκαλεῖται·

ἡ δ', ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου
Λέσβου, τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην,
λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται,
πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰ χάσκει.

Once again golden-haired Eros by striking me with his purple ball summons me to play with a girl in ornate sandals; but she — for she comes from Lesbos with its fine cities — finds fault with my hair because it is white, but gapes after some other. (Anacreon fr. 13 Gentili = 432 *PMG*)

Despite their apparent simplicity, these lines have been the subject of sustained — and often envenomed — scholarly disagreement. At the heart of the dispute is whether πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινά alludes to the hair of a male rival (sc. κόμην) or reveals the girl's homoerotic interest in another woman. In recent years the latter view has again come to be dominant, and important in re-asserting it is an article by the late Miroslav Marcovich. The present paper does not seek to challenge Marcovich's reading of the passage in detail, although I do not believe that it is correct, but rather I propose to take issue with one point that has been widely accepted, and that is Marcovich's understanding of the reference to Lesbos in lines 5-6: "The representatives of the alternate interpretation have rightly objected that there is just no evidence for the assumption that 'coming from Lesbos' would imply 'being a Lesbian.' I feel, however, that such an assumption is utterly possible in the times of Anacreon in view of the unmistakable homosexual inclinations of Sappho from Lesbos, as expressed in her poetry" (374 = 49). It is true that Anacreon's poem was connected with Sappho by Chamaeleon, to whose *On Sappho* we ultimately owe the fragment (fr. 26 Wehrli = 29 Giordano), but Marcovich's statement is surprising; it is at odds with the modern understanding of ancient ideas about sexuality and, perhaps more important, the way in which Sappho was viewed in the Classical Period. It will be argued that Anacreon's poem is not concerned with Sappho or her sexuality, but the reference to 'Lesbos with its fine cities' evokes a famous passage of the *Iliad* (9.270-272) and serves to characterize the beautiful young girl who both arouses the poet's desire and curtly rejects him.

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Session 7a

Connectivity in an Imperial Context: Preserving and Creating Communities in the Roman World II / Empire et connectivité: Préserver et créer les communautés dans le monde romain II

panel organizers: Elizabeth Greene and Lindsay Mazurek

[panel continued from Session 6a]

Part 2: *Connected Communities in a Multicultural Empire*
The papers in Part 2 take a more microscopic look at the consequences of increased connectivity in a growing empire, using the broader discussions in Part 1 as a jumping off point to consider the ramifications of increased connectivity on particular communities. The first paper in this session considers the social work of inscriptions as they advertise the creation of sub-groups within the multicultural Roman army. The second examines material strategies of community building at the transcultural site of Dura-Europos, exploring questions of diversity and identity through the construction of micro-histories. Paper 3 uses written and material sources from the Roman frontiers to understand how communities maintained connections with their original cultural units while incorporating into multicultural, sometimes widely connected settlements.

Alexander Meyer, University of Western Ontario

New and Old Connections in the Roman Army: communities of military veterans on Rome's northern frontiers

The second part of this session uses smaller, community-level case studies to consider the effects of empire and increased connectivity. One the best populations for investigating movement around the empire is the Roman army. The military has long been at the heart of identity studies. Soldiers are relatively well attested in the epigraphic record and, therefore, constitute an ideal population within which to study issues of identity formation. The suitability of this group is further amplified by the mobility of individual soldiers and units. Many soldiers served far from their homes and sought either to maintain ties with their home communities (explored by Paper 3 in this session) or to forge new communal ties in and around their units and the areas in which they served. This paper will address one aspect of the latter scenario by examining evidence for veteran communities and identity in the western Roman provinces. This research connects to the aims of the session by applying the theme of local and regional connectivity to individual veterans of various backgrounds and from a broad geographical area within the context of the Roman military.
It first highlights the existence of well-defined and vibrant veteran communities at sites such as Intercisa and Timacum Minus and the manner in which these communities were defined. It then undertakes a deeper examination of veteran communities by demonstrating that, although veterans were highly mobile and often moved far from their former posts after their discharge, many nonetheless maintained close ties to the military as demonstrated by the locations where their tombstones and diplomas were found and the text of some of these artefacts. Finally, this paper compares the evidence for veteran mobility and settlement with what is known of the origins of these soldiers to demonstrate the competition between family and "ethnic" identity and military identity among veterans and, by extension, serving soldiers.

Jennifer Baird, Birkbeck, University of London

Constructing Communities: the material culture of diversity at Dura-Europos

The second paper in this session turns to a well-known community in the eastern empire to explore the expression of hybridity within a settlement defined by the multiculturalism resulting from the

connectivity of empire. The site of Dura-Europos on the Syrian Euphrates was undoubtedly a diverse community. Inhabited from at least the Hellenistic period, variously under Arsacid and later Roman rule; with at least nineteen known religious buildings housing a variety of cults; textual remains of Greek, Latin, Palmyrene, Syriac, Hebrew, and other languages; and, by the third century, a Roman military garrison situated within the walls of the urban site. But how was this diversity materially negotiated? Were languages and religions coterminous with other aspects of identity? Looking to individual objects to build micro-histories, this paper explores the diversity, hybridity, and connectivity of some of Dura's objects, people, and communities. Further, it argues that material culture is not only a reflection of diversity, but a means by which it was enacted, thereby recognizing the material's agency in creating community identity.

Elizabeth Greene, University of Western Ontario

Dispersed Communities on the Roman Frontiers: maintaining connections to 'home' in a multicultural setting

By the end of the first century AD the increased connectivity of the empire, discussed from various perspectives in Part 1 of this panel, meant that the Roman frontiers were dotted by settlements with truly multicultural populations. The military communities on the frontiers provide one of the best case studies to understand this phenomenon. Auxiliary soldiers—the primary defenders of Rome's borders—were raised in the conquered provinces and often served outside of their home regions (Haynes 2013). Moreover, the shift to local recruitment as early as the late first century AD meant that the individuals in a single unit and their dependents that comprised the population of military settlements might hail from very different regions around the empire. These communities therefore often consisted of multicultural social groups that can help us understand the maintenance or loss of connections to 'home' in the context of empire (Meyer 2013).

This paper explores our evidence predominantly in the western provinces for connections maintained to 'home' and how specifically soldiers and their families operated within this setting. The practice of letter writing, exemplified in the Vindolanda writing tablets, indicates that people certainly maintained connections to home and family. Greetings to and from various community members reveal a connected group of individuals that had ties both within the immediate group and outside to an expanded network (e.g. *Tab.Vindol*. 650 sending greetings to *omnes cives*; Bowman and Thomas 2003). Epigraphic sources and artefacts also reveal this maintenance of cultural characteristics that appear to run alongside markers that advertise inclusion also in the Roman military community. This paper explores the multicultural communities that were a result of increased movement and connectivity of the vast empire, taking a microscopic look at the individuals whose lives were defined by the results of imperial rule.

Session 7b

Verse Quality, Verse Quantity / Le vers: qualité et quantité

chair / présidente: Aara Suksi

Carina de Klerk, Columbia University

Speech and Status: a quantitative analysis

In sociolinguistics, linguistic variation is a term used to describe a characteristic feature of language, its variability, or, the fact that there is more than one way of saying something–like, good morning, mornin', hello, hey, howdy, yo. Different ways of saying something "do not vary haphazardly, but systematically" and "inevitably involve variants that have social meaning" (Tagliamonte 2). How we speak signals information about who we are as well as the contexts in which we find ourselves speaking.

By attending to how characters speak in Aristophanes, scholars like Willi (2003), Colvin (1999), and Sommerstein (2009) have uncovered a number of linguistic variables which correlate with colloquial speech, dialect, register, barbarian Greek, and the speech of women. Recently, however, Sommerstein has claimed that "there is no clear evidence that the language of slaves differs in any systematic way from that of free persons of the same gender" (2009: 144). Sommerstein brings this claim home by pointing to 10

lines in the *Wealth*, encouraging his reader to "establish, if they can, what features of one or another line make it specially appropriate for the free or slave speaker to whom the dramatist has apparently assigned it" (2009: 145-6).

In this paper, I take up Sommerstein's challenge to try and spot the difference between the language of free men and slaves and I do so through a quantitative analysis of the number of lines attributed to free men and slaves in the eleven extant plays of Aristophanes. With this analysis I hope to show that, like linguistic variation, how much a character speaks is a feature of language which also bears "social meaning". In the case of Aristophanic comedy, I will argue that the amount of speech attributed to free male characters and slave characters is indicative of their respective social statuses.

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Jarrett Welsh, University of Toronto

Listening to Roman Comic Verse

No one denies the expressive potential of the dactyllic hexameter: dactyls filling the first four feet "can depict rapid action," whereas spondees express "slow-moving or impeded action" (quotations from Tarrant 2012, 40). The iambo-trochaics of Latin drama greatly exceed the dactyllic hexameter in their mutability (16 or, generously, 32 possible metrical patterns in the hexameter as against 7,776 in the iambic senarius alone), yet scholars of Latin drama tend to focus on words as the particular vehicles of meaning within the script. This blinkered view of the way that Latin dramatists created meaning perseveres despite the call to action issued some 35 years ago by Gratwick and Lightley (1982), for while many scholars now appreciate the divergent tones signalled by compositions in senarii as against the recitative long verses and cantica—thanks especially to Moore's (2012) rich study of music in comedy—the expressiveness of the metrical texture rarely attracts the attention it deserves.

This paper renews the arguments for taking metrical texture as a significant vehicle for meaning in Latin dramatic iambo-trochaics. Taking *ABcD* as the standard rhythm in iambotrochaics (in Gratwick's notation and on his statistics [Gratwick 2000, 233–237]), it argues that deviations from that standard were one way for the dramatist to create meaning, by stipulating the proper manner of delivery and thus a particular interpretation of the utterance or scene. It demonstrates those connections first from some representative verses (Pomponius 87–89, Plautus *Aul*. 655–657, and others) before turning to the analysis of two scenes—Ergasilus' monologue at Plautus *Capt*. 461–497 and the conversations of Milphio and Syncerastus at Plautus *Poen*. 817–922—in which metrical patterning shapes the actors' delivery of those lines, heightening and sometimes subverting the meaning that the words express.

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Susanna Braund, University of British Columbia

Virgil's Half Lines: a challenge for translators

There are some fifty eight incomplete lines in Virgil's *Aeneid*. Some, such as *Italiam non sponte sequor* (4.361, 'Italy is my goal, not of my choosing') and *unum pro multis dabitur caput* (5.815, 'one life for many will be given'), are powerful and moving lines. Others are not, although only one is not a syntactically

complete clause. Scholars (including Sparrow 1931, Baldwin 1993, O'Hara 2010) have debated whether the half lines are a deliberate literary innovation or marks of incompleteness that bear testimony to Virgil's method of composition. But no one has considered the impact of the half lines on translators of the poem. The presence of these hemistichs poses a problem to translators who use verse for their translations: does fidelity require them to preserve the half lines as incomplete lines? What is lost and what is gained by retaining them or removing them? To what extent does the treatment of the half lines connect with larger issues faced by translators about the incompleteness of the poem, such as manifested in Maffeo Vegio's fifteenth century supplement to the poem with his Book 13?

Drawing examples from several different languages but mainly from English translations, my paper will examine the differing reactions and strategies of translators at different eras, along with comments they offer in their paratextual materials. For example, French translators using the rhymed alexandrine usually ignore the hemistichs, while Dryden in his heroic couplets retains the half lines, but criticises them in his Preface. I shall propose that there is a tendency for translators to preserve the truncated quality of the half lines when their emphasis is poetic, and to elide it when their emphasis is narrative.

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J.A. Sparrow *Half-Lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (Oxford, 1931)

Session 7c

Jobs Outside Academia: aligning Classics with today's opportunities / Études classiques et opportunités d'emploi en dehors du milieu universitaire

chair / présidente: Cassandra Tran

Kyle Johnson

The Monster at the End of This Dissertation

Should you find yourself inclined to leave Classics, this lecture is for you. Since graduating five years ago, through trial and error, I have achieved some success as a software programmer and artificial intelligence researcher. In this talk, I will share my advice on how to leave Classics and thrive in the marketplace. Topics covered will include how to begin the transition while still in school, researching industries in which to work, making connections, writing a resume, and interviewing. Though the suggestions will be generally applicable, they will be especially suited to those hoping to work in AI, data science, and programming.

Anthony Nguyen

Personal Branding in Today's Labour Marketplace

Anthony is a Talent Acquisition and Career Coaching subject matter expert. He currently works full-time as a Senior Account Executive at Indeed, spending most of his time helping his clients attract and hire top talent. His presentation will be focused on how to identify your career purpose and build professional credibility within your network and extended network.

Andrew Lear

From Classicist to Public Historian

I am not sure whether I can suggest to graduate students that they abandon academia to become entrepreneurs, as I have: being an entrepreneur demands a high tolerance for risk, and a capacity for rapid innovation—neither of them skills/characteristics that academia trains students to have. Nonetheless, I would argue that an entrepreneur's life can be less frustrating than academia. If you can stand the risk and keep your mind open, it allows you to solve problems in a way that is not possible

within academia's relatively rigid structures. In academia, it can take years to get a new course title approved. In business, by contrast, I have moved in three years from starting a company that organized high-end multi-day tours focused on gay history—an attractive idea that seems to me now to pose too great marketing challenges—to running a successful company that gives 2 hour museum tours focused largely on women's history.

Session 7d

Greek History / Histoire grecque

chair / présidente: Kathryn Simonsen

Arden Williams, University of British Columbia

Micro-Managing in Aixone: portrait of deme in late-fourth-century Athens

Aixone, located on the south coast of Attica between Phaleron and Sounion in the modern suburb of Glyfada, was a large prosperous deme, perhaps sending as many as eleven men to sit on the Athenian Boule each year. This prosperity is reflected in the number of inscriptions discovered in its territory, greater than that of any other deme. The inscriptions of Aixone are unique not only because the majority date to a roughly thirty-year period, from 345/4 to 313/2 BCE, but also for their detailed treatment of the common concerns of the demesmen. The decrees governing the leasing of agricultural and pastoral land highlight the active involvement of the demesmen in the care and protection of these assets even when the properties were under lease. At the heart of the deme were its sanctuary of Hebe and theatre of Dionysos. In addition, there were at least twelve priestesses and priests of various cults, as well as the men who took on the deme *khoregeia*, attesting to the vibrant religious life of the community and the close attention paid to cult organization. Aixone could also boast distinguished demesmen such as the general Chabrias, son of Ktesippos. Athenians active in civic politics, however, were rarely involved at the local level of the deme to which they belonged. The men participating in deme affairs chose instead to be big fish in a relatively small pond. Despite this apparent separation of interests, rural demes always maintained close connections to the centre of Athens and Aixone is no exception. Although the demesmen managed their affairs independently of the *asty*, what the demesmen chose to publish on stone certainly reflects similar preoccupations of the *polis*, allowing us to create a snapshot of Aixone against the volatile backdrop of late-fourth-century Athens.

Bernd Steinbock, University of Western Ontario

The Limits of Athenian Memory Politics: the trauma of the Sicilian expedition

This paper seeks to explore the tensions between the commemoration of the disastrous Sicilian Expedition in the "official" Athenian *polis* tradition and the private traumatic memory of the survivors. For gaining a proper understanding of the role of this catastrophic defeat in Athenian collective historical consciousness and public discourse, I regard the concept of social memory as an indispensable analytical tool. Halbwachs (1980), Hobsbawm & Ranger (1983), Fentress & Wickham (1992) and Schudson (1995) have demonstrated for other cultures and time periods that social memory is an invaluable key to a people's mentality. All of these scholars recognize the malleability of memory and emphasize the dominant role of the present in constructing the past in ways that create collective identity and societal cohesion. This Neo-Durkheimian strand of memory studies has been successfully applied by Classicists to the study of the "official" Athenian *polis* tradition, which is most clearly expressed in the Athenian funeral speeches (Loraux 1986; Thomas 1989; Gehrke 2001, 2003; Jung 2006; Grethlein 2010). These scholars have shown that ever since the Persian Wars the Athenians saw themselves as champions of the Greeks, fighting against barbarian invaders and Greek oppressors. This hegemonic self-image also colored the collective memory of later and earlier events. In the public funeral ceremony, the fallen of each war – and thus also the thousands of the Sicilian Expedition – were celebrated as manifestations of this timeless Athenian national character. In the *logoi epitaphioi*, defeats were downplayed, ignored or turned into moral victories (cf. Lys. 2.58, 65; Dem. 60.19; Thomas 1989: 228-31; Pritchard 1999: 21-22; Low 2010: 349-50;

Arrington 2011; Shear 2013). With respect to the Sicilian Expedition, this tendency can be observed most clearly in Plato's *epitaphios* (Pl. *Menex*. 242e-243a) and in Euripides' funeral epigram (Plut. *Nic*. 17.4 = Euripides T 92 Kannicht; cf. Gavrilov 1996).
Yet, the past is not entirely at the disposal of the present, as Neo-Freudian memory scholars of war and genocide have shown: the legacy of traumatic pasts cannot be easily overwritten by active memory politics (Prager 2001; La Capra 1994; Caruth 1996). Thucydides' accounts of the final retreat (esp. Thuc. 7.75) and the massacre at the river Assinarus suggest that the survivors suffered severe psychological traumata; a considerable number of them found their way finally back to Athens to tell about their sufferings (cf. [Lys.] 20.24; Kelly 1970). The *demos* at home reacted to the news of the disaster with shock and denial (Thuc. 8.1.1; Athenaeus 9.407a-b), which are typical reactions to the experience of traumatic loss (Tritle 2010: 158). These traumatic memories were also transmitted to younger generations through "secondary social sharing" (cf. Paez & Basabe & Gonzales 1997).
A close reading of Aeschines' reference to the Sicilian Expedition in 4th-century Athenian public discourse (Aeschin. 2.75-76) reveals the limits of the "official" Athenian memory politics. Even though the reason for sending the expedition reflect the influence of the idealizing funeral orations ("they sent the expedition to aid the weak and oppressed"), due to the traumatic memory of the affected families this event still held its place as an unprecedented disaster in Athenian historical consciousness 65 years after its occurrence.

Germain Payen, chercheur indépendant

L'établissement d'une scène géopolitique Anatolie-mer Noire en 179 a.C.

Après une guerre remportée par le roi attalide Eumène II et ses alliés Prusias II de Bithynie et Ariarathe IV de Cappadoce, contre Pharnace du Pont et Mithridate d'Arménie, un traité de paix conclu en 179 établit l'ordre géopolitique régional ébauché par le traité d'Apamée (188). Si les fragments d'historiens concernant le conflit ne mentionnent que des épisodes anatoliens, il est intéressant de noter que le traité de 179 faisait mention de plusieurs acteurs politiques nord-pontiques, dont le Sarmate Gatalos et la cité de Chersonèse du Pont. Cette dernière est également connue pour avoir conclu un traité d'alliance avec Pharnace du Pont la même année, comme en atteste une inscription connue depuis longtemps mais dont l'interprétation fait encore débat (*IOSPE*, I², 402). L'objectif de cette communication sera de définir une perspective maritime dans le cadre de la guerre de 182-179 à la lumière du traité de paix, à travers les rôles dévolus à Sinope, Rhodes ou encore Chersonèse, mais aussi de percevoir les causes et les conséquences de l'inclusion de la Mer Noire dans une guerre entre puissances anatoliennes quant à l'énigme de la clause territoriale du traité d'Apamée, établi neuf ans plus tôt. Dans cette optique, le problème des alignements diplomatiques observés par les cités et royaumes nord-pontiques, ainsi que la possibilité de mouvements nomades de grande ampleur en provenance des steppes eurasiatiques, sont des sujets qui n'ont pas été mis en rapport avec l'évolution géopolitique anatolienne dans les décennies ayant suivies la paix d'Apamée.

Session 8a

Roman Epigraphy / Épigraphie romaine

chair / président: Christer Bruun

Michael Carter, Brock University

Pouplios the Soummaroudēs

A funerary inscription from Beroia in Macedonia commemorates (in Greek) a *soummaroudēs* (*summa rudis*) named Pouplios. Pouplios is honoured by a number of men, the most important figure (after Pouplios himself) being another *summa rudis*, followed by a *secunda rudis*. Then there are the names of ten people whose professions are unstated, and finally a herald and a trumpeter. Scholars understand that *summae* and *secundae rudes* were officials who supervised the combats: referees or technical experts. But while a gladiatorial context for the inscription is almost certain, the relationship between Pouplios and the undersigned is controversial. Some (Tataki; Nigdelis; Byrne and Labarre) see the undersigned as

gladiators; others (Bouley and Proeva) suggest a different context, believing that there could not be such a close relationship between the *summae* and *secundae rudes*, who enjoyed some social standing, and gladiators who were condemned as *infames*. In this interpretation they follow Ville, who argued against identifying these officials as former gladiators, insisting that the elevated social status achieved by a number of known *summae rudes* is not consistent with the status of a gladiator, even retired. I argue in support of the former view, but consider what this may mean for our understanding of the *summa* and *secunda rudes*: their origin, their role, and the overall organization of the gladiatorial *ludus*. Older gladiators could return to a *ludus*, not as active gladiators, but as weapons trainers (*doctores* / *magistri*) or as referees (*summa* and *secunda rudis*). Despite the fact that many who became gladiators did so under some compulsion, whether condemned to the *ludus* or driven by poverty, the institution even created life-long "career opportunities" for some. This research hopes to add to the important work done on the organization of the gladiatorial *ludus* (e.g. Coleman; Fagan).

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Christopher Dawson, York University

Harmless Administrators: the political use of a virtue

This paper starts with a new observation and then tries to explain it. It observes that, on the bases of honorific statues in the cities of Africa Proconsularis, the *curiae* were disproportionately frequent users of the virtue *innocentia*. The *curiae,* that is the civic voting groups largely made up of non-elite adult male citizens, praised 11 of their honorees for *innocentia*, while the aristocratic town councils – the *ordo decurionum* – applied the virtue to just 3 of their honorees. This is surprising, since the *ordo* is cited as the dedicator of 2.5 times the number of statues than the *curiae* (193 to 74). Elizabeth Forbis' theory for the citation of *innocentia* on honorific statue bases in the cities of Italy is too general to be applicable here. She argues that the dedicators were suggesting that their benefactors had given altruistically without any ulterior motives.

This paper argues that there were more important political motivations behind the citation of the virtue. Specifically, it asserts that, given their lower social, economic, and political statuses, the members of the *curiae* felt vulnerable before magistrates and other members of the *ordo*, and that they employed *innocentia* to reward considerate and approachable leaders and to encourage these qualities in others. The evidence to be discussed in support of this conclusion is as follows:

i. The large majority of honorees praised for their *innocentia* were former civic magistrates.

ii. The virtue carries the connotation of self-control.

iii. The virtue is associated in both literature and on inscriptions with the words *administratio*, *integritas*, and mildness.

This paper will, thus, support the current trend in Roman North African scholarship that emphasises the reciprocal and dynamic nature of local civic politics. Although they had little control over the administration of their city, average citizens acted collectively to make themselves heard.

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

Tracing the Saints of Rome: hagiographical topographies in the inscriptions of Damasus, 366-384 C.E.

Upon his election, Pope Damasus (366-384) undertakes a building programme that serves to inscribe the sanctity of Christian martyrs atop a venerable history of poetic and epigraphic commemoration at Rome. This bishop erects a series of hagiographical *elogia* in the martyr shrines that crowded the *suburbium* and thereby writes a topographic palimpsest into the Roman cityscape: by his manipulation of Vergilian intertexts and traditional strategies of aristocratic and imperial self-definition, Damasus imagines a Christian present at once coterminous with and superior to Rome's heroic past. What is more, he explicitly co-opts his reader in this project. I will argue that the epigraphic corpus of Damasus triangulates the reader in a mutually productive relationship between saint and author. In a series of inscriptions, he first commemorates his own contribution to the hagiographical memorialization of Roman martyrs, then enjoins the reader to retrace his path. Damasus' *elogia* to the Roman martyrs serve as literal signposts for the reader. They mark out the bishop's own contribution to the construction of a local Christian identity founded on the memory of the martyrs, but likewise demand the active participation of the reader as she moves through physical space, recognizing the saints and venerating them in accordance with the hagiographical topography that Damasus has erected throughout the Roman suburbs. In fact, Damasus writes the imagined reader of these inscriptions as his double: like the bishop, the reader will seek the saints, find them and venerate them in a pilgrimage that effectively rewrites the history and topography of Rome herself.

Session 8b

Latin Literature III / Littérature latine III

chair / présidente: Kelly Olson

Regina Höschele, University of Toronto

A Greekling, a Flatterer, a Poet: Roman visions of Greek epigrammatists

Whereas Hellenistic epigram has been widely studied and admired, its Imperial counterpart remains largely neglected; the texts included in Philip's *Garland* tend to be dismissed as purely rhetorical exercises steeped in mannerisms and devoid of sincerity (e.g. Griffiths, *JHS* 90, 1970). This negative assessment has not least been triggered by the fact that many of the epigrams are addressed to patrons, for this sort of poetry – with its underlying hope, sometimes even explicit requests, for material support – easily attracts the suspicion of being mere sycophancy (scholars used to criticize Martial for precisely this reason, e.g. Seel *A&A* 10, 1961, 61).

My paper demonstrates that the vision of Greek epigrammatists at Rome as mere flatterers angling for money is not just a modern idea (however unjustified), but also one that appears to be present in Roman sources. I will take a close look at an anecdote told in Macrobius about Augustus' interaction with a *graeculus* repeatedly, though unsuccessfully, trying to press a honorific epigram upon the *princeps* (*Sat.* 2.4.31) as well as Cicero's depiction of Philodemus (*In Pisonem* 68-71), whose questionable behaviour in the company of Piso the Roman orator somewhat patronizingly explains with the fact that he is "a Greekling, a flatterer, a poet" (*ut Graeculum, ut adsentatorem, ut poetam*). I will argue that the portrayals of these two epigram-writing *graeculi*, while evocative of common Roman prejudices against Greeks, are each to be understood within their specific context – a funny anecdote demonstrating Augustus' epigrammatic wit and a vicious invective aiming to denigrate a political opponent. Both texts offer a fascinating window into Roman dealings with Greek poets and should not be taken as a simple confirmation of modern prejudices but appreciated in their narrative and rhetorical complexity.

Randall Pogorzelski, University of Western Ontario

Seneca's Theban Empire

In Athenian tragedy, Thebes is an anti-Athens, where everything can go tragically wrong in the contained environment of the stage (Zeitlin 1986). Roman epic follows this example and makes Thebes an anti-Rome, first in Ovid's narrative of the foundation of Thebes in *Metamorphoses* 3 and 4, and later in the fratricidal war of Statius' *Thebaid*, both responding to fratricidal war and the foundation of Rome in Virgil's *Aeneid* (Hardie 1990; Braund 2006; Janan 2009). In Senecan tragedy, Thebes also serves as an other Rome, where Roman issues can find disastrous and pessimistic forms. The focus of this presentation is particularly on the issue of imperial conquest and its consequences, which cause problems for Seneca's Thebes.

In his two complete Theban tragedies, *Hercules Furens* and *Oedipus*, Seneca raises and problematizes the prospect of a Theban empire. In both tragedies, Theban conquest allows injustice to arise, results in civil war, and leaves no place in the world for exile. The costs of empire that the tragedies emphasize are costs for the conquerors rather than the conquered. The repetition of the pattern in the two Theban tragedies stands out against a similar but distinct treatment of world conquest in *Phaedra*, in which the costs of empire are paid by the conquered rather than the conqueror. As in Athenian tragedy and Roman epic, Thebes serves as a foil and a warning, here cautioning Romans that it is not always the conquered who are the victims of conquest.

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Christina Vester, University of Waterloo

Greeks and Romans in Seneca's *Troades*

Seneca's *Troades* overwhelms in detailing the misery of a subjugated people. A Roman audience would have witnessed the dramatic depiction of the suffering of their ancestors. Against the backdrop of a destroyed city, Polyxena and Astyanax are killed, and Hecuba, Andromache, Cassandra and the other Trojan women, now slave booty, wait to be assigned to their new Greek masters.

As a depiction of national suffering, *Troades* can be interpreted as a text that serves to foster collective unity and identity. The Trojans were, after all, the ancestors of the Romans. And in this drama, these ancestors are unfailingly clever, noble, and courageous, even as they face annihilation. The Greeks are likewise useful in cultivating a sense of unity and identity, for they are rapacious, cowardly, deceitful, and brutal. In the *agon* between the conquered Andromache and the victorious Ulysses, two nations are constructed. Ulysses represents the Greeks, relying as he does upon flattery, deceit, and threats. Andromache, unfailingly loyal, smart, and brave, represents the Trojans as well as the Romans.

In this paper, I will largely focus on the *agon* between Ulysses and Andromache. I will argue that *Troades,* as war narrative focused on the divide between victor and victim, invites Romans to identify with the Trojans. In looking at the play's depiction of Polyxena's death, I will also suggest that *Troades* elides the easy division between Greeks and Romans/Trojans.

Session 8c

Comparative Approaches / Approches comparatives

chair / présidente: Michele George

Ben Akrigg, University of Toronto

Proxies, Comparisons and the Wealth of Hellas

In recent years an optimistic narrative has been developed about the economies of the *polis* culture of archaic and classical Greece. In explicit contrast to earlier accounts of immobility and stagnation, emphasis is laid on the ability of these economies to generate and sustain significant growth. Prominent, eloquent and influential proponents of this narrative, which is starting to attain the status of orthodoxy, have included Josiah Ober, Ian Morris and Alain Bresson.

In the absence of economic statistics from antiquity claims about growth have to be developed from proxy data. The use of comparative material from other periods and places is also important; a striking feature of this narrative is the suggestion that the *polis* culture performed as well as or better than any others before the modern period.

In this paper I do not deny that there was population increase in the archaic and classical Greek world, or that there was aggregate economic growth and technical innovation. However, I do argue that the optimistic account of 'Wealthy Hellas' (to adopt Ober's term) requires, if not correction, at least refinement in the use of both proxy data and historical comparison. I argue that the proxies which have been used for economic growth in ancient Greece (including house sizes and coin hoards) provide a less straightforward and compelling picture than has been claimed, and that the patterns they reveal are susceptible to alternative interpretations. I also argue that more detailed analysis of two of the sources for comparison with Greece that have been deployed to further this narrative (15th-century Florence and 17th-century Holland) should perhaps urge historians to display more caution and less optimism in our assessments of economic performance in the *poleis*.

Simeon Ehrlich, Stanford University

The Classical Grid Plan in its Global Context

This paper is founded on three premises: (1) that not all grid plans are equal; (2) that those of classical antiquity are distinctive compared with those of found in other societies in antiquity; (3) that there are substantive differences in the organization of Greek grids as compared with Roman grids. This paper maintains further that commonly studied quantifiable aspects of grid plans – block dimensions, block ratios, street widths, site dimensions, etc. – are not significant indicators of the organization of a grid.

I identify four categories of grid plans: closed, open, constrained, and unconstrained grids. Closed grids feature impediments to motion through the city, such as gated streets, precinct walls, or frequent dead-ends; open grids allow freer motion through the urban space. Constrained grids are found where circuit walls or topographical features have delimited the extent of the grid at the time of its planning; unconstrained grids feature no such limits and may expand over time.

Using a variety of classical and non-classical site plans as illustration, I demonstrate that grid plans in specific cultures tend to share certain organizational features. I posit that those of the Greeks (and their neighbors) are open and unconstrained, those of the Romans are open and constrained, and those of other urban traditions are closed and constrained. Despite formal similarities, the grids of the Greeks and the Romans are organized differently from those found among other ancient cultures and differently from each other.

Ryan Wei, York University

Popular Religion and a Comparative Approach to the Roman Imperial Cult

One aspect of the popular religion model, drawn from a sociological and anthropological study of the Chinese religious system, maintains that to separate the religious experience of historic and modern China into the public/elite and the private/common is unhelpful. Although there is acknowledgement

that Chinese society itself did experience such divisions, the religious system was much more nuanced, a feature that helped to serve as a unifying bond between different tiers of society. Thus, instead of separating religion into dichotomous spheres of existence, the popular religion model argues for the interconnectivity between the two, that the two mutually informed and interacted to derive legitimacy and to provide religious meaning to both the individual and the community as a whole.
In many ways, our discussion of the Roman religious experience suffers from a similarly dichotomous attitude. All too often do we find analyses of Roman religion that rests on the presumption of separation between the public and the private, with little consideration of the many interesting features that happened in between. My paper then seeks to apply the findings offered by the popular religion model to the Roman context, and to make a specific, perhaps extreme, case study to see whether this approach can help us further our own understanding of Roman religion: the case of the Imperial Cult. For it is within the overall phenomenon of the Imperial Cult that we find instances of overtly public and officially sanctioned practices of emperor worship, alongside more private and personal manifestations. There has been little in the scholarship to account for this, besides stressing the wide range of experiences available within the cult. Informed by the popular religion model, I intend to highlight instead the connections between these layers, and to provide a different way of interpreting the Imperial Cult, one that argues for the religious significance of this pervasive practice.

Session 8d

Discourses of the Self I: literature, rhetoric, and mysticism from the 1st c. AD to the Renaissance
Discours de soi I: littérature, rhétorique et mysticisme du Ier siècle à la Renaissance

panel organizers: Anne-France Morand and Luke Roman

Self-representation and concepts of self in the classical period have received a lot of scholarly study, but the majority of attention has been focused on certain core periods and on genres viewed as predominantly self-representational such as Greek and Latin lyric, Latin love elegy, or epistolary works such as Pliny's *Letters*. The aim of the panel is to expand the areas of investigation both in terms of time frame and literary genre. The inclusion of texts with goals very different from speaking about oneself, such as medical or rhetorical texts, as well as works from a broader range of periods and cultural milieux such as the Second Sophistic and Renaissance Italian humanism, will open up new perspectives.
This panel is comprised of two sessions, one focused on self-representation in religious texts and contexts, and the other focused on self-representation in literary works ranging from Greek novels to humanist Latin poetry. While this organization provides a convenient heuristic division, one of the aims of the panel is to explore how self-representational discourses cut across the boundaries between different arenas of cultural activity.
Common questions addressed by both sessions include:

- How and to what extent does the concept of the "individual" emerge in literary and religious contexts?
- How do concepts of self in Christian texts evolve in relation to changing ideas of the individual's relation to god?
- What is the significance of the use of the first person, whether in epigraphical, poetic, rhetorical, or medical works?
- What role do autobiographical narratives have in creating a sense of authenticity and establishing the author's calling and expertise?

Kale Coghlan, Université Laval

Speaking Stones: the "I" of the deceased

This paper seeks to examine how the rise in popularity of speaking epitaphs – epitaphs directly addressing the reader – can inform us about the link between individual identity and of the movement known as the "Epigraphic habit in the Roman Empire". Speaking epitaphs cause a certain semantic confusion for the reader. The consciousness of the deceased appears to be confused with the physical object upon which the epitaph is inscribed. The voice of the deceased and by implication the identity of the individual appears to survive through this literary technique. The widespread use of this style of commemoration points, as does the Epigraphic habit in general, toward changes taking place in the concept of identity around the Mediterranean and beyond in the first centuries of the Roman Empire.

Maryse Robert, Université Laval

Une reconquête culturelle: auto-représentation de Julien à travers la religion et la littérature

Les allégeances religieuses et les objectifs de l'empereur Julien ont modifié l'attitude de ceux qui écrivirent à son sujet alors qu'il était empereur et peu de temps après sa mort. Sa volonté de restaurer le culte traditionnel et sa mort énigmatique ont fait de l'homme d'État un personnage légendaire qui évolua à travers un grand nombre de récits, partant d'un poète syriaque du IVe siècle, Éphrem le Syrien, jusqu'au *Dictionnaire philosophique* de Voltaire. Il fut l'un des principaux auteurs du IVe siècle et il est considéré comme l'empereur ayant le plus légué d'écrits à la postérité. Il a ainsi offert aux historiens antiques une chance d'étudier et de rendre compte du milieu dans lequel il vivait – son attitude, ses intérêts, ses contacts – et de l'impact de ses décisions et actions. Son action la plus connue est sans conteste la restauration du culte traditionnel et l'échec qui en ressortit. La christianisation de l'Empire a grandement intéressé et
inspiré les historiens, anciens et modernes, et a contribué à alimenter les discussions au sujet de Julien, dont la popularité n'a cessé de croître.
Cette étude propose donc d'analyser l'identité culturelle de l'empereur en tant qu'individu, plutôt que la polémique à propos des religions, et son impact sur le projet de restauration du paganisme. Nous présenterons, dans un premier temps, les allégeances religieuses et intellectuelles de Julien à partir des discours *Sur la Mère des dieux* et *Sur Hélios-Roi*. Ensuite, une analyse de son auto-représentation avec des extraits tirés, entre autres, de ces deux discours, permettra d'aborder la mise en scène de soi chez cet empereur qui se présenta à la fois comme chrétien au début de sa vie, et comme païen ensuite. Une discussion sur la part d'authenticité dans les discours de Julien permettra de conclure sur les qualités littéraires de l'auteur et sa relation aux dieux.

Session 9a

Women's Network Panel / Session du Réseau des femmes
Women and Work / Les femmes et le travial

chair / présidente: Kathryn Simonsen

Vichi Ciocani, Babeș-Bolyai University

Corrupted Textiles: *Iliad* 6.286-311

Greek myth offers plenty of examples of corrupted gift giving and in particular corrupted textiles – let us just name Nessus' gift to Deianeira or Medea's golden robes given to Glauce. The malicious intent hidden within each gift contrasts with their apparent splendidness. This paper will consider in which way this type of corruption (the malicious intent materialized in a concrete object) also applies to a different context, that of Ancient Greek ritual offerings. I will discuss a single passage (*Iliad* 6.286-311), that is Hecuba's offering to Athena of a resplendent robe and her failure to convince the goddess to protect Hector and remove Diomedes from the battlefield. This passage is foreshadowed by Diomedes' and

Glaucus' unequal exchange of arms and embedded in the narrative of Hector's brief return to and reunion with Andromache. I will argue that Hecuba's offering is actually an offense brought to Athena, the creator of clothes (named as such moments before, *Il.* 5.730 ff.) , since the robes have been taken away, most likely stolen (as indicated by the *Cypria* summary, Chrest. 80), by Paris from Sidonian women, in an analogous crime with Helen's abduction itself. From this transgression against marriage, I will look at the more general implications (in Ancient Greek myth and ritual) of women making their own clothes and wearing them at and after the wedding, as well as the tragic consequences of not following this path.

Kelly Olson, University of Western Ontario

Noblewomen and Leisure in Roman Antiquity

This paper looks at the evidence for upper-class women's leisure activities in Roman antiquity, and tries to answer the following question: were certain leisure activities more appropriate for women than for men? Pliny the Younger's Ummidia Quadrillata states of her own leisure activities *ut feminam in illo otio sexus* (that the activities she chose to pursue in her free time were suitable for women; *Epp*. 7.4). Not covered in this talk due to time constraints are education, religion, adultery, weaving, or adornment, some of which were considered quintessentially feminine activities, and which have been the subject of much scholarly writing (e.g., Richlin 2014, 36-61, 197-240; Hemelrijk 1999; Dixon 2004; Olson 2008). Instead, this paper will pull together evidence for lesser-known female leisure activities, and try to decide whether such information, gathered mainly from male-authored sources, accurately reflects women's lived reality.

In the sources, women engage in a variety of activities in their leisure time: music (Pliny *Epp*. 4.19; Juv. 6.379; Sall. *Cat*. 25; Ov. *Ars* 3.315), gossiping (Juv. 6.402), gum-chewing (Pliny *Nat*. 22.45), drinking sweet drinks (Varro in Non 551M), visiting sick friends (Ov. *Ars* 3.641), reciting poetry (Ov. *Ars* 3.329), consulting astrologers (Juv. 6.519-53), and playing board games (Ovid says that dice and counters "are the games that indolent nature has given to girls," *Ars* 3.381; and see Pliny *Epp*. 7.4). Women also collected jewelry (*Dig*. 34.2.40.2), and planned parties (Tab. Vind. Online, no. 291).

Consumerism does not seem to have been as associated with women as it was in later Western culture, but women did purchase items at auction (Pliny *Nat*. 34.11), and at least in Plautus' time tradesmen in luxury items, clothing, and shoes would show up at a wife's house so her husband could settle her bill for finery (*Aul.* 505ff), or to show wares. If Juvenal can be trusted, some women felt that they had to 'keep up' with their neighbor in the purchase of luxury items (6.152).

Because women were thought to be more timid, lazy, and self-indulgent than men, they were aligned with leisure rather than with public life/business (Edwards 1993, 79). Carlon (2009, 208) believes women's leisure activities were not as open to criticism because females were not supposed to make productive use of their leisure time as males were. I will address these and other scholarly opinions on the topic in the paper.

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Jonathan Scott Perry, University of South Florida-Sarasota-Manatee

Female and Male Leadership in the Economy of Roman Pompeii

Many ancient sources address the leadership qualities that could be found among elite individuals, most of them males, within a given society. This paper will test whether the same leadership traits could be found among two specific groups in Roman Pompeii before the eruption of Vesuvius. A recent study of the '*fullones*' ('fullers' who operated laundry facilities and are attested in a variety of archaeological and epigraphic records from Pompeii) by Miko Flohr (OUP, 2013) will be used to assess the business practices, political maneuverings, and, to the extent these can be determined, social aspirations of these business leaders. Comparisons will then be made to Eumachia, a prominent local woman whose patronage of the fullers was acknowledged in a famous statue with an inscription. Were there uniquely 'masculine' and 'feminine' styles of leadership on the local level, and did these mirror the leadership traits of more highly-placed members of Roman society?

The paper will then broaden the discussion to the roles of textile workers, both male and female, who are attested, primarily in inscriptional evidence, throughout Roman Italy, and particular emphasis will be placed (drawing on Royden 1988 et al.) on the roles of magistrates and other male and female officials of associations or '*collegia*'. Special attention will be drawn to the communication strategies of elites, as evinced by the records of professional associations, and the interactions between patron(esse)s and *collegia* will be assessed for their effectiveness. The striving for social mobility by collegial magistrates might have been accompanied by a downward pressure coming from elites, as both groups attempted to secure legitimacy in a struggle with adjoining classes.

Barbara Scarfo, McMaster University

Unmasking the *Obstetrix*: a study of the Roman midwife's multifaceted identity

In this paper I explore the Roman midwife (*obstetrix*), who was an important working woman and whose social identity has been insufficiently studied. The *obstetrix* was criticized by physicians for her superstitious practices and feared by the freeborn population because of her supposed tendency to abuse her authority during a woman's confinement. As well, the majority of *obstetrices* had to endure social disgrace and other prejudices associated with servile status. Despite these negative elements of her reputation, the *obstetrix* was nevertheless a highly valued figure who played a crucial role in the life of the mother and baby. The most well-known source to paint the *obstetrix* in a positive light is Soranus' *Gynaikeia*, primarily the sections in which the physician discusses what type of women make the best midwives (*Gyn.* 1. 3-4): the midwife is described as an educated and respectable woman, who is discreet, disciplined, and always sober.

At first glance, it appears that Soranus attempts to mask the low social status of midwives and place them on a more esteemed level in order to allay the anxiety of elite Romans who entrusted the welfare of their children to 'social outsiders'. It is, however, difficult to conclude that Soranus is 'masking' their status completely and there are other aspects that must be considered. I shall explore the midwife's multifaceted identity by first presenting the literary and legal evidence which outlines the positive and negative attitudes towards the *obstetrix*. I then analyze her depiction in the *Gynaikeia* together with the portrayal of the *vilicus*, another lowstatus, but authoritative, figure, who appears in the agricultural treatises of Varro and Columella. I will also examine the epitaphs that commemorate midwives and that give their occupation a prominent position, revealing both how these women viewed themselves as well as their attitudes towards their work.

Session 9b

Philosophy II / Philosophie II

chair / président: Seamus O'Neill

John Harris, University of Alberta

"More Sinn'd Against Than Sinning:" Socrates as Thersites in Plato's *Apology*

Thersites is described in Book 2 of the *Iliad* as "ugly beyond all men who came to Ilios;" a man "of measureless speech;" a man who would say, "whatever he thought would raise a laugh among the Argives;" a man "hateful … to Achilles above all, and to Odysseus, for those two he was in the habit of reviling." After this introduction, Homer has Thersites chastise Agamemnon, for which abuse Odysseus then upbraids and pummels him. Wounded and humiliated, Thersites takes his seat while the assembled Achaeans applaud Odysseus for having made "this scurrilous babbler cease from his harangues." Why is it that Thersites suffers such humiliation for saying to Agamemnon virtually what Achilles himself said to Agamemnon in Book 1? What is it about Thersites that makes him so hated by Odysseus, Achilles, and the rest of the Achaeans? They despise him because he is ugly and because he transgresses social conventions. Sound familiar?

I will argue in the course of this talk that Plato's Socrates as portrayed in the *Apology* (and other dialogues) to a great extent echoes Homer's Thersites. In addition to their both being ugly and their both transgressing social norms, I will also suggest that both transgress generic boundaries by introducing inappropriately comic elements into their respective genres, epic and forensic oratory. Such failure to observe generic proprieties, I suggest, is itself a form of social gaucherie, one that marginalizes the person committing it, and so makes him liable to suffer whatever consequences his peers deem appropriate.

Elsa Bouchard, Université de Montréal

Aristotle on Agamemnon and Laconian monarchy

This paper focuses on a passage from Aristotle's *Politics* (1285a3-14) that purportedly provides an account of Laconian kingship and adduces the example of Homer's Agamemnon to illustrate some of its features. After a brief discussion of textual issues, I address two problems inherent in this passage: 1) Homer's Agamemnon is supposed to illustrate both the usual limitations of Laconian kingship and the exceptional conditions in which a Laconian king would possess the right of life and death over his subjects. According to Aristotle, Agamemnon 'endured being reviled in the assemblies', but was ruthless to his men during military expeditions. However, the Homeric representation of Agamemnon actually fails to provide a basis for distinguishing between assemblies and campaigns, since the assemblies in the *Iliad* are all part of a military
operation on foreign land. 2) Despite Agamemnon's obvious belonging to the 'heroic' world, the philosopher does not even mention him in his later discussion of another type of monarchy, that of 'heroic times', which he describes as a much more extensive form of power (1285b3-19). Agamemnon is thereby associated with the moderate Laconian monarchy, a well-documented form of government firmly ingrained in history, and not with the majestic, but shadowy, kings of heroic times. I argue that Aristotle's interpretation of Homer's Agamemnon, which appears somewhat tendentious, betrays the ideological importance of this figure in Greek political thinking, as does, by way of comparison, the strange 'Agamemnon digression' in Isocrates' *Panathenaicus* (74-90).

Adam Woodcox, University of Western Ontario

Reason and Perception in Aristotle's Science

Throughout his scientific works, Aristotle regularly employs a distinction between two kinds of proof, showing that what is clear 'according to reason' (*kata ton logon*) is also clear 'through perception' (*kata tên aisthêsin*). Proof 'according to reason' establishes a conclusion discursively by showing that it follows necessarily from certain universal principles. Proof 'through perception', on the other hand, establishes a conclusion inductively by appealing to what is observable. This distinction is a *prima facie* cause of

tension between Aristotle's use of rational and empirical methods in his scientific works. A common response to this tension is to identify the principles used in proofs 'according to reason' as themselves empirical generalizations based on observation, thus downplaying any rationalist elements in Aristotle's method. I resist this response and argue that Aristotle often relies upon certain *a priori* assumptions (about direction, sex, agency, etc.) held in light of contrary empirical evidence. Accordingly, he makes use of reasoning that is, in some sense, independent of experience, allowing room for more rationalistic features in science. I support this thesis by examining three biological instances of proof 'kata ton logon' that concern (i) animal locomotion, (ii) the source of the nutritive soul, and (iii) the contribution of semen in reproduction. In each case, I argue, the proof 'kata ton logon' utilizes principles that are not empirical, but are rather grounded in assumptions about direction (the superiority of motion upward and forward), sex (the superiority of the male to the female), and agency (the superiority of the agent to the patient).

John Thorp, University of Western Ontario

Aristotle's Definition of Time: a modest proposal

Aristotle defines time as 'number of motion with respect to before and after': ἀριθμὸς κινήσεως κατὰ τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον (*Physics* 219b1). This definition has been the source of much puzzlement and hand-wringing among commentators for nearly two millennia. For one thing, it is a sentence from which it seems very hard to extract ready meaning. For another, when you try to make sense of it, you inevitably drift towards a serious danger zone: time is a continuum but the word 'number' seems to be bound up with counting, with plurality. And while lesser spirits might think that you measure time by counting the instants of which it is made up, Aristotle is very clued-in about continua, and clear that they are not pluralities. Continuous quantities are not *composed of* dimensionless points, whether of space or of time. So that wrong idea cannot be what Aristotle has in mind.

Commentators have taken one of two routes here. Some, the earlier ones, have struggled to find something in the Aristotelian treatment of abstract number, that would allow us to make sense of this definition. While these proposals have sometimes been ingenious, they have also been far-fetched – some might even be called acrobatic. More recent commentators have taken the view that Aristotle can't mean 'number' seriously in this definition: he is rather indulging in a *metaphorical* use of that term.

This paper proposes a rather traditional philological solution to the problem. It explores the use of ἀριθμός in some other 4th-century authors (Aeschines, Xenophon), and demonstrates that the word can, surprisingly, just straightforwardly mean 'quantity', without any implication of countable plurality. To put the point somewhat dramatically, 'number' is not a good translation of ἀριθμός. And for that simple reason, the whole problem disappears.

Session 9c

Riddling Roman Ruins / Énigmatiques ruines romaines

chair / président: Patrick Baker

Andreas Bendlin, University of Toronto

***C·C·C*: Augustus's *auctoritas*, an association of musicians, and an epigraphic riddle**

In 1847 a late-Augustan plaque (*CIL* VI 2193) concerning an association of musicians (*symphoniaci*) was found in a columbarium which accommodated the ashes of the association's diseased members (Manacorda 1999). The plaque's inscription holds interest for several reasons: it cites a Lex Julia as the statutory foundation for the musicians' constitution as *collegium*; it mentions the "*auctoritas*" of Augustus; and it relates that a decree of the Senate permitted the musicians to "*C.C.C.*"

Much energy has been expended on clarifying whether this Lex is of Caesarian or Augustan date and what the statute's nature was. No immediate parallel exists for the abbreviation *C.C.C*, but several resolutions have been proffered in order to elucidate what exactly the association was permitted to do. Mommsen's "***c**oire **c**onvocari **c**ogi*" ("to gather, be called together, and be assembled") was the earliest (1850) and

Groten's "***c**oire, **c**onvenire, **c**onferre*" ("to gather, convene, and contribute [sc. to a common fund]") is the most recent proposal (2015). None fully convinces. The *symphoniaci*'s socio-cultural status has received comparatively little attention (Linderski 2007, 544–552; Vincent 2008). Their emphasizing of Augustus's *auctoritas*, a term central to modern discussions of the Augustan principate (Rowe 2013), has largely gone uncommented upon.

I begin my presentation with a summary of the *columbarium*'s archaeological context and epigraphic remains in order to pinpoint the *symphoniaci*'s social identity, a group of servile origin with links to the leading families of Augustan Rome. I also ask what these musicians— who, like most inhabitants of Rome, rarely "speak" to us—imagined Augustus's "*auctoritas*" to consist in. I then segue to the Lex Julia and, drawing on legal evidence, propose a new resolution of the epigraphic riddle of *C.C.C*. I conclude by outlining how Augustus effected control over the city's associations.

Leanne Bablitz, University of British Columbia

Tribunals at Ostia

Within Roman art we find a small number of scenes that depict inhabitants of the Roman empire engaging in legal activities. Two such scenes are found in Ostia, Rome's port city – Ost. Inv. No. 10098 and 10099 – Within this small corpus, these two wallpaintings are of particular interest because they are the only scenes that can be placed within their original context.

This presentation consists of three parts. First, I identify the various participants found within the scenes. Since both scenes are fragmentary this process is not without its challenges. Next, I discuss the type of hearing depicted. Finally, I consider the space that these scenes originally decorated – a small room within the *Caseggiato dell'ercole*. In 2011, Dr. Hanna Stöger (Leiden) completed an exhaustive study of this structure and its environs. Utilizing her findings regarding the construction of this building and its various subsequent renovations, I will present my views on this room's function.

The rare opportunity that presents itself here, namely that these two scenes can be considered in their original position, urges us to squeeze as much information as we can from both these paintings and the room in which they were found. It is only through such contextualization that we can hope to gain some understanding of the intended purpose such scenes were meant to serve.

Christer Bruun, University of Toronto

Firewood for Rome from Ocriculum (Otricoli)

In 1994 the scholarly world became aware of a heavy Roman marble weight of an unusual kind from Otricoli, ancient Ocriculum in Central Italy (Caldelli 1994). The weight carried an interesting although somewhat enigmatic inscription, the reinterpretation of which is the purpose here. Since its discovery, the weight has received further attention primarily in a contribution on the role of Ocriculum in the Tiber Valley economy and the provisioning of Rome (Cenciaioli 2008). The inscription reads (*AE* 1994, 577):

OCRIC P^{O} LIGN HAB AVR VRB P^{O} CL

Ocric(uli) po(ndus) lign(arium) hab(et) Aur(elius) Urb(---) po(ndo) ((centum et quinquaginta))

The inscription is dated to the late fourth century. Not least the abbreviation, or perhaps contraction, used for *po(ndus/o)*, a normal P and a superscript smaller O, which finds a perfect analogy in Diocletian's Maximum Prices Edict, points to a late date. Previous scholars have convincingly connected the weight to the commerce in firewood. An inscription from Rome names a *pensor lignarius* (*AE* 1994, 298) and demonstrates that weight was a criterion when wood was sold.

Certain features of the inscription deserve closer scrutiny, which will reveal further aspects of the wood and lumber trade between the Appennine forests and Rome. The most important point to make concerns the weight of the stone. The nominal weight, 150 *librae*, is equal to 49.1 kg, while the stone weighs 56.6 kg. There is a considerable discrepancy, which previous scholars consider an example of willful deceit by the authorities: in order to balance the scales, the wood cutter needs to bring not 49 but 56 kg of firewood. But dishonest behaviour does not have to be the answer. In order to weigh 50 kg of firewood in one go, a special contraption is needed on which to pile up the wood. Conceivably, that contraption weighed c. 7

kg. For balancing purposes, the stone weighing down the other arm of the scales needed to be that much heavier. The case for late-antique corruption disappears.
The second point concerns the word HAB. It is practically unique to find a verb in the kind of technical inscription we are facing. This paper investigates the possibility that *hab.* has a different meaning and refers to *abies*, "fir", with a superfluous aspiration added at the beginning of the word.

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Tommaso Leoni, York University

Remarks on the Arch of Stertinius *in maximo circo*

According to Livy, in 196 BCE the proconsul Lucius Stertinius set up three manubial *fornices* upon his return from Spain: two were built in the Forum Boarium in front of the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, while the third one was erected in the Circus Maximus (33.27.3-5: *L. Stertinius ex ulteriore Hispania, ne temptata quidem triumphi spe, quinquaginta milia pondo argenti in aerarium intulit, et de manubiis duos fornices in foro bovario ante Fortunae aedem et matris Matutae, unum in maximo circo fecit et his fornicibus signa aurata imposuit. Haec per hiemem ferme acta*). Stertinius's arches are the earliest recorded examples of a monumental type destined to gain enormous success in the decades to come, especially from the Augustan age onwards. Yet unlike the *duos fornices in foro bovario*, the *fornix* of Stertinius *in maximo circo* has usually been treated by scholars in a most cursory fashion. The purpose of this paper is to re-examine Livy's laconic passage – which, given the absolute dearth and the grave uncertainty surrounding any archaeological data, remains our only unequivocal source on the Fornix Stertinii in the Vallis Murcia. Especially interesting is the issue of the precise position of Stertinius's arch within the Circus Maximus. By a process of elimination, it will be concluded that this honorary structure was most likely located at the south-east curved end of Rome's most famous arena for chariot racing. Thus it is conceivable that the Fornix Stertinii may have been a precursor of the triumphal arch dedicated by Titus in 81 CE to celebrate the Flavian victory over the Judaeans and the conquest of Jerusalem.

Session 9d

Discourses of the Self II: literature, rhetoric, and mysticism from the 1st c. AD to the Renaissance / Discours de soi II: littérature, rhétorique et mysticisme du Ier siècle à la Renaissance

panel organizers: Anne-France Morand and Luke Roman

[panel continued from Session 8d]

Gillian Glass, Université Laval

'All Shook Up': erotic emotion and epiphanic elation in *Joseph and Asenath*

The study of *Joseph and Aseneth*, an apocryphal romance, has surged in the past few decades. *Joseph and Aseneth* is a unique example of Jewish, Christian, and Hellenic intertextual references. Study of these different literary and religious sources has thus flourished, and contributes to our understanding of how religious experience was perceived and described in Late Antiquity. Most interesting is the use to which emotion is put within this narrative. Indeed, it is because of the pivotal role of sentiment that this text has been deemed a romance. My paper furthers research of novels and emotions in Antiquity by looking at the use of romantic tropes in this narrative and how they are related to both other romance literature, as well as descriptions of epiphany. Three scenes in *Joseph and Aseneth* describe either falling in love,

epiphany or both: when Aseneth first sees Joseph, when Aseneth sees the *Anthropos*, a heavenly visitor, and when Aseneth's step-father sees her post-transformation beauty. The analyse of these scenes shows how the embodiment of emotion shifts as it becomes more apparent that these are moments of epiphany, and not merely erotic encounters. Moreover, because of the highly novelistic style and Greek origins of the text, comparison with other moments of romance or epiphany from Hellenic, Jewish, and Christian literature further support the idea that emotion is a fundamental narrative device in *Joseph and Aseneth*. The purpose of this tale is theological, yet the means through which this end is achieved are sentimental. I find that this story displays one of the uses to which narrative could be put: a function of fiction is to be a vehicle for spiritual elevation.

Anne-France Morand, Université Laval

Récits de soi et mise en contexte des écrits chez Galien

Galien, le médecin qui serait né en 129 et mort en 216, selon les dates le plus communément retenues, est un auteur particulièrement prolixe et fort loquace sur luimême : récits sur son enfance, sa formation ou encore ses diagnostics époustouflants rendent cette oeuvre très vivante. Dans cet exposé, il s'agira de dégager différents types de recours au « je », que ce soit dans le cadre d'une démonstration médicale, pour asseoir son autorité, d'un discours sur l'éthique ou encore afin de mettre de l'ordre dans ses propres livres. Comme le relève Philip Van der Eijk au sujet du recours à la première personne du singulier et de certains procédés rhétoriques, « The works of Galen present a particularly promising area of study, for one can hardly imagine a more self-conscious, rhetorical, argumentative, polemicising and manipulating scientific writer than the doctor from Pergamun ».

L'investigation sur le médecin pergaménien est au coeur des questions la mise en scène de soi pour la défense de la place de la médecine, de l'effet d'authenticité et de la place de l'individu. Elle s'inscrira donc parfaitement dans le cadre de la session "Discourses of the self". Par rapport aux recherches qui ont été effectuées sur la représentation de soi à l'époque classique, et souvent dans le cadre de la poésie, l'analyse d'un prosateur d'époque romaine ouvre en effet de nouvelles perspectives.

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Luke Roman, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Poliziano's *Silvae*: a philologist's self-portrait

The Florentine humanist Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494) was the leading scholar of classical literature in fifteenth-century Italy as well as the author of original works of poetry in Greek, Latin, and the vernacular. These achievements were rewarded by his appointment as professor of poetry and rhetoric at the Studio Fiorentino at the instigation of Lorenzo de Medici. In his famous letter to Paolo Cortesi (*Epistles* 8.16), Poliziano promotes a self-representational mode that coheres with his wide-ranging erudition as both scholar and author. Whereas Cortesi and others recommend imitation of a single, superior model, which normally means Cicero in prose and Virgil in verse, Poliziano argues for the merits of multiple-source imitation. Responding in the same letter to a rhetorical adversary who accuses him of not adequately representing Cicero, he writes: "What of it? I am not Cicero. Yet I do represent myself, I think." Such

comments suggest that we need to supplement the image of Poliziano as the first truly "scientific" scholar of textual criticism with that of the boldly self-inventing Renaissance author, who posits his own self-portrayal as the final end of the imitative study of classical models. Poliziano's principle of multiple-source allusivity can be seen vividly at work in his *Silvae*, a collection of four Latin poems written in emulation of the classical poet Statius and framed as preliminary essays (*praefationes*) to his courses on ancient poetry. In the *Silvae*, Poliziano combines the diverse strands of his humanist activity—teaching, scholarly exegesis, and composition of original poetry—to shape an intricately layered self-portrait that is in dialogue with a range of self-representational intertexts drawn from classical poets such as Ovid, Virgil, and Statius.

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Session 10a

Reception II / Réception II

chair / président: George Kovacs

Lynn Kozak, McGill University

NBC's *Hannibal* and Homeric Intimacy

Bryan Fuller's television adaptation of material from Thomas Harris's novels, *Hannibal* (NBC 2013-5), focuses on the relationship between the titular serial killer-psychologist Hannibal Lecter (Mads Mikkelsen) and Will Graham (Hugh Dancy), an FBI profiler with an empathy disorder. The show strengthens these men's weaker relationship from Harris's novels, pushing it to the edge of homoeroticism but stopping short of full-out 'slash', fan-fiction that often imagines straight characters in homosexual relationships. Fuller, who is openly gay, insists that Will Graham is 'very definitely heterosexual', while Hannibal is 'a very broadly-spectrumed human being/fallen angel', with their relationship as 'beyond sexual': 'we really want to explore the intimacy of these two men in an unexpected way without sexualizing them'.1 Still, the relationship holds an erotic tension throughout that suggests the closeness of these men surpasses social
expectations, and so, regardless of sexuality, is 'queer'. While the show's other characters use several *schema* ('friends', '*nakama*', 'family', 'murder husbands') to try to define their relationship throughout the series, perhaps the most effective is Will and Hannibal's own model, as they compare themselves extensively to Patroklos and Achilles in the episode 'Tome-Wan' (S2E12). Achilles and Patroklos too, define themselves in terms of special friendship (Achilles' unique formula for Patroklos, τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ, at 11.608), family (16.7-11, 23.222f.), and deep intimacy (Patroklos's request that their bones be 'enfolded together' in the same urn, 23.91f.), and they, too, are read as transgressing social norms (Apollo at
24.44-9). This paper explores how *Hannibal*'s construction of intimacy between these two men mirrors the *Iliad*'s own for Achilles and Patroklos, bridging two culturally disparate, but essentially similar, bonds.

Rebecca Wilson, Acadia University

Dystopian Mythology: classical reception in George Miller's *Mad Max* franchise

This paper discusses the use of mythology and classical culture in George Miller's *Mad Max* franchise (1979-2015), and the most recent film, *Mad Max: Fury Road* (2015), in particular. These films provide ample opportunities to explore the way that Greek and Roman cultures are both interpreted and presented in modern dystopian narratives. Examples considered in this paper include: reading the titular character Max Rockatansky as a failed Odysseus, doomed to wander endlessly after his wife and child are killed in the first film (*Mad Max,* 1979); the depiction of the tyrant Immortan Joe as part of a triumvirate in *Mad Max: Fury Road*; and reading the abducted Wives' attempt to return to the "Green Place" as a Persephone narrative in *Mad Max: Fury Road.* In dystopian narratives, Greek associations are typically cast in a positive light while Roman associations are shown negatively. Heroic figures are incorporated into storylines from Greek mythology while villains exist in thinly veiled (if veiled at all) mimicries of the Roman empire. Comparisons to *Mad Max*'s treatment of these associations are made with other modern dystopian narratives, including *The Hunger Games* series by Suzanne Collins and the video game *Fallout: New Vegas* by Bethesda Softworks and Obsidian Entertainment. In discussing the implications of this form of reception in dystopian narratives, this paper will consider whether the prevalence of these classical tropes in non-classically-themed media will create or perpetuate stereotypes about the Classics among non-academic consumers.

Session 10b

Hellenistic Literature / Littérature hellénistique

chair / président: Gaétan Thériault

Peter Bing, University of Toronto

Hesiod's Double Burial in Epigram and Narrative

Scholars have long traced the path of ancient epigram between different media, from its inscription on monuments to its inclusion in single-authored poetry books or anthologies. They have paid less attention to poems appearing both in epigram anthologies and in prose narratives. This paper looks at epigrams in both these contexts, specifically examining two that deal with the tomb of the epic poet Hesiod. The two epigrams in question are by the poets Mnasalkes (*AP* 7.54 = 18 GP) and Alkaios of Messene (*AP* 7.55 = 12 GP), mid-3rd and late 3rd/early 2nd cent. B.C. respectively. Though appearing in Cephalas' sequence of poets' epitaphs at the start of *AP* 7, these poems were, I believe, already linked by Meleager as a meaningful pair in his *Garland*, since they reflect competing traditions about the whereabouts of Hesiod's tomb: Orchomenos vs. Ozolian Lokris. Indeed, though neither author mentions the alternative burial place, Alkaios seems deliberately to have keyed his poem to that by Mnasalkes inasmuch as he supplements the earlier poem by situating it within the tradition that Hesiod was buried twice. The poem by Mnasalkes was also included in prose narratives concerning the death of Hesiod such as the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* (l.248 Allen) and Pausanias (9.38.4). Here too, although the epigram itself says nothing of the poet's two different tombs, it is incorporated into an account of his double burial. I will examine the different means by which these poems evoke the story of Hesiod's double burial in the setting of an epigram anthology (Meleager's *Garland*) and as part of a prose narration.

Kale Coghlan, Université Laval

Les scènes d'horreurs de *Sur la mer Rouge, livre 5* d'Agatharchide de Cnide et la puissance lagide

En tête de son résumé consacré à Agatharchide, Photios rapporte qu'il a lu deux livres, le premier et le cinquième de *Sur la mer Rouge,* qui traitent en somme de phénomènes étonnants. Écrit à l'époque du retour de Ptolémée VIII *Physcon* à Alexandrie et du bannissement des intellectuels en 145 a.C., le récit géographique de *Sur la mer Rouge* se situe dans l'espace historique du royaume lagide alors que celui-ci

est au sommet de sa puissance outre-mer, durant les règnes de Ptolémée II et III. Les faits étonnants racontés par Agatharchide se déroulent à la frange sud du royaume. Par la suite, entre Ptolémée III et Ptolémée VIII, l'administration lagide a perdu toute influence dans ces régions, ce qui permet à l'auteur d'utiliser la géographie de la mer Rouge comme espace littéraire pour représenter des scènes d'horreurs qui reflètent la puissance du royaume lagide.

Cette communication vise à examiner comment les descriptions de l'exploitation des mines d'or et la présentation de populations primitives – incluant la peuple le plus primitif, les Ichthyophages – du cinquième livre de *Sur la mer Rouge* se sont liées par leur critique, directe et oblique, de la tyrannie et de l'exubérance irrationnelle de la richesse lagide. Dans cette perspective, nous pourrons mieux comprendre la description des Ichthyophages, pièce centrale du cinquième livre, comme une image inversée de la royauté lagide. Agatharchide trace, en quelque sorte, l'évolution de l'humanité, en commençant avec les Ichthyophages qui ne possèdent aucune culture et en introduisant, par la suite, les populations selon la complexité croissante de leur alimentation de base. Le λόγος ethnographique des populations de la mer Rouge prend fin avec les Troglodytes, la population la plus primitive possédant une constitution. On voit ici un autre point de comparaison avec le régime lagide : le système politique des Troglodytes et celui des Lagides est le même, la tyrannie.

Ephraim Lytle, University of Toronto

Leonidas of Byzantium and 'New' Fragments of Agatharchides of Cnidus and Antigonus of Carystus

Passages from Oppian's *Halieutica* (5.425-447) and Aelian's *De natura animalium* (2.8), describe the use of boats equipped with 'fire baskets' to catch fish at night in waters off the island of Euboea. That these accounts are related is manifest and it has long been agreed that both likely relied on the work of the little known second-century AD author Leonidas of Byzantium (Wellmann 1895; Keydell 1937; Scholfield 1958: xxiii). In this paper I reexamine Leonidas' sources, arguing that in stitching together his work he seems to have searched out Hellenistic accounts not collected by the many earlier zoological compendia, which relied, especially, on Aristotle. These sources include the third-century BC peripatetic Clearchus of Soli and also, I argue, the second-century BC historian and geographer Agatharchides of Cnidus. In the same vein, I propose that the accounts of the night fishery off Euboea are ultimately owed to the third-century BC author Antigonus of Carystus, most probably his Περὶ λέξεως, a work otherwise attested in a mere two

fragments (frs. 55-56 Dorandi). The second of these fragments has been frequently emended, beginning already with Wilamowitz (1881: 174), but on grounds that are, I argue, entirely insufficient. I further suggest that much better arguments can be made for emendation in the first fragment, and that together with these arguments for and against emendation the 'new' fragment of Antigonus can perhaps shed considerable light on the nature of the otherwise enigmatic Περὶ λέξεως.

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Session 10c

Education and Science / Éducation et science

chair / présidente: Amber Porter

David Mirhady, Simon Fraser University

Theophrastus' Comprehensive Teaching on Style

When Dionysius of Halicarnassus wants a guide for rhetorical style, he looks to the philosopher Theophrastus, where he finds a threepart description of grandeur, dignity, and eminence in style, which is to be achieved through three things: choice of words, their harmony, and the figures that embrace them (D.H. Isoc. 3 = Theophrastus 691 FHS&G). Scholars have long debated the reference, including Fortenbaugh (2005), whose commentary on the Theophrastean texts is the most comprehensive to date. This paper takes as its starting point Aristotle's teaching on urbane and fashionable sayings (Rhet. 3.10-11), which are likewise achieved through three things: metaphor, antithesis, and 'bringing before the eyes'. But whereas Aristotle's treatment of urbane sayings is somewhat discrete from his teachings on style in general, what Dionysius identifies in this passage is Theophrastus' central teaching on style, not as a 'grand' style or 'mixed' style, but as a comprehensive style that includes three elements.

This account of Theophrastus' teaching will also attempt to reconcile the apparently diverse ancient reports of Theophrastus' teaching, including Cicero's reports of Theophrastus' interest in ornamentation (Or. 79) and Demetrius' reports on beautiful words, etc., (Eloc. 173-5), as well as Ammonius' brief report on speech's relation to its hearers (in Int. 4 17a1). Theophrastus' account clearly included both a positive account and a negative description of stylistic mistakes that led to frigid, vulgar, or overwrought style. Both were illustrated with examples from the Attic orators.

Gaëlle Rioual, Université Laval et l'Université de Fribourg

La culture scolaire dans les *Commentaires* de Basile le Minime (X^{e} siècle)

Basile le Minime, évêque de Césarée en Cappadoce au Xe siècle, a produit des *Commentaires* à presque tous les *Discours* de Grégoire de Nazianze, mais il l'a fait d'une manière spécifique, comme un grammairien qui enseignerait à ses élèves. Par conséquent, son oeuvre, en plus d'être un jalon important de l'histoire exégétique de Grégoire de Nazianze, est un excellent miroir de la culture scolaire de son époque, une culture qui n'a pas beaucoup évoluée depuis la fin de l'Antiquité. Cette communication se propose d'évaluer, dans les *Commentaires* de Basile le Minime, les éléments strictement pédagogiques et de les comparer à ce que nous savons par ailleurs de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité et dans l'Empire byzantin.

Clifford Cunningham, University of Southern Queensland and National Astronomical Research Institute of Thailand

Ptolemy's Star Catalogue: the meaning of dark stars

One of the greatest outstanding problems in the history of astronomy is the nature of dark stars in the star catalogue included in Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Manuscripts in Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Latin and Greek are examined to resolve conflicting statements about the star catalogue, and various scholarly claims on the role of Hipparchus in the creation of the catalogue are shown to be defective. Stars identified by Ptolemy as forming an ivy leaf, and the five dark stars associated with it, are traced over a period of three millennia from their origin in an ancient Babylonian tablet to a Byzantine manuscript. Why one of the stars in the ivy leaf is called both luminous and dark in the same source is explained, and a new insight is offered to explain the presence of dark stars.

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