SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE DES ETUDES CLASSIQUES | CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

•Winnipeg, 2025•

Annual Meeting / Congrès annuel
Winnipeg, MB

May 13-16, 2025 / 13-16 mai 2025

Abstracts / Resumes

We acknowledge that we are gathered on ancestral lands, on Treaty One Territory. These lands are the heartland of the Métis people. We acknowledge that our water is sourced from Shoal Lake 40 First Nation.

Nous reconnaissons être réunis sur le territoire ancestral visé par le traité nᵒ 1. Ce territoire est la patrie de la Nation métisse. Nous reconnaissons que notre eau provient de la Shoal Lake 40 First Nation.

Table of Contents

Fae Amiro

<u>The Wives of Claudius on Roman Provincial Coins</u>

The provincial coin portraits of Messalina and Agrippina II produced during their husband Claudius's reign provide unique insight into the functioning of the portrait dissemination system of the time. Since both women held the same position in the same administration for a similar amount of time, they provide a rare opportunity for direct comparison.

On imperially controlled issues, Agrippina appears on six types, while Messalina only appears on one from Caesarea and is notably absent from the coins of the Roman mint. Among the typical, largely independent provincial mints, Agrippina appears at more than twice as many places and on more than 50% more types than Messalina. Nearly all Messalina coins come from large mints, use high value denominations, and have high quality portraits. Agrippina's portraits are found at a wider variety of mint sizes and on a wider spread of denominations, while maintaining a high portrait quality.

The provincial Messalina coins show that presence on the central coinage was not required for portrait models to be received and reproduced by provincial mints, while her absence from smaller mints shows a major distinction from her successor. The Agrippina coins produced during Claudius's reign show a major shift in the administration's treatment of the second empress that resulted in a greater uptake of her images by provincial mints. The provincial coin portraits of both women adhere to several major trends observed in the coin portraits of later imperial women, demonstrating continuity in the system over time.

Tarryn Andrews

<u>When You See a King: The Glorification of the Imperial Cult from Hellenistic Tholoi</u>

The Mediterranean in the late 5th century BCE marked a shift away from religious democracies toward individualistic governments coinciding with the rise of the ruler cult. This paper argues that the act of constructing a circular temple to worship a deified ruler originates from Philip II and Alexander the Great, credited with popularizing the ruler cult in this period. The Philippeion in Olympia is early example of a *tholos* specifically dedicated to the ritual worship of a deified ruler, in which chryselephantine statues of Philip II and his immediate family were erected to parallel those of the gods. The Ptolemaic dynasty popularized the veneration of deified rulers in circular architecture, established by their Macedonian forefathers. This trend continued into the Roman Imperial period with numerous instances of *tholoi* dedicated to the imperial dynasty, most notably the Temple of Rome and Augustus on the Athenian Acropolis. This specific usage of the *tholos*, as an architectural typology, is emblematic of cultural borrowing and the result of globalizing processes facilitated in the Hellenistic period. This paper analyzes architectural remains, coins, and ancient literature concerning these *tholoi* to establish a comprehensive understanding of their typology. The primary evidence is supplemented with globalization and acculturation paradigms to determine patterns of cultural exchange, from Hellenistic monarchs to Roman emperors. This paper examines the relationship between the form and function of *tholoi* dedicated to deified rulers, arguing that the popularization of this Hellenistic concept influenced the use of round temples for the glorification of the imperial cult.

Rowan Ash

Murder and Spice and Everything Nice: What Little Witches are Made of

  This presentation considers how normative ritual materials work in uneasy concert with ingredients more familiar from literary witches' brews in several texts from the Greek magical papyri (PGM), and what that tension might reveal about such texts' composition and how their users understood them to work. I argue that initially surprising mixtures of material components often engage with themes expressed in the texts of PGM spells as written or spoken, indicate levels of composition over time, and sometimes suggest revisions for ease of use, not least by avoiding or disguising strata that relied on more overtly transgressive strategies.

  Taking my start from the work of Lidonnici (2001) and Ager (2022) on PGM incenses based on ordinary materials like frankincense and myrrh, I survey less common ingredients such as juniper, storax, and floral extracts (e.g., PGM IV.2441-2707, 2785-90), and how they could, at least notionally, be combined with various human and animal remains. (*Ibid.*, and cf. IV.1928-2005, I.232-347.) Comparison with the wider corpus (PGM I, III, VII, VIII) reveals echoes of necromantic language in otherwise innocuous divinations using floral ointments, while storax has sinister associations with cursing deployed to express a goddess' supreme power. (IV.2840-48) Similarly, juniper, used in slanderous rites in IV.2441-2707, elsewhere stresses the filial love of Horus and Isis (2370-2440, 3125-71), a comparandum to which I turn, in my concluding remarks, to consider how these permutations of plants, animals, and particular gods mediate these spells' explorations of the relations between their ambitious, defiant human users and the divine.

Select Bibliography

Ager, Britta K. *The Scent of Ancient Magic.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: U Mich P, 2022.
Barb, A.A. "Diva Matrix: A Faked Gnostic Intaglio in the Possession of P. P. Rubens and the Iconology of a Symbol." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16.3/4 (1953): 193-238.
Betz, Hans Dieter, ed. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*. Chicago: U Chicago P, 1992.
Brashear, W. M. "The Greek Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey." In *ANRW* II. 18.5. Wolfgang Haase and Hildegard Temporini, eds. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995. 3380-3684.
Edmonds, Radcliffe G. *Drawing Down the Moon: Magic in the Ancient Greco-Roman World.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP: 2019.
_____. "At the Seizure of the Moon: The Absence of the Moon in the Mithras Liturgy." In *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World.* Scott Noegel, Joel Walker, and Brannon Wheeler, eds. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 2003. Pp. 223–239.
Faraone, Christopher A. *The Transformation of Greek Amulets in Roman Imperial Times.* Philadelphia, PA: U Penn P, 2018.
_____. "Kronos and the Titans as Powerful Ancestors: A Case Study of the Greek Gods in Later Magical Spells." In *The Gods of Ancient Greece: Identities and Transformations*. Jan N. Bremmer and Andrew Erskine, eds. *Edinburgh Leventis Studies 5.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2010. 388-405.
_____. "Necromancy Goes Underground: The Disguise Of Skull- And Corpse-Divination In The Paris Magical Papyri (PGM IV 1928-2144)." In *Mantikê: Studies in Ancient Divination.*

Sarah Iles Johnston and Peter T. Struck, eds. *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 155*. Leiden: Brill, 2005. 255-282.

Faraone, Christopher A., and Sofía Torallas Tovar, eds. *The Greco-Egyptian Magical Formularies: Libraries, Books, and Individual Recipes.* Ann Arbor, MI: U Michigan P, 2022.

Lidonnici, Lynn R. "Single-Stemmed Wormwood, Pinecones and Myrrh: Expense and Availability of Recipe Ingredients in the Greek Magical Papyri." *Kernos* 14 (2001): 61-91.

Pachoumi, Eleni. *The Concepts of the Divine in the Greek Magical Papyri. Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 102*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.

_____. "Divine Epiphanies of Paredroi in the Greek Magical Papyri." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 51.1 (2011): 155-165.

Preisendanz, Karl, ed. and trans. *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*. Rev. ed. Munich: K. G. Saur, 2001.

te Velde, H. *Seth, God of Confusion.* Leiden: Brill, 1967.

Victoria Austen

<u>Plaster Cast 'Antiquities' and the Formation of 'Taste' at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign</u>

On New Year's Day 1875, the Fine Arts Gallery of the then-called Illinois Industrial University opened to the public for the first time. Here, visitors were greeted by a collection of 'antiquities', among which stood sixteen full-sized plaster cast replicas of some of the most famous sculptures of antiquity – several of Praxiteles' figures, the Venus de Milo, and the Laocoön group, to name a few. In a special dispatch from the event, the Chicago Tribune (Jan 2nd 1875) noted the significance of the collection assembled by Regent John Milton Gregory, "now the largest west of New York City"; while the Illini newspaper (May 1876) editorialized on the collection's contribution to a "rapidly approaching" new age in which "foreigners [would] no longer cry out against the supremely disgusting taste of Americans."
How was it, though, that such an impressive collection came to be at a newly formed Land-grant University in the Midwest? And what can the Gregory collection, specifically, tell us about the use of neoclassical reproductions as "flexible instrument[s] for the advancement of cultural, ideological, and institutional classicism" (Dyson 2010)? By charting the history of the formation of the collection, this paper will demonstrate Gregory's role as a pioneer of the movement to bring "a plaster-of-Paris antiquity" (*The Nation 3*, 1866) to the American masses; and highlight how his actions, in turn, can help us understand the role of classical sculpture as an "important symbol of aesthetic refinement" (Fahlman 1991) within the diffusion of 'Taste' in nineteenth-century Illinois.

Select Bibliography
Dyson, S. (2010), "Cast Collecting in the United States", in *Plaster Casts Making, Collecting and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present,* eds. Frederiksen and Marchand. De Gruyter.
Fahlman, B. (1991), "A Plaster of Paris Antiquity: Nineteenth-Century Cast Collections", *Southeast College Art Conference* 12.1: 1–9.
Schienman, M. (1981), *Art Collecting of the University of Illinois: A History and Catalogue.* PhD Thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign.
University of Illinois (1868–), *Annual Reports of the Board of Trustees*. University Archives.
        (1874), *Illinois Industrial University of Catalogue and Circular 1874–5.*

Leanne Bablitz

<u>Becoming Roman: Display and the law in Cisalpine Gaul</u>

In 49 BCE the province of Cisalpine Gaul was merged into Italy itself. In a region as diverse as Cisalpine Gaul, we can imagine that the opinions of the people and their communities varied widely about whether this new status created opportunities or marked the end of their independence as they were subsumed into sameness under the Roman mantle. This incorporation, which brought with it several Roman organizational changes, both political and social in nature, transformed the lives of all living in the region. Claudius, almost 100 years later, was still dealing with issues that fell through the cracks.

In this presentation, we will explore the physical evidence of Roman legal activity within one Cisalpine community, Veleia (modern Velleia Romana), which became a *municipium* at this time and prospered over the next two centuries. We will examine how both individuals and the community used legal texts, constructions, and benefactions to express their new status and relationship to Rome and its cultural practices. Within the small forum of this remote town we find a striking visual landscape – one that is brimming with physical features that are legal in nature. This concentration leads us to ask two additional questions. Is this degree of display typical of other small communities in the region or was Veleia unusual in its practices? And, if we propose that the Veleians took their inspiration from what they saw in Rome, is it possible then to draw conclusions about the physical environment of the city of Rome?

Hannah Borotsik

<u>The Rebellious Child: An Analysis of the Discontinuity of Religious Identity between Corcyra and Corinth during the Archaic Period</u>

Religion and colonization are major, yet complex features of Archaic Greece. These topics are consistently intertwined with one another, both in studies of antiquity and modern history, particularly when considering the motivations and justifications of colonization. The discussion about Ancient Greek religion and colonization is significant because, unlike in many modern examples, the imposition of religious ideas was not the main inspiration for colonization. Rather, reasons such as commercial trade and the expansion of political control were often the motivation for founding colonies. Although religious control was not the objective, it is clear that religion played an important role in the process of establishing a colony and that religious 2practices continued to grow within the colony. Both the continuity and discontinuity of religion between colonies and mother cities can provide a variety of interesting answers to questions of identity within a new settlement. The goal of this paper is to understand the role religious iconography plays in a colony's promotion of identity in respect to the colony's socio-political relationship with their mother city. One example of this relationship is between Corcyra and her mother city Corinth, particularly in correlation with their many conflicts. Therefore, in this paper, I will argue that Corcyra reflects the relationship with their mother city Corinth through religion. I believe that Corcyra uses religious iconography as a means to portray their identity and to distinguish themselves from Corinthian influence. I will argue this by using a comparison of two Archaic temples in Corcyra, the Temple to Hera and the Temple to Artemis. I will analyse how the iconography on the Heraion and the Artemision reflect the social memory of Corcyra and the significance of colony identity.

Christopher Brown

<u>Hermes' Omen of the Belly</u>

Homeric Hymn to Hermes 294-303:

σὺν δ᾽ ἄρα φρασσάμενος τότε δὴ κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης
οἰωνὸν προέηκεν ἀειρόμενος μετὰ χερσίν,   295
τλήμονα γαστρὸς ἔριθον, ἀτάσθαλον ἀγγελιώτην,
ἐσσυμένως δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπέπταρε· τοῖο δ᾽ Ἀπόλλων
ἔκλυεν, ἐκ χειρῶν δὲ χαμαὶ βάλε κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν.
ἕζετο δὲ προπάροιθε καὶ ἐσσύμενός περ ὁδοῖο
Ἑρμῆν κερτομέων, καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·   300
"θάρσει, σπαργανιῶτα, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ·
εὑρήσω καὶ ἔπειτα βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα
τούτοις οἰωνοῖσι· σὺ δ᾽ αὖθ᾽ ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύσεις."

But just then the powerful Argus-slayer made up his mind and, as he was borne aloft in Apollo's arms, he emitted an omen, a menial servant of the belly, an unruly messenger; and after it he promptly sneezed. On hearing that, Apollo dropped glorious Hermes on the ground, squatted down in front of him, eager though he was to be on his way, and bantered with Hermes, saying: "Don't you worry, swatheling son of Zeus and Maia, I shall yet find my sturdy cattle with these omens, and you will lead the way." (West)

With a strikingly succinct footnote, Martin West sets out in his Loeb edition the most common understanding of Hermes' unruly messenger: "a fart." While a flatulent god seems certainly humorous, most commentators recognize that this understanding of the riddling text is not certain, and in this paper I propose to argue against it, suggesting instead that this 'bird' is a rumbling belly. As early as the classical period, we find evidence of a form of divination or prophecy, often associated with the name Eurucles, that was practised by a 'belly-talker,' an ἐγγαστρίμυθος, also called an ἐγγαστρίμαντις or στερνόμαντις (see especially Plato, *Sophist* 252c with scholia, citing Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Philochorus). A rumbling belly and a sneeze are popular forms of divination, and, accordingly, in the Hymn there seems to be a humorous reversal in portraying the prophetic god of Delphi as the interpreter of such a lowly form of divination.

Christer Bruun

What was the *schola* of the Ulpii at Ostia about?

An inscription found *c.* 1914 at Ostia, only partly preserved, contains a list of four men who bear the same family name *Ulpius* (*CIL* XIV 4575 – no discussion exists). Besides their names, the inscription provides little information, although it contains two verbs: *[s]cholam probaverunt* and *dedicaverunt*. The section with the verbs is placed in the middle of the list, so that one Ulpius Olympianus is listed first, and the action of approving the *schola* (its construction) seems to have been the task of Olympianus and – because the verb is in the plural – of some other persons whose names appeared above his but are now lost. If this interpretation is accurate, only the verb *dedicaverunt* describes the activity of the three other Ulpii who appear at the bottom of the inscription.

Ostia is famous for its many lists (so-called *alba*) of members of professional and other associations (*collegia* and *corpora*). A *collegium* could conceivably call its headquarters *schola*. It is, however, rare to find such a homogenous string of members with the same *gentilicium* in the professional *alba* of Ostia, even though one can easily point to certain *alba* in which some "Familienverbände" had a strong position, i.e., associations in which there were many Egrilii, Cipii, Tinucii, etc.

The alternative interpretation here advanced is, however, that we are dealing with a *collegium domesticum*, an association in a rich household, in which slaves and freedmen participated; several examples are known from Rome. This also means that we can add a previously unknown family of Ulpii to the Ostian elite, since only in wealthy houses can one envisage such a *collegium*.

(268 w)

Leanne Buttery

<u>Achilles ὠμηστής: Gender and Loss of Identity on the Homeric Battlefield.</u>

Book 22 narrative culminates with the death of Hector and Achilles' threat to consume Hector raw, violating appropriate masculine social and martial norms. By Books 24 Hecuba calls Achilles a flesh eater, an ὠμηστής, likening his behaviour to Hera's own desire to eat the Trojans raw. Achilles' rage underlies the whole epic, but after the death of Patroclus in Book 16 it overwhelms the narrative. His behavior becomes the embodiment of overwhelming grief and the emotional instability attributed to women in Homeric texts, even though accusations of femininity on the battlefield are used to shame men. Achilles, consumed by his grief, commits atrocities on the battlefield, contemplates cannibalism, and defiles the dead.
This paper interrogates Achilles' valorization as the archetype of Homeric masculinity through his extreme conduct. The result is a complicated display of feminine conduct on the Homeric battlefield. Achilles' violations of gender norms challenge the scholarly definition of Homeric masculinity. By focusing on the most extreme instance of Achilles' disintegration of identity as man, warrior, and human, this paper will explore how violence alters the hero's personality resulting in the embodiment of the monstrous feminine akin to Homeric depictions of Hera. Grief is a universal human experience, intense and intimately personal for each mourner. Achilles' maladapted reaction to his own grief functions as a mirror by which ancient and modern audiences alike can interrogate their own relationship to loss. By creating a fresh examination of grief, gender, and violence in Archaic Greek thought, we can better understand our own societal reactions to grief.

<u>Bibliography</u>

Alexiou, Margaret. 2002. *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*. 2nd ed. Rowman & Littlefield.
Austen, Emily. 2020. *"Achilles' Desire for Lament: Variations on a Theme*." CLASSICAL WORLD 114(1): 1–23.
 — 2021. *Grief and the Hero: The Futility of Longing in the Iliad*. University of Michigan Press.
Chidwick, Hannah Marie (ed). 2024. *The Body of the Combatant in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Bloomsbury publishing.
Doerries, Bryan. 2015. *The Theater of War: What Ancient Greek Tragedies Can Teach Us Today*. Alfred A. Knopf.
Flatt, Tyler. 2017. "Narrative Desire and the Limits of Lament in Homer." *The Classical Journal* 112(4): 385–404.
Karanika, A. Vassiliki, P. (ed). 2020. *Emotional Trauma in Greece and Rome: Representations and Reactions*. Routledge.
Konstan, David. 2016. "Understanding Grief in Greece and Rome." *Classical World.* 110(1): 3–30.
— 2006. *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature*. University of Toronto Press.
Kucewicz, Cezary. 2016. "Mutilation of the Dead and the Homeric Gods." *The Classical Quarterly* 66(2): 425–36.
Masterson, Mark. 2014. "Studies of ancient Masculinities." In *A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualitie*s. First edition. Edited by Thomas K. Hubbard. Blackwell Publishing ltd.

Meineck, P. and Konstan, D. (ed). 2014. *Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Monsacré, Helene. 2017. *The Tears of Achilles.* Translated by Nicholas J. Snead. Center for Hellenic Studies. Harvard University Press.

Murnaghan, Sheila. 1999. "The Poetics of Loss in Greek Epic." In *Epic Traditions in the Contemporary World: The Poetics of Community*, ed. M. Beissinger, J. Tylus, and S. Wofford, Berkeley. 203–220.

O'Brien, Joan. (1990). "Homer's Savage Hera." The Classical Journal 86(2): 105–25.

Ransom, Christopher. 2011. "Aspects of Effeminacy and Masculinity in the Iliad." *Antichthon* 45: 35–57.

Segal, Charles. 1971. *The Theme of the Mutilation of the Corpse in the Iliad*. Lugduni Batavorum E.J. Brill.

Sourvinou-Inwood, Christiane. 1982. "To Die and Enter the House of Hades: Homer, Before and After." *In Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*. ed. Joachim Whaley. St. Martin's Press. 15–40.

Vernant, J.P. 1991. "A Beautiful Death and the Disfigured Corpse in Homeric Epic." In *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays*, ed. Froma I. Zeitlin. Princeton. 50–74.

Van Der Plas, Maaike. 2021. "Corpse Mutilation in the Iliad." *The Classical Quarterly* 70(2): 459–472.

Warwick, Celsiana. 2019. "The Maternal Warrior: Gender and Kleos in the Iliad." *American Journal of Philology*, 140(1): 1–28.

Émile Caron

<u>L'utilisation des sources dans l'enseignement de l'histoire ancienne chez les élèves au secondaire : tensions et état des recherches en sciences de l'éducation</u>

Dans plusieurs programmes scolaires contemporains, l'analyse des sources occupe une place croissante comme moyen d'initier les élèves à une compréhension globale du passé. Pourtant, l'usage des sources de l'Antiquité dans un cadre pédagogique soulève des défis spécifiques, notamment en raison des enjeux de traduction et de la distance culturelle qui sépare ces textes de leurs lecteurs contemporains. Comment les élèves mobilisent-ils ces documents pour développer une pensée historienne ? Quelles tensions se posent entre l'accessibilité pédagogique et la fidélité au texte d'origine ?

Cette communication s'inscrit dans le cadre d'une thèse en cours – réalisée au département de didactique de l'Université de Montréal sous la direction du Professeur Marc-André Éthier – explorant cette problématique. Notre intervention a pour but d'aborder trois axes :

1. *L'impact des traductions sur la perception des sociétés antiques par les élèves ;*
2. *Les compétences disciplinaires sollicitées ou entravées par la distance linguistique et culturelle ;*
3. *Les stratégies pédagogiques permettant de soutenir le développement d'une posture historienne critique face aux sources anciennes.*

Cette présentation vise à poser les bases d'une réflexion sur les défis rencontrés par les élèves et les enseignants dans l'utilisation des sources traduites de l'Antiquité. L'objectif est d'ouvrir un dialogue avec les spécialistes de l'Antiquité afin de les sensibiliser aux enjeux liés à l'enseignement de ce domaine dès les niveaux scolaires, bien avant l'arrivée des élèves dans les classes universitaires.

Matthew Chandler

'triumphavit, palmam dedit': Revisiting the *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani*

There are three surviving inscriptions that contain records of Roman triumphs. The most famous is the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini*, created in 19 BCE for Augustus' Parthian Arch. The partially preserved *Fasti Triumphales Urbisalvienses*, a local copy from Picenum, has also been dated to the time of Augustus (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII.1.35). This paper focuses on the earliest of these inscriptions: the *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani*, a fragmentary list of twenty-six triumphs and ovations celebrated between 43 and 21 BCE. A unique feature of this inscription is the repeated use of the formula '*triumphavit, palmam dedit*', which, I emphasize, reveals it to be not a record of triumphs (*qua* triumphs), but rather a record of palm dedications performed during the triumphal procession.

The *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani* has not received serious scholarly attention since Degrassi (1947), whose reconstruction incorporated all previous scholarship, including original manuscripts first published by Marini in 1795, and two notable studies by Preller (1846) and Henzen (1861). The scholarly consensus that evolved from this research was predicated on two central assumptions: first, that these dedications occurred at the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill; and second, that the Barberini fragments represent just one portion of a more extensive list.

This paper challenges both assumptions. The identification of the temple of Jupiter is tenuous and only sparsely supported by outside sources. The unusual arrangement of the text also makes the possibility of a once-larger inscription problematic, and the extant fragments contain no visible evidence indicative of additional material. Furthermore, this paper hopes to highlight the historical value of the *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani*, whose role in the monumentalization of the triumph has been long overshadowed.

Select Bibliography

Degrassi, A. (ed.) "Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani." In *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII.1: *Fasti Consulares et Triumphales*, no. 36. Rome, 1947.
Henzen, G. "Sulle Tavole Trionfali Barberiniane." In *Annali Dell'Instituto Di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 33:90–106. Rome: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1861.
Marini, G. *Gli Atti e Monumenti de' Fratelli Arvali: Scolpiti Già in Tavole Di Marmo Ed Ora Raccolti, Diciferati e Comentati*. Rome: Presso Antonio Fulgoni, 1795.
Preller, L. "Zur geschichte und Topographie des Römischen Capitols." *Philologus*, no. 1 (1846): 68–107.

Altay Coskun

<u>Re-Conceptualizations of Colonial Identities from the Archaic to the Roman Periods: the Case of Massalia</u>

There are multiple readings of legends of ancient settlements but few that differentiate the *changing* ideological contexts in which those stories were designed and *re*told. Archaic layers seem to highlight cooperation among newcomers and locals; a founder's marriage with the daughter of a native king is a typical element to express a lasting (and legitimate) connection with the land. Later, conflict, treachery, and expulsion were added to many narratives. Anti-barbarian rhetoric was enhanced under Athenian hegemony in the aftermath of the Persian Wars. Hellenistic and Roman versions continued such narratives, although the Romans tended to emphasize the civilizing nature of the Greeks.

The establishment of Massalia by Phocaean settlers (around 600 BCE) has yielded some of the most detailed narratives of an ancient city foundation. The longest version (Justin 43.3-5, quoting Pompeius Trogus) is late, as are the two runner-ups (Athenaeus 13.36 [576], quoting Aristotle F 549) and Strabo (3.4.8; 4.1.4). The earliest narrative seems to have focused on the alliance and intermarriage among the first Aeolian settlers from Phocaea and the Segobrigi under king Nannus; the second phase (early-5th century) wrestles with the socio-cultural shifts after the arrival of Ionian settlers from Ephesus, which also caused or resulted in hostilities with the Segobrigi. A third phase was influenced by Athenian anti-barbarian stereotypes, which led to the (virtual) Hellenization of the Gaulish princess. The Roman version implied the arrival of viticulture together with the Greeks.

A diachronic analysis promises a more nuanced understanding of the represented identities, relations, and agencies.

<u>Selected Readings</u>

Domínguez, A.J. 2022: 'Ionian Ethnicity and Phocaean Identity', in G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Ionians in the West and East. Proceedings of an International Conference 'Ionians in the East and West', Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya-Empúries, Empúries/L'Escala, Spain, 26–29 October, 2015*, Leuven, 407–440.

Dougherty, C. 1993: *The Poetics of Colonization: From City to Text in Archaic Greece*, New York.

Mac Sweeney, N. 2013: *Foundation Myths and Politics*, Cambridge.

Oller Guzmán, M. 2021a: 'Facing the Greeks. Some Responses of Local Populations to Greek Settlers', in A. Coşkun (ed.), *Ethnic Constructs, Royal Dynasties and Historical Geography around the Black Sea Littoral*, Stuttgart, 99–119.

Oller Guzmán, M. 2021b: 'Fear, Pity and Envy: Human Feelings in the Framework of Greek Colonization', in V. Cojocaru and A.-I. Pázsint (eds.), *Migration and Identity in Eurasia: From Ancient Times to the Middle Ages*, Cluj-Napoca, 43–53.

Torregaray Pagola, E. 2018: 'Marsella en el imaginario político-diplomático romano', *Annales de l'APLAES* 5, 1–11.

Tyler Craik

Onomastic Wordplay in Campanian Graffiti and Its Literary Merit

Ancient graffiti, traditionally dismissed as crude or unsophisticated, offers a unique lens into the literary culture of non-elite individuals in the Roman world. Scholarship, particularly Milnor's 2014 *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii*, has previously discussed literary merit in graffiti by means of quotations and allusions to the canonical texts of Ovid, Propertius, and Virgil. However, there has not been enough discussion about how names are used in graffiti and how these usages reflect similar usages in elite literature. To answer these questions, I examine the use of onomastic wordplay within these inscriptions, drawing connections to the epigrammatic tradition of Martial, the genre conventions of Latin love elegy, and the comedic works of Plautus. Through a close reading of select graffiti from Pompeii and Herculaneum, I argue that names in graffiti sometimes function as literary devices rather than operative personal identifiers and that the events recorded often constitute literary fictions. The presence of onomastic wordplay suggests that some graffiti were crafted with intentional humor and performative literary engagement rather than solely serving as records of real events or attempts at practical communication. I further contextualize this phenomenon within a broader oral and literary tradition, wherein non-elites actively shaped Roman literary culture rather than merely consuming and echoing it. This analysis challenges rigid distinctions between elite and "popular" literature, demonstrating that the use of names in graffiti was not only playful but also deeply embedded in the linguistic and literary practices of the time.

Bibliography

Milnor, K. 2014. *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii.* Oxford University Press.

Emily Croft

Weaving the Past: Reconstructing Roman *Udones* as Experiential Archaeology

The two-toed socks worn by ancient Romans, called *udones*, are well-attested in the archaeological record, particularly in contexts belonging to Late Antique Egypt. After their excavation, however, most specimens ended up in both private and museum collections restricting opportunities for thorough examination to understand how these daily-wear items were crafted. This paper provides a first-hand account of the reconstruction ancient Roman socks (*udones*), particularly using the nalbinding technique evidenced in finds across the Roman world from Britain to Egypt, as a case study for evaluating the feasibility of textile production. The recreation of *udones* provided a hands-on opportunity to engage with archaeological data, secondary source material, and systematic experiments. Replicating these socks offered an opportunity to analyse historical sources, including fragmentary textiles, depictions in Roman art, and experimental methodologies documented in previous scholarship (Burnham 1972; Kovač 2012; Gleba and Pásztókai-Szeöke 2013; Peacock 2014; Harlizius-Klück 2016; Corti 2016; Köstner 2016; Livingstone 2023).

This paper highlights the value of reconstructing archaeological finds to understand the complexities of ancient material cultures. By documenting the manufacturing process, including the choice of materials, tools, and techniques, the information presented in this paper will provide a better understanding of a Roman craft technology. Ultimately, the reconstructed pair of *udones* closely resembled comparable finds in the archaeological record, proving the technique produced an authentic expression.

Works Cited

Burnham, Dorothy K. "Coptic Knitting: An Ancient Technique." *Textile History* 3, no. 1 (1972): 116–24. doi:10.1179/004049672793692237.

Corti, C.and M. Sanfelici. 2018. "Bone needles and textile production during Roman times: a new proposal." In Busana *et al*. *Textiles and Dyes in the Mediterranean Economy and Society* (Zaragoza: Libros Pórtico, 2018): 525–30.

Gleba M. and J. Pásztókai-Szeöke, eds. *Making Textiles in Pre-Roman and Roman Times. People, Places, Identities*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013.

Harlizius-Klück, E. "Textile Technology." In G.L. Irby, ed. *A Companion to Science, Technology, and Medicine in Ancient Greece and Rome,* (Chichester, UK: Wiley, 2016): 747-767.

Köstner, B. "Wearing socks in sandals. The height of Roman fashion?" In Hoss *et al*., eds. *Small finds and ancient social practices in the North-West Provinces of the Roman Empire*. (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016): 16-27.

Kovač, M. "Roman Bone Needles for Sewing, Knitting and Embroidery from the Collection of Bone Items at the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek." *Opuscula Archæologica* 36 (2012):175–246.

Livingstone R.J. 2023. "'When sorted and cleaned may prove of great interest': The textiles from Antinoopolis held in the collections of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa)." *Tuhinga* 34 (2023): 87- 104. doi: 10.3897/tuhinga.34.107369.

Peacock, E. E. "The Contribution of Experimental Archaeology to the Research of Textiles." In Walton Rogers *et al. The Roman Textile Industry and its Influence: A Birthday Tribute to John Peter Wild* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 181-192).

Drew Davis

<u>Neither Synchronized nor Random: *Quinquennalis* Cycles and Municipalization in Italy</u>

The censorial office of the *quinquennalis* was often at the top of the municipal *cursus* in the Roman empire. Municipalities would regularly elect *quinquennales* every five years to perform a local census and review of local *ordines*. Hundreds of individuals holding this office are attested in the epigraphic evidence of the Latin west, particularly in Italy. First appearing in the Italian epigraphic record in the first century BCE, the office was still around in the 390s CE. The origins of this long-lived municipal institution has long been debated, with scholars divided between seeing it as a product of deliberate Roman intervention in the Italian municipalities and linked firmly to the Roman censuses (Rudolph, 1935; Gabba, 1958; Galsterer, 1974), or an office totally at the discretion of local governments, elected at random to meet local need (Bispham, 2007). In this paper, I present the results of a detailed study of all dated inscriptions from Italy which bear a *quinquennalis* magistrate. I argue that the origins and history of the office neither reflect synchronization with the Roman census, nor appear to be completely random. Instead, the data shows that each town regularly stuck to their own five-year schedule, cycles which I suggest originated in the year a given town received a municipal charter from Rome in the first century BCE. Consequently, I contend that the office of the *quinquennalis* formed a key part in the dialectic process of municipalization, giving predictable order to the public rhythms of Italian communities.

<u>Select Bibliography</u>

Bispham, Edward. 2007. *From Asculum to Actium: The Municipalization of Italy from the Social War to Augustus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Brunt, Peter. 1971. *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.–A.D. 14*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Gabba, Emilio. 1958. "L'elogio Di Brindisi." *Athenaeum* 36:90–105.
Galsterer, Hartmut. 1976. *Herrschaft und Verwaltung in republikanischen Italien: Sie Beziehungen Roms zu den italischen Gemeinden vom Latinerfrieden 338 v. Chr. bis zum Bundesgenossenkrieg 91 v. Chr*. Munich: C.H. Beck.
Haeck, Tom. 2005. "The *Quinquennales* in Italy: Social Status of a Roman Municipal Magistrate." *Latomus* 64 (3): 601–18.
Laffi, Umberto. 2001. *Studi di storia romana e di dritto*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.
Rudolph, Hans. 1935. *Stadt und Staat in römischen Italien*. Göttingen: Vandenhoek and Ruprecht.
Van Deman Magoffin, Ralph (1913) *The* Quinquennales*: An Historical Study*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.

Julia de Milliano

<u>Leonidas' Literary Program: Poetic Complexity and Material Simplicity</u>

Leonidas of Tarentum, an epigrammatist in the early Hellenistic period, is one of the most represented authors in the Greek Anthology, second only to Meleager. After a period of lukewarm appreciation for his epigrams, it is only in recent years that scholarship has begun conducting a reappraisal of his work. It has been argued by scholars that Leonidas is espousing Cynical teachings, yet a closer examination of his work yields a more moderate position. Through a case study of epigrams AP 7.655 and 7.740, with reference to others (eg. AP 6.302 and 7.736), this paper will explore Leonidas' popular-philosophical outlook on moderation of lifestyle and its reflection in his intricate poetic style. Connected by the contrasts between much and little, materialism and contentment, and by similar themes, earth and death, these two opposing poems together contribute to Leonidas' literary program in which the poet emphasizes poetic composition over material prosperity. Diction, structure, word order, and names are skillfully manipulated by Leonidas to demonstrate this sentiment. The self-examined, deliberate way of writing evident in Leonidas' poetry is predicated upon a high level of thought, comparable to the mental acuity, and as a result self-restraint, required to follow the disciplined lifestyle he advocates. This connection is two-fold: the less one pursues material pleasures, the more time one has to dedicate to intellectual pursuits, while the more time one dedicates to strengthening the mind, the more one is able to refrain from the temptation of material goods. Playing with the conventions of the genre, it is precisely by way of his complex poetry that Leonidas espouses a lifestyle of moderation.

Stephanie Dennie

Mythologizing Sparta: Classical Antiquity and the Politics of Right-Wing Extremism in Canada

Over the past decade, Right-Wing Extremism (RWE) has increased across North America and Europe. These extremist ideologies exploit longstanding appropriations of ancient material—art, architecture, and literature—to legitimize political violence, discrimination, and racism (e.g., flags and costuming at the 2017 Unite the Right Rally, Identity Evropa's 2016-2017 college campus campaigns, the presence of the phrase "Molon Labe" on flags displayed during the 2022 "Freedom Convoy," slogans and talking points from the August 2024 UK riots, etc.). Central to this appropriation is the mythologized image of Sparta, characterized by what Hodkinson (2023) terms "the mirage of Spartan militarism." This constructed image, derived from a selective and often uncritical reading of ancient sources or their reception, has been adopted by RWE groups as a symbol of hypermasculinity and European whiteness. In Canada, Spartan symbols such as the phrase "Molon Labe" and iconography or phraseology related to the Battle of Thermopylae have surfaced in political discourse and social media, to signal alignment with white nationalist ideologies.

This paper examines the history of such appropriation in Canadian political spaces, drawing on recent studies on RWE in Canada by Perry, et al., (2019, 2022) and approaches to weaponizing history by Kaufman and Sturtevant (2020). While the appropriation of classical symbols by right-wing groups is not a new phenomenon, there has yet to be a focused study of how it manifests within the Canadian context, particularly given Canada's nuanced historical, cultural, and political relationships with both the United States and the United Kingdom. This paper also draws on insights from a fourth-year interdisciplinary seminar, *Right-Wing Extremism and Classics in the 21st Century* (CLASS 400/HIST 494), taught at the University of Alberta in Fall 2024, to highlight the potential for public humanities research to foster critical engagement and community dialogue on the ideological misuse of classical material. This presentation will highlight the dual role of Classicists as researchers and educators, underscoring the urgent need for interdisciplinary scholarship and teaching practices that address the impacts of such appropriations.

Bibliography
Hodkinson, S. 2023. "Spartans on the Capitol: Recent Far-Right Appropriations of Spartan Militarism in the USA and their Historical Roots," in *Classical Controversies: Reception of Graeco-Roman Antiquity in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Kim Beerden, and Timo Epping, 59-83, Sidestone Press.
Perry, B., and R. Scrivens. 2019. *Right Wing Extremism in Canada*. Palgrave.
Perry, B., J. Gruenewald, and R. Scrivens. 2022. *Right Wing Extremism in Canada and the United States*. Palgrave.
Kaufman, S., and P. Sturtevant. 2020. *The Devil's Historians*. Toronto University Press.

Cassius Di Maria

<u>Foreign Silver, Attic Character:</u>
<u>The Economic Benefits of Minting Imitative Athenian Tetradrachms</u>

The minting of imitative Athenian coinage by Egyptian mints in the late Classical period has often been attributed to a desire by the Egyptian population to continue using the coins which had become familiar to them, thanks to the large number of Athenian coins injected into the Mediterranean economy at this time. This paper argues that it was not familiarity which prompted the continued minting of these coins, but rather a desire to mint coins that would be widely accepted, most especially by Athenian merchants. The argument based in familiarity overlooks the potential economic motivations for minting imitative Athenian coins, specifically, the ability to circumvent the known exchange fees charged when doing business with foreign silver in Athens. It also fails to explain why, following the mass reminting of Athenian tetradrachms in 353 BCE, the Egyptian imitations changed in style to match these new coins, resulting in what are known as the *pi*-style imitations. As part of Athens' reminting, the original style tetradrachms were declared *adokima*, no longer legal tender. The Egyptian minting shifted to match what was accepted in Athens, not what was familiar at home. Supporting this argument is the fact that the hoards containing these imitative coins cluster around Naukratis, the Greek emporium in Egypt, as well as The Law of Nicophon (SEG 26.72), a law that attempts to put a stop to the use of imitative Athenian coins in the agora. Thus, an economic explanation must be considered more central to this practice than previously thought.

Fanny Dolansky

Ex homine: the messy business of bodily products for health and beauty

Roman authors mention various products from the human body used for cosmetic and medicinal purposes by people other than their original owners. Hair from India and the German provinces, sometimes from war captives, ended up at Rome as wigs and hairpieces (*Dig*. 39.4.16.7; Ov. *Am*. 1.14.45-50, *Ars* 3.163-68; Mart. 14.26; Olson 2008: 71-5). Breast milk and menstrual blood were used in numerous remedies (Plin. *NH* 28.70-78, 82-84; Cels. 5.21.1B, 6.6.8B; Diosc. 2.70, 2.79, 5.127). Urine, particularly women's and children's, was prized for treating tuberculosis, fevers, eye problems, and more (Diosc. 1.72, 2.86, 5.79; *On Simples* 1.40, 1.64, 2.20, 2.40). Use of these products raises questions about both supply and demand: how and where they were sourced then made available, and to whom. Some, such as imported hair, have been associated mainly with freeborn women's vanity and luxury (Dalby 2000; Pandey 2018), yet evidence exists for wider employment in terms of gender and status of products aimed at enhancing appearance and those seeking to restore health. Expanding upon earlier studies (Richlin 2014; Harris 2020), this paper argues that using products *ex homine*, especially curatives, was more common than previously recognized. It also reveals the complicated relationships between producers and consumers shaped by hierarchies of gender, juridical and socioeconomic status, and imperialism, for which comparative evidence from the 19th-century hair trade offers insightful parallels (Ofek 2009; Miller 2019). But rather than reducing the practice strictly to one of exploitation, this study suggests opportunities for agency and for some to improve their circumstances literally by drawing on their own natural resources.

Bibliography

Dalby, A. 2000. *Empire of Pleasures. Luxury and Indulgence in the Roman World*. London and New York.

Fitch. J. G. 2022. *On Simples, Attributed to Dioscorides*. Leiden.

Harris, W. V. 2020. "Scatological Asklepios: The Use of Excrement in Graeco-Roman Healthcare." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 75: 1-23.

Miller, E. C. 2019. "Class and Social Status: "The more you have the better": Or, the Politics and Economics of Hair." In S. Heaton (ed.), *A Cultural History of Hair in the Age of Empire*. London. 139-56.

Ofek, G. 2009. *Representations of hair in Victorian literature and culture*. Burlington, VT.

Olson, K. 2008. *Dress and the Roman Woman*. London and New York.

Pandey, N. B. 2018. "*Caput mundi*: Female Hair as Symbolic Vehicle of Domination in Ovidian Love Elegy." *Classical Journal* 113.4: 454-88.

Richlin, A. 2014. *Arguments with Silence*. Ann Arbor.

Rory Egan

Really Old-time Country Music: Our Earliest Record of Alpine Yodelling (Vergil, *Ecl.*3).

Eclogue 3, composed early in the career of a native of Cisalpine Gaul, is dedicated to his cultivated patron, Asinius Pollio, whose own rise to public eminence included an early phase in the same geographic and cultural milieu.

The poem repeatedly mentions Pollio himself, once as aficionado of the rustic Muse. Since the *Eclogue* itself can read as a poetic model of the primitive origins and sophisticated evolution of its own sub-genre, the amoebean singing competition, it might be expected to contain some distinctly regional and personally relevant sub-alpine touches. As it happens, even a modern audible reading of the poem resounds with sounds that evoke Alpine yodelling of recent times. Notable are the distinctive syllables of the repeated names of Pollio and the singing herdsman Iollas. The latter name, unknown to poetry earlier than the *Eclogues*, seems purposely accommodated to the context. One of its occurrences is in the sample sequence *formose vale vale Iolla* which can (for reasons to be elaborated) be approximated phonetically as *for-moe-sew-wa-lew-wa-ley-ee-yole-la.* (Unlike modern yodelling's exclusive reliance on nonsense syllables, Vergil's text, more demandingly, only uses semantically and syntactically valid Latin.

 Implicitly, my general proposition, if accepted, uncovers a previously unrecognized instance of Vergilian poetic wizardry while also antedating, by several centuries, what yodelologists typically identify as history's earliest notice of the Alpine genre, a passage from the *Misopogon* of the emperor Julian, another early visitor to the Alpine region.

Philip Egetenmeier

Why did Trajan never designate a successor?

When Trajan died at the age of 63, Hadrian emerged as the next emperor. The circumstances of his alleged adoption by Trajan shortly before the emperor's death raise many questions. Whether Trajan adopted Hadrian on his deathbed at the last minute or not will be left aside here. Regardless of one's position, it is striking that Trajan never clearly developed and designated a successor during his lifetime. This requires explanation given that the usual means of communicating succession had long been established.

The paper will discuss potential reasons why Trajan never made clear arrangements for his succession during his long reign of roughly 20 years. The focus will be on an aspect of the successor's role that is usually neglected: the protection of the predecessor's *memoria*. Roman emperors were either deified or subjected to memory sanctions immediately after their death. Typically, a strong successor was the most important factor in guaranteeing the desired outcome after death when the senate decided how to deal with the memory of the deceased. But was an *optimus princeps* as dependent on a strong successor as the emperors before him? Taking into account Trajan's relationship to the relevant groups and against the background of contemporary discourses on imperial succession, I will attempt to offer a new approach to explain Trajan's atypical behavior in the process of imperial succession.

Claude Eilers

The Second Letter of Agrippa II as an Answer Fragment (Jos. *Vita* 366)

In his autobiography, Josephus quotes two letters of Agrippa II, the last monarch of the Herodian dynasty. These letters, he asserts, demonstrate an affirmation on Agrippa's of the accuracy of Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*. My paper will focus on the second of these letters, which praises Josephus' expertise and invites him to visit in order to learn of secrets that Agrippa knows. Most scholars have understood this to refer to historical details that would eventually work its way into the *Bellum*, and this passage is thus used as evidence that Agrippa was one of its sources for that work.

That interpretation is complicated by the obscurity of the letter itself, especially its central clause: Josephus, Agrippa writes, needs no instruction to 'to understand us all from the beginning' (ὑπὲρ τοῦ μαθεῖν ἡμᾶς ὅλους ἀρχῆθεν). The obscurity of this clause led Cohen to condemn it as a 'vulgarism', and Thackeray as a lapse of Agrippa's 'alleged "culture"'
My paper will clarify what assumptions are being made and establish what the Greek text says and means (which is less straightforward than might reasonably be expected). I will argue that this clause is not a failure of Greek style (as Cohen and Thackeray had comlained); rather, it can be more profitably be explained within the context of linguistic common-ground theory, specifically as an example of question-answer ellipsis: that is answers to questions often avoid direct verbal repetition and can skip over any or all of the words of their prompts. This often creates answer fragments. In the case of Agrippa's letter, the phrase 'all of us from the beginning' is probably answering a question that included a who (answer: 'we/us all') and a when (answer: 'from the beginning'). Given this, the letter should not be used as evidence that Agrippa was a source for the *Bellum,* which was probably already circulating.

Bibliography

Cohen, S.J.D. 1979. *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian*. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 8. Leiden: Brill.
Den Hollander, W. 2014. *Josephus, the Emperors, and the City of Rome: From Hostage to Historian*. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, 86. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
Mason, S. 2001. *Life of Josephus: Translation and Commentary*. Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary, 9. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
Mason, S. 2005. "Of Audience and Meaning: Reading Josephus' Bellum Judaicum in the Context of a Flavian Audience." In Josephus and Jewish History in Flavian Rome and Beyond, edited by Joseph Sievers and Gaia Lembi, 71-100. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
Siegert, F., H. Schreckenberg, and M. Vogel. 2001. *Josephus, Aus meinen Leben (Vita): Kritische Ausgabe, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
Thackeray, H.S.J. 1929. *Josephus: The Man and the Historian*. New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press.

Jackie Elliott

<u>Cato, Servius, and the wrath of Turnus</u>

This paper examines Vergil's transformations of the Turnus-legend across the complex medium of ancient commentary on the *Aeneid*, with a focus on Cato's earlier Turnus. Servius is our principal point of access to this Turnus, but what Servius says has to be read across a series of refractions (to be explained). One trait nevertheless emerges coherently: Cato's narrative of early events in Italy was marked by a series of successions and (lethal) reciprocities. In that narrative (surviving as *FrRHist* F 6a, 7a, 7b, 8a), Turnus is matched against Aeneas in the central one of three battles, an encounter which results in the liquidation of either party. Ascanius and Mezentius then step into the role of the duelling pair—a match mirrored by that of Mezentius' son Lausus and Aeneas in *Aeneid* 10, itself responding to the fatal pairing of Pallas and Turnus earlier in the same book. Vergil clearly capitalizes on and multiplies the kinds of encounters described in Cato's account, but he also transforms motivation and reformulates narrative architecture, famously reserving the encounter between Turnus and Aeneas to his epic's climactic moment. Whereas the Catonian Turnus' anger remains within the human register, the Vergilian Turnus has to be actively bereft of his wits by Allecto before he will abandon his tranquillity. His rage—as, eventually, Aeneas' too—is given outsize dimensions and vast, new inspirations, making their emotions and motivations stand out in heightened relief against the backdrop of the apparently hum-drum Catonian tit-for-tat.

<u>Select bibliography</u>
Barchiesi, A. 2020. '"Turnus Herdonius", Turno, e la concezione della storia nell' *Eneide*.' In G. Polara (ed.), Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*: studi in onore di Arturo De Vivo* (Naples), 49–58.
Casali, S. 2023a. 'Cato's *Origines* and Vergil's *Aeneid*: the war in Latium and the name of Iulus.' *Maia* 75, 324–38.
 --- 2023b. *Virgilio: guida al'Eneide*. Rome.
Chassignet, M. 1987. 'Le personnage de Latinus dans les *Origines* de Caton: tradition et innovation.' *BFLM* 15, 79–83.
Cornell, T. *et al.* (edd.), 2013. *The Fragments of the Roman Historians,* 3 vols. Oxford. [*FrRHist*]
Gale, M. 1997. 'The Shield of Turnus (*Aeneid* 7.783–92).' *G&R* 44, 176–96.
Gagliardi, P. 2022. 'I duelli di Enea contro Mezenzio e Turno.' *Sileno* 48.1–2, 135–49.
Kaster, R. 1978. 'Servius and the *idonei auctores*.' *AJPh* 99.2, 181–209.
Letta, C. 2010. 'Il nome di Iulo e le sue etimologie in Catone.' In R. Ajello, P. Berrettoni *et al*. (eds.), *Quae omnia bella devoratis: Studi in memoria di Edoardo Vineis* (Pisa), 345–54.
Lloyd, R. 1961. 'Republican authors in Servius and the *Scholia Danielis*.' *HSPh* 65, 192–341.
Quartarone, L. 2015. 'The origins of Turnus, Vergilian invention, and Augustan Rome.' *AAntHung* 55.1–4, 379–92.
Stok, F. 1996. 'La ricezione dell'annalistica nell' esegesi virgiliana antica.' *Eutopia: Commentarii Noui de Antiquitatibus Totius Europae* 5, 67–84.
Thomas, R. 1998. 'The isolation of Turnus: *Aeneid* Book 12.' In H.P. Stahl (ed.), *Vergil's* Aeneid: *Augustan Epic and Political Context* (London), 271–302.
Vallat, D. 2015. 'Conflits d'autorité: Virgile, Donat, Servius.' *Eruditio Antiquae* 7, 5–30.

Giuseppe Ficocelli

From Spoils to Money: Provincial Exploitation and Politics in the Roman Republic

The topic of Roman exploitation in the provinces is not new. Our discussions often focus on wealth amassed through plunder and whether Roman commanders had complete authority over spoils. The two contrasting views are found in Shatzman (1972), who argues that generals had full authority to dispose of booty as they pleased, and Churchill (1999), who claims that political customs constrained commanders. Nevertheless, there is a way forward from this dualistic debate. This paper will argue that there was a gradual shift from military exploitation, via conquest, to financial exploitation, where relationships were formed between *imperium*-holders, *publicani*, and various Roman financiers. The period under discussion will be between the First and Second Punic Wars (264-201 BCE) and the start of the Caesarian-Pompeian Civil War in 49 BCE. At the beginning of this period, Roman customs and political realities shaped how commanders enriched themselves through plunder. However, the demands to consolidate and administer Rome's newly acquired empire increasingly produced legal restrictions on military commands from the second century onwards. Furthermore, a new taxation regime, created by Gaius Gracchus's tribunate for the province of Asia, favoured the *publicani*, which was adopted in Africa and across the eastern Mediterranean. Coupled with the decline of large-scale military campaigns in the latter half of the second century, magistrates and promagistrates found a new way to exploit their *imperium* by forming partnerships with the *publicani* and other Roman financiers for mutual enrichment. These provincial developments were intensified by domestic politics in Rome as elections became increasingly more costly, and the gains of provincial exploitation were used to pay off debts. Many *publicani* and financiers were the creditors of successful candidates, pressuring them to favour the activities of their creditors when governing provinces as magistrates and promagistrates.

Bibliography

Churchill, J. Bradford. "Ex qua Quod Vellent Facerent: Roman Magistrates' Authority over Praeda and Manubiae." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 129 (1999): 85–116.

Shatzman, Israel. "The Roman General's Authority over Booty." *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 21, no. 2 (1972): 177–205.

Andrew Field

<u>Catullan Intertext in the Prologue and Book One of Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae*</u>

Roman epic poets allude to Catullus at turning points in their poems; Claudian's prologue to his *De Raptu Proserpinae* (*DrP*) is presented as a turning point in his poetic career and here he makes use of Catullan material. The prologue uses the ship of poetry metaphor which engages with a variety of sources not limited to Virgil, Horace, and as I intend to discuss, Catullus. I argue that the prologue to *DrP* foreshadows the darkness of the upcoming epic through its engagement with the Catullan *Argo* from poems 4 and 64. I demonstrate that while the prologue engages more with 64, nevertheless it significantly "corrects" the reading of the *Argo* from poem 4. At the start of book one, Claudian continues to engage with Catullus and alludes to the song of the Fates in 64 to suggest that like the Fates, Claudian's narrator is a chthonic singer. It also invites comparison with the song of the Fates which suggests that as Catullus spells out the consequences of his divinely sanctioned marriage, namely the destruction wrought by Achilles, so will Claudian spell out the consequences of a divine marriage in his song. Finally, there are two under appreciated allusions to Catullus a few lines later that abridge the ecphrasis of 64 to economically suggest Claudian picks up where Catullus' ecphrasis ended; that is, he skips mortal affairs and goes straight to the abduction of a woman by a god.

Cashel Findler

"In exchange for mortal life, you have attained immortality": Cicero's '*epitaphios logos*' for the *Legio Martia* in *Philippic* 14

Cicero concludes his fourteenth – and final – *Philippic* oration in remarkable fashion. While proposing in a meeting of the Senate that a commemorative monument be erected to the fallen soldiers of the *Legio Martia* (*Phil.* 14.30-35), the Roman orator delivers what is strikingly similar to an *epitaphios logos*, the classical Athenian funeral oration for the city's war dead. This exciting strategy of rhetorical intertextuality merits a closer examination: why would Cicero borrow so explicitly from the genre of Athenian epideictic oratory in a deliberative speech before the Roman Senate? Yet, apart from Mesk's brief 1904 article, this section of the fourteenth *Philippic* has not been explored at any length.

By comparing *Philippic* 14.30-35 to the extant Athenian *epitaphioi* (Lys. 2; Hyp. *Epit.*; Pl. *Menex.*; Dem. 60; Thuc. 2.35-46), I demonstrate that Cicero imitates the Athenian funeral orations structurally, thematically, and verbally. Not only does Cicero organize this section of his speech according to Athenian epitaphic principles (first remarking upon the necessity yet inadequacy of his praise, then lauding the fallen soldiers themselves, and finally considering how the relatives of the fallen can best be consoled [cf. Pl. *Menex.* 236e]), he also borrows numerous tropes and turns of phrase from the *epitaphioi* (such as that the soldiers exchanged their mortal bodies for an immortal memory [cf. Lys. 2.81; Hyp. *Epit.* 42; Dem 60.32], and that their relatives should strive to imitate their virtue rather than lament their deaths [cf. Dem. 60.35; Pl. *Menex.* 248e; Hyp. *Epit.* 41]).

I argue that Cicero's deliberate borrowing and manipulation of Athenian epitaphic tropes serves several purposes. First, it significantly strengthens his proposal for a monument to be erected to the fallen soldiers. In each place where an Athenian orator would typically comment upon the function of the *epitaphios logos*, Cicero replaces the role of the *logos* with his proposed monument. He thus suggests that the Roman soldiers will be honoured, and their relatives consoled, only if his proposal of erecting a monument passes. Second, Cicero's invocation of the Athenian epitaphic tradition reinforces the main ideological goal of his *Philippics*, helping him portray the conflict with Marc Antony as an existential struggle for the survival and freedom of the *res publica*, and characterise Antony as a *hostis* and Cicero as a patriotic spokesman for the Republic.

Bibliography

Mesk, Josef. 1904. "Ciceros Nachruf an die legio Martia". *Wiener Studien* 26: 228-34.

Maia Fiorelli

Hermione and her Troubled Marriage in Euripides' *Andromache*

The *Andromache* is often considered to be one of Euripides' lesser plays, causing the tragedy to attract much criticism from some scholars, while others have been content to omit the play from study altogether. Due to this scorn, many features of the play have remained overlooked, including the marriage between Neoptolemus and Hermione. Despite the play's title, I will argue that this marriage is the centre of this drama. It is Neoptolemus and Hermione's marital relationship that plunges the play into such chaos that necessitates a *dea ex machina*. Hermione's act of threatening Andromache, now Neoptolemus' war slave, and their son at the altar of Thetis is often attributed to Hermione's cruelty, as critics view Hermione as merely a foil to Andromache's wifely virtue. I will argue that Hermione's troubled relationship with her husband incites her to commit these offenses in order to protect her role as wife and future role as mother. I will argue that Neoptolemus' relationship with Andromache is improper, and that his emotional and physical absence from their marriage cause Hermione to act out of desperation to fix her marriage to ensure the security of her potential future children. This uncovers the complexity of Hermione's character and demonstrates that she is more than Andromache's foil. Though Hermione's behaviour is inexcusable, in understanding how marriage and Neoptolemus' actions affect Hermione's actions, the value of this "problematic" play can be revealed. Euripides provides a social commentary on marriage and the pressure of wives to achieve motherhood through Hermione's character.

Melissa Funke

Athena in the Arena: Greek Myth and Marketing Sports to Women

With the advent of the Professional Women's Hockey League (PWHL) and the growth in popularity of the Women's National Basketball League (WNBA), women's sports are claiming a larger share of the spotlight than ever before. Where public attention goes, marketing is sure to follow; sports gear and activewear designed for women is being promoted more prominently than ever before. This paper explores this trend through the lens of Greek myth, considering how the goddess Athena in particular has been employed in selling sport-related items to women and girls.

I begin with an account of the increased visibility of women's sports in North America and the accompanying surge in products designed for and marketed to women and girls in sport, before offering an account of how various brands aimed at women have drawn on figures from Greek myth and especially Athena to appeal to their target market. Here I use the special case of Winwell, a longstanding manufacturer of hockey equipment, which has created the Athena brand to introduce their new line of gear designed for the sport of ringette (itself a sport created to encourage women and girls to hit the ice).

I conclude with an examination of why the goddess Athena has been particularly appealing to sports and activewear brands, with a consideration of how and why modern ideas of empowerment of women and girls have become attached to an ancient goddess.

Select Bibliography

Brake, Deborah L. 2010. *Getting in the Game: Title IX and the Women's Sports Revolution*. NYU Press.

Hall, M. Ann. 2002. *The girl and the game: a history of women's sport in Canada*. Broadview Press.

Lough, Nancy L. and Andrea N. Geurin (eds.). 2019. *Routledge handbook of the business of women's sport.* Routledge.

MacKenzie, Macaela. 2023. *Money, power, respect: how women in sports are shaping the future of feminism*. Seal Press.

Melissa Funke

Narratives of their Own: A Discussion about Notable Canadian Women Classicists

The proposed roundtable, more accurately described as a facilitated brainstorming session, is an extension of a conversation begun at the 2021 virtual CAC meeting, during the "Foremothers" panel, at which the presenters discussed influential Canadian women classicists throughout the 20th century. As co-editors of a proposed volume collecting the life stories of important women classicists, *Biographical Dictionary of North American Women Classicists* (being considered for possible publication by DeGruyter-Brill), we hope that this session will help us to generate a list of women scholars who have worked at or been trained in a Canadian institution (universities, colleges, and academies) or published or contributed to significant work related to ancient Greek and Roman studies, as well as recruit potential contributors to the volume. I will begin with a brief presentation on the current plans for the volume and the contours of the project, before opening the floor to discussion centered on suggestions for women who should be included as well as discussions of how we might consider as expansively as possible the contributions of Canadian women to Classics.

Kat Furtado

Hesiod on Sex, Justice, and Friendship

Hesiod overwhelmingly uses the word φιλότης to describe sexual unions, the natural and irresistible instantiations of Eros. Twice, however, φιλότης instead describes social relationships built upon notions of justice and reciprocity, which depend upon the agential morality of both parties: *Theog.* 651, where Zeus forms an alliance with the Hundredhanders, and *Op.* 712, where φιλότης re-elevates a companion to the status of brother when a *dikê* is paid for a wrong. In both cases, the unifying nature of φιλότης results in social stability with both parties knowingly and consistently participating in the relationship in accordance with reciprocal justice. In *Theogony*, Zeus' innovation of social φιλότης actually alters the effects of sexual φιλότης: before his ascension to power, sexual reproduction brings discord in the form of bloody succession and monstrosities, but after, social harmony through law. In *Works and Days*, social φιλότης allows one to choose one's own family through reciprocity and mutual aid, providing an alternative to the vicissitudes of dependence on blood relations. Glenn Most's suggestion that φιλότης mitigates the 'fearful workings' of Eros is not wholly wrong (2013: 172-3); but this mitigation is only potential. It depends upon the moral agency that becomes possible only within a society built upon reciprocity and justice, following the example of Zeus' Olympus (cf. Scully 2020, 163-71). If the benefits of good Ἔρις depend upon people making the right choices (Scodel 2019, 41-2), then Φιλότης is like her sister(s): beneficial when chosen justly, destructive when unchecked.

Andrew Gallia

Ennius' "Wise Advisor" (*Ann*. 268-286 Sk.) Revisited

This paper presents a new reading of the "Wise Advisor" passage from Ennius' *Annales*. Most editors now follow the arguments of Cichorius (ap. Norden 1915, 131-8) in assigning this fragment to Ennius' account of the battle of Cannae, where Cn. Servilius Geminus (whose gentilicial appears in the final line) fought and died. No effort has been made to identify the unnamed figure whose virtues are enumerated in the main body of the passage itself, however. The blame for this can be charged to L. Aelius Stilo, whose identification of these verses as an exercise in poetic self-portraiture (Gell. *NA* 12.4.5) set the tone for subsequent critical reception.

Rather than accept this figure's relegation to a mere cypher, I propose a tentative identification of Servilius' companion with the figure of C. Centenius, whom Servilius dispatched with a force of four thousand cavalry to reinforce his consular colleague Flaminius at Lake Trasimene (Plb. 3.86, cf. App. 7.9). Unlike Cichorius' proposed association with Cannae, this interpretation of the fragment's context is consistent with Gellius' attribution of the lines to Book 7 (*in annali septimo*, cf. Badian 1972, 174-7). More importantly, the identification of Servilius' addressee as an active (if minor) participant in the events of the war refocuses our appreciation of his manifold virtues. Instead of looming awkwardly as an extended exercise in authorial self-glorification, this portrait of a Roman hero can be reintegrated into the moral arc of the narrative, heightening the sense of rupture created by Hannibal's invasion.

Woks Cited

Badian, E. 1972. "Ennius and his Friends." In *Ennius*, edited by O. Skutsch, 151-95. Geneva: Fondation Hardt.

Norden, E. 1915. *Ennius und Vergilius: Kriegsbilder aud Roms grosser Zeit*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Skutsch, O. 1985. *The Annals of Q. Ennius*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Michele George

Interpreting the burial assemblages of Roman girls and women

The grave of Crepereia Tryphaena, excavated in Rome at the end of the 19th century, is the best known among a group of burials belonging to girls and young women found with an array of valuable objects, including gold jewelry, silver vessels, toiletry tools, and amber items, as well as the famous ivory dolls.[1] The luxury goods in these graves offer an *embarras de richesse*s in comparison with most Roman tombs, and this feature, along with their unambiguous connection to girls and women, has given rise to much scholarly discussion.[2] However, these grave goods also present interpretive challenges that have yet to be fully addressed. What was the significance of gender in these burial assemblages, since deceased boys and young men do not appear to have been buried with objects of similar value and quantity? And since the dead do not bury themselves, what were the concerns and motivations of surviving family members? Other issues, such as juridical commentary, the performative element in Roman funerary culture, and the generally overlooked parallel evidence from pyre assemblages, deserve further consideration. In this paper I reframe the analysis of these burial assemblages and reassess their role in Roman mortuary practice.

---

[1] A. Bedini (ed.) *Mistero dii una fanciulla. Ori e gioielli della Roma di Marco Aurelio da una nuova scoperta archeologica* .(1995).

[2] E.g., M. Harlow, 'Death and the Maiden: reprising the burials of Roman girls and young women,' in M. Carroll, J.P. Wild (eds.), *Dressing the Dead in Classical Antiquity* (2012) 148-157.

Kyle Gervais

The Bones of Tibullus: Ovid, *Amores* 3.9.59

In this article I argue for an emendation to *Amores* 3.9, Ovid's lament for Tibullus, and explore the intertextual and thematic significance of the restored text. At the conclusion of his poem, Ovid imagines Tibullus' shade abiding in the Elysium in the presence of his illustrious poetic predecessors. But the transmitted text of line 59 would seem to present a contradiction: Ovid speculates about *aliquid nisi nomen et umbra* ("something other than a name and a shadow") surviving death, and then proceeds in the next few lines to identify that *aliquid* as, precisely, Tibullus' *umbra*. Ovid's original text was most likely *aliquid nisi nomen et ossa* ("something other than a name and bones"), referring to a burial site and funerary inscription, a collocation found in other literary and epigraphic epitaphs. With this text, Ovid reproduces details from Tibullus 1.3, a poem where the poet imagines his premature death. In reworking this source for his poem on Tibullus' actual death, Ovid "corrects" a number of Tibullan details. Most significantly, like Tibullus, he explores the contrast between the stark, physical reality of the dead body and the avenues for immortality to be found in the Greco-Roman imagination. But, importantly, while Tibullus predicts that his soul will abide in Elysium because he has dedicated himself to love, Ovid argues that Tibullus' immortality in Elysium will arise from his status as a love *poet*, thereby exploring the theme of poetic immortality that he returns to over and over throughout his oeuvre.

Allison Glazebrook

Industrious Women: Slavery, Management, and the Sex Trade

Only recently scholars have come to stress that the ancient Greek sex trade depended on enslaved labour (Kamen 2023: 44, 64–65; Forsdyke 2021: 150–54). The sources, when they mention the organization of this business, frequently note women as the managers of such workers (e.g. Isai. 6.21; Xen. *Mem*. 3.11; Alexis Frag. 103; Ar. *Ach*. 524-29), and Edward Cohen argues they dominated the industry (2015: 138). In describing the role of female managers, the sources note transactions with large sums of money (Hyp. *Ath*. 2; [Dem.] 59.29). This paper considers the ancient focus on female managers as opposed to male managers, the potential status of these women, and how these businesses were structured to enable considerable profits for women in an economy that offered them fewer opportunities. Drawing from literary sources and curse tablets, the paper argues that female managers were indeed crucial to this industry, that many had enslaved backgrounds, and managed enslaved women with the backing of their ex-enslaver. These enslavers, furthermore, integrated such women into the system of slavery as a way to continue profiting from their labour. The examination of female managers fills in gaps on the processes behind slavery and highlights slavery as a cycle rather than a trajectory from enslavement to freedom.

Bibliography

Cohen, Edward. 2015. *Athenian Prostitution: The Business of Sex*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Forsdyke, Sara. 2021. *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kamen, Deborah. 2023. *Greek Slavery*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Maxime Guenette

<u>Diffusion et implantation des temples romano-celtiques en Grande-Bretagne romaine</u>

Les temples romano-celtiques (*fana*), caractérisés par un plan concentrique combinant une *cella* centrale et un *temenos* périphérique, représentent une forme architecturale unique des religions de l'Empire romain. Issue de l'interaction entre les traditions religieuses celtiques et romaines, cette structure cultuelle émerge initialement en Gaule romaine au Ier siècle AEC avant de se diffuser rapidement dans les régions celtiques du nord-ouest de l'Europe. Ces édifices sacrés se distinguent nettement des temples classiques romains et illustrent une remarquable capacité d'adaptation, conciliant des pratiques cultuelles locales avec des influences continentales.

Dans la province romaine de Britannia, conquise en 43 EC par Claude, les temples romano-celtiques se développent de façon similaire dès le Ier siècle AEC et se multiplient à travers la Grande-Bretagne. Au-delà de leur fonction cultuelle, ils jouent un rôle symbolique dans l'intégration des tribus brittones au sein du paysage religieux de l'Empire romain.

Cette étude se propose d'analyser l'émergence et la diffusion des temples romano-celtiques en Grande-Bretagne entre la fin de l'âge du Fer et le début de la période romaine (50 AEC-100 EC). L'analyse portera sur leur répartition géographique et les facteurs ayant favorisé leur établissement, qu'il s'agisse de centres urbains tels que Verulamium ou de sites ruraux comme Hayling Island. Une attention particulière sera accordée aux continuités et ruptures entre les temples et sanctuaires de l'âge du Fer et de l'époque romaine afin de mieux comprendre les dynamiques sous-jacentes à cette transition.

Jackson Hase

Sending Letters to Nobody: Distance and Information in Late Antiquity

In late antiquity, letters did not always reach their recipients. Numerous ancient authors report failures in mail delivery. When scholarship has attended to such sources, conclusions have been consistent: late antique writers regularly struggled to find reliable carriers for their letters. This is certainly part of the explanation. However, authors also sometimes sent letters that they did not necessarily expect to reach their recipients, even when carrier acquisition was not an issue. This paper will argue that such examples are evidence of letter sending being used not so much for message communication, but for gaining information over long distances. Letter writers did not always have accurate and up-to-date knowledge about their recipients' whereabouts. As a substitute for correct information, writers could instead send letters to various places, knowing that a response to any would necessarily provide them with sure evidence of their recipient's location. Synesius of Cyrene's *Ep*. 71, Quintus Aurelius Symmachus' *Ep*. 1.86, and Basil of Caesarea's *Ep*. 172 each show their author sending letters in this manner to various effects. Letters that did not find their recipients were not epistolary failures, but were part of a process by which individuals sought to gain information about their social world. When reread in this way, these letters become evidence not simply of epistolary unreliability, but of the savvy ways in which individuals could take advantage of the quirks and difficulties of letter communication.

Warren Huard

Nietzsche on Overcoming the Greek Hero

Commenting on the last words of the dying Socrates of Plato's *Phaedo*, Nietzsche famously concludes, "We must overcome even the Greeks!"[3] Here I would like to consider just one aspect of this overcoming, namely that which concerns the symbolism of the Greek heroes Theseus, Heracles, and Odysseus.

On the one hand, the myths of each of these heroes provide Nietzsche with important symbols for his own philosophical writing throughout his active life. For instance, in an early work he likens Schopenhauer to Heracles, memorably evoking Xenophon's Socratic image of Heracles at the crossroads to praise Schopenhauer's choice to live a life of lonely struggle against the academic philosophers of his day. Similarly, Nietzsche uses the Homeric image of Odysseus making the shades of the dead speak to describe the process of interpreting ancient art and literature in the present.

Yet the limitations of these Greek heroes become increasingly significant to Nietzsche's mature thought. Heracles, as a symbol of the philosophical life closely linked to Socrates himself in the Platonic tradition, becomes a figure to be surpassed by Nietzsche's philosopher of the future, who must be more like a living lion than someone clad in a dead one. Theseus likewise, as the mortal lover of Ariadne, is beneath the god Dionysus, Nietzsche's most important symbol of a new kind of philosophical life, and one whose own deep Platonic legacy is for Nietzsche to be overcome, I suggest, by overcoming the Greek heroes associated with him.

---

3 „Wir müssen auch die Griechen überwinden!" Nietzsche, *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*, 340.

David Jacks II

<u>The River Scamander: Embodiment of Anger and Mirror of Achilles</u>

Although a stock example of Homeric ἐνάργεια (in short, 'vividness') for ancient grammarians and commentators, the bout of Scamander and Achilles (and Hephaestus) in *Iliad* 21 has received relatively little literary engagement. This is somewhat striking considering the uniqueness of the scene: it is the only place in the *Iliad* in which a natural force "breaks out of the confines of a simile and moves to the foreground of the battlefield" (Holmes 2015: 30). Of the meager scholarship on the scene, almost none considers its significance to the *Iliad* on the whole. I believe that a proper understanding of the role of χόλος ('anger') in the episode reveals its importance. Building on Holmes and van Emde Boas, who posit a link between Scamander *qua* angry river and archaic conceptions of χόλος *qua* fluid, I argue that the poet presents Scamander as a figure of χόλος. An examination of Scamander's actions and their outcomes reveals that χόλος, when left unchecked, produces blinding (figuratively) and harmful, if not destructive, effects on the angry individual and those who are closely connected with them. I contend that these effects are also evident in Achilles' χόλος throughout the poem and that Scamander's χόλος not only qualifies and confirms the blinding and destructive characteristics of Achilles' χόλος prior to Patroclus' death, but also prepares the Homeric audience for—and perhaps even foreshadows—Achilles' emotional realization of and reaction to the effects of his χόλος in his encounter with Priam in *Iliad* 24.

<u>Bibliography</u>

Cairns, D. L. 2004. "Ethics, Ethology, Terminology: Iliadic Anger and the Cross-Cultural Study of Emotion." In *Ancient Anger: Perspectives from Homer to Galen*, eds. Susanna Braund and Glenn W. Most, 11-49. Cambridge.

Holmes, Brooke. 2015. "Situating Scamander: 'Natureculture' in the *Iliad*." *Ramus* 44: 29-51.

_____. 2010. *The Symptom and the Subject: The Emergence of the Physical Body in Ancient Greece*. Princeton.

Konstan, David. 2015. "Homer Answers his Critics." *Electryone* 3: 1-11.

Mills, Donald H. 2002. *The Hero and the Sea: Patterns of Chaos in Ancient Myth*. Wauconda.

Moulton, Carroll. 1974. "Similes in the *Iliad*." *Hermes* 102: 381-97.

Padel, Ruth. 1992. *In and Out of the Mind*. Princeton.

Richardson, Nicholas. 1993. *The Iliad: A Commentary.* ed. G. S. Kirk. Vol. 6. Cambridge.

Salowey, Christina A. 2017. "Rivers Run Through It: Environmental History in Two Heroic Riverine Battles." In *Myths on the Map: The Storied Landscapes of Ancient Greece*, ed. Greta Hawes, 159-177. Oxford.

Squire, Michael and Elsner, Jás. 2016. "Homer and the Ekphrasists: Text and Picture in the Elder Philostratus' 'Scamander' (*Imagines* I.i.)." In *The Archaeology of Greece and Rome: Studies in Honour of Anthony Snodgrass*, eds. John Bintliff and Keith Rutter, 57-99. Edinburgh.

Van Emde Boas, Evert. 2022. "Fear and Loathing at the Xanthus." *In Emotions and Narrative in Ancient Literature and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Irene de Jong*, eds. Mathieu De Bakker, Baukje van den Berg, and Jacqueline Klooster, 27-47. Leiden.

Wathelet, P. 2004. "Le combat d'Héphaïstos contre le Scamandre et le Simoïs dans l'*Iliade*,"In *L'eau et le feu dans les religions antiques*, ed. G. Capdeville, 61-77. Paris.

West, M. L. ed. 2000. *Homerus Ilias*. Vol. 2. München.

_____. 2011. *The Making of the Iliad*: *Disquisition and Analytical Commentary*. Oxford.

Whitman, Cedric H. 1958. *Homer and the Homeric Tradition*. Cambridge, Mass.

Mark Joyal

The Plato OCT — Past, Present, Future

The series "Oxford Classical Texts" was established in 1896, after about ten years of discussion and false starts. The task of editing Plato's works was assigned without delay to John Burnet (1863–1928), who completed the project's five volumes between 1900 and 1908. At this distance we can recognize the century that preceded their publication as a period of astonishing discovery and progress in the study of the Platonic text, thanks above all to German scholarship.

Burnet had a justifiably high confidence in his editorial talent and his ability to synthesize the relevant scholarship of the nineteenth century, but he seems also to have understood that his editions were not definitive and would be superseded, as some of them have been in the same OCT series: vol. I in 1995, *Republic* for vol. IV in 2003 and, imminently, vol. II. Progress in our understanding of Plato's textual tradition has, if anything, accelerated in the 125 years since Burnet's editions appeared (for example, through the publication of papyri). No less important have been technical and technological advances since the 1980s that have raised readers' expectations of what can be reasonably expected of new editions of Plato's works in the OCT series.

The first part of this paper explains Burnet's assumptions and practices as editor in relation to contemporary scholarship on Plato's text. The remainder identifies the most important and distinctive characteristics in the construction and presentation of the editions in the new vol. II and in the production of vol. III, now at an early stage. Illustrative examples will be drawn mainly, but not only, from the texts and *apparatus critici* of *Alcibiades* I and II.

Tiphaine Laheuc

Plants before Theophrastus: typologizing the vegetal in ancient Greece

If Theophrastus provides us with the first explicit plant taxonomy of ancient Greece, he was not the first Greek to distinguish different plant types. Prior to "scientific" (specialist) taxonomies, there are always "folk" (nonspecialist) taxonomies of plants. These nonspecialist taxonomies are not explicit; rather, they must be investigated through an analysis of both the Greek vocabulary for plants and the patterns displayed by Greek literature when describing plants.

This analysis reveals two main subdivisions of plants. First, plants may be generically described through two diametrically opposed words: φυτόν and ὕλη. Φυτόν (usually "plant") represents small, pliant plants with which humans have an emotional relationship. By contrast, ὕλη ("vegetation") represents larger, more rigid plants whose presence is incompatible with that of humans. A second taxonomy of plants, visible in passages such as the description of Alcinoos' garden (*Od*. 7.112-132), divides plants into three types based on general morphology: trees, bushes / vines, and herbs. The simultaneous existence of these two taxonomies may be explained by an evolution in the taxonomy: the antithesis φυτόν / ὕλη may have appeared at a time when only two plant-types existed, trees and herbs. The third group, bushes and vines, would have differentiated from trees later, prior to the Homeric epics where bushes and trees already display markedly different literary functions. These hypotheses are compatible with ethnobiological research led by scholars such as Brent Berlin (1972, 1973, 1992) and Cecil H. Brown (1984) that aims at identifying recurring patterns in the emergence of folk taxonomies of plants.

Bibliography (selected)

Berlin, B., 1972. "Speculations on the Growth of Ethnobotanical Nomenclature", *Language in Society*, vol. 1, n°1, 51-86.

Berlin, B., Breedlove, D.E., and Raven, P.H., 1973. "General Principles of Classification and Nomenclature in Folk Biology", *American Anthropologist*, N.S., vol. 75, n°1, 214-242.

Berlin, B., 1992. *Ethnobiological classification: principles of categorization of plants and animals in traditional societies.* Princeton.

Brown, C.H., 1984. *Language and Living Things: Uniformities in Folk Classification and Naming.* New Brunswick (NJ).

Les plantes avant Théophraste : les taxonomies du végétal en Grèce ancienne

Si Théophraste nous fournit la première taxonomie explicite des plantes de la Grèce ancienne, il n'était pas le premier à distinguer différents types de plantes. Avant les taxonomies « scientifiques » (spécialisées), il y a toujours des taxonomies « populaires » (non spécialisées) des plantes. Ces taxonomies non spécialisées ne sont pas explicites ; elles doivent être identifiées par une étude approfondie du vocabulaire grec pour les plantes, ainsi que des motifs récurrents qui sous-tendent les descriptions de plantes dans la littérature grecque.

Cette étude révèle deux principales subdivisions des plantes. Tout d'abord, les plantes peuvent être génériquement décrites à travers deux termes diamétralement opposés : φυτόν et ὕλη. Φυτόν (habituellement « plante ») représente de petites plantes souples auxquelles les hommes sont émotionnellement liés. En revanche, ὕλη (« végétation ») représente des plantes plus grandes et plus rigides dont la présence est incompatible avec celle d'humains. Une autre taxonomie des plantes, visible dans certains passages tels que la description du jardin d'Alcinoos (*Od.* 7.112-132), divise les plantes en trois types selon leur morphologie générale : arbres, buissons / vignes, herbes. La coexistence de ces deux taxonomies peut s'expliquer par une évolution du système : l'antithèse φυτόν / ὕλη a pu apparaître à une époque où seuls deux types de plantes existaient, les arbres et les herbes. Le troisième groupe, celui des buissons et des vignes, se serait distingué des arbres plus tard, avant les épopées homériques où buissons et arbres montrent déjà des fonctions littéraires différentes. Ces hypothèses sont compatibles avec les recherches en ethnobiologie menées par des chercheurs tels que Brent Berlin (1972, 1973, 1992) et Cecil H. Brown (1984), qui visent à identifier des schémas récurrents dans l'émergence de taxonomies populaires des plantes.

<u>Bibliographie (choisie)</u>

Berlin, B., 1972. « Speculations on the Growth of Ethnobotanical Nomenclature », *Language in Society*, vol. 1, n°1, 51-86.

Berlin, B., Breedlove, D.E., et Raven, P.H., 1973. « General Principles of Classification and Nomenclature in Folk Biology », *American Anthropologist*, N.S., vol. 75, n°1, 214-242.

Berlin, B., 1992. *Ethnobiological classification: principles of categorization of plants and animals in traditional societies.* Princeton.

Brown, C.H., 1984. *Language and Living Things: Uniformities in Folk Classification and Naming.* New Brunswick (NJ).

Emily Lamond

The Stakes of Speech for Roman Boys: The Story of Quintus Pedius

Quintus Pedius was a young boy when he became the topic of conversation at a meeting of Augustus and the leading men of Rome. At issue was the boy's education, because he had mutism (*mutus natura,* Plin. *NH* 35.21). After some discussion, these men decided that he ought to be educated as a painter. Pliny reports that after Quintus Pedius achieved some recognition for his painting, he died at the age of thirteen. Scholars have noted the place of Quintus Pedius in the history of mutism, and, in some Deaf histories, he has been claimed as the first named deaf painter. This anecdote underscores particularly Roman cultural anxieties about childhood speech development. Roman adults would go to great lengths to attempt to direct and control the trajectory of speech development in childhood, not merely for practical ends, but because skill in the rhetorical arts was essential to becoming a full citizen man. I argue that Quintus Pedius' story suggests broader patterns pertaining to the values and ideals of Roman childhood and which have yet to be addressed in full.

Select Bibliography

Gibson, A. A. (2006). "The physiology and therapy of broken speech in Galen and Caelius Aurelianus." *40th International Congress on the History of Medicine,* pp. 841–44.

Gourevitch, D. (1991). "Un enfant muet de naissance s'exprime par le dessin: à propos d'un cas rapporté par Pline l'Ancien." *L'Évolution psychiatrique,* 56(4): 889-893.

Husquin, C. (2017). "Perceptions et accompagnements de l'atteinte physique chez l'enfant dans l'Antiquité romaine."

Laes, C. (2011). "Silent Witnesses: Deaf-Mutes in Greco-Roman Antiquity." *The Classical World,* 104 (4): pp. 451-473.

--- (2018). *Disabilities and the Disabled in the Roman World: A Social and Cultural History.* Cambridge University Press.

Karine Laporte

Les « secondes préfaces » dans la littérature antique

Les « secondes préfaces » sont, dans l'ensemble, des passages à teneur programmatique et/ou méthodologique faisant écho au proème, mais qui sont placés plus loin dans le texte et qui en interrompent le déroulement narratif ou poétique, e.g. Thuc. 5.25-26. Contrairement aux préfaces, dont l'identification et la fonction font généralement consensus, la compréhension de ces autres sections par la critique moderne varie grandement : le terme est appliqué à des passages provenant de tous les genres (épopée, poésie didactique, historiographie, traité, fable, etc.) et de toutes périodes (période archaïque à Antiquité tardive). De même, le concept est souvent adapté à chaque propos, pouvant donner lieu à la présence de plusieurs « secondes préfaces » au sein d'une même œuvre. Si Janson 1964 a traité des préfaces latines en prose et Kyriakidès & De Martino (ed.) 2004 des « milieux » dans la poésie latine, il n'existe pas, à notre connaissance, d'étude qui rassemblerait prose et poésie, textes latins et grecs. Par conséquent, les critères et les objectifs d'une telle pratique ne sont pas bien définis. Dans cette communication, j'entends présenter un premier corpus mixte de « secondes préfaces », afin d'en relever certaines formes, fonctions et tendances. Je m'intéresserai notamment à la voix des passages, leur aspect intra- ou extradiégétique, leur emplacement, la fonction professée par l'auteur, la nature des éléments repris de la préface, etc. Au terme de ce survol, je tenterai d'en proposer une première définition et des critères, qui permettront de mener une étude ultérieure plus approfondie.

Bibliographie sélective

Janson, T. 1964. *Latin Prose Prefaces*, Almqvist & Wiksell.

Kyriakydis, S. & F. De Martino, ed. 2004. *Middles in Latin Poetry*, Levante.

Marincola, J. 1989. "Some Suggestions on the Proem and 'Second Preface' of Arrian's *Anabasis*", *JHS* 109, 186-89.

Moles, J. 1980. "The Interpretation of the 'Second Preface" in Arrian's *Anabasis*", *JHS* 105, 162-8.

Westlake, H.D. 1972. "The Two Second Prefaces of Thucydides", *Phoenix* 26.1, 12-17.

Tyler LeBlanc

Appian's Ethnographic Characterization

Appian of Alexandria wrote his history according to a unique paradigm: to compare the virtue of the Romans to other nations and, through this, to reveal the shortcomings of these nations by comparison (Praef. 12. 48). Overall, his works have received less attention in modern scholarship than the canonical historians such as Thucydides and Polybius. Recent scholarship, however, has more successfully placed Appian within this milieu. Jonathan Price, for example, has stressed the originality of Appian's ethnographic scheme and pointed out how Thucydides has influenced Appian's interpretation of the Late Republic. Price points out that Appian adapts his material in an attempt to balance a faithful recollection of facts, which the historical genre demands of him, with the use of an ethnographic lens of his own design that shapes those facts. My paper will demonstrate how Appian's characterization is influenced by his ethnographical assumptions. For instance, when he describes Rhascupolis and his brother Rhascus, each an ally of one side in the campaign that ends at Philippi, he characterizes them as crafty Thracians, a description absent in other sources. (*B. Civ.* 4. 434-440). My paper will collect other examples of where Appian's characterizations have been shaped by the geography of his narrative.

Bibliography

Bucher, G. 2000. "The Origins, Program and Composition of Appian's *Roman History*", *TAPA* 130, 411-58.

Gowing, A. M. 1992. *The Triumviral Narratives of Appian and Cassius Dio*, Ann Arbor.

Price, J. 2021. "The originality of Appian of Alexandria." *Scripta Classica Israelica,* vol. 40, pp. 31-47.

Price, J. 2015 "Thucydidean Stasis and the Roman Empire in Appian's Interpretation of History", 45-63. In Welch, ed, *Appian's Roman History: Empire and Civil War,* Swansea 2015.

Welch, K. 2015. "Appian and the *Roman History*: A Reappraisal", in K. Welch, ed., *Appian's Roman History: Empire and Civil War*, Swansea 1-13.

Giulio Leghissa

<u>Is fighting tooth and nails masculine enough? Laevinus' Cannibalism and the Bestialization of *virtus* in Silius Italicus' *Punica* (6.41-53)</u>

How does cannibalism affect conceptions of 'masculinity' in the Roman world? In this paper I contend that, in narrating the act of cannibalism by the Roman soldier Laevinus in the *Punica* (6.41-53), the Flavian poet Silius Italicus uses cannibalism as a heuristic tool to problematize the Republican notion of *virtus* ('masculinity'), thus contributing in the broader debate about the decline and corruption of Roman notions of masculinity across the Republic and Empire in Julio-Claudian and Flavian times (on *virtus*: Fantham 1995; McDonnell 2006; Balmaceda 2017; Goldberg 2021).

Recent scholarship has focused on cannibalism and bestialization in Flavian literature (Augoustakis 2016; Del Vecchio 2024). Moreover, the episode of cannibalism staged by Silius Italicus in the *Punica* (6.41-53), in which the Roman soldier Laevinus killing his Libyan opponent by feasting on his head at the battle of the Trasimenus, has raised much scholarly interest through time. Scholars noticed similarities between Laevinus' cannibalism in Silius and Tydeus' in Statius' *Thebaid*, as far as they both display cannibalism as the product of uncontrolled anger (*ira*) on human psyche (Braund and Gilbert 2003). However, a major difference remained unnoticed to scholars. Whereas Statius clearly criminalizes Tydeus' impious act by showing Athena's horrified by the sight of it, thus turning him into an outcast of human society, Silius appears to be more ambiguous on the moral implications of cannibalism. Laevinus' cannibalism is not an act of *hybris*, as in the *Thebaid*, but an act of self-defense against an armed opponent, which finally leads to the killing of the enemy on the battlefield: Silius frames it explicitly as an act of *virtus* (on *virtus* in Silius: Tipping 2010). In killing his opponent by resorting to cannibalism, Laevinus fulfills his role as soldier fighting for Rome's safety. Laevinus' heroic act of *virtus* also an act of Roman masculinity, as by Roman Republican standards?

In this paper, I show how reference to cannibalism in Silius' *Punica* discloses the contradictions between *virtus*, masculinity, and bestiality, thus offering a new perspective on the decline of the Roman concept of *virtus* and of masculinity in the Flavian period (on this topic: Racette-Campbell 2023).

<u>Bibliography</u>

Augoustakis, A. 2016. *Statius. Thebaid 8. Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Balmaceda, C. 2017. Virtus Romana. *Politics and Morality in the Roman Historians*. Chapel Hill: University of North California Press.

Braund, S., and G. Gilbert. 2003. "An ABC of epic ira: Anger, beasts, and cannibalism." In *Ancient Anger: Perspectives from Homer to Galen (Yale Classical Studies 32)*, edited by S. Braund and G. Most, pp. 250-85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Del Vecchio, J. A. 2024. *The Dark Side of Statius'* Achilleid. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Fantham, E. 1995. "The Ambiguity of Virtus in Lucan's *Civil War* and Statius' *Thebaid*." *Arachnion* 3.

Goldberg, C. 2021. *Roman Masculinity and Politics from Republic to Empire*. London: Routledge.

McDonnell, M. 2006. *Roman Manliness.* Virtus *and the Roman Republic.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Racette-Campbell, M. 2023. *The Crisis of Masculinity in the Age of Augustus.* Madison, Wisconsin: University of Winsconsin Press.

Tipping, B. 2010. "Virtue and Narrative in Silius Italicus' *Punica.*" In *Brill's Companion to Silius Italicus*, edited by A. Augoustakis, pp.193-218. Brill: Leiden.

Matthew Ludwig

Reading Minds in *Philoctetes*

In his *Poetics*, Aristotle claims that tragic character comprises two components—conduct (*êthos*) and thought (*dianoia*) (1449b37-8). The former term covers "that which makes a choice clear" (τὸ τοιοῦτον ὅ δηλοῖ τὴν προαίρεσιν,1450b8-9) whereas the latter refers only to "such occasions when, by speaking, [characters] make a situation known or also reveal their opinion" (ἐν ὅσοις λέγοντες ἀποδεικνύουσί τι ἢ καὶ ἀποφαίνονται γνώμην, 1450a6-8). Aristotle's argument that the thinking of tragic characters exists only as that which is revealed in speech to clarify situations and choices (cf. 1456b7-8) has led some scholars to resist psychologizing characters through reading 'between the lines' by operating under the hermeneutic principle that there is no such thing as hidden thinking in Greek tragedy.

Yet, I contend that in the prologue to *Philoctetes*, Sophocles encourages his audience, contra Aristotle's later theory, to search for hidden thoughts between and beyond the words his characters say. Throughout the prologue Odysseus instructs Neoptolemus on how he must deceive Philoctetes to procure the bow of Heracles. As many scholars have noted, this sets the scene for a prolonged 'play within a play' to follow in which Neoptolemus will take on a 'role' as Philoctetes' advocate and friend while in fact operating under Odysseus' orders to trick him. But I argue that once the possibility is flagged in the prologue that characters in this play can and will conceal rather than reveal their thoughts with words, the audience is implicitly encouraged to scrutinize the prologue itself for the many signs of hidden *dianoia* therein.

Select Bibliography

Budelmann, F. and P. Easterling. 2010. "Reading Minds in Greek Tragedy." *Greece & Rome* 57.2: 289-303.

Budelmann, F. and I. Sluiter. eds. 2023. *Minds on Stage: Greek Tragedy and Cognition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Easterling, P. 1977. "Character in Sophocles." *Greece & Rome* 24.2: 121-9.

-----. 1978. "'Philoctetes' and Modern Criticism." *Illinois Classical Studies* 3: 27-39.

-----. 1990. "Constructing Character in Greek Tragedy." In Pelling (1990): 83-99.

Garton, C. 1957. "Characterization in Greek Tragedy." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77: 247-54.

Gibert, J. 1995. *Change of Mind in Greek Tragedy*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Goldhill, S. 1990. "Character and Action, Representation and Reading: Greek Tragedy and its Critics." In Pelling (1990): 100-27.

Gould, J. 1978. "Dramatic Character and Human Intelligibility." *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*. 24 (204): 43-67.

Hall, E. and S. Goldhill. eds. 2009. *Sophocles and the Greek Tragic Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lada-Richard, I. 1997. "'Estrangement' or 'Reincarnation'?: Performers on the Classical Athenian Stage." *The Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 5.2: 66-107.

-----. 1998. "Staging the Ephebeia: Theatrical Role-Playing and Ritual Transition in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*." *Ramus* 27: 1-26.

-----. 2009. "'The Players Will Tell All': the Dramatist, the Actors and the Art of Acting in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*." In Hall/Goldhill (2009): 48-68.

Pelling, C. ed. 1990. *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Revermann, M. and Peter Wilson. eds. 2008. *Performance, Iconography, Reception: Studies in Honour of Oliver Taplin.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Seidensticker, B. 2008. "Character and Characterization in Greek Tragedy." In Revermann/Wilson (2008): 333-46.

Thumiger, C. 2007. "Hidden Paths: Self and Characterization in Greek Tragedy: Euripides' 'Bacchae'." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies: Supplement*. 99: iv, vii-ix, xi-xvi, 1-57, 59-161, 163-217, 219-31, 233-59, 261-6.

van Emde Boas. 2023. "Mindreading, Character, and Realism." In Budelmann/Sluiter (2023): 25-42.

Winnington-Ingram, R. P. 1980. *Sophocles: An Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carolyn MacDonald

<u>Feminizing/Barbarizing Rome: Ovid's *Medicamina Faciei Femineae*</u>

This paper examines the interplay of elegiac, imperialist, and misogynist tropes in the *Medicamina Faciei Femineae.* Drawing on Anne McClintock's insights into British imperialism in her seminal work *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (1995), I suggest that Ovid revels in collapsing the boundaries anxiously policed by Roman discourses of domination. As the lines blur between man and woman, Roman and barbarian, *urbs* and *rus,* Rome itself becomes a feminized and barbarized space. It has long been recognized that Greek and Latin literature routinely feminizes the earth and represents the female body as land for cultivation — a system of imagery that naturalizes the subordination of women and their exclusion from civic and imperial affairs (DuBois 1988, Dougherty 1993, Keith 2000). As McClintock observes, however, the woman-land equation is "more than a familiar symptom of male megalomania…it also betrays acute paranoia and a profound…sense of male anxiety and boundary loss" (24). In the *Medicamina*, I argue, a slippery series of metaphors enacts this boundary loss, figuring women as both arable land in need of ploughing (*cultus humum sterilem Cerealia pendere iussit / munera,* 3-4) and urban topography enhanced by monumental embellishments associated with foreign decadence (*nigra sub imposito marmore terra latet*, 8). Moreover, Ovid implicates the city and its male citizens in the normatively feminine and barbarian practices of ornamental self-cultivation (*comptos habeant saecula nostra viros*, 24). Although ostensibly just about women's cosmetics, therefore, Ovid's miniature mock-didactic toys with a Roman ideological nexus entangling gender, space, and power.

<u>Works Cited</u>

Dougherty, C. 1993. *The Poetics of Colonization: From City to Text in Archaic Greece*.

Oxford.

DuBois, P. 1988. *Sowing the Body: Psychoanalysis and Ancient Representations of*

Women. Chicago.

Keith, A. 2000. *Engendering Rome: Women in Latin Epic*. Cambridge.

McClintock, A. 1995. I*mperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial*

Contest. New York and London.

Michael MacKinnon

Animals in Ancient North Africa – Chronological and Geographical Patterns as Revealed from Zooarchaeological Syntheses

Assessment of zooarchaeological data for the principal livestock (i.e., cattle, sheep, goats and pigs) reveals regional and cultural variability in how animals were manipulated, marketed, bred, and utilized over the course of antiquity. This paper focuses upon those developments, as reconstructed through zooarchaeological frequency and biometric data for the period from c. 1000 BCE to c. 700 CE. Regionally, North Africa encompasses a vast territory, from Egypt, in the East, to Mauretania, in the West. Ecologically, there are variations within each of these zones – some more mountainous; some isolated in desert landscapes; others connected through maritime routes. Culturally, moreover, these areas witnessed the introduction of different social and economic agents over the timeframe under investigation – including (to various degrees, and in various regions) Phoenician, Hellenistic, Roman, and Vandal occupation and influence. Patterns within these components are examined in a broad synthetic manner, using zooarchaeological data across the entire expanse of ancient North Africa—from Egypt to Mauretania. Attention centers upon the nature and degree of frequency, size and shape changes within the principal livestock, aspects that were in part influenced by factors such as the scale and pattern in trade, dietary appeal for animal products (notably fatty meats), urbanization, market demands, ecological adaptations, as well as economic and cultural contact among areas. Key similarities and differences in faunal patterns, across time and space within ancient North Africa, and the links these share with changes in animal husbandry schemes, are outlined.

Jeff Masse

<u>Indigenous Odysseus? A Place-Based Reading of Home in Homer's *Odyssey*</u>

A central theme of Homer's *Odyssey* is Odysseus' *nostos*, or his safe return home, but what does "home" mean for Odysseus and the *Odyssey* as a whole? This paper argues that the Homeric concept of "home" reflects a "place-based" understanding of self, community, and land, akin to North American Indigenous ways of knowing. As Indigenous scholars like Keith Basso (1996) and Jay Johnson (2010) observe, for their communities, place is a repository for history and identity, linking land, community, and self through a rooted, intergenerational, and unselfconscious bond (cf. Tuan 1980).

Similarly, the *Odyssey* depicts Odysseus' home as a fusion of land and family. His identity is tied to his paternal lineage—his *genos* or *paterôn genos*—and his *patris gaia*, the land of his ancestors (cf. Donlan 2007). This Indigenous relationship to place underpins Odysseus' self-definition by name, father, and land (e.g., *Od.* 9.19-21). His *nostos*, therefore, cannot be complete without reuniting with his father, Laertes, as ancestral land and lineage are intertwined.

The poem underscores this connection in the reunion scene in Laertes' garden (*Od.* 24.225–347). Odysseus affirms his identity through shared memories of Ithaca's trees, fixed markers of the land (Katz 1991), which indicate the rootedness of home. This moment encapsulates the Homeric understanding of home as an interrelation of family, land, and memory, making Odysseus' return a restoration of his place-based identity.

<u>Works Cited</u>

Basso, K. H. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque.

Donlan, W. 2007. "Kin-Groups in the Homeric Epics." *CW* 101: 29-39.

Johnson, J. T. (2010). "Place-based Learning and Knowing: Critical Pedagogies Grounded in Indigeneity." *GeoJournal*, 77: 829-836.

Katz, M. A. 1991. *Penelope's Renown. Meaning and Indeterminacy in the Odyssey*. Princeton.

Tuan, Y. F. 1980. "Rootedness versus Sense of Place." *Landscape* 24:3–8.

Kathryn Mattison

Innovation through symmetry in Euripides' *Orestes*.

Euripides' *Orestes* is best known for its unique mythopoesis as it reimagines the possible effect of Clytemnestra's death on her children and on the city of Argos. This paper will argue that this new version of events was closely connected to Euripides' previous work through important instances of symmetry, which allow for a more expansive exploration of myth and the boundaries of the tragic genre as Euripides uses the familiar to upend his audience's expectations of a known conclusion to the play. I argue first that the continual arrival of new characters bearing bad news in *Orestes* mirrors the plot of *Trojan Women*, thereby establishing doubt for the audience about how Orestes, Electra, and Pylades might avoid death. I then argue that Menelaus in *Orestes* mirrors his role in *Andromache;* his unwillingness to help his family is established there, and its reiteration in *Orestes*, compounded by the vigour with which Tyndareus rejects his grandson, further removes the audience's ability to predict how the play might end. Both of these connections are more than use of generic scenes or characters that we would expect in any tragedy. I argue that Euripides is deliberately drawing on elements of his previous work to make the newness of *Orestes* both familiar and uniquely unpredictable, and therefore unsettling, to his audience. The connections to *Trojan Women* and *Andromache* in particular seem to be leading to the worst possible ending for *Orestes*, and the audience is left until the very end to wonder how far Euripides will go with his innovation.

Donald McCarthy

The *Arbores* of Perception: *Anima* and *Animus* in Vergil's *Georgics*

Vergil's *Georgics* paints a philosophically charged portrait of Roman agriculture influenced by Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, inviting an anthropomorphised view of the natural world. The frequent focalisation of the poem through both flora and fauna creates a pathetic landscape which surpasses simple poetic motif, particularly when Vergil draws our attention to the 'souls' of his plants and animals. I argue that a close examination of Vergil's conception of both *animus* and *anima* in the *Georgics* reveals a complex integration of aspects from several strands of Greek philosophy, including the Epicurean Garden and the proto-Philosophy of Mind outlined in Aristotle's *De Anima*.

I will focus in this paper on Vergil's treatment of *anima* and *animus* regarding plants, especially fruit-trees. In his didactic discussion on how best to plant an orchard (*G.* 2.265–87), Vergil develops several aspects of arboreal anthropomorphism in close succession: the relationship between the tree and its cuttings and seeds as mother and child (e.g. 268: *mutatam ignorant subito ne semina matrem*); the orchard as a military unit (e.g., 280: *explicuit legio et campo stetit agmen aperto*); paranomastic wordplay comparing trees to men; and culminating in an Epicurean view on the pleasure these anthropomorphic trees derive from their perceptive faculties to not only receive visual sensation, but to actually take pleasure in sight as if it were the Aristotelian nutritive faculty (e.g., 285: *non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem*). Vergil's exploration of the nature of non-human *anima* and *animus* challenges readers to reconsider the poem's philosophical underpinnings.

Select Bibliography

Ahl, F. *Metaformations: Soundplay and Wordplay in Ovid and Other Classical Poets*. Ithaca.

Cornell University Press, 1985.

Balme, D. M., ed. *Aristotle*: Historia Animalium. *Volume I, Books I–X: Text*. Prepared for

Publication by Allan Gotthelf. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Caston, V. 2009. "Aristotle's Psychology." In *A Companion to Ancient Philosophy*. Edited

by Mary Louise Gill and Pierre Pellegrin, 316–346. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

Clément-Tarantino, S. "La poétique romaine comme hybridation féconde. Les leçons de la greffe

(Virgile, *Géorgiques*, 2, 9–82)." *Interférences – Ars Scribendi* 4 (2006): 1–26.

Erren, M., ed. *Georgica.* Vol. 2. Heidelberg: Winter Universitätsverlag, 2003.

Gale, M. *Virgil on the Nature of Things*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Henkel, J. "Vergil Talks Technique: Metapoetic Arboriculture in *Georgics* 2." *Vergilius* 60

(2014): 33–66.

Hinds, S. *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Johansen, T. K. *The Powers of Aristotle's Soul*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Keith, A. M. "Etymological Play on *ingens* in Ovid, Vergil, and Octavia." *American Journal of Philology* 112, no. 1 (1991): 73–76.

———. "*Pascite boues, summittite tauros*: Cattle and Oxen in the Virgilian Corpus." In S. Harrison, S. Frangoulidis, and T. D. Papanghelis (eds.), *Intratextuality and Latin Literature*, 99–130. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2018.

———. *Virgil.* London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020.

Mynors, R. A. B., ed. *Georgics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

O'Hara, J. J. *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

Ross, W. D., ed. *Aristotelis: De Anima*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Thomas, R. "Vergil and the Art of Reference." *HSCP* 90 (1986): 171–98.

———. "Prose into Poetry: Tradition and Meaning in Virgil's *Georgics*." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 91 (1987): 229–60.

———., ed. *Georgics.* 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Zainaldin, J. L. ed., *Gargilius Martialis: The Agricultural Fragments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Dylan McKibban

Fiery Repetition in *Prometheus Bound*

Over the last two decades, scholars have shown that fire's prominence throughout *Prometheus Bound* (*PV*) suggests that the play was informed by, or even actively responding to, the philosophical/scientific milieu of the fifth century (Irby-Massie 2008; Glauthier 2018). At the same time, scholars have analyzed the play's representation of time, stressing its theological and metaphysical dimensions (Rader 2014, 21-55; Loney 2021). My paper synthesizes these two objects of inquiry, fire and time, to argue that fire's repetitions throughout *PV* function as a technology of untimeliness. Drawing on Gaston Bachelard's analysis in *The Psychoanalysis of Fire* (1964) of a star-patterned interaction with fire, I argue that Prometheus produces differential returns of fire imagery to reimagine both historical and future time. By tracking the particular fire images throughout the text (blazing fire; fire-breathing weapons; rivers of fire; a fire greater than the thunderbolt), I show that, in some instances, Prometheus defers the repetitions he has led us to expect, providing space for the renarration of history (193-283; 436-525); at others, he repeats fire images in close proximity to engender alternative futures (347-72; 907-27). By speaking fire again and again, Prometheus forces the past and future onto the stage, playing them off one another for his own purposes, which become clearer in light of this repetition. His poetics of fire, simultaneously a poetics of repetition, thus offers a violent, but productive break with linear time.

Bibliography

Bachelard, G. 1964. *The Psychoanalysis of Fire*. Translated by Alan Ross. Beacon Press.

Bennet, J. 2010. *Vibrant Matter*. Duke University Press.

Cixous, H. 2011. V*olleys of Humanity: Essays 1972-2009*. Edited by Eric Prenowitz, trans. by Robert Denommé. Edinburgh University Press.

Derrida, J. 1992. "Aphorism Countertime." In *Acts of Literature*, edited by Derek Atridge, trans. by Nicholas Royle. Routledge.

Fraenkel, E. 1950. *Agamemnon*. Clarendon Press.

Freud, S. 1973. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud: Volume XVIII (1920-22)*. Edited by James Strachey. 7th edition. Hogarth Press.

—. 2003. *The Uncanny*. Translated by David McLintock. Penguin Books.

Gianvittrio-Ungar, L. 2021. "Dancing Io's Life: Hurt Body, Tragic Suffering (*Prometheus Bound* 561-608)." In *Choreonarratives*, edited by Laura Gianvittrio-Ungar and Karin Schlapbach. Brill. 129-55.

Glauthier, P. 2018. "Playing the Volcano: Prometheus Bound and Fifth-Century Volcanic Theory." *Classical Philology* 113: 255-78.

Griffith, M. 1977. *The Authenticity of Prometheus Bound*. Cambridge University Press.

—. 1983. *Aeschylus: Prometheus Bound*. Cambridge University Press.

Innoue, E. and D. Cohen. 1978. "Verbal Patterns in the *Prometheus Bound*." *The Classical Journal* 74.1: 26-33.

Irby-Massie, G. 2008. "*Prometheus Bound* and Contemporary Trends in Greek Natural Philosophy." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 48: 133-57.

Herington, C. J. 1972. *The Older Scholia on the Prometheus Bound*. Brill.

Kokkiou, C. 2014. "Choral Self-Referentiality in *Prometheus Bound*: Song, Dance, and the Emotions." *Logeion* 4: 127-43.

Lebeck, A. 1971. *The Oresteia: A Study in Language and Structure*. Harvard University Press.

Loney, A. C. 2021. "The Medicine of Blindness and Human Time in *Prometheus Bound*," *Classical World* 114.3: 251-80.

Mossman, J. M. 1996. "Chains of Imagery in *Prometheus Bound*." *The Classical Quarterly* 46.1: 58-67.

Nooter, S. 2017. *The Mortal Voice in the Tragedies of Aeschylus*. Cambridge University Press.

Rader, R. 2014. *Theology and Existentialism in Aeschylus*. Routledge.

Sienkewicz, T. J. 1984. "The Chorus of *Prometheus Bound*: Harmony of Suffering." *Ramus* 13.1: 60-73.

Suksi, A. 2017. "Scandalous Maps in Aeschylean Tragedy." In *Myths on the Map: The Storied Landscapes in Ancient Greece*, edited by Greta Hawes. Oxford University Press. 204-20.

West, M. L. 1990. *Studies in Aeschylus*. Teubner.

White, S. 2001. "Io's World: Intimations of Theodicy in *Prometheus Bound*." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*. 121: 107-40.

Williams, M. H. 2013. "Playing with Fire: Prometheus and the Mythological Consciousness." In *Classical Myth and Psychoanalysis: Ancient and Modern Stories of the Self*, edited by Vanda Zajko and Ellen O'Gorman. Oxford University Press. 233-50.

Kyle McLeister and Stephen Russell

Giving them a taste of our medicine: building Latin (and Greek) enrolments through medical language certificates

For the past few years at both McMaster University and the University of Saskatchewan, we have introduced concurrent certificates in *the language of medicine and health* with the aim to use the popularity of our respective medical terminology courses as a springboard to increase the numbers in our Latin (and Greek) classes.

These concurrent certificates are centred around students in our medical terminology courses, and therefore they allow us to attract numerous students from the science faculties into our language (and history of medicine) courses.

In this paper, we discuss the success of our certificates and how we have implemented them with slight variations at our respective institutions. We will emphasize that such a certificate can be tailored to fit the structure of your school, and demonstrate that there is an entire group of prospective Latin and Greek students in the science faculties who are eager to take our courses if we only give them a good reason to do so. By establishing the value of Latin to their understanding of medical terminology – and thus how relevant Latin (and Greek) can be to their future careers in medicine – and by offering a credential that bolsters their CVs as they apply to competitive programs, we can provide significant value to science students while strengthening our own enrollment numbers.

Dwayne Meisner

Rivalry with Medea in the *Orphic Argonautica*

The *Orphic Argonautica* tells the story of Jason's quest from the perspective of Orpheus, so unsurprisingly it emphasizes the role of Orpheus at every stage. This poem tells the same tale as Apollonius, but it credits Orpheus above all else with the success of the journey. Orpheus performs tasks that are done by other heroes in Apollonius. For example, at Lemnos it is Orpheus' music, not Herakles' rebuke, that convinces the Argonauts to get back on the ship. And the poet draws attention to moments when Orpheus' expertise in ritual or the power of his music contribute to the success of the Argonautic journey.

These two themes come together in striking ways with regard to Orpheus' rivalry with Medea. At every turn the poet denigrates Medea's relationship with Jason, minimizes her contributions to the Argonauts' success, and instead credits Orpheus with every successful maneuver, while at the same time undermining Medea's well-known expertise in potions and herbology by emphasizing the superior expertise of Orpheus in these matters. This is seen most clearly in the grove of Ares where the dragon guards the Golden Fleece. In Apollonius, Medea uses a potion to put the dragon to sleep, but here Orpheus' song puts it to sleep, after a complicated invocation of underworld spirits has gained them access into the grove in the first place.

In this presentation, I discuss the relevant passages of the Orphic and Apollonian epics and suggest reasons why Orpheus' rivalry with Medea is particularly vicious.

David Mirhady

The *Dissoi Logoi* as a Rhetorical *Techne*

Dissoi logoi may be considered the earliest composite rhetorical *technê*, though it is certainly not a how to guide. It acknowledges that its discussions are derived from "those people in Greece who do philosophy," who have been identified loosely with Protagoras, Hippias, Gorgias, and Socrates.   But the philosophers, who are credited with different points of view, seem to have had different goals from the writer's, and presumably from those of the work's intended readers as well. While the philosophers pursue their various philosophical viewpoints, this text offers them only as illustrations of argumentative *topoi*. Like the *Rhetoric to Alexander* and Aristotle's *Rhetoric* it foregrounds the canonical genres of civic discourse, the "good and bad", the "fine and shameful", and the "just and unjust". These are the same three genres that appear in Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1.4-15 and *RhAl*. 1-4. Beyond the first three chapters, *Dissoi Logoi* takes up other issues that are relevant to public discourse, again following discussions that seem inspired by philosophers.

Caitlin Mostoway Parker

<u>Colonization, Imperialism and the Hudson's Bay Company: The Consequence of Classics on the Indigenous People of North America</u>

      In the 18th and 19th centuries, British Imperialism was reaching its peak in the New World. Operating on the territories of what is now collectively known as Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated by English Royal Charter in 1670[1], and quickly came to dominate much of the English-controlled Hudson's Bay drainage basin. Rigorous studies in Classics would have been at the centre of any upper-class gentleman's schooling, and undoubtedly would have influenced how he saw and interacted with the world around him. The company's first governor, Prince Rupert of the Rhine, was Classically educated in The Hague, Netherlands. Succeeding governors were similarly educated, and often looked to ancient sources for inspiration and guidance in daily life. With this in mind, I will be arguing that the colonization and subsequent genocide of the Indigenous peoples of North America are a consequence of Classics. Until now, this topic has been largely ignored. It is clear that there are vestiges of Roman imperialism within the framework of the Hudson's Bay Company, all of which have passed through and been perpetuated by the minds of wealthy, white, European men. Ancient authors who commended expansionism and imperialism regularly referenced the use of mass violence and destruction as tools necessary to conquer others. In turn, I argue that these ancient sources have driven and influenced modern stances on colonization, specifically within the Hudson's Bay Company and its interactions with the Indigenous people of North America.

      The majority of the material that I will use in this study will come from post-level journals, log books and outgoing correspondence. These sources can be found in the Hudson's Bay Archives, located in Winnipeg, Manitoba, as well as in the National Archives in London, England.

———————————

Ian Moyer

Who was Isidorus?

Place, identity, and belonging at the gates of a temple in the Late Ptolemaic Fayum.

The hymns inscribed on the gates of the temple of Isis-Thermouthis at Medinet Madi have long provoked questions about their author's identity (e.g. Vanderlip 1972; Moyer 2016). Although usually answered in terms of cultural-ethnic affiliations or occupational status, Isidorus and his poems belonged above all to a place – "the open" (Egyptian *wbꜣ*), a public area at the gates of the temple and the social relations that produced it (Lefebvre 1991, Massey 2005, et al.). This was an intermediate zone in Late Ptolemaic Narmouthis between the restricted inner parts of the temple and its wider context: a site of interactions and dialogues among the diverse residents of both the town and the Fayum region. References in Isidorus' hymns ground his poetical discourse in this place, which can be reconstructed through a wealth of material and textual remains, and parallels from nearby towns. Although a site where the populace could encounter the divine, it was also a place for other social, judicial, and economic practices: élites demonstrated their benevolence to the temple, petitioners sought legal redress, and residents engaged in economic exchanges and other everyday interactions. And while the inner temple had long been a place for the preservation of priestly textual traditions, its open areas served as a place for the dissemination of literary and religious culture – in part mediated by denizens of the open (*wbꜣ*), including *pastophoroi*, members of the associations who met there, and local benefactors. Isidorus and his hymns belonged to this place and its people.

Select bibliography

Bernand, Étienne. 1969. *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine: recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des grecs en Égypte*. Paris: Belles lettres.

Bernand, Étienne. 1975-1981. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*. 3 vols. Bibliothèque d'étude 79-80. Leiden: Brill.

Bresciani, Edda, Antonio Giammarusti, Rosario Pintaudi, and Flora Silvano. 2007. *Medinet Madi. Venti anni di esplorazione archeologica (1984-2005)*. Pisa: Università di Pisa.

Bresciani, Edda, and Antonio Giammarusti. 2012. *I templi di Medinet Madi nel Fayum*. Progetti documenti per l'archeologia egiziana. Pisa: Edizioni Plus - Pisa University Press.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell.

Massey, Doreen. 2005. *For Space*. London: Sage.

Lougovaya, J. 2015. "Greek Inscriptions in Ptolemaic Narmouthis." In *Von der Pharaonenzeit bis zur Spätantike. Kulturelle Vielfalt im Fayum, Akten der 5. Internationalen Fayum- Konferenz, 29. Mai bis 1. Juni 2013, Leipzig* edited by N. Quenouille. Wiesbaden: 103- 122.

Moyer, Ian S. 2016. "Isidorus at the Gates of the Temple." In *Graeco-Egyptian Interactions: Literature, Translation, and Culture 500 BC-AD 300*, edited by Ian Rutherford, 209-244. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

V. F. Vanderlip. 1972. *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis*. American Studies in Papyrology 12. Toronto: Hakkert.

Theodore Nash

<u>P.Mich.inv. 3390+7169: Confirming a Variant Reading in the Homeric *Odyssey*</u>

P.Mich.inv. 7169 is a small, L-shaped piece of papyrus preserving parts of *Odyssey* 4.380-90. It is a joining piece of the same book-roll as P.Mich.inv. 3390, which was previously published on its own. While editing 7169 I recognised the join, and the two pieces have now been reunited and edited together for the first time. Together they preserve portions of *Odyssey* 4.355-90. The chief textual interest of the papyrus is the preservation of the reading τὸν εἴ πως… at the beginning of line 4.388. This variant is attested in multiple manuscripts and the indirect tradition, which excludes the possibility of scribal error here. Hitherto it has been rejected because it seems to violate the hexameter by starting a line with a short syllable. I will argue, however, that it can and should be read metrically, based on the ability in early epic of a resonant consonant to syllabify with a preceding short vowel and thereby lengthen the syllable. This metrical defence, coupled with explicit papyrological evidence and its wide attestation, make a strong case that this reading should be accepted as the true reading of the line. Further parallels will also be adduced, including other cases where scribes have attempted to fix the 'deficient' metre.

<u>Bibliography</u>

Chantraine, P. *Grammaire Homérique* I (Paris 1948)

Warga, R. 'Odyssee 4. 355-389: A Papyrus from the Michigan Collection,' *ZPE* 76 (1989) 237-238

West, M. L. *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982)

Peter O'Brien

<u>Indigenous Epicureanism in Le Brun's *Franciad*</u>

This paper explores classical Epicurean tropes in a 17th century Latin poetic representation of the Indigenous peoples of New France. The French Jesuit Laurent Le Brun (1608-1663) was a prolific composer of Neo-Latin poetry. At the Society's Collège de La Flèche, he was both pupil and master of several famous priests of the 17th century Canadian missions, the goal of which was Christian conversion of Indigenous souls within France's larger imperial project. Le Brun's *Franciad* (1639) includes two books of epistles in elegiac metre. The letters of the first are voiced by the fictive tutelary deity of New France, a conceit that allows for a poeticised ethnography of Indigenous new world peoples both deeply informed by contemporary prose missionary accounts (the Jesuit *Relations*) and modelled on tropes of alterity in Classical literature. The resulting intertext deliberately elicits readings for similarity and difference between real-world subject and literary models, working as an intellectual propaedeutic for would-be missionaries. This paper examines *Franciad* 1.6 and 7. Culminating a sequence devoted to Indigenous customs ranging from warfare and torture to hunting, travel, winter, and housing, these poems shift from a negative and critical gaze via tropes of "barbarity" to a more positive and philosophical construction of Indigenous society and attitudes towards nature: the final stage in an argument for the possibility of Christian redemption. My paper examines the markedly Epicurean flavour of this construction. It both elucidates allusions to Classical Epicurean authors (e.g. Horace, Lucretius), and shows how Le Brun's strategy is consistent with contemporary 17th century French (and Jesuit) rehabilitations of Epicureanism as compatible with Christian doctrine.

Cillian O'Hogan

The revival of the spondaic hexameter in Latin late antiquity: the case of Prudentius

Beginning from the premise of Morgan (2010) that 'metre matters', this paper seeks to account for a strange phenomenon in the Latin hexameter verse of late antiquity: while most Latin poets continue the trend of doing their best to avoid inserting a spondee instead of a dactyl into the fifth foot of a hexameter, a small number of late Latin poets employ a disproportionately large number of spondaic lines. Prudentius, the most accomplished and influential of the Christian Latin poets, uses a spondaic hexameter once every 134.3 lines (for comparison, Vergil has one every 409.5 lines in the *Aeneid*, while Catullus has one every 13.6 lines in his sixty-fourth poem).

By examining the contents and context of each spondaic line in Prudentius, I demonstrate that his practice in this regard can be interpreted in two ways. The first is generic: only two spondaic lines (one every 457.5 lines) are found in the *Psychomachia*, where Prudentius imitates the *Aeneid* most closely; by contrast, in the more invective hexameter poems, he comes significantly closer to Juvenal's rate of one every 109.1 lines. In other words, frequency of spondaic lines is (at least for Prudentius) an indicator of generic affiliation. The second is emphasis: Prudentius tends to combine a spondaic hexameter with other features (alliteration, use of non-Latin proper names, unusual patterning of dactyls and spondees in the first four feet) to draw the reader's attention at a pivotal moment.

Prudentius' revival of a mannerism beloved of the neoteric poets, then, is significant: it is further evidence of his willingness to innovate and think laterally in his effort to develop a nascent Christian poetics: it is, then, all the more surprising that his example in this regard was not followed by his successors.

References

Duckworth, G.E. (1969) *Vergil and classical hexameter poetry: a study in metrical variety*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Encuentra Ortega, A. (2000) *El hexámetro de Prudencio: estudio comparado de métrica verbal*. Logroño: Gobierno de La Rioja, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos.

Heikkinen, S. (2010) '"Quae non habet intellectum": the disappearance of fifth-foot spondees from dactylic hexameter verse', in A. Hall et al. (eds) *Interfaces between Language and Culture in Medieval England: A Festschrift for Matti Kilpiö*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 81–98.

Morgan, L. (2010) *Musa pedestris: metre and meaning in Roman verse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Orlandi, G. (1988) 'Caratteri della versificazione dattilica', in C. Leonardi and E. Menestò (eds) *Retorica e poetica tra i secoli XII e XIV: Atti del secondo Convegno internazionale di studi dell'Associazione per il Medioevo e l'Umanesimo latini (AMUL) in onore e memoria di Ezio Franceschini (Trento e Rovereto 2-5 ottobre 1985)*. Perugia/Firenze: La Nuova Italia, pp. 151–169.

Heva Olfman

<u>Weaver's Tales: The *Minyeides* in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*</u>

In this paper I argue that Ovid creates a metaliterary sisterhood, specifically focusing on the way in which the *Minyeides* in book 4 (4.1- 415) demonstrate this in their own sisterhood. Furthermore, in creating a clear and united sisterhood with these sisters, Ovid demonstrates a connection to other sisterhoods in his *Metamorphoses* that exhibit the same level of unanimity, each with its own poetics of storytelling.

At the beginning of book 4 Ovid states that Alcithoë, one of the daughters of Minyas, rejects Bacchus and she does this with the full support of her *sociae sorores* (4.3), and together they trade stories and weave. As the narrative continues, their sisterhood is expressed in their rejection of Bacchus, their rejection of the community of Bacchants and narrating their stories to one another. By concentrating the reader's attention on the act of weaving as an essential aspect of the narrative, Ovid reinforces the idea that storytelling is an integral part of their sisterhood, and that sisterhood is at the heart of the art of their storytelling. Although the *Minyeides* depict a strong sense of community and sisterhood among themselves, they in turn refuse the female community and potential sisterhood of the Bacchants, opting instead to remain exclusively devoted to each other and hence to the art of storytelling that they represent. Ovid's *Minyeides* are reminiscent to other unified sisterhoods in Ovid's text, allowing him to create an interconnected network of sisterhood units linked by their devotion and unanimity to their sisters and their unique approach to storytelling.

Emma Oliver

διαπεινᾶμες ἀεὶ ποττὸ πῦρ: The Role of Megara in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*

In *Acharnians* (425 BCE)*,* Aristophanes' earliest surviving work, he presents a hypothetical end to the Peloponnesian War in the form of a private peace treaty between Sparta and Dikaiopolis, an Athenian citizen. Dikaiopolis welcomes all Peloponnesians to his personal market after the treaty is brokered, and is first visited by a starving, destitute Megarian, in such dire straits that he is attempting to sell his two young daughters in exchange for food. Aristophanes employs the Megarian dialect for this character, in a conversation with Dikaiopolis which lasts for over one hundred lines (729-835).

This paper explores the relationship between Athens and Megara as Aristophanes presents it in connection with the intricate conflicts at the core of the Peloponnesian War. This involves consideration of the greater historical context with particular attention to the Megarian Decree of 432 BCE, the character of Megara as it is portrayed both among Athenians broadly and within the play, the Megarian character specifically and how Aristophanes uses dialect in the establishment of his identity, and how modern translators convey the nuances involved in communicating across different dialects of ancient Greek. With support from scholarship on theatre and cultural identity (Hall 1989) and the political implications of Aristophanes' use of dialect (Colvin 2001) among others, this paper's goal is to conclude where Aristophanes' sympathies lie: with Athens— his own city— or with Megara, over which Athens is exerting its imperial power.

Bibliography

Colvin, Stephen. "Aristophanes: Dialect and Textual Criticism." Mnemosyne 48, no. 1 (1995): 34–47. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4432452.

Colvin, Stephen. *Dialect in Aristophanes and the Politics of Language in Ancient Greek Literature.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Hall, Edith. *Inventing The Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition Through Tragedy.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Konstan, David. *Greek Comedy and Ideology.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Kelly Olson

The Antonine Princess

A new bust has come to light in a private collection in England:

This bust bears a remarkable resemblance to heads identified by Klaus Fittschen and others as young boys of the mid-Antonine period:

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek

Such heads (there are no complete busts among them), have always been identified as male due to the short curly hair, perhaps one of the young sons of the emperor Marcus Aurelius.

The newly recognized bust in the UK however is very clearly wearing *female* garments: the buttons on either side of the neck indicate a *stola* or female chiton. This calls into question the gender identity of similar busts (such as those in the Glyptotek, the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and elsewhere), which may have been misgendered now for decades.

It is my belief that this new bust, and indeed the old heads, are female, not male, and that the short-haired girl here is dressed as a devotee of Artemis/Diana: her garment with the buttons is a Greek female *chiton* or tunic. Diana was a popular way to commemorate a daughter who had died before marriage (see Wrede 1981: 222-30), both because Artemis/Diana was a virgin goddess and the deity who presided over of youthful life transitions, but also because it was a heroic mode of representation (see D'Ambra 2008: 181). There are eleven sculptural portraits and seven reliefs representing children as Diana from the first-third centuries CE (with more probably unidentified; see D'Ambra 2008), several of whom have short, boyish hairstyles. Fittschen (1992: 302) has identified these as girls. However, scholars differ here: Varner is of the opinion that some of the children are in fact young Roman boys: "the female costume of these examples may, in fact, be appropriate for males, or at least very young boys whose age renders them pre-gendered, or at least presexual" (2008: 195).

In this paper I will examine the markers of gender in clothing and hairstyle on busts and heads of Roman children from about 160 -200 CE, transvestism in Roman religious rituals, and the role of children in the cult of Diana, with a view to proving that the newly discovered UK bust, and the gender of similar busts previously identified as male, are in fact young girls.

References:

Bartman, E. 2002. 'Eros's Flame: Images of Sexy Boys in Roman Ideal Sculpture.' *Memoirs of the*

   American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes 1: 249-71.

D'Ambra, E., 2008. 'Daughters as Diana: Mythological Models in Roman Portraiture.' *Memoirs*

   of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes 7: 171-83.

Fittschen, K. 1999. Prinzenbildnisse Antoninischer Zeit. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

Fittschen, K. 1992. 'Mädchen, nicht Knaben: Zwei Kinderbüsten in Cleveland und

Wellesley.' *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Röm* Abt, 99: 301-305.

Varner, E. R., 2008. 'Transcending Gender: Assimilation, Identity, and Roman Imperial

Portraits.' *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes* 7: 185-205.

Wrede, H. 1981. Consecratio in formam deorum: *vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der*

römischen Kaiserzeit. Von Zabern.

Rachel Philbrick

Epistemic Injustice and Ovid's Exile

This paper applies the philosophical concept of epistemic injustice to Ovid's exile poetry. As developed by Fricker (2007), epistemic injustice—specifically the type testimonial injustice—explains how social power affects a witness's credibility, particularly how the testimonials of members of groups with less social power are subject to a "credibility deficit." Fricker's concept has been taken up widely and developed (see, e.g., Kidd, Medina, and Pohlhaus Jr. 2017), including (to a limited degree) in Classical Studies (e.g. Hall 2021, Ollivère 2022, Lance 2023). Ovid's exile poetry offers a fruitful new application for several reasons: these poems purport to deliver factual information about a poorly known and stereotyped region (Scythia), they maintain these claims over time (despite disbelief), and they can fairly be said to have a credibility deficit (cf., e.g., *uix uos ea credere dicunt*, *Pont.* 4.10.35). By examining one of Ovid's repeated claims—that the sea in Scythia freezes in the winter (*Tr.* 3.10, *Pont.* 4.7 and 4.10)—this paper shows how specific argumentation and persuasive strategies that hold credibility when employed in texts explicitly constructed *centrally* (in Rome/Italy) are not granted equal credibility when Ovid employs them *marginally*. As such, Fricker's concept is apt because it identifies as a key factor in this disparity the speaker's identity power. This framing also contextualizes Ovid's preoccupation with belief and credibility in the exile poems: the repetition of this issue keeps focus on the exiled poet's changed identity and diminished social power.

Works Cited

Fricker, Miranda. 2007. *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing.* Oxford University Press.

Hall, Edith. 2021. "Goddesses, a whore-wife, and a slave: Euripides' *Hippolytus* and epistemic injustice toward women." In *New Directions in the Study of Women in the Greco-Roman World*, edited by Ronnie Ancona and Georgia Tsouvala, 11–17. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kidd, Ian James, Medina, José, and Pohlhaus Jr., Gaile (eds). 2017. *The Routledge Handbook of Epistemic Injustice.* London: Routledge.

Lance, Ashley. 2023. *Critical Ancient World Studies*, edited by Mathura Umachandran and Marchella Ward, 77–88. London: Routledge.

Ollivère, Nick. 2022. "Epistemic injustice in Propertius 1.3." *Arethusa* 55 (2): 121–148.

Jessica Plant

Roman Plaster: The Semantics and Mechanics of a Craft Ecology

This paper explores the semantic and infrastructural dimensions of plaster in antiquity. Ancient artisans combined stone, water, fire, and air to produce one of the most multipurpose and seemingly simple surfaces to "finish" construction projects. I explore plaster's multiple dimensions to ask: was ancient plaster a material or medium; technique or finished product? How might plaster's composition relate to its (in)visibility to ancient authors and contemporary scholars alike? And how can close examination of this medium through ancient texts and material culture answer media-theoretical calls to "make environments visible" (Peters 2015, 38)?

I begin by exploring the terminology employed by ancient authors to refer to plaster. The (countless) variety of Roman plasters were mirrored by the wide semantic range of the terms *opus tectorium*, *tectorium,* or *opus albarium* in Latin*,* or *koniama* in Greek (Blanc 1983). This language could refer to both the material substrate and techniques of applying architectural plaster relief, henceforth stucco. I demonstrate how fluid definitions of stucco were shaped by the practices and embodied knowledge of craftspeople themselves.

To do so, I turn to the material record and explore specific applications of stucco in Roman architecture (e.g., Mielsch 1975; Ling 1999). Plaster's pliable composition created a medium through which carpentry and stone working techniques were transformed into new surface designs. I conclude by suggesting that in addition to an omnipresent, general medium used to "finish" architecture, plaster functioned as both an interface and its own form of generative infrastructure in the Roman world.

Works Cited

Blanc, Nicole. 1983. 'Les stucateurs romains : témoignages littéraires, épigraphiques et juridiques'. *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 95 (2): 859–907.

Ling, Roger. 1999. *Stuccowork and Painting in Roman Italy*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Mielsch, Harald. 1975. *Römische Stuckreliefs*. Heidelberg: F. F. Kerle.

Peters, John Durham. 2015. *The Marvelous Clouds: Toward a Philosophy of Elemental Media*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Beatrice Poletti

Ethopoeia in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities*: Crafting Characters in Judicial Speeches

The Greek literary critic and historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I cent. BCE) composed a history of Rome (the *Roman Antiquities*) to explain the Roman power's origins and early beginnings to a Greek-speaking audience. By showing that the Romans had Greek ancestry and thus were not 'barbarians', Dionysius addressed the criticism of anti-Roman intellectuals who considered Roman hegemony as the result of unfair fortune. As Greeks, the Romans had expanded their dominion through the practice of Greek cardinal virtues, attracting divine favour and thus being justified in their supremacy over the Greek world. Accordingly, Dionysius crafted the characters of his historical account to present the Romans as models of leadership and moral behaviour.

In his essay about the Athenian orator Lysias, Dionysius praises the speechwriter for his mastery of *ethopoeia*, specifically, his ability to create characters in his judicial orations endowed with vividness and moral disposition. The latter emerges, in particular, from the characters' plain, artless style of speaking in addition to the suitability of their arguments to the audience and circumstances. In Dionysius' analysis, Lysias' speakers persuade through their ethos, as they win the audience's goodwill by displaying their moral qualities and hence their credibility.

Based on Dionysius' analysis of Lysias' *ethopoeia*, I will discuss examples of judicial speeches from two episodes of the *Roman Antiquities*: 1) the encounter between the progenitor of the Roman race Aeneas and the Italian king Latinus in which they decide to unite their people into the nation that, with time, will beget Rome, after Aeneas defends himself from the charge of having pillaged Latinus' territory, and 2) the debate between the founder of the Roman Republic Brutus and his colleague Collatinus, following a treason attempt involving relatives of both, to establish whether Collatinus should step down from his position as chief magistrate. I will consider how Dionysius employed Lysias' techniques to portray Aeneas and Brutus as moral characters, who eventually prevail in their respective debates through their self-characterization in their speeches.

Melanie Racette-Campbell

Acting out of Place in the *Pro Caelio*

In Cicero's *Pro Caelio*, the activities of Clodia, her brother Clodius Pulcher, her friends, and her (alleged) lovers are situated primarily in the urban spaces and places of the city of Rome. Cicero presents Clodia as disruptive and transgressive, characteristics which affect the places in which he situates her (e.g. Leen 2000 on the connection between Clodia and her house). Although she mainly appears in her home, the traditional place for a Roman *matrona* to engage in activities that provide her with respect and a measure of authority, she acts there in ways that are inappropriate to her gender and status and allow her to take on types of authority that are equally inappropriate.

Clodia herself never appears in a place without men, but the men mentioned in the speech are frequently in places without Clodia, including public spaces such as the Forum, Campus Martius, and Palatine. The men also appear in specific places in the private sphere, including various houses, and semi-public ones, notably the Senian baths. In this paper, I build on established interpretations of the *Pro Caelio* to argue that Clodia's poor performance of her own gendered roles as wife, sister, and aristocratic lady disrupts the gender performance of the men around her. As a result, her brother, her other male associates, and even Cicero's client Caelius are drawn into transgressive behaviours in locations that reverberate far beyond the limited number of places in which Clodia herself acts directly.

Bibliography

2016. *New worlds from old texts: revisiting ancient space and place.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coleman, S. and Collins, P. 2006. *Locating the Field: Space, place and context in Anthropology*. London and New York: Routledge.

Creekmore, Andrew T. and Fisher, Kevin D., eds. 2014. *Making ancient cities: space and place in early urban societies.* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Krostenko, B. 2001. *Cicero, Catullus, and the Language of Social Performance.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Laurence, Ray. 2011. "Literature and the spatial turn: movement and space in Martial's epigrams." In Laurence, Ray and Newsome, David J. (eds.), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: movement and space*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 81-99.

Leen, A. 2000. "Clodia Oppugnatrix: the domus motif in Cicero's *Pro Caelio*." *The Classical Journal* 96.2, 141-162.

Massey, D. 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

McIntosh, Gillian. 2013. "Cicero and exile: building a house of letters." *Syllecta classica* 24, 47-76.

Christian Raschle

Encadrer le *consensus universorum* par la législation impériale : le livre 12 du Code de Théodose

Durant la fin du IIIe et IVe siècle, la réorganisation des provinces romaines allait de pair avec la centralisation et la bureaucratisation de leur administration aux niveaux local et impérial. Bien que l'Empire romain s'appuie sur un gouvernement direct en déléguant le pouvoir militaire aux ducs et maitres de milice, ainsi que le pouvoir civile aux gouverneurs, les fonctionnaires et l'administration centrale dépendent toujours de la collaboration des élites provinciales et leurs assemblées provinciales pour garantir l'ordre public. Le livre 12 du Code de Théodose, promulgué en 438, rassemble ainsi la législation impériale qui visent à encadrer l'ordre de l'élite provinciale (*ordo decurionum*) et la relation de ses membres avec les instances impériales, notamment la communication directe par des ambassades provinciales (*legationes*) entre le début du IVe et le début du Ve siècle.

À travers une analyse des constitutions du titre 12 dédié aux ambassades provinciales (*de legatis et decretis legationum*) et leurs relations aux constitutions du titre 1 (*de decurionibus*), qui porte sur la composition de l'élite provinciale, nous démontrerons de quelle manière l'administration de l'Empire tardif poursuit un projet constant de standardisation des procédures de formation du *consensus universorum* local afin de créer des interventions impériales plus efficaces et équitables suite aux requêtes des ambassades pour garantir l'ordre public dans la périphérie de l'Empire. Notre approche théorique est influencée par la sociologie du pouvoir et des systèmes impériaux, proposée par Max Weber et Shmuel Eisenstadt.

Dans un deuxième temps, nous comparerons ces textes normatifs avec d'autres sources documentaires et littéraires, comme celles de Synésius de Cyrène et son ambassade en 398 (cf. *De regno* 3; *De insomniis* 9; *Hymnes3. 431*), afin de montrer de quelle manière les élites provinciales suivaient les intentions impériales concernant cette régulation de la communication politique en s'inscrivaient ainsi au projet impérial fondé sur le *consensus universorum*.

La standardisation des procédures et l'encadrement des élites locales contribuent à la stabilisation de la périphérie impériale et ne sont pas les résultats d'une bureaucratie qui étouffe les voix des sujets et contribue ainsi au déclin de l'Empire romain.

<u>Creating *consensus universorum* through imperial legislation: Book 12 of the Theodosian Code.</u>

During the late 3rd and 4th centuries, the reorganization of the Roman provinces went hand in hand with the centralization and bureaucratization of their administration at the local and imperial levels. Although the Roman Empire relied on direct government by delegating military power to *duces* and *magistri militum* and civil power to the governors, the civil servants and the central administration still depended on the collaboration of the provincial elites and their assemblies to guarantee public order. Book 12 of the Code of Theodosius, promulgated in 438, thus brings together the imperial legislation aimed at regulating the order of the provincial elite (ordo decurionum) and the relationship of its members with the imperial authorities, in particular, direct communication through provincial embassies (*legationes*) between the beginning of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th centuries.

Through an analysis of the constitutions of Title 12 dedicated to provincial embassies (*de legatis et decretis legationum*) and their relationship to the constitutions of Title 1 (*de decurionibus*), which deals with the composition of the provincial elite, we will demonstrate how the administration of the late Empire pursued a constant project of standardizing the procedures for forming the local *consensus universorum* to create more effective and equitable imperial interventions in response to requests from embassies to guarantee public order in the periphery of the Empire. Our theoretical approach is influenced by the sociology of power and imperial systems proposed by Max Weber and Shmuel Eisenstadt.

Secondly, we will compare these normative texts with other documentary and literary sources, such as those of Synesius of Cyrene and his embassy in 398 (cf. De regno 3; De insomniis 9; Hymnes3. 431), to show how the provincial elites followed the imperial intentions regarding this regulation of political communication and thus became part of the imperial project based on the *consensus universorum*.

The standardization of procedures and the supervision of local elites contributed to stabilizing the imperial periphery. They were not the result of a bureaucracy that stifled the voices of its subjects and thus contributed to the decline of the Roman Empire.

Wade Richardson

Eloquentia and the Search for *bona mens* in Petronius

In a scrappy yet triumphantly readable single small volume of a novel by Petronius Arbiter, which we call the *Satyrica*, there is the usual set of puzzles and propositions that one would associate with a Latin work in its condition. No need to enumerate. Instead, here I'd like to spend time on positive compositional features of the novel that have gone largely unexploited. These, I argue, have had quite an influence, actually, on the work's ability to inspire respect and affection in a receptive audience, without quite attaching the proper credit where it is due. For these features appear too ordinary to provoke a focused interest, and conventional enough to be sublimated, that is , absorbed below the threshhold of the common reader's attention. And there they could have stayed, were it not for Korn and Reitzer's *Concordantia Petroniana* (Olms-Weidmann, 1986) to apply frequency-and-contextual data.

For the purpose of this paper I've allowed myself to focus on the use of the attributive pairing of *bona mens* - a phrase so bland, and even trite, as to offer little of heuristic value.
It seems to have the flavour of a colloquialism or proverb, yet I have not found it in Otto's *Sprichwoerter* nor in Hofmann's *Umgangsprache*, nor in Swanson, nor in Petersmann, nor in
 the Lewis and Short or the OLD. (There is a useful reverse analogue in Terence, *Andria*: *mala mens, malus animu'*). Yet Petronius has his characters pronounce it seven times - ample
 reason to investigate what they can mean by this maxim and what Petronius achieves with it.

Gaëlle Rioual

Lucien de Samosate, lecteur du *Tableau de Cébès*

Le *Tableau de Cébès* est aujourd'hui un texte largement méconnu, mais il n'en a pas toujours été ainsi. Dans l'Antiquité, ce dialogue de philosophie morale élémentaire a été lu, paraphrasé et cité comme un ouvrage digne de mention, par des auteurs comme Lucien, Galien, Tertullien, Diogène Laërce, Thémistios ou Chalcidius. Parmi ceux-ci, Lucien de Samosate démontre un attachement particulièrement fort – et un peu ambigu – au *Tableau de Cébès*. Non seulement le cite-t-il ouvertement deux fois avant d'en faire un exercice « à la manière de » qui pervertit les codes de son modèle orignal, mais, guidé par ces occurrences, il est possible de trouver d'autres échos de ce texte, plus ou moins déformés, dans l'œuvre de Lucien. De la parodie pure et simple dans le *Rhetorum praeceptor* et le *De mercede conductis* à l'émulation dans l'*Hercules* et le *Calumniae non temere credendum* en passant par une critique dans l'*Hermotimus*, nous proposons un trajet à travers les réminiscences du *Tableau de Cébès* dans les traités de Lucien, en commençant par les plus évidentes, afin de voir ce que la lecture parallèle du *Tableau* peut apporter à notre compréhension du texte de Lucien.

Gabriele Roccella

<u>The view from the seats: notes on the dramaturgy of Seneca's *Troades*</u>

Can we still believe that Seneca wrote his tragedies for the purpose *recitatio*? The aim of this paper is to further recent scholarly approaches that go beyond traditional evaluations to Senecan drama, considering the impact of other types of performance art such as pantomime on Roman imperial performance practices, while discussing peculiar features of Senecan drama and of the play *Troades* in particular. This play an excellent subject for these investigations, since it has often been deemed to present too many issues to be effectively produced on a stage, such as: the apparent uncertainty in the settings of the acts; the seemingly stand-alone nature of the acts; the unusually large number of speaking characters; a seeming lack of "dramatic continuity"; the so-called "running commentaries"; the Chorus' relation (or lack thereof) to the action. My analysis detects and discusses evidence both internal and external to the play with an eye to staging indications and metatheatrical suggestions. A reevaluation of these features from the standpoint of recent scholarship on performance art, and specifically on the influence of pantomime and spectacularized executions on Senecan dramaturgy, reframes these peculiarities more coherently within their Roman imperial context, rather than expecting (demanding?) 5th century BCE Attic standards to still apply. The findings of this study will contribute to the overall repositioning of late 20th and 21st century literary criticism approaching and evaluating Senecan drama.

<u>Selected bibliography</u>

Amoroso, F. – *Seneca, uomo di teatro?* Palermo, 1984.

Bartsch, S .& Schiesaro, A. (ed.) – *The Cambridge companion to Seneca*, Cambridge, 2015.

Dupont, F. – "Recitatio and the reorganization of the space of public discourse" (transl. by Thomas Habinek and André Pierre M. H. Lardinois), in Habinek, T. & Schiesaro, A. (ed.), *The Roman cultural revolution*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 44 – 59.

Fantham, E. – *Seneca's Troades*, Princeton, 1982.

Fantham, E. – "Production of Seneca's "Trojan women". Ancient? And modern", in Harrison, G. W. M. (ed.), *Seneca in performance*, Swansea, 2000, pp. 13 – 26.

Fitch, J. G. – "Playing Seneca?", in Harrison, G. W. M. (ed.), *Seneca in performance*, Swansea, 2000, pp. 1 – 12.

Harrison, G. W. M. – "*Semper ego auditor tantum*? Performance and physical setting of Seneca's plays", in Harrison, G. W. M. (ed.), *Seneca in performance*, Swansea, 2000, pp. 137 – 149.

Jory, E. J. – "The drama of the dance: prolegomena to an iconography of Imperial pantomime", in Slater, W. J. (ed.), *Roman Theater and Society*. E. Togo Salmon Papers I, Ann Arbor, 1996, pp. 1 – 28.

Kohn, T. D. – *The dramaturgy of Senecan tragedy*, Ann Arbor, 2012.

Lebek, W. D. – "Senecas Agamemnon in Pompeji (CIL IV 6698)", in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 59, 1985, pp. 1 – 6.

Marshall, C. W. – "Location! Location! Location! Choral absence and dramatic space in Seneca's *Troades*", in Harrison, G. W. M. (ed.), *Seneca in performance*, Swansea, 2000, pp. 27 – 51.

Mazzoli, G. – *Alcune osservazioni sul coro della tragedia latina dalle origini a Seneca*, Milano, 1996, pp. 3 – 16.

Picone, G. – *La fabula e il regno. Studi sul Thyestes di Seneca*, Palermo, 1984.

Regenbogen, O. – "Schmerz und Tod in den Tragödien Senecas", in *Kleine Schriften*, Munich, 1961, pp. 409 – 462.

Schetter, W. – "Sulla struttura delle "Troiane" di Seneca. In appendice: La funzione del secondo coro delle "Troiane" (371 - 408)", in *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 93, 1965, pp. 396 – 429.

Setaioli, A. – "Seneca and the Ancient world", in Bartsch, S .& Schiesaro, A. (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Seneca*, Cambridge, 2015, pp. 255 – 265.

Shelton, J.-A. - The spectacle of death in Seneca's "Troades", in Harrison, G. W. M. (ed.), *Seneca in performance*, Swansea, 2000, pp. 87 – 118.

Sutton, D. F. – *Seneca on the stage*, Leiden, 1986.

Varner, E. R. – "Grotesque vision: Seneca's tragedies and Neronian art", in Harrison, G. W. M. (ed.), *Seneca in performance,* Swansea, 2000, pp. 119 – 136.

Zanobi, A. – "Seneca and pantomime", in Gildenhard, I. & Revermann, M. (ed.), *Beyond the fifth century: interactions with Greek tragedy from the fourth century BCE to the Middle Ages*, Berlin – New York, 2010, pp. 269 – 288.

Zanobi, A. – *Seneca and pantomime*, London, 2014.

Zimmermann, B. – "Seneca and pantomime", in Hall, E. and Wyles, R. (ed.), *New directions in ancient pantomime*, Oxford, 2008, pp. 218 – 226.

Zwierlein, O. – *Die Rezitationsdramen Senecas. Mit einem kritischexegetischen Anhang*, Meisenheim am Glan, 1966.

Gregory Rowe

Pro Caelio: Caelius Rufus, Cicero, and the logic of Roman private *consilia*

Caelius Rufus' letter to Cicero on the eve of civil war between Caesar and Pompey is notorious (Cicero *Ad fam.* 8.14, August 50 BC). In peace, Caelius wrote, one should choose the more honourable side (*honestior*); in war, the stronger and safer (*firmior, tutior*). To many, Caelius' cold calculus has embodied an absence of principle, even the kind of consideration that caused the collapse of the Republic. In this talk, I seek to explain Caelius' reasoning according to Roman standards of private deliberation (*consilium*), and to sketch implications for Cicero's correspondence as a whole. I approach the argument from two directions. First, Caelius applies the canons of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, dating from the time of Caelius' birth; in political deliberations, *ad Herennium* advises, one must distinguish what is safe (*tutus*) from what is honourable (3.2.3; *honestus*). Second, Caelius follows the standards operative in Roman private *consilia* preceding public actions. I argue that private *consilia* differed from public deliberations in that they openly balanced the interests of the individual and the interests of the state. In private *consilia*, safety and self-interest were not merely legitimate, but compulsory, considerations. The same, I suggest, applies to Cicero's correspondence as a whole, which should be viewed as a web of virtual private *consilia*. What has seemed to us indecisiveness and excessive self-regard on Cicero's part, is in fact Cicero deliberating according to the standards of Roman private *consilia*.

Bibliography

Connolly, Joy. 2007. *The State of Speech. Rhetoric and Political Thought in Ancient Rome.* Princeton, N.J.

Dyck, Andrew R. 2013, *Cicero:* Pro Marco Caelio. Cambridge.

Flower, Harriet. 2018. "Servilia's *Consilium.*" In *Institutions and Ideology in Republican Rome: Speech, Audience and Decision*, edited by Henriette van der Blom, Christa Gray, and Catherine Steel, 252–64. Cambridge.

Habinek, Thomas N. 1990. "Towards a History of Friendly Advice. The Politics of Candor in Cicero's *De amicitia.*" *Apeiron* 23: 165–85.

Hall, Jon. 2009. *Politeness and Politics in Cicero's Letters.* Oxford.

Pinkster, Harm. 2010. "Notes on the Language of Marcus Caelius Rufus." In Dickey, Eleanor & Anna Chahoud (eds.), *Colloquial and Literary Latin*, Cambridge, 186-202.

Rosillo-López, Cristina. 2021. *Political Conversations in Late Republican Rome*. Oxford.

White, Peter. 2010. *Cicero in Letters: Epistolary Relations of the Late Republic.* Oxford.

Stephen Russell, Emily Lamond, and Chris He

Sticks and Stones may break our bones, and sometimes names are hurtful: the Greek and Latin roots of current problematic medical terms

The language we use shapes our attitudes, even when people do not understand the roots upon which the words are built. This paper opens a discussion regarding why certain medical terms, especially those used to describe disability and difference, need re-evaluation. Clinical medical words come from Greek and Latin roots and sources, and often the forms used in the original terms highlight misconceptions or represent the kinds of attitudes that we now understand to be insensitive and inappropriate. There have been piecemeal notes made of certain problematic forms (such as the use of "hyster/o" in psychology or the recent controversy regarding "pudenda" in anatomical terminology), but there has yet to be an attempt to review the current state of medical language as a whole.

By considering the original use of select terms, we are opening an investigation into the hidden problems contained within current medical phrases. While we focus on specific examples from various categories of disability and difference, we are not limited to those.

We are becoming more sensitive about how language should be used in all areas of the world – especially in medicine. In addition to the way people use regular English, there is also a great need for philologists to look at the origins of the technical language people still use today in the world of medicine. An examination of these terms can only help all those who use the language – whether those terms are ultimately retained or changed.

Leslie Shumka

<u>Why Should Classics Develop Community Engaged Learning Paedagogies?</u>

Community-engaged learning (CENL) has emerged as a transformative pedagogical approach, fostering connections between academic disciplines and real-world applications. In the context of ancient Greek and Roman studies, CENL offers a unique opportunity to bridge classical antiquity with contemporary communities, emphasizing relevance and collaboration. By engaging with historical texts, archaeological sites, and cultural artifacts, students not only deepen their understanding of the ancient world but also explore its enduring influence on modern society.

A CENL approach involves partnerships between educational institutions and community organizations, such as museums, cultural heritage organizations, or public education initiatives. Students might collaborate on projects like curating public exhibitions, creating accessible educational materials about ancient civilizations, or contributing to the preservation of classical heritage. These activities encourage students to apply their knowledge of ancient languages, literature, philosophy, and history to address modern challenges, such as cultural preservation, civic identity, and community storytelling.

By integrating CENL into classical curricula, educators empower students to apply their knowledge of antiquity to real-world contexts, developing critical skills such as collaboration, communication, and public outreach. This approach also challenges students to reflect on the ethical implications of their work, particularly regarding issues of access, inclusion, and representation. Ultimately, CENL revitalizes classical studies as a socially engaged discipline, affirming the value of ancient knowledge in addressing modern challenges and inspiring meaningful connections between the past and the present.

Brandon Sonmor

The *Puella*'s Power and the Poet's Craft: Recontextualizing Mythical Exempla in Ovid, *Amores* 2.17

In this presentation I argue for the importance of two concepts in Ovid's *Amores* 2. The first is the primacy of power dynamics, their expression, and their subversion, through the exemplification of the narrator's beloved *puella* by her comparison to goddesses. Second, that the poet-lover demonstrates his mastery and control over poem, audience, and *puella,* despite her associations with divine power, by using legal rhetoric and Callimachean poetics (Ziogas 2021; Boyd 1997). The narrator thus simultaneously embodies and subverts the typical emasculation of his erotic elegiac genre. Ovid's play for poetic and sexual control illustrates his reconceptualization of Roman gender and sexuality in order to negotiate the "crisis of masculinity" suffered by elite Roman men who find themselves navigating the newly filled power vacuum created by Augustus (Racette-Campbell 2023).

I demonstrate this through a close-reading and analysis of *Amores* 2.17, elucidating the importance of key vocabulary, including the *puella*'s *numen*, her godly power which is metapoetically created through the poet's own craft, and her *facies*, the form he creates and from which this power stems. In the comparison the poet makes between himself and his *puella* to mythical couples in lines 15-20, the poet not only illustrates this through their cultural and religious significance but also places the poem in conversation with literary tradition from Homer to Virgil. Through such intertextual links, these exempla show the author's desire to achieve poetic success and equate it as translatable to success as a Roman male during the reign of Augustus.

Bibliography

Boyd, Barbara Weiden. *Ovid's Literary Loves: Influence and Innovation in the Amores*. The University of Michigan Press, 1997.

Ovid. *Amores: Text, Prolegomena and Commentary.* Edited by J.C. McKeown. Francis Cairns, Vol. 1, 1987.

Racette-Campbell, Melanie. *The Crisis of Masculinity in the Age of Augustus*. The University of Wisconsin Press, 2023.

Ziogas, Ioannis. *Law and Love in Ovid: Courting Justice in the Age of Augustus*. Oxford University Press, 2021.

Jelena Todorović

When Love Ails: Lovesickness and the Authenticity of Emotions in Plautus' *Cistellaria*

This paper explores the portrayal of love and lovesickness in Plautus' *Cistellaria*, examining its unique treatment of *amor* as a psychosomatic condition with both physical and mental manifestations. Love plots are central to Plautus' corpus and all but one of his comedies (*Captivi*) feature romantic relationships that intertwine sexual desire, romantic love, or both. Within these narratives, *amor* frequently carries connotations of lovesickness, a condition recognized as a medical disorder in antiquity. In this paper I argue that *Cistellaria* offers a particularly robust engagement with lovesickness, aligning with both popular and scientific perceptions of this disorder in antiquity. I contend that love, conceptualized as a distinct nosological category, serves not only as a dramatic catalyst but is central to shaping the characters and the comedic world they inhabit.

Unlike most Roman and Greek comedies, which largely emphasize male perspectives and reduce female characters to vessels of male desire, *Cistellaria* disrupts these norms by representing female love alongside male love, thereby challenging standard gendered portrayals. In doing so, the play underscores the authenticity of emotional attachment – an element often supplanted by mere erotic longing in other works.

In this paper, I argue that framing love through the lens of lovesickness as a formal, diagnosable ailment validates the profundity of the emotion of love in both male and female protagonists and augments its narrative significance. By examining *Cistellaria's* nuanced depiction of psychosomatic symptoms, causes, and treatments of lovesickness, this paper further illuminates the interplay between emotional experience and medical theory in Plautine comedy.

Bibliography

Frangoulidis, S. (2020). Plotting the romance: Plautus' *Rudens, Cistellaria,* and *Poenulus.* In G.F. Franko & D. Dutsch (Eds.), *A Companion to Plautus* (pp. 193–205). Hoboken: Wiley.

McNamara L. (2016). Hippocratic and Non-Hippocratic Approaches to Lovesickness. *Studies in ancient medicine*, *46*, 308–327.

Ribeiro, L. F. C. (2020). Your love is like bad medicine: The medical tradition of lovesickness in the legends of Hippocrates and Erasistratus of Ceos. *Akroterion, 65,* 63–88.

Salas, L.A. (2022). Why Lovesickness Is Not a Disease: Galen's Diagnosis and Classification of Psychological Distress. *TAPA, 152*, 507 - 539.

Slater, N. (2004). Men are from Lemnos, Women are from Sicyon. Space and Gender in the *Cistellaria*. In R. Hartkamp & F. Hurka (Eds.), *Studien zu Plautus' Cistellaria* (pp. 267–281). Tübingen, Germany: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Thumiger, C. (2013). *Mad Erôs and eroticized madness in tragedy.* In E. Sanders et al. (Eds.), *Erôs in Ancient Greece* (pp. 27-40). Oxford University Press.

Zagagi, N. (2004) Tradition and originality in *Cistellaria*: The characterization of Selenium and Alcesimarchus as comic lovers. In R. Hartkamp & F. Hurka (Eds.), *Studien zu Plautus' Cistellaria* (pp. 167–186). Tübingen, Germany: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Mélissande Tomcik

Giant Bones and Human Blood: Civil War Remains in Vergil's *Georgics*

Vergil ends the first book of the *Georgics* with the description of the cosmic upheavals foreboding the post-Caesarian civil war (Verg. *georg*. 1.464-488). Eclipses, earthquakes and other ill-omened signs lead up to an evocation of the battle of Philippi which opposed the troops of Brutus and Cassius to those of Antony and Octavian in 42 BCE (1.489-492). Vergil caps his digression on civil war by mentioning how future generations of farmers will stumble upon rusty helmets and giant bones while ploughing their fields (1.493-497).

Commentators read the discovery of the huge bones as a reference to the tradition of unearthing the remains of bygone heroes and interpret it as a reference to mankind's decline through time (Serv. *georg*. 1.496; Lyne 1974, 60; Thomas 1988, 150 ; Mynors 1990, 95; Farrell 1991, 167). However, this interpretation is problematic, because it casts the actors of civil war in a positive light, which is inconsistent with the usual treatment of the subject. Therefore, in this paper, I argue that the large bones excavated by future farmers are meant to evoke giants, thus equating civil war with Gigantomachy. Further, I suggest that the references to the Giants of the past are combined with allusions to the earth-born Sown men (Criado 2018, 92–93) in order to create a new metaphor for fratricidal violence. Thus, I will show how Vergil taints the optimistic prospect of future peace with unsettling undertones of cosmic disorder and potential resurgence of civil war.

References

Criado, C. 2018, "*Seges horruit hastis* (Virg., *G*. II 140-142). Mieses enhiestas y labranzas funestas en la épica grecorromana" in D. Estefanía Álvarez (ed.), *Visiones y aspectos puntuales de la épica grecorromana*, Madrid, 79–101.

Farrell, J. 1991, *Vergil's* Georgics *and the Traditions of Ancient Epic. The Art of Allusion in Literary History*, New York/Oxford.

Lyne, R. O. A. M. 1974, "*Scilicet et tempus veniet...* Virgil, *Georgics* 1.463–514" in T. Woodman/D. West (ed.), *Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry*, Cambridge, 47–66.

Mynors, R. A. B. (ed.) 1990, *Virgil. Georgics*, Oxford.

Thomas, R. F. (ed.) 1988, *Virgil. Georgics*, Cambridge.

Cassandra Tran

Temporal Rupture and the Death Den in Plautus' *Truculentus*

The rape plot of Plautus' *Truculentus* follows the consequences of the citizen man Diniarchus' act of sexual violence against his ex-betrothed, the unnamed and offstage Virgo. During the stage action, spectators learn that Virgo has been impregnated from the rape and has chosen to expose her newborn son, circulating him throughout her female network. The baby is received in the sex labourer Phronesium's home, a den of iniquity that has been described by its clients as a site of death and the Underworld (Connors 2020). Once the identities of the baby's parents are revealed, Diniarchus is re-betrothed to Virgo and is ordered to assume paternal responsibility over his offspring. Yet, the play ends with him doing the opposite: delaying the baby's recovery from Phronesium, the citizen man exits the stage empty-handed.

This paper draws from the queer discourses of Halberstam (2005), Freeman (2010), and Edelman (2004) to interrogate the procreative consequences of sexual violence narratives within the corpus. I argue that the actions of Virgo (lines 402-411, 789-802) and Diniarchus (877-883) violate the 'chrononormative' (Freeman 2010) objectives of comic rape, which prescribes onto citizen children the linear life stages of marriage, reproduction, and inheritance (Halberstam 2005); by doing so, they consequently place the baby's future—and therefore their own—into ambiguity. Furthermore, I propose that Diniarchus' final scene of paternal neglect, corresponding with descriptions of Phronesium's home as a site of death (esp. 22-27, 43-50, 213-214, 342-349, 748-750) can be explored through the framework of Edelman's (2004) 'death drive'. In the process, I delve into the possibility of the sex labourer's den as a queer space, ultimately highlighting nuances in how comic women and men operate in tandem and in tension with the heteropatriarchal structures that shape their lives.

Evan Vance

Yours, mine, and Athena's: the economic re-use of dedications in the Greek polis

This paper draws on literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence from archaic and classical Greece to reconstruct civic norms around the melting of dedications for financial purposes, henceforth re-monetization. This practice appears only occasionally in our literary sources, with varying degrees of controversy (e.g., Thuc. 2.13.4-5; Diod. Sic. 16.56), and it has proven difficult for modern scholarship to determine if this kind of borrowing was a normal part of public finance (Sassu 2014) or a profound violation of religious norms (Linders 1987; 1989/90). I suggest that instead, re-monetization was a rare but important practice at the core of a community's relationship with its gods.

In the first part of this paper, I argue that the physical form of dedications made their re-use subject to different considerations than borrowing from a sanctuary's cash reserves; thus, it was often accompanied by special administrative barriers. In the second part, I examine attestations of re-monetization and find that it was acceptable only 1) when a polis borrowed from its own deities and 2) under conditions of existential threat. In the third part, I assess the importance of re-monetization. In addition to offering a fiscal boost to a community in distress, the act of navigating administrative and logistical barriers served as a mechanism for generating civic consensus when it was most needed and evoked a direct link between the community and its tutelary deities. Re-monetization thus provides a new lens to understand the profound interrelation between public and sacred wealth in the Greek polis.

Bibliography

Linders, T. 1987. "Gods, Gifts, Society." In *Gifts to the Gods: Proceedings of the Upsala Symposium 1985*, T. Linders and G. Nordquist (edd.), 115–22. Uppsala.

-----. 1989/90. "The Melting Down of Discarded Metal Offerings in Greek Sanctuaries." In *Anathema : Regime delle Offerte e Vita dei Santuari nel Mediterraneo Antico*, G. Bartolini, G. Colonna, and G. Grottanelli (edd.), 281–85. Rome.

Sassu, R. 2014. *Hiera Chremata: Il Ruolo del Santuario nell'Economia della Polis*. Rome.

Emily Varto

<u>Jane's Fault? The Ritualists and Classics' estrangement from Anthropology</u>

The once intertwined disciplines of classics and anthropology diverged precipitously in the early 20th Century. Anthropologists dramatically reoriented themselves toward intensive participant fieldwork, becoming disinterested in the ancient Greeks and Romans. Anthropology was rapidly replacing its grand comparative projects with focused ethnographic studies undertaken in exotic locales that emphasized cultural distinctiveness. Kluckhohn argued in 1961 that anthropologists had moved on in method and theory, but classicists did not. Humphreys suggested in 1978 that the fields diverged due to preoccupation with new materials and subjects. But why did classics not continue to develop in concert with anthropology, at least, in theoretical approaches to its own material, if not in fieldwork methods or subjects?

When Finley delivered the Jane Harrison Memorial Lecture in 1972 (published 1975), he indentified Harrison and the Ritualists and the cause. He contended that they mishandled the ancient evidence so badly that classicists rejected not only their ideas but also any association with the anthropology with which they engaged. Thus, the negative reaction to the Ritualists' work led to along estrangement. Kirk (1970) argues a similar point. Is this fair? Is it accurate?

Harrison and the Ritualists form a significant intersection between classics and anthropology. They adopted 19th-century anthropological theories of social evolution and engaged in comparative work, but they also shared a fascination with 'primitive' peoples, who were the main subjects of study for early twentieth-century anthropologists. The Ritualists fused the two disciplines, but did they also simultaneously divide them? What in their work might provoke such a split? What other factors were at play? Why did later, prominent anthropologically minded scholars single out Jane Harrison and her colleagues?

<u>Works Cited</u>

Finley, Moses I. 1975. *The Use and Abuse of History*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Humphreys, Sarah C. 1978. *Anthropology and the Greeks*. London: Routledge and K. Paul.

Kirk, Geoffrey Stephen. 1970. *Myth: its meaning and functions in ancient and other cultures*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Kluckhohn, Clyde. 1961. *Anthropology and the Classics*. Providence: Brown University Press.

Robert Weir

Can You Publish a Corpus Without Examining the Artifacts?:
The Case of the Coins Excavated at Anemurium/Anamur, Turkey

This paper combines an admonition to archaeologists to see to the timely publication of their sites with an example of what scholarship is still possible if this exhortation is ignored. Ancient Anemurium (near modern Anamur) in Rough Cilicia was excavated by Canadian teams under Elizabeth Alfoldi (University of Toronto, 1965–1970) and James Russell (University of British Columbia, 1971–1982). Recently, a small group of scholars has laboured mightily to publish at least some of the site and its artifacts lest time and mortality claim all the hard-won results. James Russell was fully intending to publish the coin corpus himself until dementia sidelined him, whereupon this author was asked to pick up the pieces and make sense of them as best he could. Despite a diligent search through Russell's papers, the numismatic record is still far from complete. There are, for instance, publishable catalogues of hundreds of 4th to 7th century CE coins, but none of earlier coins. There are handwritten notes on scores of index cards, a couple of typewritten lists, and almost no photographs. Even the total number of coins is still unknown. Nor is it still possible, for various reasons, to go to Anamur to study the coins afresh. Despite this glum situation, one can still salvage much valuable information from Russell's papers and sketch a passable picture of Anemurium in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods.

Carolyn Willekes

The Horse Makes the Hero: The Mythologizing Nature of Bucephalus

Horses proliferate the world of Greek mythology as the partners of gods and most notably for this study, heroes. An investigation of major Greek mythological cycles reveals a clear link between horses and heroes, and while this might strike one as not particularly surprising given the role of the horse in warfare, it is notable that this association is not one of a generic horse with a hero, but rather a named, specific horse (or horses) with a particular hero. These horses tend to have extraordinary qualities and in some cases are themselves divine, adding to, or perhaps more accurately, reflecting the glory of their hero. The named horse is not an afterthought to the hero, but an intrinsic part of their identity and by extension, their accomplishments. This paper will use the heroic horse of the mythological tradition as a means of exploring one of the best-known historical horse-human partnerships, that of Alexander and Bucephalus. For with this pair, we are set firmly in the historical tradition, but it is a tradition that becomes increasingly more mythologized through time. Central to this process is Bucephalus. Thus, an examination of the named horse-hero relationship is a fundamental to any understanding of Alexander and Bucephalus. It is upon this foundation that the tradition of their relationship and its ideological significance is based, placing Alexander neatly within a set mythological trope that will become the basis for his mythologizing in later periods.

Angus Wilson

Polybius' Carthaginian Queen: The Death of Dido and Historiographical Intertexts

This paper argues for an intertextual relationship between Polybius' account of the fall of Carthage (Plb. 38.20.7-10) and the *urbs capta* topos that Vergil composes for Carthage in simile after the death of Dido (*Aen*. 4.663-71). In particular, I argue that Vergil likens the death of Dido to that of the unnamed wife of the garrison commander of Carthage, Hasdrubal the Boethearch. However, the text of Polybius in question is fragmentary, and requires recourse to later historians (Appian and Dio, via Zonaras) to reconstruct the narrative. Livy's *Periochae* 51.5 will act as a "control" for the circulation of this story in the Augustan period. I understand the intertextual tendentiousness that Vergil constructs between himself and Polybius in generic terms: Polybius' strongly critical stance towards the historians Phylarchus (Plb. 2.56.7) and Timaeus (Plb. 12.26b.4-5) for the use of pathetic devices like the *urbs capta* in their histories also implicitly indicts Vergil's mytho-history, since epic genre was understood as a type of universal history, as opposed to the historical monograph. Vergil must grapple with this disjunction between himself and Polybius because of his necessary reliance upon the historian for material on Carthage. For Polybius, the *urbs capta* is a non-historiographical pressure being exerted on the genre of history. By contrast, for Vergil the *urbs capta* and the dramatization of Dido's death act as a means of redrafting his audience's understanding of their shared Roman past, as well as supporting his poetic and generic self-definition.

Select Bibliography

Barchiesi, Alessandro. *The Poet and the Prince*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Biggs, Thomas. *The Poetics of the First Punic War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2020.

Edgeworth, R.J. "The Death of Dido." *The Classical Journal* v. 72 no. 2 (1977): 129-133.

Elliott, Jackie. "The Epic Vantage-Point: Roman Historiographical Allusion Reconsidered." *Histos* v. 9 (2015): 277-311.

Giusti, Elena. *Carthage in Virgil's Aeneid*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Hinds, Stephen. "Essential Epic: Genre and Gender from Macer to Statius." In *Matrices of Genre*, eds. M. Depew and D. Obbink, 221-244. London: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Horsfall, Nicholas. *Fifty Years at the Sibyl's Heels*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Jacoby, Felix, ed. *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*. Leiden: Brill, 1955.

Keith, Alison. "City lament in Augustan epic: antitypes of Rome from Troy to Alba Longa." In *The Fall of Cities in the Ancient Mediterranean*, eds. M. Bachvarova, D. Dutsch, and A. Suter, 156-182. London: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Kenney, E.J. "'Iudicium Transferendi:' Virgil, 'Aeneid' 2, 469-505 and Its Antecedents." In

Creative Imitation and Latin Literature, eds. D. West and T. Woodman, 103-20. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Khellaf, Kyle. "Incomplete and Disconnected: Polybius, Digression, and its Historiographical

Afterlife." In *Polybius and his Legacy*, eds. F. Montanari and A. Rengakos, 167-201. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.

Lehmann, G.A. "The 'Ancient' Greek History in Polybios' Historiae: Tendencies and Political

Objectives." *Scripta Classica Israelica* v. 10 (1990): 66–77.

Loraux, Nicole. *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman*. London: Harvard University Press, 1987.

Manuwald, Gesine. "Fact and Fiction in Roman Historical Epic." *Greece & Rome* v. 61 no. 2

(2014): 204-221.

Marincola, John. "Eros and Empire: Virgil and the Historians on Civil War." *In Ancient

Historiography and its Contexts: Studies in Honour of A.J. Woodman*, eds. C.S. Kraus, J. Marincola, and C. Pelling, 183-204. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Paul, G.M. "'Urbs Capta': Sketch of an Ancient Literary Motif." *Phoenix* v. 36 no. 2 (1982):

144-155.

Pausch, Dennis. "Lost in Reception? Polybius' Paradoxical Impact on Writing History in

Republican Rome." In *Polybius and his Legacy*, eds. F. Montanari and A. Rengakos, 357-380. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.

Rossi, Andreola. *Contexts of War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Scardino, Carlo. "Polybius and Fifth-Century Historiography: Continuity and Diversity in the

Presentation of Historical Deeds." In *Polybius and his Legacy*, eds. F. Montanari and A. Rengakos, 299-321. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.

Schwartz, Eduard. *Griechische Geschichtschreiber*. Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1959.

Walbank, F.W. *Polybius*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972.

Woodman, A.J. *From Poetry to History: Selected Papers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Ziolkowski, Adam. "'Urbs Direpta', or how the Romans sacked cities." In *War and Society in the

Roman World*, eds. John Rich and Graham Shipley, 69-91. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Anastasia Zabalueva

<u>Laughing Away Asexuality: Compulsory Sexuality and Comic Mechanisms in *Lysistrata*</u>

This paper considers *Lysistrata* through the lens of asexuality, drawing on Ela Przybylo's approach to exploration of asexual archives and Kristina Gupta's conceptualization of compulsory sexuality. In order to examine how the play both allows for and undermines asexual possibilities, I take a twofold approach: first, I analyze the main character who can be interpreted as asexual, and second, I critique the comedic mechanisms that reinforce compulsory sexuality and render asexuality inconceivable within the medium.

Lysistrata stands apart as the only character strangely unaffected by the sex strike, displaying complete self-control in contrast to the exaggerated desire of others. Her lack of sexual interest is further reinforced by associations with celibate figures like the priestess Lysimache and Athena herself. Yet rather than presenting her as a legitimate asexual figure, the play frames her indifference as a departure from conventional femininity, using her non-sexuality to emphasize and ridicule the uncontrollable lust of others.

When viewed through the lens of humor theories - superiority, incongruity, and benign violation - the play's comedic structure emerges as inherently reliant on compulsory sexuality. The humor stems from the assumption that abstinence is unnatural and unsustainable, making non-sexuality itself a joke. This comedic logic not only marginalizes asexuality but actively erases its possibility, reinforcing the idea that sexual desire is an essential, defining human trait. By critiquing *Lysistrata* as both a text and a performance medium, this paper highlights how ancient comedy forecloses asexual subjectivities, raising broader questions about the erasure of non-sexual identities in historical narratives.

Booze Matters: The Socio-Eonomic and Political Lives of Alcohol and Its Users (Panel Organizer: Matt Gibbs)

A libation, an anxiolytic, a medicinal ingredient, an intoxicant: alcohol has profoundly shaped the course of human history. Recent scholarship, ranging from the conventional through to the experiential, has provided new avenues beyond the literary aspect through which classicists and ancient historians investigate the long and complex history of human–alcohol relationships in the classical world. These avenues suggest that alcohol's role in antiquity was far more pervasive than has been previously considered, playing an important role in restricting and enhancing socio-religious roles, as well as in commensality and the creation of social, economic, and political identities.

Moving beyond the literary evidence and making use of the archaeological, epigraphical, and documentary evidence, this panel presents four papers, each of which focusses on the use of alcohol in a particular context from the ancient Greek and Roman worlds. Throughout, we argue that alcohol production and consumption can be studied as a set of unique socio-economic and religious phenomena that were used to construct social, professional, and religious identities, to formulate political power and restrict access to it, to precipitate transformation through performative ritual in several Greek and Roman institutions, and to both constrain and coerce group membership in those contexts.

<u>Jessica Romney: Civic symposiasts and sympotic citizens: commensality in the archaic polis</u>

Commensality was pervasive in archaic Greek poleis, to the point that "if man is a πολιτικὸν ζῷον, it is because he partakes in a culture of feasting" (van den Eijnde 2018, 2). Commensal events (liquid- and solids-based) occur in domestic, familial, cultic, political, social, and martial groups; these events and their participants appear across the economic spectrum, sometimes uniting socio-economic classes and other times separating them. The sharing of food and drink unites members of a polis into a single community; it also divides the members of a polis by gender, socio-economic status, social group, cultic affiliation, and so on.

Focusing on the symposion as a liquids-based feast, this paper considers how the symposion functions as part of a historical "culture of feasting" intricately connected to polis-participation and how, as part of this polis-associated culture of feasting, the symposion operates as a part of the archaic polis. I suggest that the blurring of solids- and liquids-based feasting types identified by Schmitt Pantel in archaic banqueting imagery (1997, 22–31) also operates in the political use to which sympotic participation is put. Namely, the symposion argues that all who participate (that is, male *agathoi* ingest "equal" shares that stress equality among the group; the feast subordinates feasters to host and asserts the relative positions of equitable shares. Combined in the context of the polis' political institutions, a logic of "equal and equitable" shares emerges that stresses the citizen group's masculine gender and unity while admitting the greater share claimed by the *agathoi*.

<u>Lewis Webb: *Cum vinum animos incendisset*: Women, wine, and politics in the Roman Republic</u>

Roman women drank wine in the Republic, as both comedy and religion richly attest. The extent of their wine consumption remains a matter of debate. This paper considers the entanglement of women, wine, and politics in the Bacchanalian and Catilinarian conspiracies of 186 and 63 BCE.

Wine was a key element of female religious activity (Serv. ad *Aen.* 1.737). It featured prominently in the December rites for Bona Dea (Plut. *RQ* 20; Iuv. 9.116-17; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.12.24-5). These nocturnal rites were conducted by elite women and the Vestals at the house of a senior magistrate, held *pro populo*, and were of political import. Indeed, in 63, a sign observed at these rites was interpreted as divine encouragement for Cicero's campaign against Catiline. Terentia herself conveyed this interpretation to Cicero and incited him against the conspirators (Plut. *Cic.* 20). Given the presence of wine at these rites, her advice may have had some *liquid* inspiration.

This heady mix of wine and religion was dangerous: it is foregrounded in accounts of the Bacchanalian and Catilinarian conspiracies, whose conspirators were executed by senatorial decree (Cic. *Cat.* 2.10-11; Sall. *Cat.* 22; Livy 39.8.5-6; Plut. *Cic.* 18). Excessive wine consumption was also a rhetorical topos used in political invective. Drinking had political ramifications.

This paper argues that women's wine consumption in religious contexts presented them with risks and opportunities, built and broke communities, and shaped the Republic itself.

<u>Matt Gibbs: "It is a condition that they shall drink regularly on the 25th of each month… a *chous* of beer...": Alcohol and professional associations in Roman Egypt</u>

In the first part of his c.mid-first century CE invective against the *praefectus Aegyptus*, Aulus Avidius Flaccus, the Alexandrian philosopher Philo praises him for his dissolution of associations, claiming that:

"The sodalities (*hetairiai*) and clubs (*synodoi*), which were constantly holding feasts … in which drunkenness vented itself in political intrigue, he dissolved and dealt with sternly..." (Philo, *In Flacc*. 4)

Given the recent studies on collective action in Roman Egypt, we can be sure that several professional groups in the province were included in Flaccus' suppression. And yet, in the first century, associations—professional and otherwise—continued to produce regulations, and the use of alcohol appears in every instance. Given Philo's evidence for the actions of the Roman state, this paper explores what lay behind the prefect's motivations. By examining the role played by commensality and considering it at as an aspect of 'sociability' and the 'play element' in culture (van Nijf 2002, 305–6; Huizinga 1949, 55–56), it considers how, why, and in which contexts alcohol was used. Through the documentary papyri and comparative evidence, this paper argues that members of professional associations used alcohol in various contexts, from the social to the religious, even to the political, and that the choice of the alcohol used may well reveal more about members' identities than has previously been considered.

<u>Conor Whately: Alcohol and soldiers in the Roman Empire</u>

We are well acquainted with the dietary needs of Roman soldiers across the imperial era. With references in texts and papyri as well as abundant floral and faunal remains from frontier outposts, we have a rich body of material to understand the consumption habits of soldiers. Discussion has often focused on the consumption of meat, grain, and olive oil. Rather less attention has been focused on what they imbibed, even if there is an understanding that Roman "drinking vinegar", *posca*, or *acetum*, was a staple of their diet. We know, for instance, that beer appears in some documents from Vindolanda: a soldier, Masclus from the Ninth Batavians, among other things, asks for beer for the soldiers (*Tab.Vindol.* 628), who were currently without; another tablet, a list of items, includes pints of beer (*Tab.Vindol.* 186); another lists both wine and beer (*Tab.Vindol.* 190). As far as when it was used goes, some scholars (Goldsworthy 1996; Roth 1999), who have worked on the experience of soldiers in combat, have speculated that they drank alcohol to calm nerves before the fighting commenced. In this paper I will delve into the alcoholic drinking habits of Roman soldiers. I plan to survey those documents where we find references to beer and wine, and speculate about where and when they were consumed, focusing on the imperial era, from Augustus to Heraclius.

Bibliography

Brouwer, H. 1989. Bona Dea: *The sources and a description of the cult.* Leiden: Brill.

Dunbabin, K. 2003. *The Roman banquet: Images of conviviality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goldsworthy, A. K. 1996. *The Roman army at war,* 100 BC–AD 200. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Huizinga, J. 1949. Homo ludens: *A study of the play-element in culture*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Komar, P. 2021. 'Wine taboo regarding women in archaic Rome, origins of Italian viticulture, and the taste of ancient wines', *Greece & Rome* 68.2: 239–54.

van den Eijnde, F. 2018. "Feasting and polis institutions: An introduction." In F. van den Eijnde, J.H. Blok, and R. Strootman (eds.), *Feasting and polis institutions*, 1-27. Leiden: Brill.

van Nijf, O. M. 2002. "*Collegia* and civic guards: Two chapters in the history of sociability." In W. M. Jongman and M. Kleijwegt (eds.), *After the past: Essays in ancient history in honour of H.W. Pleket*, 305–39. Leiden: Brill.

Roth, J. P. 1999. *The logistics of the Roman army at war* (264 BC–AD 235). Leiden: Brill.

Schmitt Pantel, P. 1997. *La cité au banquet. Histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques*. 2ième tirage. Rome: École française de Rome.

Writing Roman Lives (Panel Organizer: Jonathan Edmondson)

The extent to which we can write satisfactory lives of Roman historical and literary figures has long given scholars pause, and the continuing stream of biographies of major Roman figures – not least emperors and imperial women – prompts the need to reflect on the viability of a biographical approach for reconstructing the Roman past. Attempts to recreate the lives of the middling and lower echelons of Roman society from inscriptions or papyri have proved just as problematic. This panel seeks to stimulate further debate on these questions in light of Keith Bradley's recent reflections on the methodological complications of a biographical approach in his 2024 book, *Marguerite Yourcenar's Hadrian: Writing the Life of a Roman Emperor* (Phoenix Supplementary Series 62, University of Toronto Press).

After a brief introduction by the organizer, the panel will comprise four papers that are intended to stimulate discussion. Paper 1 probes the literary techniques that Vergil employed to fashion an autobiographical portrait first in the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* and then in the *Aeneid*, prompting reflection on the nature and validity of such literary portraits. Paper 2 focuses on the problems of using anecdotal evidence in writing biographies of Roman emperors and female members of the *domus Augusta*. Paper 3 seeks to assess the value of papyri from Roman Egypt, when read comparatively with other material, to give voice to the largely voiceless individuals at the margins of Roman society, especially child slaves. Paper 4 uses modern life-writing to highlight some of the methodological difficulties inherent in writing ancient Roman biographies. Building on Bradley's work on Marguerite Yourcenar's picture of Hadrian, it explores how deeply researched and sensitively constructed historical fiction may provide a more satisfying alternative. New material from Yourcenar's letters elucidate more clearly her views on the potential of the historical novel. It is hoped that these four papers that use a variety of approaches will prompt discussion of the value and validity of biographical approaches to the Roman past, historical and literary.

<u>Alison Keith: Vergil's Autofictions and the Vergilian Biographical Tradition</u>

Intense interest in the lives of the ancient Greek poets is visible already in Aristophanes' comedies, which offer portraits of Aeschylus, Euripides, and Agathon, amongst other Athenian notables. The genre of poetic biography, however, emerged only in the Hellenistic period, in works no longer extant (by e.g., Antigonus, Aristoxenus, Chamaeleon, Hermippus, Ister, and Satyrus). Lefkowitz (1981) demonstrated that the ancient Greek biographers plumbed their authors' works for detail about their lives, equating an author's life with the characteristic activities of his genre and argued that their biographies should be seen as popular fictions, of little to no historical reliability. Yet these fictions circulated widely in the Roman period, implicitly imparting standards of poetic biography (both life-writing and life-living) to Roman authors and their audiences. Critics of Latin poetry have accordingly begun to explore Latin authors' conscious self-portraiture by measuring their autofictions against the conventions of Greek life-writing (Graziosi 2009, Ingleheart 2009, Farrell 2016, Goldschmidt 2019). The rich tradition of Vergilian biography makes the investigation of Vergil's autofictions particularly pressing, though there has been no sustained attempt to explore Vergil's contribution to his own biographical tradition (Farrell 2016 and Peirano Garrison 2017 make a start). In this paper, I

examine Vergil's invitations to read Tityrus and Menalcas as his poetic masks in the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* as the genesis of his autofictions in the early poems and ask, by way of conclusion, what kind of a portrait of the author emerges from a reading of the *Aeneid*.

Bibliography

Farrell, J. 2016. "Ancient Commentaries on Theocritus *Idylls* and Virgil's *Eclogues*," in B. Gibson and C. Kraus (eds.), *Classical Commentaries: Explorations in a Scholarly Genre*, 397–418. Oxford.

Goldschmidt, N. 2019. *Afterlives of the Roman Poets: Biofiction and the Reception of Latin Poetry.* Cambridge.

Graziosi, B. 2002. *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic.* Cambridge.

_____. 2009. "Horace, Suetonius and the *Lives* of the Greek Poets,' in Houghton and Wyke, 140–60.

Houghton, L.B.T., and Wyke, M. (eds.) 2009. *Perceptions of Horace: A Roman Poet and his Readers*. Cambridge.

Ingleheart, J. 2009. "Writing to the Emperor: Horace's Presence in Ovid's *Tristia* 2," in Houghton and Wyke,123–39.

Lefkowitz, M. 1981. *The Lives of the Greek Poets.* Baltimore MD.

Peirano Garrison, I. 2017. "Between Biography and Commentary: The Ancient Horizon of Expectation of *VSD*," in A. Powell and P. Hardie (eds.), *The Ancient Lives of Virgil: Literary and Historical Studies,* 1–28. Swansea.

T. Corey Brennan: Weighing Anecdotal Evidence in Roman Imperial Biography

The landmark fictional treatment of Hadrian's life and reign is that of Marguerite Yourcenar (1903–87). Her 1951 *Memoirs of Hadrian* has justly been recognized as a literary effort of the highest order. For the past dozen years, Keith Bradley has done more than anyone to illuminate Yourcenar's range of reference, working methods, and indeed methodology.

This paper has two aims. The first is to explore Yourcenar's treatment of several key figures in Hadrian's circle whom she presents as ancillary characters: Hadrian's wife Sabina, her companion Julia Balbilla, and Hadrian's first choice as heir, L. Ceionius Commodus = L. Aelius Caesar. I argue that, when it suits her literary purposes, Yourcenar privileges suggestive anecdotes found in the literary sources over attested fact. For instance, the novelist draws on the salacious tradition that Hadrian had poisoned his wife, yet denies Hadrian the (certain) act of her consecration.

Second, the paper argues that even bizarre imperial anecdotes deserve full interrogation. As a case study, I examine a puzzling passage in Suetonius's Life of *Domitian*, how "at the beginning of his reign Domitian was accustomed to spend hours alone every day doing nothing but catching flies and stabbing them with an exceedingly sharp pen". I show how baldness played a

central role for the self-regard of the emperor, and how the medical use of flies to stimulate hair growth, prominent in Pliny's *Natural History*, may explain a story that R. Saller considered "simply made up".

Bibliography

Brennan, T.C. 2018. *Sabina Augusta: An Imperial Journey.* Oxford.

Saller, R.P. 1990. "Domitian and His Successors: Methodological Traps in Assessing Emperors," *American Journal of Ancient History* 15.1: 4–18.

Pauline Ripat: *Vitae obscurorum*: The Lives of the Underrepresented

Papyrological evidence from Roman Egypt includes a chaotic variety of documents which occasionally attest to the moments, actions, and sometimes even words of individuals from generally underrepresented demographics: females, children, slaves (e.g., Bagnall and Cribiore 2015). This information, although it survives by accident, is not accidental. It represents purposeful attempts to mark, express, or record decisions or events of consequence in otherwise shadowy lives. Rephrased, the papyrological material presents what can be thought of as biographical moments in the lives of individuals who, by their very lack of extraordinariness, belong to the elements of ancient society in which social historians are most interested. New approaches to evidence can be revealing about the experience of those whose own voices are generally unrecorded (e.g., Bradley 2022). This paper contemplates how biographical moments contained in papyri can be juxtaposed with each other and with additional comparanda to suggest otherwise invisible trajectories in the life experience of child slaves, whose existence in Roman Egypt is directly witnessed mostly by the chance survival of bills of sale (e.g., Evans Grubbs 2021). Can, for example, anything more be suspected about the lives of enslaved children like the 10-year-old girl Abaskantis, sold in AD 142 (P. Turner 22), by contrasting moments of the freeborn girl Heraidous's life (P. Giss. 21, 58, 78; P. Brem. 63)?

Bibliography

Bagnall, R. and Cribiore, R. 2015. *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt 300 BC-AD 800.*

Ann Arbor.

Bradley, K. R. 2022. "On Psyche and Psychology: A Reflection," *Ancient Narrative* 22: 38-78.

Evans Grubbs, J. 2021. "A Long Way from Home: Motherless Children in Slave Sale Contracts,"

In S. Huebner and D. Ratzan eds., *Missing Mothers: Maternal Absence in Antiquity*

(Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 22), 105-126. Leuven.

Keith Bradley: On Writing *Yourcenar's Life of Hadrian*

This contribution speaks to how the book *Marguerite Yourcenar's Hadrian* (2024) came to be. It begins by illustrating from a modern life-writing perspective the difficulties involved in writing biographies of Roman emperors; explains how and why Yourcenar's *Mémoires d'Hadrien* (1951)

emerged as a more successful alternative; and consolidates its view of *Mémoires'* authenticity with evidence unavailable when the book was written.

The new material concerned is a recently published volume of Yourcenar's correspondence: *«Zénon, Sombre Zénon»: Correspondance 1968-1970* [2023]. A key theme of this collection is Yourcenar's response to the reception of her second great historical novel, *L'Œuvre au Noir* (*The Abyss*), from 1968, whose principal character Zénon—unlike Hadrian—is a complete fiction. The letters presented often assume the *de facto* form of miniature essays on the historical novel at large, delineate its aims and its methods of recovering the past (in contrast to those of professional historians), and illustrate Yourcenar's conception of what the historical novel might credibly achieve. They also allow their reader to assess her thoughts on Hadrian some twenty years after *Mémoires'* initial publication.

Altogether the contribution's overriding interest is in the viability of biography as a means of understanding the Roman past. Comments on the remarks from co-panelists will be introduced as appropriate.

Prairie Classics: A Roundtable Discussion on Pedagogy and Place in the Classics Classroom (Panel Organizer: Zachary Yuzwa)

We—Canadian classicists—have all begun to understand the ways in which our discipline is implicated in the colonial epistemologies that structure life on this land. This paper considers the problems and opportunities that follow from teaching the history and literature of the ancient Mediterranean here on the Canadian prairies in particular. Why and how do we teach the "classics" on the prairies? Does this particular colonial context condition our pedagogy?

This panel brings together Classics faculty from postsecondary institutions across the prairies to discuss the connection between pedagogy and place. We will explore some of the ways in which our teaching of classics is *situated*, is a product of the land on which we live and work. Each participant will make a brief (ca. 10 minutes) presentation on the topics listed below. These presentations will be followed by a moderated discussion that will invite questions and contributions from all in attendance.

Panelists:

1. Zachary Yuzwa, "The Problem with Doing Classics on the Prairies: Colonizing Knowledges and Pedagogies of Resistance"
2. Flavia Vasconcellos Amaral, "A Brazilian Classicist and a Freirean Compatriot in the Prairies: A Pedagogical Reflection"
3. Carolyn Willekes, "...and a side of Classics: Teaching Ancient History to Non-Specialists"
4. David Meban, "Some Reflections After 20 years of Teaching on the Prairies"

New Wine in Old Skins (Panel Organizer: Christopher Mackay)

Until recently, the standard method for teaching Greek and Latin was taken for granted and had no name. There is now a movement to teach those languages in a more active manner like modern languages. This new movement has various names (like the "natural" method). The older method is now called "Grammar and translation," and involves the memorization of paradigms and vocabular for the purpose of giving a grammatical analysis of the text with the further aim of translating it into Greek or Latin. The natural method is largely advocated for high school students in the United States, but this method is now being adopted (in whole or part) in certain universities (some quite prominent) in the US and UK. The purpose of the proposed panel is to set out arguments, both theoretical and practical for adopting the new method of language instruction in the Canadian context. Experience shows that discussions on this topic can be heated and divisive. We intend to explain, hopefully in a constructive, non-confrontational way, the perceived problems with the old method and ways in which the natural method can be incorporated into university instruction.

Christopher Mackay: New Wine in Old Skins: Challenges and Potentials in Language Pedagogy

This talk is meant to be an introduction to the panel. I have been teaching Ancient Greek and Latin for 39 years and for the majority of that time I was a strong adherent of the method now known as "grammar and translation." This was back in the 1980's pretty much the only way the ancient languages were taught. It had no theory behind it, and all students (future instructors) more or less developed their own understanding of what the method entailed. My own version was rigorous and demanding. Starting more than a decade ago, however, I began to have deep reservations about the efficacy of the method, and for assorted reasons considered methods adopted from the teaching of modern languages, the so-called natural method. In the talk, I will discuss my understanding of how the grammar-and-translation method operates, what the problems with it are, and how these can be remedied through the natural method. In my experience, such discussions can be heated, but dispassionate and reasoned analysis of the situation is a pre-requisite to moving forward, and this will set the stage for specific topics in the subsequent talks.

Gregory Rowe: Teaching Students to Read Complex Greek and Latin Sentences Sequentially

Traditional approaches to reading Greek and Latin often emphasize reading sentences to the end, locating the principal verb and subject, and mapping levels of subordination. However, this hierarchical method can hinder students from developing full reading fluency. Competent readers must process sentences as they unfold, in the order in which they are written.
This presentation advocates for a pedagogical shift toward teaching students to read sentences sequentially. It introduces a practical method for breaking sentences into discrete sense-units, or "chunks," which follow consistent patterns and are easily comprehensible. By focusing on the linear arrangement of these chunks, students can grasp the inherent logic of sentences—whether it reflects the chronology of a narrative or the progression of an argument.
Reading linearly not only highlights the rhetorical force of sentences but also equips students to navigate complex structures that might otherwise seem incomprehensible, including intricate

subordination and apparent grammatical irregularities. This approach empowers learners to become more confident and proficient readers of ancient texts.

Miller Krause: Teaching Students What They Already Know

Traditional approaches to teaching Latin and Greek focus on grammar, drills, and translation exercises often drawn from narrative prose or poetry. An alternative approach is to focus on solving tasks through using the language, that is, teaching in a new language material that students already understand from prior schooling in their native language. Non-narrative technical writing, such as Euclid's *Elements* in Greek, or Apicius' *De Re Culinaria* and nineteenth century medical texts in Latin, provide authentic, target-language input in domains with which students are already familiar, like geometry, food, and medicine. Students then, in imitation of that input, perform familiar tasks in the relevant domain, such as constructing and describing geometric shapes or composing recipes. Grammar is still taught, but as a means to a greater end rather than as an end in itself. This approach also helps students learn vocabulary in related sets and gives them structures for producing Latin and Greek prose that is not a translation but rather an expression of the students' thoughts.

Kelly MacFarlane: Starting Early with Interrogatives: Baby Steps Towards a More Active Latin Classroom

Active Latin is a paedagogical approach that is comparatively new to the university classroom, where the traditional approach concentrates on grammatical explanations and translation from Latin to English. The active approach is a very effective way to increase students' comfort and fluency in the language as it encourages students to interact with Latin directly as a functioning language and to make use of that language as much as possible.

Shifting to this new approach can, however, seem daunting for instructors used to the more passive traditional methods especially when they use one of the standard textbooks that are not geared towards this method. It is, however, possible for instructors to take baby steps towards this new method before jumping in with both feet.

I will discuss one small, practical change that instructors interested in trying out the new paedagogy can incorporate into their classroom practice: introduce interrogative pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs in the first few weeks of term. By teaching students interrogatives early on, instructors can increase engagement with Latin as a language by asking questions in Latin about the textbook exercises and/or readings, and these can then be answered by the students, in Latin. This procedure also helps with memorization of vocabulary and facilitates the internalization of the grammatical patterns.

Euripides Remixed (Panel Organizer: Judith Fletcher)

<u>Judith Fletcher: Becoming Mother: abjection and assimilation in Euripides' *Bacchae* and Hitchcock's *Psycho*</u>

Euripides' Pentheus (*Bacchae,* 405BCE) and Hitchcock's Norman Bates (*Psycho,* 1960) exhibit several commonalities, including a predilection for voyeurism, an absent father, and an obsessive identification with their mothers manifesting as cross-dressing. Indeed, both cultural products exemplify a fear of maternal power shared by their respective genres, tragedy and horror films. Deploying Kristeva's notion of the abject, this paper explores the construction of Bates' pathology to analyze Dionysus' revenge against Pentheus. Kristeva (*Powers of Horror*, 1980) submits that the fully formed subject requires the mother to be repressed for the child to emerge as an individual; thus, the mother is "abject," cast off, associated with the ability to evoke horror and disgust; failure to individuate results in an effaced distinction between self and other, leading to psychosis. Feminist film theorist Barbara Creed (*The Monstrous Feminine*, 1993) identifies Bates' fetishistic impersonation of his dead mother as a form of abjection, most fully realized in the final frames when her mummified skull is superimposed over his face to emphasize their blended persona. I argue that, like Bates, Pentheus is a specimen of maternal assimilation. The original dramaturgical conventions required the same actor to play Pentheus, dressed as a maenad in his final exit, and Agave, who enters wearing the same costume in the *exodos*. Intimations of cannibalism intensify the suggestion that Pentheus is absorbed by a terrifying maternal figure, thus reversing the subject's individuation and even his birth process. In this way, Dionysus exacts a carefully calibrated revenge for insults to his own parentage.

<u>Mario Telò Medea as Agave: A Too-Close Reading of Lars von Trier's *Medea*</u>

Performing a too-close formalistic reading, this paper plays with the imaginative possibility of Medea as an Agave figure by considering Lars von Trier's filmic rendition of Euripides' *Medea*. In the climactic scene, where Medea hangs her children, a close-up of the wound on the leg of one of them invites the viewer to expand the circular suggestiveness of this anatomical detail, to link it with the shape of the head of Jason, whom, in a previous scene, Medea seemed to behead, as Agave beheads Pentheus in *Bacchae*. In a chain of optical effects, the wound of Medea's child also morphs into her own head, appearing ultimately to stabilize as the container of lethal objects to be sent to her rival. The container conjures an ominous part object served on a platter— Pentheus's or Medusa's head. The result is a petrification of the viewer, unable to discern the referential contours of the object, which is at once infantile wound and paternal and maternal head (or phallus). Through the unexpected kinship between Medea and Agave (and Medusa), von Trier represents the unrepresentable as a hole in the film, in its material substrate. This hole, coinciding with an overdetermined object, figures an *objet petit a*. It is the black hole that the child opens in the mother, the thing to be lost or already lost that is introjected in her psyche as soon as it comes into life.

CanLit and the Classics (*in memorian,* Mark Golden. Panel Organizers: Joseph Gerbasi and Jesse Hill)

This panel explores the reception of the classical tradition in post-WWII English Canadian literature. Although the Greek and Roman classics were a staple of Canadian intellectual formation until recently, there has been relatively little discussion of their influence on Canada's literary voices. The panelists think that this is a shame. Focusing on three otherwise wildly different authors, who all made innovative contributions to the literary history of English Canada, they argue that Canadian (post-)modernists did not discard the classical tradition but transformed for themselves its meaning: no longer the object of romantic inspiration or neo-classical emulation, as it had been for their Victorian forebears, the classical canon became a crucial resource for critical self-reflection, creative appropriation, and even emancipation.

"CanLit and the Classics" is dedicated to the memory of Mark Golden. It will begin with a five-minute introduction by the organizers, who will contextualize the panel and its aims, and speak briefly about the influence of its dedicatee.

Joseph Gerbasi: Classical Political Thought in Dennis Lee's *Civil Elegies*

Dennis Lee's *Civil Elegies* (1968–72) has been called Canada's "founding epic—our *Waste Land*, but also our *Aeneid*" (Mount 2017, 105). Indeed, like Vergil's masterpiece*,* Lee's lengthy free-verse poem is both an aesthetic achievement and a work of nation-building in an era of empire. Unlike the Roman poet, however, Lee writes from periphery rather than centre. What could it mean to be a citizen, he asked, in a country whose politics was not its own? To capture the malaise of modern Canada, our national poet had to capture modern Canada's distinct kind of captivity under the global capitalist empire, with its capitol now moved from Europe to the USA. Lee also seems to have taken inspiration from the Greek and Roman classics, as is suggested by the poem's many recollections of the classical tradition. I argue that, beyond its evident borrowings (signaled in its title) from the (ancient) elegiac tradition, *Civil Elegies* significantly engages with the political thought of Greco-Roman antiquity. Refracting this tradition through the prism of Canadian history and society, Lee's poem offers a terrifying retrial of Orestes at Toronto's would-be town square, a lament for the endangered status of Aristotle's political animal, and a confounding of the civic and the sexual in the manner of not only contemporary bohemia but also Aristophanes and Plato.

Works Cited:

Mount, Nick. *Arrival: The Story of CanLit.* Anansi, 2017.

Kathleen Garland: Iphigenia among the Ontarians: Greek tragedy, ritual substitution, and the human victims of Alice Munro's *Runaway*

Alice Munro's Juliet triptych, which traces episodes in the life of a would-be Classicist in youth, matrescence, and late middle age, and which may be a loose adaptation of the Demeter/Persephone myth (Ćuk 2017; Tolan 2010), is a key text for investigating Munro's broader engagements with classical literature (see Rae 2010, Rivkin 2010, Ventura 2016). Published together in *Runaway* (2004), the Juliet stories ("Chance", "Soon", and "Silence") are immediately preceded by the collection's eponymous first story, which ends with the (probable)

killing of a she-goat; this event, I argue, prepares readers to approach the trilogy that follows with the appropriate disposition.

Rivkin has already highlighted the resonances between Attic tragedy and Munro's oeuvre, both of which turn again and again on the themes of familial dysfunction, seeing and not seeing, pollution and guilt. Like Greek drama, I argue, Munro's stories both reenact myth and are themselves ritual acts, "shaped by gestures of guilt and submission" (Burkert 1983, 34). A Munro story reads as a live event, unrepeatable; but taken together, her stories seem to collapse into a single narrative (Franzen 2004). The plots of "Runaway" and the Juliet trilogy obliquely reference the Iphigenia myth—both feature young women who are symbolically sacrificed; though physically spared, they remain estranged. And in her retellings of the same story, with its actors, victims, and venues varying, Munro also casts herself, the author, as an Iphigenia: repeatedly dispatching her fictive substitutions to offset some pollution or unquenchable guilt, this time seemingly with no escape.

Works cited

Burkert, Walter. *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, translated by Peter Bing. University of California Press, 1983.

Ćuk, Maja. "Runaway: Munro's Rewriting of Greek Mythology from a Feminist Perspective." *Alice Munro and the Anatomy of the Short Story*, edited by Oriana Palusci. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, pp. 83–94.

Franzen, Jonathan, "Runaway: Alice's Wonderland," Rev. of Runaway, by Alice Munro, *The New York Times*, 14 Nov. 2004. http://www.nytimes.com/2004/11/14/books/review/14COVERFR.html

Rae, Ian. "Runaway Classicists: Anne Carson and Alice Munro's 'Juliet' Stories." *Journal of the Short Story in English*, 55, Autumn, 2010, pp. 141–56.

Rivkin, Julie. "Sibyl at the Kitchen Table, or Translating the Classics in 'Hateship' and the Juliet Triptych." *Alice Munro: Hateship, Friendship, Courtship, Loveship, Marriage, Runaway, Dear Life*, edited by Robert Thacker. Bloomsbury, 2016, pp. 91–113.

Tolan, Fiona. "To Leave and to Return: Frustrated Departures and Female Quest in Alice Munro's Runaway." *Contemporary Women's Writing* 4.3, Nov. 2010, pp. 161–78.

Ventura, Héliane. "The Female Bard: Retrieving Greek Myths, Celtic Ballads, Norse Sagas, and Popular Songs." *The Cambridge Companion to Alice Munro*, edited by David Staines, 1st ed. Cambridge University Press, 2016, pp. 154–77

Jesse Hill: Corydon and other classics in Daryl Hine's *In and Out*

This paper is about the Canadian poet Daryl Hine (1936–2012), his tragicomic masterpiece, *In and Out* (1975/89), and its reception of queer Greek and Latin poetry.

In and Out is a narrative poem in four "books" (so perhaps we should call it an "epic") that recounts an eventful year in Hine's life (winter '54/55 – winter '55/56): as an undergraduate at McGill, the poet has his first homoerotic experience; converts to Catholicism (at least in part to repress his feelings of same-sex desire); falls in love; and, in the poem's final, climactic pages, both leaves the Church and embraces his sexuality.

Hine's poem is brimming with the classical (scholarship has yet to discuss this fact; in fact, though widely celebrated, Hine has attracted hardly any secondary literature; but see Hadas 1993, Guy-Bray 1998, Pollock 2012). My paper follows three interconnected threads of allusion in Books 1 and 4 – to Horace, *Epist.* 1.10; to Plato, *AP* 7.669–70; and especially to the Corydon of Virgil, *Ecl.* 2. These classical presences, I argue, assume an emancipatory force within Hine's autobiographical epic: celebrating homoerotic desire as at once perennial and natural, their authority implicitly "validates" (cf. Jones 2024) the poet's homosexuality – helps him repudiate the long- and widely held prejudices of twentieth-century Canada. The classics liberate Daryl Hine.

I close by contextualizing my argument: Hine was hardly the first – and will not be the last – to use the classics as a tool of liberation (cf. Michálek 2024, Geue 2025).

<u>Works cited</u>

Geue, Tom. *Major Corrections: An Intellectual Biography of Sebastiano Timpanaro*. Verso, 2025.

Guy-Bray, Stephen. "Daryl Hine at the Beach." *Canadian Literature* 159, 1998, pp. 72–90.

Hadas, Rachel. "The world, the flesh, and something diverting to read." *Parnassus: Poetry in Review* 17/18.2/1, 1993, pp. 442–53.

Hine, Daryl. *In and Out: A Confessional Poem*. Knopf, 1989 [first published privately 1975].

Jones, Evan. *The Civilizing Discourse: Interviews with Canadian Poets.* Vehicle, 2024.

Michálek, Martin. "Byron's *Carpe Diem* Poetics." *Arion* 31.3, 2024, pp. 9–37.

Pollock, James. "Daryl Hine Recollected." In *You Are Here: Essays on the Art of Poetry in Canada.* Porcupine's Quill, 2012, pp. 17–28.

Beyond 'Bread and Circuses': Star Trek and the Ancient Mediterranean

Star Trek is one of the most successful franchises of all time. Throughout its nearly sixty-year-old history, the franchise has championed an optimistic view of the future in which humanity evolves into an idealized and enlightened multicultural society. Alongside this focus, a prominent thread permeates *Star Trek*: humanity's relationship with its own past–particularly the ancient Mediterranean past–which informs, and even defines, this enlightened future. In addition to the general concept of a privileged deep past, the ancient Mediterranean world has been a consistent and defining element of the franchise, and has attracted considerable scholarly attention (e.g. Wagner and Lundeen 1998; Kapell 2010; Kovacs 2015; Baker 2023). The proposed panel will consist of three papers, each using a different aspect of the franchise to explore new perspectives on the relationships between *Star Trek* and classical antiquity. The first paper examines the parallels between Aeneas and Benjamin Sisko, the commanding officer of *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine* (1993-9); the second analyzes the increasingly 'Roman' presentation of the Mirror Universe in *Star Trek: Discovery* (2016-23); and the third focuses on classical antiquity in the *Star Trek: Year Five* comics (2019-21), peripheral media which exist outside of, yet interact meaningfully with, the canonical television shows and films. This panel will be accessible to everyone, whether you're fluent in Klingon or haven't seen a single episode of *Star Trek*.

Madalena Parsons: Trauma and Atemporality in *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine* and Vergil's *Aeneid*

Star Trek: Deep Space Nine (DS9) is both the first Star Trek series to take place at a fixed location and a turning point in the franchise's development towards serialized rather than episodic plots; it is thus more oriented toward the past and its repercussions than earlier series. From its opening scenes, the show concerns itself with the lingering effects of previous injury—or, put another way, with trauma.

    DS9 explores traumatic memories using the conventions of both science fiction and modern trauma narratives. Despite predating both traditions by nearly two millennia, Vergil's *Aeneid* bears a striking resemblance to *DS9* in its treatment of trauma. Both works manipulate timelines to compel their characters to confront trauma: *DS9*'s Benjamin Sisko and the *Aeneid*'s Aeneas both engage with past injury via retrospective narrativization and a variety of other atemporal experiences, such as Sisko's encounter with the Prophets in "Emissary" and Aeneas' encounter with Rome's future dead in Aeneid 6.

    Read together, each text clarifies the other. *DS9* brings to light the *Aeneid*'s science-fiction-esque approach to temporality; the *Aeneid* helps to contextualize *DS9*'s use of time travel as another entry in a long tradition of texts that negotiate human suffering by bending the expectation of linear time. Their profound similarities suggest that a comparative reading illuminates both.

Angela Hug: 'What We Do in Life, Echoes in Eternity': *Gladiator* and the Mirror Universe in *Star Trek: Discovery*

The Mirror Universe and its violent and cruel Terran empire has long been one of the most popular alternate versions of the future found in *Star Trek*. Although the first introduction to the

Mirror Universe ('Mirror, Mirror', *The Original Series* [2x04]) hinted that the Terran empire modelled itself after the Roman empire, incursions into and from the Mirror Universe in later shows did not always explore this influence. The first-season *Discovery* episode 'Vaulting Ambition' (1x09), however, introduced the Terran ruler as Her Most Imperial Majesty, Mother of the Fatherland, Overlord of Vulcan, Dominus of Qo'noS, Regina Andor, Philippa Georgiou Augustus Iaponius Centarius, establishing this connection beyond doubt. The Terran empire in the Mirror Universe is thought to be the heir of the Roman empire, a vision of how the Romans might have ruled had they been able to conquer space and not just the Mediterranean world.

This paper examines how the Mirror Universe reflects historical memory of the Roman empire and, especially, the Roman imperial court. Although the Terran empire in *Discovery*'s Mirror Universe evokes ancient Rome for the viewer, its historical memory of Rome reflects that found in 'sword and sandal' films of the twentieth century. In particular, the presentation of the Terran empire as a fascist state demonstrates how Ridley Scott's *Gladiator* (2000), which itself was influenced by the cooption of the ancient Roman empire by twentieth-century fascism (Pomeroy 2004, Briggs 2008), has helped to shape the memory of Rome found in the *Star Trek* universe.

Amy Norgard: Odyssean Echoes and Classical Reception in the *Star Trek: Year Five* Comics

Star Trek frequently draws from Homer's *Odyssey* to narrate the challenges of space travel and coming home (Baker 2001 and 2023; Littleton 2010; Tembo 2020). This is evident across the television series like *Star Trek: Voyager* (1995-2001), and in ancillary media like IDW Publishing's *Star Trek: Year Five* comic series (2019-2021, Lanzig and Kelly). Utilizing Kovacs and Marshall's frameworks to study Classical reception in comics (2011 and 2016), this paper investigates *Year Five* as an example of Classical reception that Marshall calls "revisioning," where a modern work involves a "recontextualizing of classical material in a new context" that is not antiquity, and where an audience that brings "more specific knowledge of the ancient world" may be "rewarded" (2016: 22). A team of creators working on both art and text of the comic allows for *Year Five*'s revisioning of Homeric epic to operate on multiple levels, thus producing a more nuanced work of reception that facilitates new representations of the iconic crew of the *USS Enterprise*.

Depicting the final year of the *Enterprise*'s "five-year mission," *Year Five* is littered with references to the *Odyssey*: from episode titles like "The Wine-Dark Deep", to Captain Kirk wrestling with the end of his iconic captaincy, and the crew navigating a new political landscape at home. Dialogue with antiquity enhances the import of this final year, as in Issue 22's special cover, where the crew is depicted across broken shards of Greek pottery visually suggesting not just their impending fragmentation, but also their mythic status in the *Star Trek* canon.

Select Bibliography

Baker, D. (2010). "'Every Old Trick is New Again': Myth in Quotations and the *Star Trek* Franchise."
In M.W. Kapell (ed.), Star Trek *as Myth: Essays on Symbol and Archetype a the Final
Frontier*. McFarland, pp. 80-90.

———. (2023). *To Boldly Go: Marketing the Myth of* Star Trek. Bloomsbury Academic.

Behr, Ira Steven & David Zappone (2018). *What We Left Behind: Looking Back at Star Trek: Deep
Space Nine* [Film]. 455 Films.

Briggs, W. (2008). 'Layered Allusions in *Gladiator*', *Arion*, Third Series, 15.3: 9–38.

Burstein, S. (2006). "We Find the One Quite Adequate: Religious Attitudes in *Star Trek*." In David
Ferrold & Robert J. Sawyer (eds.), *Boarding the Enterprise*. Dallas, TX: BenBella: 87-99.

Davis, Gregson (2016). "Violent Retribution & *Pietas*: The Closure of the *Aeneid* Revisited." In
Phillip Mitsis & Ioannis Ziogas (eds.), *Wordplay & Powerplay in Latin Poetry*. Berlin: Walter
de Gruyter GmbH: 169-181.

Edgeworth, Robert J. (2005). "The Silence of Vergil & the End of the 'Aeneid'." *Vergilius* 51: 3-11.

Edwards, Mark W. (1960). "The Expression of Stoic Ideas in the 'Aeneid'." *Phoenix* 14.3: 151-165.

Fears, J. Rufus (1981). "The Cult of Virtues & Roman Imperial Ideology." *Aufstieg und
Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.17.2: 864-865.

Ferguson, Kathy E. (2002). "This Species which is Not One: Identity Practices in *Star Trek: Deep
Space Nine." Strategies* 15.2: 181-195.

Kapell, M.W. ed. (2010). Star Trek *as Myth: Essays on Symbol and Archetype at the Final Frontier*.
McFarland & Company.

Kovacs, G. (2011). "Classics and Comics: Establishing a Critical Frame," in G. Kovacs and
C.W. Marshall (eds.), *Classics and Comics,* Oxford University Press, pp. 3-24.

———. (2015). "Moral and Mortal in *Star Trek: The Original Series*", in B.M. Rogers and
B.E. Stevens (eds.), *Classical Traditions in Science Fiction*. Oxford University Press.

Lanzig, J. and Kelly, C. (2019-2021). *Star Trek: Year Five*. IDW Publishing.

Linford, Peter (1999). "Deeds of Power: Respect for Religion in Star Trek: Deep Space Nine." In
McLaren & Porter (eds.), *Star Trek & Sacred Ground: Explorations of Star Trek, Religion, &
American Culture*, pp 77-100. State University of New York Press.

Littleton, C.S. (2010). "Some Implications of the Mythology in *Star Trek*." In M.W. Kapell (ed.),
Star Trek *as Myth: Essays on Symbol and Archetype a the Final Frontier*. McFarland, pp. 44-
53.

Marshall, C.W. (2016). "Odysseus and *The Infinite Horizon.*" In G. Kovacs and C.W. Marshall
(eds.), *Son of Classics and Comics.* Oxford University Press, pp. 3-31.

McGrath, James F. (2015). "Explicit & Implicit Religion in *Doctor Who & Star Trek.*" *Implicit
Religion* 18.4: 471-484.

McGrath, James F. (2016). "A God Needs Compassion, but Not a Starship: *Star Trek*'s
Humanist Theology." In Kevin S. Decker & Jason T. Eberl (eds.), *The Ultimate Star
Trek & Philosophy*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd: 315-325.

McLeish, Kenneth (1972). "Dido, Aeneas, & the Concept of 'Pietas'." *Greece & Rome* 19.2:
127-135.

Moore, Gardner Mary (2021). *Stoic Pietas in the Aeneid: A Study of the Poem's Ideological Appeal & Reception.* PhD Thesis. University of Glasgow.

Pomeroy, A. J. (2004). 'The Vision of a Fascist Rome in *Gladiator*', in *Gladiator: Film and History*, M. M. Winkler (ed.). Malden, MA: Blackwell. 111–23.

Tembo, K.D. (2020). "'Far from gay cities and the ways of men': Exploring Wandering and Homecoming in *The Odyssey* and *Star Trek: Voyager*." In R.L. Lively (ed.), *Exploring* Star Trek: Voyager: *Critical Essays*. McFarland, pp. 15-31.

Wagner, J. and Lundeen, J. (1998). *Deep Space and Sacred Time: Star Trek in the American Mythos*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Zanker, Graham (2023). *Fate & the Hero in Virgil's* Aeneid: *Stoic World Fate & Human Responsibility.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Daily Life in the Eastern Mediterranean through the lens of Epigraphic Documents / La vie quotidienne en Méditerranée orientale à travers le prisme des documents épigraphiques », Panel of the American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (ASGLE)

(Panel Organizers: Jan-Mathieu Carbon and Boris Chrubasik)

Epigraphic documents provide invaluable evidence for daily life in the ancient world. This broad category covers aspects ranging from quotidian activites like eating and sleeping, to routines of work, religious activity and social patterns. Inscriptions continue, for example, to inform us about important changes in religious festivals or celebrations (e.g. Rüpke 2013; Blömer and Eckhardt 2020), the enfranchisement of new citizens (e.g. Filonik et al. 2023), or professions and trades (e.g. Stewart et al. 2023), while "everyday writing" like graffiti provides numerous insights into the rhythms and dimensions of daily life (e.g. Bagnall 2011; Benefiel and Keegan 2015). Though the broader set of epigraphic evidence often affords more space to male citizens, inscriptions also offer crucial glimpses into the lives of non-citizens and female members of the community.

The organisers of this panel have collected a series of 4 innovative papers addressing the topic of daily life in the eastern Mediterranean through a focus on epigraphic documents. The approaches of these papers range from technical discussions of editorial problems to broader historical interpretations of the ancient evidence. They provide key insights, for instance, into the daily life of women in the eastern Mediterranean, the enrolment of new citizens into a community and travel by sail, as well as the regular rhythms of the ancient gymnasion. The final contribution concerns the application of a continually enhanced digital humanities resource towards enriching the analysis of daily life in Athens.

Les documents épigraphiques fournissent de riches témoignages au sujet de la vie quotidienne dans le monde antique. Ce thème englobe de multiples aspects, allant des activités journalières telles que manger et dormir, aux routines du travail, aux activités religieuses et aux intéractions sociales. Les inscriptions renouvellent continuellement nos connaissances de ces phénomènes, en nous informant au sujet de l'évolution des fêtes religieuses (e.g. Rüpke 2013 ; Blömer et Eckhardt 2020), de l'intégration de nouveaux citoyens au sein de la communauté (e.g. Filonik et al. 2023), ou des professions et des métiers (e.g. Stewart et al. 2023). D'un autre côté, « l'écriture de tous les jours » comme les graffiti fournit de nombreuses informations sur les rythmes et les dimensions de la vie quotidienne (e.g. Bagnall 2011 ; Benefiel et Keegan 2015). Bien que l'ensemble des preuves épigraphiques accorde souvent plus de place aux hommes et aux citoyens, les inscriptions offrent également d'importants aperçus de la vie des non-citoyens et des femmes membres de la communauté.

Les organisateurs de cette table ronde ont rassemblé une série de quatre communications novatrices traitant de la vie quotidienne en Méditerranée orientale en se concentrant sur les documents épigraphiques. Les approches de ces contributions partent de discussions techniques sur les problèmes textuels aussi bien que d'interprétations historiques plus larges. Elles fournissent des informations essentielles, par exemple, sur la vie quotidienne des femmes en Méditerranée orientale, sur l'intégration des nouveaux citoyens dans une communauté et sur les

voyages à la voile, ainsi que sur les rythmes réguliers du gymnase antique. La dernière contribution concerne l'application d'une ressource issue des sciences humaines numériques à l'analyse de la vie quotidienne à Athènes.

<u>Allison Cleverley : A history of women shaping daily life in 1st century CE Chios</u>

This paper investigates a collection of inscriptions evidencing three women acting in public roles in 1st century CE Chios. These three women contributed to many aspects of quotidian life in the *polis*, through roles such as *stephanephoros*; *agonothetes*; *gymnasiarch*; benefactress of public buildings, of a festival banquet, and of oil; priestess; and *basilissa* of the Ionian Koinon. These inscriptions provide insight into the roles of these women as some of the earliest- (and, in some cases, only-) known holders of these positions in Asia Minor and into their relationships with the *polis* and with the inhabitants of Chios through the activities of festivals and city infrastructure.

This paper argues that women were more present in shaping the day-to-day lives of the community of Chios than has previously been recognised. First, I trace the history of the discoveries and publications of disparate editions of these inscriptions (notably Robert 1938; Robert and Robert 1956; (Forrest 1958) and Woodhead 1958). Second, I show that these disparate publication trajectories have led scholarship on female office-holders and benefactresses to discuss only a single, exceptional woman—following an early reading of the stones as a dossier for one woman (e.g., in van Bremen 1996; Meyers 2012; and Siekierka, Stebnicka, and Wolicki 2021). Third, I make use of my disentanglement of these women in order to discuss implications for historical interpretations both for life in Chios and for the phenomenon of increasing female public participation at this time in Asia Minor more broadly. I show these implications hold both for epigraphy and for theorising answers to historical questions such as why women started to hold public offices.

<u>Lana Radloff: Ancient Seafaring and the Milesian Citizenship Decree of 229/8 BCE</u>

In 229/8 BCE, a decree (Milet 1.3 no. 36-38) detailing the enfranchisement of individuals from 14 Cretan states was inscribed on the Delphinion, the ceremonial and administrative centre of Miletus. The Cretans swore to defend Miletus and its forts on the islands, Leros, Patmos, and Lepsia, in exchange for citizenship (no. 37b 37-9) and land in the Hybandis (no. 37d 65f and 82ff, 33f 1-5; cf. Chaniotis, 2002, p. 105). The decree (no. 38) then lists approximately 240 names or fragments of male names and 60 female names, enrolled according to their family units and categorized by nomenclature that designates their age, status, and gender. Intriguingly, the decree was not inscribed all at the same time; instead, it was arranged according to different months and days of the Milesian year (no. 38ff 3, hh 1, ii 2, 6), suggesting that the applicants were also physically transferred from Crete to Miletus over the course of several voyages.

In this paper, I use evidence about ancient seafaring (Beresford 2013) and the Milesian months (Samuel 1972) to refine Albert Rehm's (Kawerau and Rehm 1914) original dating of the Cretan voyages to Miletus in 229/8 BCE. Rehm (Kawerau and Rehm 1914, pp. 171-172) includes an initial voyage in Taureon, the first month of the Milesian calendar (April/May 229), followed by three supplemental voyages and then a final voyage in Artemision (no. 38hh 1), the last month of the year (March/April 228). I argue that because these were cargos of people – comprised of

women, children, and men at various ages and life stages – rather than commercial voyages, the goal was to ensure the successful transfer of the family unit to a foreign state. Therefore, they must have sailed during the more predictable weather of the sailing season, which allows Rehm's analysis of the supplemental voyages to be placed between the months of April and November.

Stella Skaltsa: Daily Life in the Gymnasium: An Attempt to Quantify Oil Distribution

Members of the gymnasium consumed substantial quantities of oil. Regular oil supply and smooth distribution was of such a paramount importance for the running of the gymnasium that oil has been described as the daily "fuel" of the gymnasium (Kennell 2001). Insufficient funding of the oil supply could place the daily operation of the gymnasium at risk, as happened in the city of Beroia in the second century AD, where the gymnasium had to close at regular intervals (Nigdelis and Souris 2005). Scholarship has mostly focused on the funding of the oil supply (e.g. Fröhlich 2009), ranging from subscriptions, endowments, donations, etc.

This paper will address an interrelated yet different aspect of the question: how much oil was consumed on a daily basis in the gymnasium and how many participants could benefit from it? Drawing on a range of epigraphic evidence, e.g. from Sardis (*SEG* XXXIX 1285), Magnesia on the Maeander (*I.Magnesia* 216), and Hydai near Mylasa (*I.Mylasa* 909), one can calculate the daily amount distributed and the potential number of gymnasium users on that basis, though the answers closely depend on context.

John Traill: A Recently Enhanced Epigraphical Resource for the Study of Daily Life in Ancient Athens

The free open-access digital website Attica is an important resource for the study of daily life in ancient Athens. More than 4 decades ago, at a display at Harvard University of the then young relational database, Emily Vermeule asked how many different women's professions were attested; a unique list of the attribute id(entifier) with fem(ale) in stat(us) produced more than 200. That was with only a few 1000 entries; there are now nearly 12,000 women in the database. Similar explorations may be undertaken of all 100,000 entries in Attica, with restrictions, for example non-citizens, naturalized Athenians, and so on, easily imposed using a simple search form.

Other tools developed over the past half-century since the computerization of the Meritt file of Attic prosopography was initiated, which will facilitate, or enhance the accuracy of, a study of daily life in ancient Athens include a classification of the types of document, decrees, dedications, inventories, catalogues, sepulchral monuments, pottery, metal, literature, each with 10 subdivisions (e.g. graffiti and dipinti are 76, curse tablets 86, papyri 97). In treating the perennial problem of the dating of inscriptions, the differing dates offered by editors are cited, usually indicating a preference, and supply a limiting window with attributes 'datefrom' and 'dateto'. In the decade 2010-20 the ATHENIANS Project worked with computer scientists in York University Engineering to apply AI to the database and recognized this approach as a promising field for future development, especially in the association of data across different contexts. ATHENIANS stays up to date and supplies addenda to and corrigenda of the new entries as issues of *SEG* appear. A similar treatment has been applied to the recently published

IG 3.II/III.8, *Defixiones Atticae.* Here especially, but also in all other branches of epigraphy, the most recent development of ATHENIANS, the incorporation into the database of high-resolution digital images, promises to be an important asset. These images offer the user a control for the confirmation or correction of published texts and supply samples of lettering for comparative dating.

Recent Developments in Papyrology / "Evolutions récentes en papyrologie (Panel organizers: Mike Sampson, Thomas Schmidt, Carolane Lévesque, et Anne-France Morand)

Papyrology – the study of texts in ancient languages preserved on portable media – is in the twenty-first century increasingly visible beyond the disciplinary confines of Classical Studies. While Classical philology, Egyptology, and ancient history have long mined papyrological finds for primary source material, these texts increasingly illuminate the study of ancient religion, archaeology, archival studies, and Near Eastern Studies, often in light of one another. This bilingual panel intends to explore several aspects of twenty-first century papyrology's multivalence of both content and materiality. Recent technological developments in the field will also be at the centre of the panel.

Please note that the conferences will be presented in the language of the speakers, but handouts and PowerPoint presentations will be provided in the other language.

La papyrologie – l'étude des textes en langues anciennes préservés sur des supports mobiles – est, au XXIe siècle, de plus en plus visible au-delà des limites disciplinaires des études classiques. Alors que la philologie classique, l'égyptologie et l'histoire ancienne exploitent depuis longtemps les découvertes papyrologiques comme sources primaires, ces textes éclairent de plus en plus l'étude de la religion ancienne, de l'archéologie, des études archivistiques et des études du Proche-Orient, souvent en les mettant en relation les uns avec les autres. Notre séance bilingue a pour objectif d'explorer plusieurs aspects de la polyvalence du contenu et de la matérialité de la papyrologie du XXIe siècle. Les découvertes récentes dans le domaine seront au cœur de la séance.

À noter que les conférences seront présentées dans la langue des orateurs et oratrices, mais que les exemplaires et présentations Powerpoint seront fournis dans l'autre langue.

Thomas Schmidt : "Un nouveau fragment de Dinarque édité et daté en collaboration transcontinentale"

Dans le cadre de cette brève communication, je présenterai un nouveau fragment de papyrus conservant un extrait du discours *Contre Démosthène* de l'orateur athénien Dinarque (IVe s. av. J.-C.) qui a récemment été identifié au sein de la collection de papyrus du Musée Bible+Orient de l'Université de Fribourg (en Suisse). Après en avoir exposé les particularités formelles et textuelles et l'avoir mis en relation avec un autre fragment ayant appartenu au même rouleau ou au même feuillet et aujourd'hui conservé dans une collection privée, j'élargirai la discussion à l'ensemble des papyrus actuellement connus de Dinarque pour souligner la singularité de notre fragment et je m'intéresserai plus particulièrement à la question de la date de notre papyrus : en effet, la datation relativement large à laquelle nous sommes parvenus sur la base de critères strictement paléographiques (que j'illustrerai à l'aide que quelques parallèles papyrologiques) a pu être affinée au moyen d'une nouvelle technique d'analyse radiochronologique au carbone 14, menée en collaboration transcontinentale entre le Département de Philologie classique de l'Université de Fribourg (Suisse), le Laboratoire de radiochronologie du Centre d'études nordiques de l'Université Laval (Québec) et le Earth System Science Department de l'Université

de Californie (Irvine), dont je présenterai les principaux résultats. J'aborderai aussi brièvement la question de l'origine de ce papyrus et de son appartenance à la collection du Musée Bible+Orient de Fribourg.

"A new fragment of Dinarchus edited and dated in transcontinental collaboration"

In this short paper, I will present a new papyrus fragment preserving an extract from the speech *Against Demosthenes* by the Athenian orator Dinarchus (4th c. BC), which has recently been identified in the papyrus collection of the Bible+Orient Museum at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland). After outlining its formal and textual particularities and relating it to another fragment that belonged to the same scroll or sheet and is now held in a private collection, I will broaden the discussion to include all papyri of Dinarchus currently known, in order to highlight the singularity of our own fragment, and focus in particular on the question of its date: the relatively broad dating based on strictly palaeographic criteria (which I will illustrate with the help of a few papyrological parallels) has been refined by means of a new carbon-14 radiochronological analysis technique, carried out in transcontinental collaboration between the Department of Classical Philology at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland), the Radiochronology Laboratory of the Centre d'études nordiques at Laval University (Quebec) and the Earth System Science Department at the University of California (Irvine), whose main results I will present. I will also briefly address the question of the origin of this papyrus and its inclusion in the collection of the Bible+Orient Museum in Fribourg.

Mike Sampson: "Beneath the Text: Insights from 'the Books of Karanis'"

When the Books of Karanis project began in the summer of 2021, its goals included the critical reconstruction of one Egyptian village's literary culture and the development of an interdisciplinary methodology bringing other theories and methodologies – especially those of archaeology – to bear on papyrological research. Nearly four years later, much has become clear about the possibilities and limitations for a more richly contextualized study of Karanis papyri. In this paper I will discuss how the advancement of the latter has outpaced the former, and how advances in the archaeology of Karanis bring clarity but also raise problems for papyrology. Where papyrology is occasionally confident in its invocation of 'archives' or 'libraries', a better understanding of the uncertainty surrounding the deposition of papyri in the archaeological record means that it is difficult to attribute assemblages of material to particular individuals or structures. Ironically, some of the best surviving examples of 'archives' of papyri at Karanis were not discovered in the course of controlled archaeological excavation, but via the Egyptian antiquities market from over a century ago.

"Sous le texte : aperçus des « Livres de Karanis »"

Lorsque le projet 'the Books of Karanis' a débuté à l'été 2021, ses objectifs comprenaient la reconstruction critique de la culture littéraire d'un village égyptien, et le développement d'une méthodologie interdisciplinaire intégrant d'autres théories et méthodologies – notamment celles de l'archéologie – à la recherche papyrologique. Près de quatre ans plus tard, les possibilités et les limites d'une étude plus richement contextualisée des papyrus de Karanis sont devenues évidentes. Dans cette conférence, je discuterai de la manière dont les progrès de l'un ont dépassé

ceux de l'autre, et de la manière dont une meilleure compréhension de l'archéologie de Karanis pose des problèmes pour la papyrologie. Alors que la papyrologie est parfois confiante dans son invocation des « archives » ou des « bibliothèques », l'incertitude entourant le dépôt de papyrus dans les archives archéologiques signifie qu'il est difficile d'attribuer des assemblages de matériel à des individus ou à des structures particulières. Ironiquement, certains des meilleurs exemples d'« archives » de papyrus à Karanis n'ont pas été découverts au cours de fouilles archéologiques contrôlées, mais via le marché des antiquités égyptiennes.

Carolane Lévesque : "La descente aux Enfers de Déméter et Perséphone dans les papyrus"

La descente aux enfers de Déméter et de sa fille Perséphone a été racontée à maintes reprises au courant de l'antiquité. Le papyrus *BKT* 5. 1, p. 7-18 nº I 2 de Berlin, daté aux alentours du deuxième ou premier siècle avant notre ère, propose une version distincte de cette capture, qui diffère en plusieurs aspects de la version homérique dans l'*Hymne à Déméter*. Les traces de tradition orphique présentes dans le papyrus de Berlin offrent une perspective différente du mythe de Perséphone, tout en conservant certains éléments présents dans l'hymne homérique. La datation plus tardive du papyrus de Berlin pourrait expliquer les quelques similitudes trouvées dans les deux textes, mais les divergences sont l'attrait principal de cette comparaison. Ces différences sont donc le sujet central de notre étude, ainsi que leur importance et leur signification dans le culte des mystères d'Éleusis.

"Demeter and Persephone's descent to Tartarus in the papyri"

Demeter and her daughter Persephone's descent to Tartarus is a story that has been told numerous times in antiquity. The Berlin papyrus, *BKT* 5. 1, p. 7-18 nº I 2, dated around the second and first century before the common era, presents a distinct version of this myth, differing in many aspects to the homeric version of the *Hymn to Demeter*. The traces of orphic tradition in the Berlin papyrus offer a different perspective on the myth of Persephone while retaining key elements present in the homeric hymn. The later dating of the Berlin papyrus could explain the similarities found in the two texts, but the divergences are the main appeal of this comparison. These differences are the central subject of this study, as well as their importance and their significance in the cult of the Eleusinian mysteries.

Anne-France Morand : "The papyri of Herodotus"

A considerable number of Herodotus papyri are known (S. West, in D. Obbink and R. Rutherford (eds.), "The Papyri of Herodotus," in *Culture in Pieces*, (2011), 69-83). Quite a number of these are found among the Oxyrhynchus papyri, some of which have been published, while others remain unpublished. The remarkable edition of Herodotus by N.G. Wilson includes readings from a few unpublished papyri (N.G. Wilson, *Herodotea*, (2015), xi-xxi, and apparatus). My presentation will be based on these documents and will explore the following questions:

- Which books do the preserved papyri come from, and what does this reveal about the interests of the readers of the documents?

- What significant variants are introduced into the text of Herodotus?

- To what extent do the variants shed light on the manuscript families within the paleographical tradition?

- What can we expect from new discoveries regarding the text of Herodotus?

"Hérodote en papyrus"

Passablement de papyrus d'Hérodote sont connus (S. West, in D. Obbink and R. Rutherford (eds.), "The Papyri of Herodotus", in *Culture in Pieces,* (2011), 69-83). Les papyrus d'Oxyrynque en possèdent le plus grand nombre, certains publiés et d'autres inédits. La remarquable édition d'Hérodote par N.G. Wilson intègre les lectures de quelques papyrus inédits (N. G. Wilson, *Herodotea,* (2015), xi-xxi, et apparats). Ma présentation se fondera sur ces documents et investiguera les questions suivantes :

- De quels livres sont issus les papyrus préservés et qu'est-ce que cela révèle en matière d'intérêts du lectorat des documents ?

- Quelles sont les variantes importantes apportées au texte d'Hérodote ?

- Dans quelle mesures les variantes nous éclairent-elles sur les familles de manuscrit de la tradition paléographique ?

- Que peut-on attendre des nouvelles découvertes par rapport au texte d'Hérodote.